CHILD TRAFFICKING IN GLASGOW

2 - THE VIEWS OF PROFESSIONALS

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The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of Glasgow Child Protection Committee, the child trafficking sub group, or partner agencies.

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1. SUMMARY INTRODUCTION

This is the second phase of research in Glasgow to explore the issue of child trafficking and establish a more robust evidence base about the backgrounds, characteristics, exploitation and experiences of trafficked children. Sixteen experienced front line professionals and managers were interviewed to ascertain their perceptions and views, both positive developments and the barriers to effective practice.

The emergent themes, while only indicative of practice and challenges in the city, were varied and highlighted the complexities surrounding the protection of children who may have been trafficked. The positive multi-agency approach and commitment of front line staff were considered to be positive aspects of work and four key themes were identified as potential barriers to improving future practice:

- The impact of trauma and fear experienced by trafficked children on their engagement with agencies and provision of services
- The challenges of identification, assessment and service delivery when information about children is invariably limited and children often do not understand the roles of agencies within either the immigration or child protection systems
- Relationships as a key factor in effective practice, including the recognition of a child's relationship with traffickers
- The importance of taking into account children's cultural experiences and how these impact on notions of victimhood, exploitation, rehabilitation and support.

The findings from this research complement that of the phase 1 case file analysis and indicate that while there have been substantial improvements in Glasgow, awareness and understanding of the multi-faceted and complex components of child trafficking remains limited, compromising the potential to provide appropriate protection and support to children. The complexities of the trafficking trade, and how the many inter-related factors may affect service delivery for a group of particularly vulnerable children, are beginning to be identified. However, as elsewhere, developments are constrained by the absence of a clear evidence base that can fully inform effective policy and practice.

All stakeholders are on a steep learning curve and limited awareness and understanding is not peculiar to one professional group or geographical area. At this stage in the development of a unified response, barriers and challenges are not unexpected, and any response has to acknowledge the complexities and continually evolving nature of the child trafficking trade if interventions are to be effective.

The introduction of child trafficking procedures in Glasgow linked to the National Referral Mechanism process is in its infancy and it is too early to evidence the efficacy of the procedures for identifying and supporting suspected child trafficking victims. There also remains a need to fully scope

the prevalence of child trafficking as the focus to date has been on unaccompanied children, not the only at risk group.

Future practice and research initiatives should continue to link into the wider national and international trafficking agenda as Glasgow's experiences are reflective of the city's involvement in a global network.

- Develop a long term monitoring and evaluation programme to track children referred via CP/VYP to the National Referral Mechanism, to evidence the suitability of a child protection / NRM framework to safeguard children and report on both short and longer-term outcomes. This should be embedded in a formal monitoring framework and information sharing protocol that incorporates analysis of patterns and developments and monitors all concerns about trafficking.

- Develop a detailed training programme that focuses on the emerging evidence base to facilitate an increased understanding of child trafficking amongst practitioners and managers, and ensure that professionals have at least received awareness training. A training programme must have input from those practitioners in Glasgow who have substantial experience of child trafficking, and ideally be informed by children's and adult's experiences. This should be complemented by support and consultation for practitioners, recognising the complexity and changing nature of trafficking.

- Pay attention to the international dimensions of the trade and the cultural complexities of trafficking, victimisation and exploitation. Glasgow is part of a global network – child trafficking is neither a local problem nor an international issue alone.

- Scope the prevalence of trafficking amongst children not subject to immigration control. The focus to date on unaccompanied asylum seeking children may divert attention away from other at risk groups.

- Investigate the feasibility of developing a specialist service to work with child trafficking victims from identification and assessment to provision of specific services. This should be informed by research to identify the specific needs of trafficked children in the city.

- Document the experiences of children and / or adults (first trafficked as children). Without the voices of victims being heard and informing service provision responses may be less effective.

- Monitor developments, both national and international, to ensure Glasgow / Scotland remains at the forefront of responses to child trafficking.

2. CHILD TRAFFICKING DEVELOPEMNTS[1]

Since the completion of the 1st phase of the Glasgow research there has been substantial developments in policy, practice and research across the UK in relation to child trafficking. The Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings (ECAT) was implemented last year, seeking to ensure that each signatory country has mechanisms for recording cases of child trafficking. The National Referral Mechanism, the formal procedure for assessing and recording all trafficking cases became operational on 1 April 2009. From this date new arrangements came into force to allow all cases of human trafficking to be referred by frontline agencies for assessment by designated Competent Authorities. In the UK the competent authorities are a central UK Human Trafficking Centre (UKHTC) and a linked authority within UKBA for cases of immigration and asylum. The latest statistics from UKHTC indicate that 141 children have been referred to the Competent Authorities as a result of concerns about trafficking.

An assessment framework, designed by the London Safeguarding Children Board, was also issued to accompany the roll out of the National Referral Mechanism. 13 local authorities across the UK, including Glasgow, were identified as areas where the introduction of the framework and toolkits would be monitored. The UK Anti-Trafficking Monitoring group (a coalition of a number of agencies) are also presently involved in monitoring the UK government's implementation of ECAT.

CEOP (2009) published the latest data on suspected child trafficking cases across the UK which, together with an earlier report (Kapoor 2007), identified approximately 600 children as potentially having been trafficked. Other research reports published in 2009 found the knowledge base amongst practitioners remains limited, with children not being appropriately safeguarded (Pearce et al 2009; Wirtz 2009).

Despite the increase in UK research, and an acknowledgement that child trafficking is likely to be a growing problem, there still remains a limited theoretical discourse and empirical evidence base, with only a partial understanding of the crime and its effects that can adequately inform practice (Gozdziak 2008; Omelaniuk 2005). A better understanding of the scope and nature of trafficking is required, including both quantitative and qualitative research methods, to capture the complexity of the crime (UNODC 2009).

Child Trafficking in Glasgow

The first phase of child trafficking research in Glasgow was published in 2009 and found approximately a quarter of unaccompanied asylum seeking children in the city had sufficient indicators present to suggest they had been trafficked. A revisiting of these cases utilising the indicator matrix from the National Referral Mechanism confirmed these findings. This initial scoping study informed the

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[1] A background literature review to child trafficking is detailed in the 1st phase case file analysis
http://www.glasgowchildprotection.org.uk/NR/rdonlyres/F4470FF7-1586-4ADB-8217-03A0E45EA07A/0/GCPC_child_traffic_2009.pdf

development of the child protection committee inter-agency child trafficking guidelines to supplement the child protection / vulnerable young person's procedures (Glasgow Child Protection Committee 2009).

The publication of Glasgow's procedures coincided with the issuing of Scottish guidelines for safeguarding children who may have been trafficked (Scottish Government 2009). In Glasgow social workers are responsible for co-ordinating the completion of the NRM referral and the assessment framework, in conjunction with the police, and UKBA where asylum / immigration issues are also apparent. All referrals should involve liaison with the Senior Officers of the social work child protection team. Adopting this approach ensures the numbers of referrals to the NRM can be centrally monitored and assessed under child protection processes.

The Child Protection Committee has also delivered a training programme to approximately 250 multi-agency staff in locality areas. The programme was informed by local and national research and designed to increase awareness of child trafficking and inform practitioners about the National Referral Mechanism and trafficking indicators.

3. METHODS

This report is the second phase of the Child Protection Committee Vulnerable Young Person[2] Child Trafficking Sub-group research programme. Developing from the first phase, it focuses on interviews with professionals who have worked with trafficking victims in the city. The research was commissioned to inform local developments and provide conclusions and recommendations directly relevant to local policy.

The aim of the research is to:
* Document professional's perspectives on child trafficking
* Identify those factors professionals believe facilitate or hinder effective practice.

The use of interviews as a data gathering technique are recognised as important in unpicking the 'whats' and 'hows' of a situation and as a means of obtaining in depth views on a subject (Holstein & Gubrium 1997; Bryman 2001). While it is recognised the words of children themselves will better convey their experiences and backgrounds, in Glasgow such evidence does not exist. There will be complex ethical and moral dilemmas to address before such research can be undertaken, not least avoidance of secondary trauma, or retraumatising victims (Brennan 2005). Until such a time the direct testimony of children is available the experiences and perceptions of a wide range of professionals working with trafficked children can provide some insight into the impact that trafficking has on children and the challenges that face practitioners and policy makers in this particularly complex area of child protection.

Participants

Participants for the research were identified through previous contacts with agencies, the Vulnerable Young Person's child trafficking sub-group, requests via the social work child protection newsletter and word of mouth. All participants had experience of working with trafficked or suspected trafficked children and / or young people. While the interviews were designed to obtain practitioner's views about all forms of trafficking, in practice respondents worked primarily with unaccompanied asylum seeking children or young adults. This reflects the profile of known or suspected trafficking victims in Glasgow and the fact that to date none have been formally identified from the A8 countries or the UK.

The term UASC (unaccompanied asylum seeking children) is used predominantly in this report as the majority of respondents were working with children who had commenced the asylum process and were officially identified as unaccompanied.[i] The term 'separated' is increasingly used to describe children arriving in this country who may be separated from, or accompanied by adults who are not, their parents or legal guardians.

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[2] Children and young people in Glasgow may be part of Vulnerable Young Persons Procedures if child protection procedures are not appropriate or if the young person's behaviour makes them vulnerable to exploitation or harm

Design & analysis

A broadly grounded theory approach was adopted to focus primarily on the perceptions of professionals and allow them the opportunity to identify issues they considered to be important in their work. This method allows for data to emerge from the interviews as participants recount their experiences and views rather than answer questions from a predetermined interview schedule prepared by the researcher, based on the findings of previous studies.

A total of 16 professionals were interviewed, 6 via individual interviews and two focus groups. With the permission of respondents all but two of the interviews were recorded and transcribed. The transcripts were analysed and coded as themes emerged and where possible information was triangulated with supporting evidence from secondary data sources including databases held by the social work child protection team, asylum assessment team, residential services and Carefirst records. The case file analysis from phase 1 of the research also permitted further verification of some of the issues mentioned. Even with supporting data from other sources many of the issues identified through qualitative interview methods are perceptions and views of participants and as such can only be indicative of circumstances, not 'proof'.

To ensure transcripts and findings were representative and a reflection of participant's input all interviewees were given the opportunity to comment on their contribution and overall response to the findings. Respondents were provided with a copy of their transcripts to check for accuracy and to make any additional comments. They were also provided with a draft copy of the findings section for comment.

The Child Protection Committee Vulnerable Young Persons Child Trafficking Subgroup acted as a steering group for the research. This group is comprised of senior managers and strategists from a number of agencies involved in service provision for separated and / or trafficked children. Regular updates were provided to the steering group and a thematic analysis report, containing relevant transcript data, was circulated to the group prior to a final draft being written. The steering group were provided with the final version of the report for comment prior to submission to the Child Protection Committee and provided additional information that was included in the final draft. The input of the steering group was vital in ensuring consistency and focus during the research and providing important feedback prior to publication. Despite the knowledge and experience of members of the steering group it was decided not to include strategic managers in the interview sample and to concentrate on views from front line professionals.

Ethical issues

Exploring general experiences and views of practitioners during the interviews ensured that no individual children were identified during the research process. Where practitioners provided examples of practice no details are included in the report that could identify children, countries of origin, or individual professionals. Where reference to detail is necessary to highlight

general points being made details were removed from direct quotes that could identify individuals or organisations. In terms of child trafficking Glasgow still has relatively few absolute numbers and maintaining confidentiality was considered a priority, although it is also recognised this approach excludes information that may provide additional depth to certain aspects of the report.

Due to the small number of professionals and agencies with extensive experience of working with child trafficking victims in Glasgow the actual professions of respondents are not detailed to avoid identification. Contributions were made from professionals representing a cross section of agencies involved in front line services including child protection, asylum and immigration, law enforcement and health. Not all key agencies are represented as some were unable to contribute or did not respond to requests. It is also likely that other practitioners who have worked with trafficked children in Glasgow were not approached as the researcher was not aware of their work at the time of the fieldwork.

The Child Protection Committee steering group monitored all aspects of the research, and the experience of the group members acted as an additional check for ethical and professional issues, in addition to their contributions to the final report.

4. FINDINGS

The findings, while applicable to a specific location and pertinent to practice development in Glasgow, resonate with the literature emerging from wider UK and international studies and are likely to be of interest to a wider audience. There remains a limited body of research in Scotland and the findings presented here place another small piece in the jigsaw of understanding child trafficking in a local context. Additional investigation is required to identify the similarities and differences between jurisdictions.

Prevalence

> "Trafficking is much bigger than anybody in Glasgow thinks that it is and what we know of, and the small group that we have, is just the tip of the iceberg. I think there's a lot more kids that we don't know about."

There remains no clear evidence base about the extent of child trafficking in Glasgow, less so across Scotland. The findings from the case file analysis identified that approximately a quarter of UASCs in the city had sufficient indicators to suggest they had been trafficked, for various purposes including sexual exploitation and domestic servitude. A further recent analysis of the 'concerns' cases noted in phase 1, utilising the new NRM indicator matrix, suggests these children would have been referred under the National Referral Mechanism if they were current cases.

While the present research was primarily designed to ascertain the views of professionals about their experiences of working with trafficked children respondents were asked to estimate what proportion of their client group (predominantly UASCs) they believed had been trafficked. Responses ranged from one respondent who believed few had been trafficked, to another who felt that all could be considered trafficked, depending on how wide a definition[ii] of trafficking was adopted.[3] Estimates indicated the majority of respondents considered a figure of approximately one third to be not an unrealistic number of trafficking across their caseloads. The estimates of professionals suggest the figure of 25% from the phase 1 case file analysis is an underestimation.

During 2009 127 unaccompanied asylum seeking children were known to the social work asylum team in Glasgow. The estimates of present respondents and the phase 1 case analysis suggest at least 30-40 UASCs may have arrived in Glasgow last year who had been trafficked. Twelve children have been referred to the Competent Authority to date through the child protection procedures and the National Referral Mechanism, as per Glasgow CPC policies and procedures.

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[3] Trafficking was not defined for the interviewees, although they had a clear understanding that it had to involve movement and exploitation of the child

Background & characteristics of children

The data collection methods for this phase of the research were not designed to collate individual information, or to attempt to profile children. However, a number of workers shared details of patterns they had noticed and backgrounds of some of the children they were working with.

Factors identified by practitioners include disruptive schooling, or a lack of educational opportunities, linked to their social class. A pattern of poverty and violence was also highlighted, especially within families where a parent had died or a child was living with extended family. This pattern was especially noticeable for young girls, although there were suggestions that if families were involved in the trafficking poverty was not always an issue. For girls, patterns of previous intra and extra familial sexual abuse were prevalent, particularly if family relations were difficult or there was a lack of support. Girls and young women suspected of being trafficked to this country also indicated earlier, wider life trauma which was considered by professionals to have increased their vulnerability to exploitation. There was some suggestion that many of the boys for whom there was concern originated from countries where there was, or had been, conflict.

While specific case study information was not collated, the general descriptions of backgrounds and exploitative experiences provide further support for the conclusion that attempting to profile children and identify common characteristics is problematic because of the varying circumstances prior to and after arriving in the UK (Rigby 2009). A child from any background may be vulnerable to exploitation through trafficking (Wirtz 2009). More detailed research is now required in Glasgow to provide clearer information about the backgrounds, journeys and experiences of children presenting in the city.

4.1 Children's experiences: trauma and fear

The descriptions of children's experiences were prominent in professional's accounts, illustrating the complexity of children's lives pre and post movement and the differences between individuals both in their experiences and reaction to exploitation. The children's circumstances were vividly described, emphasising the challenges all professionals face in making sense of children's experiences and attempting to provide appropriate support. Trauma and fear were thought to be ever present factors in children's lives:

> "Absolute and utter fear of everything, compounded by an entire lack of understanding of what is going on and just being taken from pillar to post of so many different organisations."

The trauma and fear for children, as perceived by professionals, was not only attributed to trafficking, exploitation and abuse but also their experiences of contact with authorities in this country. To complicate already traumatic experiences respondents suggested there was often a feeling of isolation amongst trafficked and separated children in Glasgow:

"They really haven't a clue what's been happening to them……………..They really think they're alone, isolated in their experiences".

These feelings were attributed to a variety of factors including cultural differences and alienation, a lack of understanding about systems and feelings of shame associated with leaving their home countries and being exploited:

"I think really there's something quite shaming about a child that has escaped from a war situation, but a child that has escaped from that conflict, has then got caught up in a sexual trafficking ring, I mean the shame that child experiences then cuts them off from their own culture because they're not able to be as upfront, or as open about their experiences as others can be. There's a real feeling of isolation, a real feeling that they're the only person that this has happened to and that no one can understand what they've gone through."

Anxiety was also expressed by respondents that children often report the organisations and individuals they are in contact with do not understand what they have gone through and what they have experienced. Professionals were candid about their limitations in this respect and there was acknowledgement the stories they hear are horrendous:

"We certainly hear some horrific stories of the young people…………Brutality, brutality, abuse, you know the families, what they've witnessed, what they've seen, what's happened to them."

In attempting to understand the complexities and nature of the stories they are hearing there was also recognition and concern about the limited knowledge base available to fully support professionals in their work. As this worker commented:

"We kind of expected there are these experts out there who knew far more than we did, I think we now realise that's not the case. Which is a bit scary."

There are very few 'experts out there' and this comment encapsulates the challenges facing all professionals working with children who may have been trafficked – the absence of systematic evidence that can adequately inform effective policy and practice (UNODC 2009). This knowledge vacuum is perhaps most acute for those workers who are providing a front line service to children within a limited conceptual framework within which to base their practice. It is perhaps not surprising that children are questioning the understanding of agencies and individuals.

In addition to arriving in a strange country, to a system they do not understand, and where agencies and individuals often do not understand their experiences, it was also suggested children's trauma was exacerbated by the

reluctance of some agencies and / or professionals to believe their accounts. While there was agreement that awareness and belief has improved recently there was some uneasiness that children are still not always believed; often from the outset with questions about their age, reflecting a 'culture of disbelief' (Crawley 2007). As one respondent indicated, immediately children perceive that:

> "Everybody appears to them, as determined to tell them, they're telling lies, not to trust them"

A factor that may contribute to disbelief amongst professionals is the individual presentation of children and their outward manifestation of trauma and / or fear. The complex cultural, personal and societal factors associated with trafficking, and the differential effects it has on children, means that in some cases trauma and fear may not manifest itself in a way that is initially noticeable or observable (Gozdziak et al 2006). Respondents indicated while trauma and fear is clearly apparent in some children, others present as being calm, at least during initial contact:

> "[children] are clearly saying to me, consistently saying to me, please, please, please we're so scared we don't want to go back to this woman".

For most workers such outward verbalisation of fear by children was not usual, with fear manifesting itself in subtle ways over time as a more trusting relationship developed:

> "What we've found is that young people can present initially as being you know fairly together. It's not until they feel safe enough about what they've got here that you will actually start to see the signs of the post traumatic stress."

> "Sometimes some of the young females come in and clearly they're very traumatised at the point of presentation, but some of them are not. Some of them they're just very closed, they look very closed down emotionally and that for me is an indicator that something really dramatic has happened to them. You know, they're not sitting there distressed, they're sitting there very calm and they're dealing with whatever you're asking them. But I think you can see within themselves there's a lot more to what they're telling you."

In such instances, it was indicated that only through experience and having a broader understanding about all aspects of trafficking can professionals begin to identify aspects of behaviour that may suggest a child has been exploited through trafficking:

> "It's just a different presentation to you and how they interact with you. I think that, you know, there's been quite a few females that I've worked with and they look dead - you look into their eyes there's no emotion there, there's no, you know, very closed."

"Sometimes we see after the point where they do feel safe, they do feel safe enough to say, this is what happened to my family. It's at that point that you actually start to see the signs and the symptoms and they're starting to crack. They try desperately to hold it together…….. but I think it's always there, it's easy to see it's always lying just under the surface. The anxiety, you know the fear, the apprehension, it's there in a lot of young people. Some will portray a bravado – 'who me, nothing affects me, I'm tough' - and then when you see them on a one to one they let you in. You see their vulnerability there, you see the kind of hurt that cannae be dismissed as you know another two or three weeks in a bed and breakfast and we'll give you some help."

The possible psychological impacts on children identified by professionals including low mood, shame, post traumatic stress disorder, self harming, suicidal thoughts and sleep disorders. It is recognised that the potential physical and psychological trauma experienced by children as a result of trafficking may be more profound than for adult victims (Scarpa 2005; Rafferty 2008), but difficulties remain about its recognition in individuals. The recognition of psychological trauma may also be complicated by individual protective or resilience factors, and there is also an acknowledgement that trafficked children often do not see themselves as having been mistreated, and may have substantial ambivalence about trauma and how it is addressed (Gozdziak et al 2006; Kelly 2009). This ambivalence and understanding of what constitutes exploitation may be compounded by, or be a result of, the complexities of cultural and linguistic differences, complicating efforts by professionals to offer appropriate support. The importance of understanding cultural aspects of experiences and how these may effect identification and / or engagement will be returned to later.

Children moving from one scenario of exploitation through trafficking where they have no power, to other systems (asylum and child protection) where they feel powerless (Breuil 2008) may account for some of the apprehension and fear children exhibit when first in contact with services, even without considering their fear of traffickers.

"From their very first involvement, they are particularly terrified of their situation; they're more scared of authorities, including ourselves, social work, police, health."

For other workers:

"The fear that they [children] *have from people who are involved in the potential trafficking, is far greater than any other consequence that they can experience from anywhere else."*

Unaccompanied asylum seeking children are already amongst some of the most vulnerable children in the world, because of their triple vulnerability of being children, migrants and unaccompanied (Terre des Hommes 2009; Kohli 2002). With the additional fear of traffickers, authorities and abuse, trafficked

children are in particularly vulnerable situations, especially if they are isolated and harbouring other feelings of guilt, cultural dislocation and low self esteem.

Taking account of this combination of factors there was no surprise to experienced professionals that children fail to engage with services, or partially engage and lie, until they can be sure they can trust professionals and agencies.

> "There's an understanding now that victims of trafficking will maybe lie initially because they're not sure".

The dilemma for children and young people in disclosing information was articulated clearly by this worker, who also recounts the difficulties for professionals when attempting to work with trauma, fear and uncertainty:

> "Physically - we felt he was working. It was almost he was pleading with us to do something about it, but he couldn't tell us. He was pleading for us to do something about it, but also pleading with us don't tell anybody. There was a real conflict there, for that young guy it was horrific. I suppose it's who they fear most. You know do they fear retribution from the traffickers, or do they fear retribution from the system that would put them there as somebody who's been trafficked. What does that mean for a young person? If you've been trafficked are you here illegally, what's their understanding of what a trafficked young person is. Is it an illegal claim then and are you immediately excluded. So I think that dilemma when you're not able to talk to somebody enough to ask them types of questions without giving yourself away, it leaves the young person in a massive conflict.

While amongst experienced professionals there is recognition that children may lie for good reasons, changing stories and being reluctant to engage with services was considered potentially detrimental to children's asylum claims and any child protection investigation. In this respect the trauma and fear from which services are attempting to protect children may be compromising the delivery of appropriate services because professionals often do not fully understand the impact of exploitation through trafficking.

4.2 Agency roles – identification, assessment and service provision

Glasgow has made substantial developments over the last two years in beginning to understand the concept of child trafficking through an ongoing research programme, involvement in a national pilot for a toolkit and assessment framework and the introduction of procedures clearly locating child trafficking as a child protection issue. In practice, respondents reported improved multi-agency working and increased awareness and understanding. While there was agreement the provision of services to trafficked and separated children had improved respondents were also clear there remains substantial room for improvement across all sectors and provision.

"I'm quite keen to always say that there is a lot of good work being done, a lot of good work in statutory. They may be in embryonic stages but at least it's being started."

In terms of agency roles a fundamental message was that children coming into this country, not just suspected trafficking victims, had little understanding of the role of each agency in helping them with asylum claims or child protection concerns. Often there was no understanding what asylum or child protection actually is. This lack of clarity and understanding can be used by traffickers to manipulate and control the children, which further contributes to fear and mistrust. In such situations it was considered important to spend time explaining to children where they are and the role of each agency:

"It takes more skill to explain the system that they now find themselves in than it would with an adult. It needs to be repeated, a very complex system needs to be brought down in a manner that a child can understand. And it needs to repeated and repeated and repeated and that's not just for the asylum system.......that's also an understanding of the police in this country, an understanding of social work, that kind of thing."

Asylum, child protection and the National Referral Mechanism

Child trafficking is now recognised in policy and practice as child abuse raising new challenges for child protection professionals (CEOP 2009; Kelly 2009). A substantial challenge has been the increased levels of joint working required with the UK Borders Agency, a new contributor to multi-agency child protection case conferences involving children subject to immigration controls. New legislation under section 55 of the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009 has placed a duty on the UKBA to have regard for the safeguarding of children in decision making.

In Glasgow, child protection / vulnerable young person procedures and the asylum process were often perceived as not being sufficiently flexible / attentive enough, either alone or together, to properly address the experiences and trauma of trafficked children. The asylum process particularly was criticised for moving too quickly, even with the introduction of a reflection period under the National Referral Mechanism, such that children had no time to even begin to understand what was happening to them in the system, not to mention begin to try and address their experiences of abuse and exploitation

"The system is so fast, I mean the minute that you enter into the system you have a couple of weeks in order to prepare your statement, then there'll be an interview after that."

In respect of suspected trafficked children in Glasgow the National Referral Mechanism has been linked to multi-agency decision making under local child protection procedures. There was some consensus if the new procedures helped to identify victims and begin the process of providing appropriate

services they would be a welcome addition.[4] However, there were concerns that the NRM is not child friendly because of the time factor imposed and the fact it is perceived as being too closely aligned to the asylum process.

> *"The emphasis is on you to get this completed very, very quickly and to do this you have to ask questions which is - you wouldn't have enough time to explore that safely I don't feel, to explore these issues safely. And if you open something up you've got to have a proper timeframe to close it down. So you actually may be retraumatising."*

The focus on speed and the immigration process was perceived by some respondents as impacting on their ability to address needs, with procedures under the asylum system often given priority.

> *"We would operate about what are needs and we'll focus on those immediate needs you know. Immigration shouldn't really be impacting on how we work. If we think someone has been trafficked then, you know they're very traumatised, they're very distressed, they need assistance and that care should come first and foremost. And then immigration gets sorted out at a later date."*

It was also suggested the indicator matrix, as part of the child trafficking assessment framework, might be more suitable for older children, compromising the identification of younger children who perhaps cannot verbalise their experiences. There were also concerns expressed that the time factor for some children and young people disclosing means the VYP procedures may not always be appropriate. If children have taken time to disclose:

> *"They're settled, they've got the kind of supports in place that they need and it wouldn't be appropriate to take them down the VYP procedures."*

Although still in the pilot phase questions about the VYP/NRM process have been raised in relation to the suitability of a child protection / asylum framework to adequately safeguard children who have been trafficked. Concerns have been noted about the dissonance between two distinct systems, operating to different performance measures, timeframes and outcomes. As part of the national pilot for the child trafficking toolkit and assessment framework there is ongoing monitoring to evaluate the introduction of the NRM procedures, linked to VYP, in Glasgow. This work may further illuminate the positive and negatives factors associated with supporting trafficked children through the VYP/NRM procedures as presently there is insufficient information to evidence efficacy.

From professional's responses, children's early experiences in the city within child protection and the NRM processes, appear to be centred on an endless round of interviews with different agencies with little understanding amongst children of the purpose of each and the benefits for individuals.

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[4] Some of the interviews took place before the Glasgow child trafficking procedures were issued so not all respondents were familiar with the National Referral Mechanism process.

"I can imagine for a child it's difficult to navigate the process when they don't even understand there is a process they have to go through."

Information – 'fact and fiction'

Both asylum and child protection systems, and together under the NRM, rely on the provision of information to make appropriate decisions. In relation to safeguarding Government guidelines reiterate that gathering and sharing information from a variety of sources are central to effective practice (Home Office 2007; 2009; Scottish Government 2009; DCSF 2009). Such collaborative assessments via an integrated assessment framework rely on the (early) sharing of (accurate) information between agencies. It is clear from responses that a substantial amount of information is likely to be unavailable, or available only from a child who may have been coached what to say, or be reluctant to share information out of fear.

"Traumatised young people may not come out with beautiful precise matching sets of information."

Under such circumstances the efficacy of speedy decision making to meet children's needs and system time limits is questionable and a *"drip, drip, drip"* of information was acknowledged as the reality in working with trafficking victims.

"It took a long time, she told us wee bits that gave us indicators, but it took us nearly two years to get the story. And now that I know the story I totally understand why, because it's very, very traumatic at both ends – you know from what happened there and what happened here."

"Some of them will tell you, as I say, they will come in traumatised and upset and tell you quite early on. And others just won't."

In addition to limited information about their background, journeys and circumstances it was clearly indicated it is unusual for children to say directly they have been trafficked, at least in the initial stages of contact.

"I think it's difficult because not all of them will come in and tell you the information that they are trafficked. They will come and say they were brought here and how they were brought here – and it's only further down the line that you find out they have been trafficked."

"Sometimes there are children that I'm working with that I suspect they have been trafficked and they still say no I haven't been. But there's things that they've told me about their past and how they got here that just don't add up. And there's things about how they behave you know, that I definitely think they have been trafficked. They don't feel they can come up to us and tell you that."

"It really depends on the individual, when they feel comfortable, or if they ever feel comfortable or confident enough with us as individuals to discuss something like that."

With such a slow acquisition of often contradictory information it is important professionals consider a number of possibilities during initial and subsequent contacts. However, it has been found that often professionals in both child protection and asylum processes can be reluctant to change their initial assessments in the light of new or different information (Crawley 2007; Taylor & White 2001; 2006). In the first few months of contact there is usually new, different or contradictory information presented, which may necessitate changing professional decisions or assessments a number of times. Professionals should not feel inhibited about changing their assessments if new information becomes available.

Complicating the assessment process the veracity of information is also difficult to ascertain, such that workers cannot separate 'fact from fiction.' One worker suggests this problem is often compounded by professionals inputting data onto electronic databases with often no indication of how reliable the sources are, or if checks have been made to corroborate the details. Further complications also arise because of the international dimension of trafficking; obtaining information from outside the UK is considered to be particularly problematic, although a couple of respondents reported the commencement of links with overseas agencies.

With a reluctance to disclose amongst some children, and difficulty in being clear about the veracity and provenance of information there was some evidence that professionals may be waiting *"until the young person's ready to acknowledge it"* before action is taken under the vulnerable young persons procedures. It was suggested by one professional that in such cases waiting for information, rather then being proactive, may be a reflection of not quite believing trafficking is an issue.

"There is a wee bit about credibility as well about it, or people just not asking. I think that's something we picked up as agencies have an assumption going on, they won't explore it and they won't take the lead in exploring it, they'll wait for a disclosure…..."

Concerns about waiting for disclosures, rather than exploring situations, may explain why referrals to the National Referral Mechanism via the social work child protection team, or those referred to the VYP process, do not appear to reflect the level of concern indicated by respondents or the numbers identified in the case file analysis. As in any child protection work there is a fine balance between obtaining information and 'evidence' and taking appropriate action while recognising the distress for the child. With trafficking particularly waiting for 'evidence' or progressing more slowly may not be an option if there is a risk a child may go missing again, be retrafficked or further exploited (Glasgow CPC 2009).

Due to the difficulty of obtaining disclosures and information that achieves the status of 'evidence' the use of indirect indicators of child trafficking – the 'trafficking matrix' - has been widely promoted as a guide for professionals to consider if they are concerned about trafficking. While not being a substitute for a comprehensive assessment the Glasgow CPC procedures suggest if there are sufficient concerns about the number of indicators being identified action should be taken – even without concrete evidence or a disclosure (Glasgow CPC 2009).

Indicators

There are no validated assessment tools that can predict the risk of trafficking or definitively identify those who have been trafficked. The National Referral Mechanism framework and the Glasgow guidance contain a list of indicators that might suggest a child has been trafficked or is at future risk. Although these lists may aid the process of identification there is no research available that evidences how different factors may combine to increase or reduce risk.

While indicators were welcomed as an aid to identification and assessment there was agreement that the indicators are merely that – they are not a substantive assessment of trafficking. For many professionals experience of working with trafficking victims, listening to their stories and developing good working relationships were the key factors in being able to support them, not whether they can tick the right boxes.

> *"Indicators are good, but they should not be to rigidly adhered too and I am not a fan of going down that route for people fitting into neat boxes. And particularly not with trafficking, particularly not with trafficking, the whole phenomenon, the crime itself doesn't fit into a wee box. That does not take cognisance of its fluidity and constantly evolving network."*

> *"With the indicators I mean there's probably a majority of the asylum seeking population that the indicators would fit. It depends on your definition of trafficking and what you're looking for I suppose, so the majority of the indicators would fit the majority of the unaccompanied children. But this is a separate group, that is, quite clearly there's trafficking indicators because they're brought here for specific purposes."*

Age assessments

The age assessment process, as part of the asylum application and to allocate child protection or adult service provision, was subject to a substantial amount of comment as a *"big bone of contention"* that has *"caused no end of problems."* This is despite the fact it is one of the most important factors in determining immigration status and providing appropriate child centred services (Crawley 2007). While there was recognition it is important to place children and young people with appropriate services, there were concerns that without documentation agencies have little idea what age young people are because *"it's such an inexact science."*

> *"You can talk for hours about age assessments……..if you talk to people who really know, they tell you it can't be done. A paediatrician will probably tell you, you can't age somebody who's a mid teen, a teenager to within 5 years, so how can a social worker - it's just palpable nonsense."*

There was comment about the effect disputing age at commencement of contact has on that child and the chances of a good working relationship. For this respondent it was naive for professionals to believe they could develop trusting, working relationships with children while at the same time sending out messages that we do not really believe them regarding their age:

> *"The biggest impact* [of age assessment] *has been on a young person's commitment and a young person's kind of hope, sense of hope. Because, right away you're being told we don't believe……………we're going to do this age assessment on you, you say you're 14, we believe otherwise and we're going to do an assessment on you."*

Particular concerns have been raised about the effect on young people's mental health that disputing age has (Bokhari 2008). These concerns were clearly articulated by this worker in Glasgow:

> *"I've worked with people who've ended up with mental health problems, quite severe, because their age isn't believed. I've had two that really have ended out taking vulnerable young peoples procedures because they've ended up being mentally ill. Really withdrawn, really at risk and it seems to be because their age wasn't believed."*

Another worker described the effects on a young woman who was accommodated in her own flat while waiting for an age assessment:

> *"Very traumatised, couldn't sleep by herself, slept the night under her bed, was having nightmares, hallucinations. Because she was unable to sleep by herself she was in very vulnerable situations with others and adult services were just not appropriate for her".*

Nationally there has been substantial concern about age assessments in respect of the provision of child centred services (Crawley 2007). While the European Convention against Trafficking and local guidelines are clear that children should be given the benefit of the doubt there are indications that some local authorities have disputed responsibility for children by not applying this criterion (Frampton 2009; Bokhari 2008). While there was no evidence of Glasgow widely disputing responsibility, concern was expressed:

> *"There's a number of occasions where there's been doubt, the resource has been considered first. Absolutely, no question about it."*

A focus on chronological age may impact on service provision and distract from the wider assessment of needs as safeguarding support from child protection procedures and services will not be available if the child is

assessed as being over 18 years of age (Dorling 2008; Crawley 2007). Due to the many issues about the age assessment process, Pearce et al (2009) suggest that responsibility for completion should be removed from social work and become the domain of a specialised agency who do not have a financial interest in the outcome.

The combination of factors concerning inconsistent information, the lack of corroborated evidence and information, the limited nature of the indicators and the problematic age assessment process has resulted in widespread recognition that Glasgow, like elsewhere, faces tremendous challenges in identifying and assessing children. This identification barrier is apparent even before provision of appropriate services is considered. While identifying appropriate service provision is not well informed by a clear and robust evidence base, professionals in Glasgow have their own opinions what may be beneficial.

Service provision – what's needed, what's missing?

"I think there's a lot of good practice in Glasgow, I really do, and particularly in the past year, it's come a long, long way. And it's great that it's been identified as a problem and awareness is getting better, and there are really good models of practice that need to be built on."

The development of the Child Protection Committee inter-agency guidance for child trafficking, issued in September 2009, was the first attempt in the city to formalise a multi-agency approach to child trafficking. This development was welcomed as it was reported that prior to these guidelines there had been no direction for professionals about how to proceed with suspected trafficking cases. Despite introduction of local procedures, there is little empirical research that can provide a clear evidence base for understanding the impact of trafficking on victims, families and communities to effectively inform a needs based response (Omelaniuk 2005; UNODC 2009; Gozdziak 2008).

Taking account of the limited research base, professionals in Glasgow highlighted the need for specialist services targeted at children who have been trafficked to provide additional support in collaboration with statutory agencies:

"There is a real dearth of specialist organisations or support services for separated children, actually for those who have been trafficked………We have been repeating it for the last 2½ years, there is more of a need for that type of service for children that have been in a trafficking situation. It's unacceptable that we don't have it, for whatever reasons."

Respondents suggested at a minimum provision should involve a therapeutic counselling element and emotional support, with options for individual and / or groupwork.

"I think they need somewhere safe to get together to talk about their experiences, whether that's in a groupwork session, or to just do

therapeutic activities so that if they did say I want to talk about that, then they could do"

A holistic, child centred human rights approach was considered important, communicating information in a way that is readily accessible and understandable and working at the pace of children and allowing them to determine their responses. Above all the complexity of each child's circumstances, their differing background, journeys and experiences, indicated that any service had to be amenable and reactive to individual needs:

"Each time they're different, and while it would be good to have the services there, whilst groupwork might work for half the children it might not work for the others. There needs to be options."

There are indications provision should encompass an international, multi-agency approach, addressing multiple factors around prevention, support and rehabilitation in the source and destination countries with a focus on community support (Rafferty 2008: Asquith & Turner 2008). How these factors interact and can be utilised to inform protective interventions and support resilience in a local UK context is not known and the absence of a broad model of understanding means the actual content of support packages remains speculative at present.

The TARA project, for women over the age of 18, was mentioned by most respondents as an example of a holistic service model which supports mainstream asylum, police and social work services and which could be adopted for children. The Compass project provides therapeutic psychological interventions for asylum seeking children, and is the service to which respondents refer children they consider to have mental health needs.

The experiences of professionals in Glasgow, the success of the TARA project and the continuing referrals to Compass, point towards the necessity for specialist provision for children in the city that encompasses all aspects of a child's needs. As one respondent suggested there is a growing recognition of the need for a specific service:

"I think the penny has just dropped fairly recently with Glasgow, I think we're now at a point where we've got this [child trafficking] *and now we're going to need to make the provisions for it"*

While there are a number of agencies working with trafficked children in Glasgow and there have been positive developments and good practice there was also concern about capacity and resource issues resulting in a struggle to identify and meet the needs of victims. The interview process highlighted the commitment of front line professionals to support children while operating within these resource constraints. Despite the commitment of front line workers there was apprehension about the slow development of practice and strategic decisions detailing how to proceed or address trafficking.

Trafficked children – different needs?

The provision of focussed services is predicated on the assumption that children who have been trafficked require support to address specific needs that differ from other children, including those who have been smuggled, and cannot be provided through existing services. Differentiating between trafficked or smuggled children was considered problematic and while similarities were acknowledged there was also recognition of differences, such that a service for all separated children may not meet the specific needs of trafficked children. It was suggested trafficked children:

"Go through specific experiences, and it's particularly when they have been exploited in this country. That lack of trust, that abuse, that manipulation, those factors that are apparent, but are not necessarily apparent in a separated child who has fled a situation of war."

The trauma of smuggling alone was highlighted by this worker:

".….how these kids get through that, I don't know. They're travelling for months and months on end on their own with these smugglers through different countries, in boats and lorries. You know I've got one young man who came in through that route and he was just, he was just so shellshocked when he got here. Because he'd been travelling for so long and he's had so many experiences on route."

While recognising trafficking / smuggling distinctions, a number of respondents suggested it is not always helpful in addressing need, as some children appear to cope better with certain situations than others:

"A young person who's been trafficked may be better able to cope with what their situation is than a young person who has been smuggled."

Such sentiments reflect the findings of the case file analysis where a strict definition of trafficking focussing on intent to exploit at the destination may overlook some of the harrowing experiences children endured in their home countries and on their journeys. Experiences in home countries and / or on route may not constitute trafficking under the strict international guidelines if there is no intention to exploit once in the UK. In such cases respondents were clear there may still be needs requiring substantial supports and in this respect the distinction was seen as often being arbitrary, so that children became deserving trafficked or undeserving smuggled (Skrivankova 2007), when in terms of providing a service:

"At the end of the day that doesn't mean that there's not a care need there, because it's not specifically trafficked……….. There's other definitions of it, and other young people have had other experiences you know, and are really quite vulnerable as well. But, I think that it is right to define between them, but you can't forget about the other group and their needs I suppose."

Distinctions between trafficking and smuggling are made at international and national policy levels informed by protocols linked to the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (2000).[5] The distinction aims to identify those people who may have been forced or coerced into journeys and those who entered into a voluntary financial transaction. Despite an internationally recognised legal definition such a distinction remains questionable, as consent at point of departure and arrival are not clear and circumstances may change so that somebody may be a smuggled child one day and a trafficking victim the next (Bhabha & Zard 2006; Buckland 2008; Gallagher 2002). From a human rights based, child protection focus the division is not clear in terms of meeting the needs of children when they may have been subject to multiple abuse (Laczko 2002).

This is a dilemma professionals in Glasgow are struggling with in their work with separated children, some of whom may be trafficked, others smuggled, but many having endured abusive experiences at different parts of their journeys. Identifying needs and risk, making appropriate assessments and deciding on appropriate service provision is particularly difficult in these circumstances, especially when journeys themselves are traumatic and before exploitation is taken into account.

Kohli (2002) has suggested services for asylum seeking children focus on three areas of additional needs; the past as displaced migrants, the present as young people who may not experience adequate substitute care and the future as uncertain participants in the asylum system. Taking account of these areas and the specific experiences of trafficked children in relation to trauma, fear and abuse, there was an understanding amongst professionals their needs cannot be addressed through adopting a 'normal' care and pathways plan. However, as this worker suggests there is little provision available at present that is substantially different to other children:

> "As a worker you're working with this young person, and it's just about their care plan and their needs, there's nothing that you can put into their care plan that's any different to any other young person. But you just have to be personally much more aware of what their needs are and be wary about changes within their behaviour and things like that that might be an indicator that there's a problem here again."

While there may be scope for linking trafficked children into already existing services it is unlikely many agencies are sufficiently aware of the specific needs of trafficked children to provide 'holistic' support at this point in time. Assessing different needs between different groups, and individual children, is problematic, especially when many of their abusive and exploitative experiences have been similar in many respects. It is likely that further, in depth training, will be required to further raise awareness of specific needs.

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[5] Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000) and the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air (2000)

Accommodation

A particular area of concern was accommodation provision for trafficked or separated children, especially for 16 and 17 year olds either arriving in the country at that age or moving from children's unit to other providers on reaching 16:

"Potential child victims of trafficking are too often inappropriately placed in accommodation that increases the risk of ongoing exploitation – their child protection needs are not being met"

The potential for ongoing risk was highlighted as a particular problem for females in Glasgow as, unlike for 16 year old males, there is no specific accommodation service for separated young women in the asylum system over the age of 16. It was acknowledged that quite often young women are placed in bed and breakfast accommodation – *"which is not good"*.

There was also some disquiet regarding accommodation provision while age assessments were being undertaken:

"I think whilst there was a query over the children's ages that we should have erred on the side of caution….would young people, possibly all minors that we don't know yet, from the UK, be placed in [B&B accommodation]*"*.

An area of practice in Glasgow which appears to be more positive than the UK experience is retaining contact with potentially trafficked children. Research in certain areas of England and Wales suggest between 20-60% of suspected trafficked children may go missing from care, whereabouts unknown (CEOP 2009; Kapoor 2007; Beddoe 2007). The latest available figures in Glasgow indicate that between 2006-2009 5% of UASCs have gone missing permanently. This worker also identified the ability of Glasgow to hold on to children:

"I think that from all the young people that we've had that I've suspected have been trafficked I can say, which probably goes against the norm of what trafficking is, I think there's very few of them that we've lost. I'm not aware of any that have disappeared back into that system again. The majority of the young people that I've had that I've suspected trafficking was an issue have remained here and they've continued to work with us. I think that goes against the trend in other areas."

A possible explanation may be the simple fact that for many children Glasgow may be the final destination. Children may also be going missing before they can be interviewed or registered as UASC by UKBA or social services. Further investigation is required to ascertain if the reasons for retaining children are an artefact of the movement and trafficking networks, or if there are aspects of practice in Glasgow that are more successful in maintaining contacts with children and young people.

Interpreters

A service essential to work with the majority of unaccompanied asylum seeking and / or trafficked children is that of interpreting. While the necessity for good interpreters was recognised and their positive contribution acknowledged, there were also concerns raised about the connections interpreters may have within local communities, and how comfortable children may then feel in divulging issues in their presence.

> *"I stopped using him because the girls were saying to me that he was saying things to them that indicated that he had connections out in the wider ****** community and I felt that was putting them at risk. Whether or not that was due to experiences or their lack of trust in anybody"*

While this example may have been the fears of the children, another respondent highlighted concerns about the training of interpreters and the sensitive nature of the information that was being discussed at meetings.

> *"Certainly with interpreters we've had an awful lot of issues coming up ………….We go through an interpreting agency so we don't know necessarily the background of these interpreters and how much we can trust them. They are obviously party to a whole lot of information and that's raised a lot of concerns in the past few months."*

Evidence from other areas of the UK indicates children are not always comfortable with interpreters because of the actual, or perceived, connections with immigrant communities. There is a need for interpreters to receive some training in child protection issues and trafficking, such that interpreters are recruited because of their experience, skills and training, rather than because they speak the language of the child (Pearce et al 2009). Another important factor is to ensure children feel able to express their worries to child protection professionals if they feel uncomfortable with certain interpreters. This is an area that requires further investigation, not least because the services of good interpreters are essential for working with trafficked children when attempting to undertake assessments and identify needs.

4.3 Awareness, understanding, attitudes and cultural complexity

> *"Initially identification is a big barrier…..other agencies ability to identify somebody who might have been trafficked"*

UK specific research has indicated awareness amongst child protection professionals remains limited, hampering efforts to protect children and reduce the trade (CEOP 2009; Pearce et al 2009; Wirtz 2009). This lack of awareness amongst front line workers may be partly explained by the absence of a wider knowledge base. A theoretical framework that can help to identify how the complex social, economic and cultural factors interact to increase or decrease risk and guide service provision, is in its infancy (Gozdziak 2008; Rafferty 2007).

The limited awareness of what constitutes trafficking, notwithstanding the legal definitions discussed earlier, may also be located in the way trafficking victims are portrayed or perceived. The usual understanding of trafficking victims may be:

> *"Girls that arrive pregnant, can't really tell you where they were, been in a house, been in London, living in Glasgow but they don't know where, these sort of things. Caught working in hash factories"*

While this may be a description of *"blatantly obvious"* perceptions of trafficking, usually either for the sex industry or to pay back money, there were concerns that if children did not comply with the *'proverbial poster victim of trafficking'* (Gozdziak 2008:905), they may be less likely to be identified.

> *"If you're not chained to a radiator; how can you possibly have the freedom to go shopping; you know, you're not trafficked"*

Musto (2009), suggests that where victim's experiences do not align with the dominant discourse of trafficking, usually sexual exploitation, there can be insufficient identification, visibility and protection. This may further reduce awareness of the multifaceted nature of trafficking.

Within the wider discussion regarding awareness and understanding the significance of the cultural aspects of children's experiences and children being familiar with agency roles and responsibilities cannot be underestimated. The normative discourse surrounding trafficking and victims is predicated on underlying western values and legal systems, such that children's perceptions of their situations may differ from that of service providers (Gozdziak et al 2006; Breuil 2008), with some children not recognising or understanding the concept of exploitation and trafficking - *"People think they have a choice in some things."*

There was widespread agreement amongst respondents about the difficulty of working with the cultural aspects of trafficking:

> *"How do you work with a young person from one of 23 countries that we work with, people can't tell you."*

> *"The whole cultural difference is diverse by its very nature and there are some similarities and cross-over between certain continents. But even amongst that there's such differences that you notice"*

Understanding cultural expectations and other's world view is a challenge for both professionals and children. While certain examples of abuse are presumed to be universal concepts there are areas where concerns about exploitation are not so easily identified and cultural perspectives may play a substantial role in defining exploitative experiences. In taking account of these cultural and societal expectations, care is required to ensure that children's

self determination is not overlooked because of differing concepts of victimisation and appropriate responses. As one respondent suggested:

> "I wonder sometimes if we take away the rights of a child to participate in the process and to make their own decisions."

Cultural awareness amongst professionals will be important in supporting children in a culturally appropriate manner to ensure they are not further traumatised by a system that purports to help them. As indicated earlier children feeling powerless through exploitation may also feel powerless in situations where they are processed through systems (asylum and child protection) of which they have no cultural context to understand what is happening.

How concerns about the cultural aspects of awareness and understanding may actually impact on decision making is difficult to evidence without analysing individual case files and speaking to children. There were reported instances of differential decision making in relation to separated and trafficked children, raising some concerns that children may be treated differently to UK born children (Pearce et al 2009).

> "I felt that these [children] were not having the support that they required in Scotland. They should have been protected under our legislation, whether they come from ***** or whatever. They were treated completely different than any other UK child would have been……….I think these children were most definitely treated differently"

Another worker clearly stated they had experienced:

> "Attitudes towards asylum seeking young people, which are very different to the attitudes I've experienced towards indigenous young people."

This respondent recalled being told by other professionals:

> "It cannae be that bad because they've suffered all that in their own countries, surely they can handle what happens here…………...you know they're tough, they've been through a lot, you know they can – they don't need that right now"

Additionally, there was anxiety expressed that decisions may become resource led when there is little knowledge about the specific experiences and needs of separated and / or trafficked children and additional supports they may require.

> "They are entitled to a service, they are entitled to a better service than they're getting……..they are in a children's home and they've left care now, they deserve and expect more than a visit every few weeks you know"

Despite a number of respondents being able to recount isolated incidences of differential decision making, or comments, there were no suggestions such concerns are widespread. While there is no independent evidence to support respondent's perceptions about differential decision-making and attitudes regarding suspected trafficked and / or unaccompanied children, such reports are not unique to Glasgow. Across the UK separated children are reported to have received differential care amid concerns children trafficked from abroad may not receive the same rights and treatment as children born in the UK (Ayotte & Williamson 2001; Pearce et al 2009). Whether this is a result of a lack of awareness and misunderstanding, or of attitudes to separated or trafficked children, is difficult to ascertain

To minimise the possibility of poor decisions being made and separated or trafficked children being treated differently, understanding of the effects of trafficking and smuggling on children, especially how cultural differences affect these, is essential at all levels of organisations. Further monitoring is required to ensure reasons for decisions concerning suspected trafficking victims, especially for non-UK nationals, are not informed by a lack of understanding of trafficking and / or cultural expectations.

4.4 Relationships – the key to effective practice

One factor that professionals considered a prerequisite for effective practice, that superseded both training and experience, was the importance of developing a trusting working relationship which enabled children to feel safe and begin sharing their experiences. The need for positive relationships with children and young people was viewed as paramount in beginning to identify and meet their needs and provide consistent emotional and practical support. This worker made the point very clearly:

> *"I think it's the relationship. I think if we're ever going to get inside into that dynamic, trafficked young people, young people being trafficked ……. I think the only way we're ever going to get at it is if we get time enough to spend with young people and build a relationship……….. If we've got a hope of supporting and helping young people who may have been trafficked we need to be doing it over a significant period of time."*

The asylum model was particularly criticised in this respect as a barrier to effective working relationships. While it was recognised workers may be in contact with young people regularly over a sustained period of time addressing immigration and social issues, and during the contact get to know the young person well, it was also viewed as a tense partnership. Due to the strict timetables linked to asylum claims there were concerns expressed that workers' abilities to develop more supportive relationships were restricted. As this worker describes:

> *"I think these kids need people to spend time with them if you've got a staff group that are able. I mean, to be honest we're doing the basic minimum, when you get a new person things have got to happen.*

Somebody arrives you interview them on the day with an interpreter, you've got to find them accommodation which is all new and strange, they've got to be referred to the Home Office for a screening interview. After that they've got to go to lawyer, after that they've go to return to the Home Office for a substantial interview, which is like quite difficult. And there's all these emotions come out and you're sitting down and talking to a lawyer, talking to the Home Office about you're family being killed and all the things that have happened to you, raped or whatever. And you know we may be visiting every so often, you really need staff that should be there regularly and consistently and time to sit and talk to young people about the problems."

Another worker, while recognising their role in the asylum process and supporting the gathering of information over a long period of time, indicated the negative side to such a working relationship:

"It's a great challenge to build that trust and relationship within a system, that lack of trust that the Home Office and the asylum process is, and the age assessment process to a certain extent as well."

The difficulty of social workers being able to provide the level of contact required, especially in the early stages of contact, was also mentioned as a barrier to developing positive relationships. This despite the fact that it was widely recognised social workers are best placed to be the key contacts and in present practice are usually the most consistent person following initial presentation.

"What we've found is that certainly in the early days they need very intensive support, kind of daily contact, when we need to be able to talk about their feelings and their emotions and kind of having to have the reassurance of somebody being there. Even when somebody appears to have been linked in to a social worker they don't get that emotional engagement. While social work is very good at sorting out accommodation and making sure that you know the young person has got money, all the practical stuff as well taken care of. But it's that emotional support that that young person needs, that regular contact."

Despite the recognition that much early work is focussed on practical needs, respondents also described positive relationships they built with children, often over a considerable period of time, which enabled the child to begin discussing their experiences. While this building of a working relationship was viewed as positive, for one worker it was also difficult professionally and emotionally because of their position in relation to the expectations of the young person:

"For me as a practitioner it was like, I was the person who they identified. They didn't know the systems; they didn't know who made the decisions. So for me it was like, you know, I was attempting to protect them, and they were feeling that this protective person was actually completely dealing with them, and that was a really horrible situation to be in."

The same worker recalled the powerful effect of a young person saying:

"You know I feel like you're letting us down. You said that you were going to try and protect us, but you're not helping us in this situation."

Another respondent described the building of a positive working relationship which resulted in a situation where the young person would not engage with other agencies without the worker being present because they were the only professional the young person trusted. While clearly positive in that young people believed they could trust these professionals, interviewees also had specific roles in the asylum and child protection processes, which impacted on the relationship aspect of the work. Being viewed as the sole person a child can trust is perhaps an added pressure, creating an overly intense relationship (Gozdziak et al 2006), but also impacting professionally and emotionally on workers.

The dilemmas of building trusting relationships while making assessments for child protection and asylum applications, and maybe having to disclose confidential information to other agencies in line with procedures, is a very tense tightrope for professionals.

"What they want is somebody that they can tell that can hold the secret. That isn't going to tell social work and therefore it isn't going to get back to the Home Office. Of course that's just not possible with what we do, but it seems as that they know we'll speak to social work if we have concerns, they know that social work may then pass that on to the Home Office…..You know I think we've all experienced times where a young person has come and sad 'can I tell you this in confidence'"

The importance of developing good relationships in improving outcomes was reiterated by the suggestion that the appointment of a 'guardian' for trafficked, or unaccompanied asylum seeking children, may be useful. This would be a named person that children could relate to and help to guide them through the myriad regulations and meetings, but who was less involved in assessments which can often be viewed negatively by young people. A new 'guardianship' proposal for Glasgow, beginning in summer 2010, may provide a service similar to that which respondents were envisaging.

Multi-agency working

This issue of a single worker building good working relationship, but becoming the only professional a young person can trust, may be a dilemma for workers. Even with appropriate training and experience it is unlikely that a single professional can have the necessary knowledge and experience to even begin to address the complex needs that trafficked children present with. The importance of and necessity for multi-agency working and information sharing is well documented (Kapoor 2007; Save the Children 2006: Somerset 2004), and the benefits of providing a holistic service, engaging the knowledge and expertise of various agencies was highlighted in Glasgow.

"Often it won't be us that will get the key bit of information, it might be a social worker, it might be a key worker, it might be a psychologist, it might be a doctor, or another type of service. But if everyone is in a dialogue and everyone's talking it can actually - you can build up a really good picture".

This worker was clear that without a multi-disciplinary holistic approach the complex needs of children and young people who have been trafficked cannot be addressed. Evidence from a number of respondents indicated the most effective collaborations in Glasgow were in front line, informal professional relationships. Concerns were expressed that systems and policy were often a block to achieving effective outcomes with children:

"Our basic links are brilliant, brilliant……….we have a great relationship with them" [other front line staff]

"I think it would probably be better if it [multi-agency working] was done on a more formal basis, I mean we do it very informally"

While there was general agreement that front line partnerships were working reasonably well in Glasgow, one respondent indicated that at many multi-agency meetings professionals are not willing to challenge each other on the effectiveness of their contributions, with too much diplomacy and consensus. The same worker also felt that contributing to poor policy and systems was the fact that decision makers are still discussing similar issues to those being discussed five years ago. It was indicated there needs to be a move from numerous strategy meetings to actually implementing policy and practice and ensuring that work is effective. The introduction of inter-agency guidelines for child trafficking may address some of these concerns and should also begin the process of joined up policy, although it is too early to know if they are effective.

Child - trafficker relationship

Given the importance placed by professionals on developing positive relationships to facilitate effective practice and positive outcomes there was some concern expressed about the trafficker-child relationship. Examples were provided of ongoing relationships between children and young people and their traffickers, which may continue for considerable periods of time. It was indicated that while young people may appear settled over an extended period it is not unknown for some to resume a relationship with a trafficker and be further exploited perhaps even encouraging other young people to become involved. Such concerns support the view that trafficking is often not a discrete event, but a process that continues over time (Pearce et al 2009).

"It may not always be the case but it's easier for them, it's easier for the trafficker obviously, for a young person who's unaccompanied to be looked after by the local authority for a period of time. It doesn't cost the trafficker anything, then suddenly the trafficker - after a period when the

young person appears to be what they are – then they'll move in. I would not call it a grooming, but you know the way grooming operates. In a way there's a preparation there that at times I'm concerned about. It may be for a year, for 8 months, or 6 months then – 'you need to respond when we say.' There's an element of that that's always been around with young people, is that a case of 'right you've had your 6 months, it's safe for us now to exploit you'."

"That's something that I'm always aware of, are there appropriate people around them, if they have got new relationships with other people, how do they know that person, where did that relationship start from…..just having an awareness and new relationships around them, and having that discussion, where did you meet that person, how well do you know them, that kind of thing, you need to be aware of them."

Despite the exploitation and abuse associated with trafficking there was an acknowledgement that young people may also see themselves as benefiting from the relationship with the trafficker:

"I don't know if the young people necessarily perceive people as traffickers…….They might be getting something they want out of this situation. As I say they might want to be able to get money, so if somebody says 'here I've got a job for you'."

It was also suggested the asylum process may also be inadvertently encouraging young people to maintain some contact with traffickers or agents, and reinforcing their belief about not talking to the authorities:

"When we're talking about trafficking, or we're talking about travelling here, a young person is less likely now to talk because they might need them [traffickers] *again. If they're going to go underground they're probably going to need the same people who trafficked them to here if their appeals fail."*

Such examples present professionals and agencies with practical dilemmas. Building a supportive, trusting environment will be important for children and young people who in most cases do not have family support in this country. Indeed, such support from family, friends and other people is viewed as an important protective factor. However, in attempting to develop community supports there should be awareness amongst professionals of the potential trafficking networks, who the people are and what their motives may be:

"It's difficult to label people traffickers. We've got our concerns about who these people are, whether they're do-gooders, whether they're relatives, whether they're people who are willing to help people out, we don't know. Certainly that would be a worry for me that these people [traffickers] *will never be far away from a young person."*

As in other areas of child protection the relationships between trafficker and child are complex. It may not be as simple for a child to view it as one of

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abuse and exploitation, as it is for many professionals. While there is clearly fear and manipulation instilled by the trafficker, in many cases traffickers may be viewed by children as 'offering' them something. They may not view their traffickers as somebody exploiting them because they may have co-operated in some instances or benefited from some aspects of their experiences by agreeing to the initial movement, gaining employment or money, or moving to a new country (Gozdziak et al 2006).

4.5 Limitations of the research

Qualitative research methods introduce a rich vein of depth to a topic to illuminate issues, although a predominantly qualitative approach to data collection may not provide 'evidence' or 'proof' as findings are based on the perceptions of workers and as such are only indicative of practice. At this stage of UK trafficking research the main question for many people remains how widespread is the problem. The estimates of respondents regarding the number of trafficked children they consider to have been trafficked remains a 'guesstimate' although it equates approximately to the prevalence found in phase 1 utilising a more rigorous quantitative approach.

The major limitation in relation to prevalence is the estimates are only that; the presence of indicators in a case file analysis, and the perceptions of professionals of numbers of cases they have come across, does not provide information that would necessarily meet evidential standards of proof. Without definitive evidence from conviction of traffickers, or specific witness statements and testimonies from children, the use of proxy, indirect indicators of trafficking may be one of the most systematic methods of estimating the numbers of children trafficked (Laczko and Gramegna 2003). While the estimates from phase 1 of the research have now been supported by the experiences of professionals in Glasgow some observers may be reluctant to acknowledge the extent of child trafficking in the city, without clearer 'evidence'.

As with the case file analysis this present report is based on data gathered over a relatively short period of time to inform local policy developments (Kelly 2005). In terms of the generalisability of the findings there may be limitations linked to the specific geographical area studied. As already highlighted data on child trafficking for other areas of Scotland is not available either in relation to prevalence or the experiences of professionals – it is not known if Glasgow is representative of other parts of the country.

While not designed to identify professionals who had only worked with UASCs, the work also highlighted the bias towards separated children within the asylum system as the focus of trafficking work at present. While they are an easy identifiable subgroup, albeit at high risk of trafficking (Tyldum & Brunovskis 2005), care is required to ensure that other children who may have been trafficked, or are at risk, are not overlooked.

The pool of potential respondents was limited because of the focus on one city and relatively low levels of awareness and recognition of child trafficking.

While this reduced the number of people interviewed, the in-depth nature of the interviews may have compensated for the limited sample size.

As previously indicated not all professions were included and because of the small numbers in one city it was considered inappropriate to detail who did, and did not, participate. While this maintains confidentiality and allows for a more candid discussion, not knowing which professionals said what may diminish the robustness of the findings for some readers. However, it is likely most of the challenges are pertinent to all agencies and professions and not knowing the provenance of each statement does not detract from the overall findings.

Despite these limitations the research has been able to draw on the substantial knowledge of an experienced group of professionals from across a number of disciplines and agencies. Further detailed analysis of individual child trafficking cases across the city would be required to independently verify some of the issues presented, especially regarding attitudes and decision making. The views of professionals reflects their individual experiences and as such are important in gaining a better understanding of child trafficking and areas for development in this still relatively new area of policy, practice and research. Many of the findings replicate previous studies suggesting some validity in being able to contribute to the wider discourse on child trafficking. Further ongoing work will indicate how reliable these findings are and whether they apply to wider areas and other groups of children.

5. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

The practitioners and first line managers interviewed are an experienced group of professionals, with substantial knowledge of working with trafficked children and adults, mainly within an asylum context. From their experiences it appears the first suspected victims of child trafficking arrived in Glasgow around the turn of the century, although in reality it probably predates this time period. Over the last 2-3 years the awareness and responses of various agencies has improved, as has the partnership approach, with generally good working relationships amongst front line professionals, with a strong commitment to supporting children.

> "There are positives. There is no doubt that there are positives. Where the right approach is taken and it is that child centred human rights type approach and allowing participation and empowerment and working together holistically the results are quite striking, really quite striking. There are really good examples of on the ground, informal practice like that that happens on a daily basis in Glasgow, with ourselves and between other partner organisations."

Despite improvements substantial challenges remain for the development of effective practice with children who have been trafficked in identification, protection, rehabilitation and support. Overall awareness and knowledge remains limited, a fact all respondents, despite years of experience, also acknowledged in their practice. In reality the limited understanding amongst practitioners is probably a reflection of the absence of a rigorous evidence base that can provide a conceptual framework for understanding the complexities of all aspects of child trafficking.

> "I do think there's a lack of awareness out there that it's a very complex phenomenon, trafficking, it's an extremely hidden crime and it constantly evolves. It is constantly evolving and unfortunately the trafficking networks are so fluid that it will always be able to evolve quicker than the public sector."

The issues identified in the research reflect the multi-faceted aspects of trafficking and the difficulty of the task facing practitioners and policy makers. Within this complexity four key themes were identified as potential barriers to improving practice and at such an early stage of knowledge acquisition it is perhaps not surprising that many factors are identified as barriers and challenges, rather than positive developments.

• The impact of trauma and fear experienced by children who have been trafficked on their ability and willingness to engage and influences decision making by professionals.

Trauma, unfamiliarity with general rules and customs and the complexities of the immigration and care and protection systems have all been identified as barriers to promoting wellbeing amongst separated children (Kohli & Mather 2003). Similar barriers were identified in Glasgow and are likely to be

exacerbated in children who have been trafficked because of their exploitative experiences, their fear of traffickers and authorities and additional trauma.

If children fail to engage, or authorities fail to engage children, due to a combination of children's fears and unfamiliarity with systems and a lack of awareness and understanding amongst professionals, it will have implications regarding appropriate child protection decisions. Engaging children traumatised through trafficking will be a significant challenge, in addition to the safeguarding concerns many child protection professionals have due to the demands of the asylum system, which is perceived as taking priority, even when children present with multiple care needs.

- The challenges of identification, assessment and service delivery when knowledge about risk factors, needs and the complexities of the trafficking process is limited.

A central aspect of effective child protection practice is the gathering and sharing of information to inform assessments and service provision. Of central concern is the fact that with trafficked children this information is not readily available and its veracity is difficult to ascertain. Without this key part of the jigsaw, coupled with a sketchy knowledge and evidence base, the challenges of identification, assessment and service delivery are immense as *"Receiving a child in care with no information as to her history or factors precipitating trafficking makes initial engagement and subsequent treatment extremely difficult"* (Gozdziak et al 2006:14). In such cases, the importance for early multi-agency discussion to assess all the available information is central to safeguarding.

There remains concern that even where UASC / trafficked children are subject to the same protective procedures as indigenous children the additional complexities associated with trafficking may result in less than adequate protection (Lay & Papadopoulos 2009). The challenge for decision makers and the child protection system is to ensure additional services and protective factors are in place to provide adequate protection. To achieve this, and improve effectiveness, additional knowledge is required about children's backgrounds, experiences and hopes (Gozdziak et al 2006), without which any provision to protect children and provide appropriate longer-term support may be compromised.

- Relationships as a key factor in effective practice, including the recognition of a child's relationship with traffickers and the ongoing process of trafficking

A prominent factor identified as contributing to positive outcomes is practitioners developing trusting relationships that allow children the opportunity to recount their experiences at their own pace. In practice, as a consequence of stretched resources and performance indicators often determined by time factors, this is proving problematic. Despite the challenges for children and young people forming trusting relationships because of their exploitive and abusive experiences it is important that professionals are proactive in developing ongoing therapeutic relationships that can build a

clear and supportive network of significant adults around children. This will allow children to develop and build on the skills, resilience and coping strategies they are likely to have employed during the trafficking process.

Effective multi-agency relationships are also key to effective practice and there are positive reports of good informal inter professional liaison at the front line. Concerns regarding formal partnership arrangements at strategic and policy level may be assuaged by the introduction of inter-agency child trafficking procedures, although stringent monitoring will be required to ensure they promote and facilitate good practice and build on positive individual relationships.

A crucial factor in inhibiting safeguarding practice, and one that is rarely acknowledged, is the child-trafficker relationship. Experience in the city suggests that once in touch with child protection services a child's relationship with a trafficker does not necessarily end. Examples of children maintaining contact or re-engaging with traffickers after considerable time reinforces the findings from earlier research that trafficking is a process, not a discrete event (Pearce et al 2009), and that some children may not necessarily see themselves as victims, benefiting from aspects of the relationship (Gozdziak et al 2006). Risk of trafficking may not be something that dissipates over time and there is no guarantee that once supported through child protection provision the exploitation ceases. Breaking the chain of trafficking will rely on a network of professionals and community support recognising the complexity and longevity of the trafficking process and being prepared for a substantial time commitment.

- The importance of taking into account children's cultural experiences and how these impact on notions of victimhood, exploitation, rehabilitation and support

Trafficking responses have been criticised for not taking account of the significance of children's cultural background in defining their experiences and providing appropriate support and rehabilitation. UASCs may be at increased risk because of their socio-cultural alienation (Pay & Papadopoulos 2009), and the recognition of the significance culture plays in defining experiences and expectations is important in providing culturally aware services that can protect children. To date child protection theory and practice in the UK has mainly been focussed on the challenges presented by national circumstances, the international aspect of trafficking will add a new dimension to safeguarding practice. The international dimensions to trafficking and familiarity with different cultures can be addressed by a 'post national' practice (Christie 2003), where child protection professionals look outside their national boundaries to meet the needs of trafficked children through increased awareness of their cultural, economic and social realities and experiences (Asamoah et al 1997; Midgley 2001).

Engagement with community support groups may furnish professionals with a greater understanding of the significance of cultural beliefs that may then help the identification of victims and provide guidance for the support that may be

required. Ongoing work in Glasgow is hoping to identify the extent of community networks and agencies.

Training

To address the identified challenges, improve decision making and raise awareness a widespread training programme is required (Pearce et al 2009). While this has commenced in Glasgow through the Child Protection Committee training programme and various events organised by partner agencies there remain high numbers of practitioners for whom trafficking is an unknown quantity. Training was an important consideration for respondents as there is widespread consensus that the specific needs and behaviours of trafficked children require specific responses and understanding that are not provided in 'standard' professional training.

> *"I think any service that links into this particular client group needs to be trained. There needs to be training, it does require a specific approach – there does need to be an awareness of what this child is going through. Awareness training……..and then there needs to be an ongoing dialogue and maybe mutual training in partnership."*

However, familiarity with cultural differences is unlikely to be addressed through a centralised training programme alone due to the numerous nationalities and cultures encountered. A number of respondents indicated the importance of professionals taking responsibility for their own learning in this respect, on a case by case basis to better understand children's background and experiences.

Despite their knowledge and experience, professionals were clear that despite years of working in the field they still had much to learn. In this respect training, while important to begin raising awareness and developing a greater understanding of various aspects of working with trafficked children, was considered to be only one aspect of enhancing safeguarding practice, with direct work experience and personal professional development equally important.

Conclusions & recommendations

Glasgow has been at the forefront of policy and practice initiatives regarding trafficked children in recent years and awareness about child trafficking is improving. As evidenced by the cogent responses in this paper there are professionals in the city who have extensive knowledge and experience of child trafficking. The introduction of inter-agency guidance and procedures, improved practice and multi-agency working and an ongoing research programme has ensured progress. It is too early to evidence the effectiveness of these developments and further detailed, longer term research is required to evidence how they impact on practice and outcomes for trafficked children.

Conclusions from research reporting the views of professionals can only be indicative of present practice, and those factors that may promote or inhibit

effective interventions. While many of the experiences and observations reported cannot be independently verified, or quantified, the emerging themes indicate a number of potential barriers to progress. However, there may still remain a credibility gap regarding prevalence because there have been no convictions and few NRM referrals – we still do not know the full extent of child trafficking in the city.

A salient issue is that few people, in practice, policy or research, have sufficient experience of child trafficking to fully inform effective interventions. All stakeholders remain at the beginning of an inter dependent learning process where the views and evidence of practitioners, managers, policy makers and researchers requires to be fused into an effective model of practice, informed most importantly by the experiences of children. Obtaining a broader view of trafficking and documenting the experiences of children and / or adults trafficked to Glasgow is probably the most important next step in improving the local knowledge base and developing appropriate services.

Glasgow is now beginning to identify the complexity of local, national and international factors contributing to the trade and the challenges facing all professionals working with trafficked children. Until such a time when there is a better framework of understanding, underpinned by an improved empirical knowledge base, there should be rigorous monitoring of the present procedures and practice to ensure that children are protected by services adopting and adapting the latest evidence to the local situation.

Further research and practice developments are required to increase understanding and improve practice locally and also to inform the national agenda. The following recommendations will begin to address issues identified in this report and begin the building blocks for ongoing developments.

- Develop a long term monitoring and evaluation programme to track children referred via CP/VYP to the National Referral Mechanism, to evidence the suitability of a child protection / NRM framework to safeguard children and report on both short and longer-term outcomes. This should be embedded in a formal monitoring framework and information sharing protocol that incorporates analysis of patterns and developments and monitors all concerns about trafficking.

- Develop a detailed training programme that focuses on the emerging evidence base to facilitate an increased understanding of child trafficking amongst practitioners and managers, and ensure that professionals have at least received awareness training. A training programme must have input from those practitioners in Glasgow who have substantial experience of child trafficking, and ideally be informed by children's and adult's experiences. This should be complemented by support and consultation for practitioners, recognising the complexity and changing nature of trafficking.

- Pay attention to the international dimensions of the trade and the cultural complexities of trafficking, victimisation and exploitation. Glasgow is part of a global network – child trafficking is neither a local problem nor an international issue alone.

- Scope the prevalence of trafficking amongst children not subject to immigration control. The focus to date on unaccompanied asylum seeking children may divert attention away from other at risk groups.

- Investigate the feasibility of developing a specialist service to work with child trafficking victims from identification and assessment to provision of specific services. This should be informed by research to identify the specific needs of trafficked children in the city.

- Document the experiences of children and / or adults (first trafficked as children). Without the voices of victims being heard and informing service provision responses may be less effective.

- Monitor developments, both national and international, to ensure Glasgow / Scotland remains at the forefront of responses to child trafficking.

Notes

[i] *An unaccompanied asylum seeking child is defined as a person who at the time of making an asylum application is under 18, or who, in the absence of documentary evidence establishing age, appears to be under that age; is applying for asylum in his or her own right and; is separated from both parents and is not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom has responsibility to do so* (Home Office 2007b).

[ii] Widely adopted definition of trafficking from the United Nations (2000) *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo Protocol)*

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 obtain the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. (article 3a)

The protocol defines children as nay person under the age of 18 and article 3(c) states :
The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article

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