Sheffield Hallam University

Human trafficking and outcomes for children and young people in the UK

HYNES, Patricia <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8830-0603>

Published version

Copyright and re-use policy

Human Trafficking and Outcomes for Children and Young People in the UK

Author Name: Patricia Hynes
Corresponding Author: Patricia Hynes
Author Affiliation: Helena Kennedy Centre for International Justice, Sheffield Hallam University

ORCiD: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8830-0603
Twitter: @pehynes
LinkedIn: Patricia Hynes FAcSS | LinkedIn

Abstract

Human trafficking, 'modern slavery' and exploitation have risen up policy agendas in the past two decades as social issues of major global and public concern. In the UK, awareness about the human trafficking of children and young people has grown significantly over the past decade with children making up 44% of all referrals into the UK's National Referral Mechanism (NRM) for identifying modern slavery in 2023. However, the voices of these children are missing from policy in the UK, as is any focus on their outcomes. This paper draws on a 14-month study that scoped international evidence on outcomes and undertook 20 participatory workshops with 31 young people in three locations across England and Scotland. This paper explores a stark contrast found between mainly negative outcomes, negative sequalae and negative consequences of human trafficking in systematic reviews and the capabilities, strengths and focus on creating positive outcomes and stable futures found when working directly with young people. These outcomes were ultimately detailed through a Positive Outcomes Framework, anchored in the words, ideas, lives and rights of young people. It is suggested that the contrast found offers a key insight into a relatively unexplored aspect of human trafficking, that published evidence currently misses a focus on positive outcomes in the post-trafficking experience which risks defining young people solely through their past traumatic experiences, denies the agency and the abilities of young people to move forward with their lives.

Introduction

Human trafficking, 'modern slavery' and exploitation[1] have risen up policy agendas in the past two decades and are social issues of major global and public concern (Gallagher, 2015; Morrison and Crosland, 2001). Globally, protection and support for children and young people who have experienced human trafficking or other forms of child abuse are particularly challenging areas of work (Pinheiro, 2006; Radford *et al.,* 2011; Radford *et al.,* 2015a,b; UNICEF, 2020). As Bhabha (2009) has already suggested, Hannah Arendt's question on who has the 'right to have rights' relates closely to children who migrate. Bhabha refers to these children as 'Arendt's children', functionally stateless as their theoretical rights under international law are rarely enforced in practice. Bhabha (2016) has also highlighted how children who are trafficked or smuggled tend to fall under a criminalising rather than protective approach under the Palermo Protocol, which does not require States to treat victims of trafficking with the same long-term protections as for refugees.

The focus of this paper is on outcomes in post-trafficking contexts for children and young people who have experienced human trafficking. To consider outcomes for young people trafficked into the UK, this paper draws on a 14-month study that scoped international evidence on outcomes and undertook participatory workshops in 2022 with young people in three locations across England and Scotland. The overarching aim for this study was to understand what positive outcomes might look like from the perspectives of young people, with specific objectives around the potential development of an outcomes framework, to explore the rights of young people, conduct a national and international scoping review, circulate a global call for relevant national or international practice evidence and bring young people's views into the centre of policy making. The study's overall focus was on what young people said about what they would need to see for positive and meaningful change to happen in their lives (Hynes *et al.,* 2022).

This paper explores a stark contrast found between a predominant focus on negative outcomes, negative sequalae and negative consequences of human trafficking in available systematic reviews as opposed to the capabilities, strengths and focus on creating positive outcomes and stable futures found when working directly with young people. Without over-romanticising the abilities of young people to overcome barriers and traumatic experiences encountered, it was clear their focus was on creating positive outcomes for themselves and those around them while continuing to actively build their presents and futures. For the first time in the UK, these are now detailed through a *Creating Stable Futures Positive Outcomes Framework* (CSF-POF) anchored in their own words, ideas, lives and rights which details 25 specific outcomes and 86 associated indicators considered necessary to achieve their own goals.

This paper draws on two key methods of this study, the first of which was a systematic scoping review of existing international systematic or authoritative reviews on human trafficking and trafficking-adjacent literature[2]. The second relates to the participatory workshops held across

---

[1] Prior to the UK's introduction of the Modern Slavery Act in 2015, the term 'human trafficking' was widely used, stemming from the internationally agreed definition of human trafficking in the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (the Palermo Protocol). Since 2015 the term 'modern slavery' is increasingly used and relates to the offences of slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour as well as human trafficking. Referrals of children into the NRM include those for the purposes of labour exploitation, child sexual exploitation and child criminal exploitation and the term 'exploitation' is also regularly utilised. This paper utilises all terms but, due to the human trafficking focus of international literature, this term is retained.

[2] The potential use of 'trafficking-adjacent' research (Sorensen and Consoli, 2022) is detailed in a US learning and research agenda from Innovations for Poverty Action. Trafficking-adjacent research includes studies on child labour, women's empowerment, referral mechanisms and improving the mental health outcomes of conflict-affected youth and it is suggested that that the relative wealth of 'trafficking-adjacent' studies enables practitioners, researchers and

England and Scotland. It is suggested that the negative focus in published evidence currently misses a focus on potential positive outcomes in the post-trafficking experience and that this risks defining young people through their past experiences, denying their agency and abilities to move forward with their lives. This finding offers a key insight into a relatively unexplored aspect of human trafficking, that between the often-used binary terms of 'victim' and 'survivor' there are thicker, more nuanced accounts of how young people speak about, imagine and envisage their futures.

To explore this, this paper considers legal, policy and practice frameworks, study methodology, the nature of literature on human trafficking, the variable meaning of the term 'outcomes' and discussion of emergent themes and contrasts from analysis of the two key methods outlined above before providing conclusions.

Legal, Policy and Practice Frameworks

The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) provides a universal and comprehensive framework for international legal standards for the protection and development of all children, offering a protective rather than criminalising approach. It is the most widely ratified human rights treaty internationally, including by the United Kingdom. The four General Principles of the UNCRC – non-discrimination (Article 2), best interests of the child (Article 3), the right to life, survival and development (Article 6) and the right to participation (Article 12) underpin how this Convention should be interpreted and put into practice. Fulfilment of these Articles are also part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to which the UK has signed up to. Over time, the right to participation has been increasingly understood to include the right of children to be involved with research, be this research carried out with or by children and young people (Lundy, 2007; Pinheiro, 2006).

In the UK, awareness about the human trafficking of children and young people has grown significantly over the past decade. The numbers of children and young people who are referred into the UK's National Referral Mechanism (NRM) for identifying human trafficking and/or modern slavery have risen year-on-year since its introduction in 2009. For example, in 2023, of the 17,004 potential victims of modern slavery referred into the NRM, 7,432 (44%) had experienced exploitation as children[3]. Children and young people can be trafficked across international borders but also within national borders, and both children who arrive into the UK as well children born in the UK are part of these referrals.

However, children and young people who arrive into the UK experience a different legislative, policy and practice universe to UK-born children, with additional layers of complexity relating to their legal status, a tension between their welfare and immigration legislation and increasingly fractioned protection mechanisms available (Allsopp and Chase, 2019; Chase, 2020; Chase and Allsopp, 2013; Feinstein *et al.,* 2021; Finch, 2014; Zetter, 2007). While it has been recognised for over a decade that human trafficking is child abuse, policy and practice often fail to engage with this premise and an 'immigration-centred discourse' rather than a 'child-centred discourse' often prevails (Bovarnick, 2010:80; Pearce *et al*, 2013). In this context, the views or voices of children and young people who have experienced human trafficking remain missing from debates in the UK (Gearon, 2019).

A focus on 'outcomes' for these children and young people is also absent from policy and debate in the UK except, for example, when stakeholders in the UK's modern slavery, human trafficking and safeguarding sector refer to a child as having a Reasonable Grounds outcome or Conclusive Grounds outcome following referral into the NRM. Chase (2020) also details different time limited or discretionary legal outcomes for unaccompanied young people - refugee status; time-limited Unaccompanied Asylum Seeking Child (UASC) Leave (which requires further legal assistance upon approaching 17½ years of age); refusal; Humanitarian or Discretionary Leave.

Existing focus on outcomes in UK policy for children and young people sometimes still includes reference to the Every Child Matters (ECM) Green Paper launched in 2003[4] by the former Labour government. The ECM set out five outcomes for all children and young people – being healthy, staying safe, enjoying and achieving, making a positive contribution and achieving economic wellbeing. Children's organisations have developed outcomes frameworks including The Children's Society's Good Childhood Index (2010) around subjective wellbeing and the Young Foundation's (2012) outcomes framework for young people. The devolved nations also have outcomes frameworks. In Scotland indicators for children and young people are directly related to the SDGs, in Wales there are national standards and an outcome framework for children and young people and in Northern Ireland there has been a framework around better outcomes. Other organisations are currently developing outcomes frameworks (Children's Commissioner, 2022) and a Modern Slavery Core Outcomes Set (MSCOS) for survivor recovery, wellbeing and integration has been developed for adults[5].

In a UK child protection sense, outcomes relate to specific statements of what professionals involved are looking to achieve through child protection plans, offering a final goal and developed to overcome harms experience and/or unmet needs. These outcomes are framed as specific, with associated actions to ensure needs are met and with objectives developed in line with indicators to provide evidence towards final goals. What Works for Children's Social Care defines an outcome as the consequence of an action, where an action is a particular service or way of working[6]. La Valle *et al.* (2019) have detailed how the development of an Outcomes Framework for children's social care services can be a first step towards improving the local evidence base to enable well-informed decisions to be made about service planning and delivery. Their outcomes framework was designed to complement rather than replace national administrative data already collected by the Department for Education (DfE) with potential future alignment to DfE and Ofsted data requirements. Basic measures around being in education, employment or training are routinely measured and available as part of statutory data returns. Data on adult or child outcomes following referral into the NRM are currently not collated in the UK and as outlined above, a focus on outcomes for these children is absent from policy and debate. When discussing outcomes for these young people, professionals often relate how a 'good outcome' is not having a young person go 'missing' from child protection services (Hynes *et al.,* 2019).

For children and young people who have experienced human trafficking, it is unlikely that single or existing measurements alone could capture the complexities of their lives. There is, however, the possibility that a wider range of social care, immigration, criminal justice and child protection measurements could be compiled based on national administrative data already collected, to be supplemented by legal outcomes, NRM referral outcomes plus data on Looked After Children and Children in Need.

---

[4] Given legal force in the Children Act 2004.
[5] Viewed on 12 June 2023 at: MSCOS - MSCOS Home
[6] View at: Outcomes framework - What Works for Children's Social Care (whatworks-csc.org.uk)

Methodology

Full details of the methodology and methods involved in the study is available elsewhere (Hynes *et al.,* 2022) but here it is important to consider how the two key methods outlined earlier were necessary to address research aims and objectives. The overarching aim was to understand what positive outcomes might look like from the perspectives of young people with specific objectives around a potential development of an outcomes framework, if feasible given the participatory and therefore unpredictable nature of findings. Other objectives detailed included conducting an international scoping review and circulation of a global call for relevant national or international practice evidence. An objective to bring young people's views into the centre of policy making demanded a participatory approach be adopted. Both the international literature review and participatory workshops with young people were therefore necessary to meet the aims of this study, with triangulation of sources in mind and to reveal different aspects of empirical reality (Denzin, 2009)

The international scoping review intentionally brought literature from beyond the borders of the UK, recognising that human trafficking is a transnational process rather than a nationally bound and one-off event in the lives of young people. As such, the approach went beyond 'methodological nationalism' which can take a nation state as the natural social and political form, focussing on one country and neglecting simultaneous ties beyond those countries' borders (Wimmer and Schiller, 2002:302). Researchers can unconsciously define research topics within their own 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991) and this tendency is migration studies has been necessary challenged (Anderson, 2019). A global call for grey literature in English, French, Spanish and Russian through ECPAT UK's international network reinforced this approach, with responses from eight countries. This global call is not explored herein as these contributions had less focus on specific outcomes.

To understand what positive outcomes might look like, and in the knowledge that outcomes are missing from UK debates, a systematic scoping review of international literature was undertaken to understand what outcomes were already known within evidence on human trafficking. Systematic scoping reviews are useful in 'reconnaissance' of literature, to both clarify working definitions and conceptual boundaries in complex or heterogenous bodies of literature (Peters *et al.,* 2015). They help consider the availability of literature where there are constraints on time and where pragmatic choices need to be made, which in this case meant searching peer-reviewed literature only and, in this instance, limiting the search to only systematic or authoritative reviews. This is an important limitation given the relative youth of trafficking literature and, as yet, limited number of systematic reviews available on this topic. Scoping reviews also do not email assessment of the quality of literature, a further limitation. This scoping review drew out a multitude of outcomes on human trafficking of children, young people and adults plus systematic reviews from cognate, trafficking-adjacent topics. This previously unpublished scoping review incorporated features of systematic review procedures to ensure a thorough, robust, reliable and transparent review process (Bryman, 2012), parts of which were included the final public report of the study (Hynes *et al.,* 2022).

Searches[7] were conducted of English language, peer-reviewed literature between January 2017 and December 2021, a time range designed to capture recent and relevant literature but not to the exclusion of landmark publications prior to these dates. Inclusion and exclusion criteria were drawn up and refined. Seven electronic databases were searched – Medline, SocINDEX, PsychINFO,

---

[7] Search terms were discussed within the research team and Expert Reference Group meetings.

CINAHL, ERIC, the Cochrane Library and the Campbell Collaboration. Using PRISMA guidelines[8], articles were yielded from the seven electronic databases, screened by Title and Abstract by two reviewers (PH and LD) and assessed for relevance (Figure 1). Of the 878 articles initially yielded, 69 systematic reviews met and were retained for inclusion.

[Insert Figure 1]

Data from the included systematic reviews were then organised into major themes using a framework analysis and by charting data configured around the geographical reach, themes, aims, methodology, sample characteristics, findings on outcomes and overall key findings from these reviews. Whether children's views had been included in these reviews was an additional part of this charting process.

The participatory workshops were necessarily held within the borders of the UK, with young people who had been through this transnational process. The study followed a participatory approach (Lundy, 2007; Warrington, 2020). This involved 20 participatory workshops with 31 young people aged between 15 to 25[9] years in three locations across England and Scotland between April and June 2022. Participants were accessed through three voluntary sector organisations with pre-existing groups of young people who were operating outside of funded service provisions associated with NRM referrals for children. The nationalities of young people who participated included Afghanistan, Albania, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Sudan, Vietnam and Sierra Leone. Discussion of outcomes as future occurrences was at times complex, with outcomes sometimes hard to envisage given the protracted and difficult processes young people were navigating. Outcomes ultimately identified were interconnected, rarely linear and linked to the structures of their lives but outcomes identified were all seen as important for achieving a positive long-term future, with individual outcomes not confined within what was considered by young people to be artificial temporal constructs of short, medium or long term timeframes.

Both Lundy's (2007) model of participation and Warrington's (2020) suggestions of 'protection through participation' when working with young people were influential in the design and delivery of the workshops. The workshops were run by both a therapist based within ECPAT UK and members of the research team. The group-based workshops were designed to create a safe and enabling environment which ensured informed consent was fully incorporated from the start. Some, but not all, of the young people knew each other prior to these workshops. A child-centred and trauma-informed approach was facilitated by the therapist, using a toolkit approach which included a range of arts, talking, storytelling, drawing, collage, writing and multimedia-based activities to explore key themes such as protection and outcomes. This toolkit approach enabled working with young people with diverse experiences and was highly responsive to their views and preferences during the sessions. The workshops on outcomes looked at the needs, support available and what young people considered to be desired outcomes. Overall, the approach was to work within spaces of possibility, allowing young people the freedom to create visual, written[10] or audio materials of their choosing.

Workshop sessions were selectively audio recorded and fully transcribed, then coded and analysed using Nvivo12 social sciences software. This is a method regularly used for identifying,

---

[8] Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines. For more information, visit: http://www.prisma-statement.org/

[9] This age range was adopted to reflect leaving care entitlements up to age 21 or 25 if in higher education.

[10] See for example: Love in Action (18 October 2022) *Children and Young People Now,* view at: Love in action | CYP Now

analysing and highlighting themes and patterns within data, involving coding and memoing of qualitative data (Silverman, 201: 228, 293). Qualitative data was then analysed until a saturation point had been reached and then distilled, and from this the whole project team developed a list of outcomes and then specific indicators, moving backwards and forwards through transcript materials, research team notes and discussions (Bryman, 2012). Contributions from young people were grouped according to the UNCRC's General Principles, shown in the centre of the final CSF-POF. Outcomes devised were therefore centred around rights, set out in the first person from quotes generated during the workshops. They related to how young people viewed their own progress, lived experiences and the main goals they wished to achieve. The achievement of outcomes was understood to be relational, contextual and situationally contingent. A wrap-up participation workshop was then held with young people to enable feedback on the framework developed.

The literature review and qualitative accounts were analysed separately but simultaneously, with separate coding frameworks developed for data management. The strategy of triangulation of sources (Denzin, 2009) and subsequent analysis to synthesise the separate findings allowed for comparisons to be highlighted. It also allowed for the possibility of a CSF-POF to be developed both deductively (around the aims of the research) and inductively (around emergent topics and thematic analysis of transcripts). Bringing these two sources of data together in this way led to a key finding, to be discussed hereafter, that the predominant focus on negative outcomes within available literature lay in contrast to the ways young people discussed and envisage their futures, with a much greater emphasis on their strengths and capabilities.

[Insert Figure 2]

This 'convergent parallel design' (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011) allowed for synthesis and interpretation from internationally informed systematic reviews and qualitative data directly from the transcripts of young people who had international backgrounds in the UK. It also allowed for triangulation of sources and the benefits of methodological triangulation (see Figure 2). From this a range of themese emerged, highlighting the nature of human trafficking in the international evidence bases, the variability of the term 'outcomes' therein and a limited focus on positive outcomes.

The Nature and Focus of Human Trafficking and Outcomes in the International Evidence-base

Human trafficking and 'modern slavery' are young topics, with literature mainly emerging over the past two decades following the widespread uptake of the 2000 Trafficking Protocol (Gallagher, 2015). This literature is often exploratory, qualitative, predominantly descriptive, fragmented and lacking in prevalence or any accurate quantitative basis (Cockbain *et al.,* 2018). As Cockbain *et al.* outline, this literature is dominated by reports from official agencies and peer-reviewed outputs are comparatively rare. Internationally, the sexual exploitation of females has historically dominated this topic to date. The size of the body of evidence can be described as limited but growing, reflecting global and public concerns. There are, however, rich and nuanced accounts of human trafficking which form part of this young topic, but any critical appraisal of the evidence-base would also highlight how there is a lack of studies exploring the perspectives of those who have experienced trafficking and, in the case of the UK, are moving through support structures (Brodie *et al.,* 2018). Few papers break down the process of human trafficking into pre-, during and post-trafficking (for an exception see Graham *et al.,* 2019). Most evidence tended to come from post-trafficking contexts through engagement with service providers, including in post-repatriation contexts.

A striking feature of this literature is considerable definitional variance, inconsistency around the meaning of the term 'outcomes' and the variability of outcome measures used within individual studies on human trafficking, which makes quantitative comparisons across studies difficult (Albright *et al.,* 2019; Batomen Kuimi *et al.,* 2018; Cannon *et al.,* 2016; Dell *et al.,* 2019; Garg *et al.,* 2020; Graham *et al.,* 2019; Hemmings *et al,* 2016; Ibrahim *et al,* 2018; Knight *et al.,* 2021; Laird *et al,* 2020; Malhorta and Elnakib, 2021; Moynihan *et al.,* 2018a,b; Ottisova *et al,* 2016; Simkhada *et al,* 2018; Such *et al,* 2020). Forrester has reflected on the 'crucial' and 'ubiquitous' nature of calls for 'outcomes' in children's social care, with calls ever-present but also fraught with challenges, and with a lack of consensus on which outcomes should be brought together (Forrester, 2017:152, 144). Forrester (2017) delineates four types of outcomes – measures of the quality of the service provided, assessments around who to work with, client-defined measures of change and development of appropriate standardised instruments. Forrester also outlines two key challenges, firstly the sheer variety of outcome measures available and, secondly, who decides what outcomes should be measured are discussed. The tension between service user-defined and expert measures is outlined as a recurring theme, with user-defined measures found to be both helpful and valid.

Human trafficking literature provides very limited evidence on the effectiveness of interventions, actual impacts or explicit theories of change that depict pathways to desired outcomes (Bryant and Joudo, 2015; Bryant and Landman, 2020; ICAI, 2020). As Bryant and Landman (2020) suggest, anti-trafficking organisations focus on implementation and outputs rather than outcomes or impact. For example, Dell *et al.* (2019) consider exit and post exit interventions for survivors of human trafficking, finding sparse evidence available and low quality, poorly designed studies that do not take into acount the complexities and needs of trafficking survivors. When looking at interventions that foster healing among sexually exploited children and adolescents, Moynihan *et al.* (2018a) sought to understand what outcomes data was available. Some validated measures were found to be regularly used such as the Rosenberg Self Esteem scale, some outcomes were found to be largely subjective, others related to proportional changes within populations akin to those used in the SDGs. In other words, the level of detail and quality of outcomes differs, from simple specific outcomes to more nuanced, complex and multifaceted foci.

Searching the international literature that focussed on both human trafficking and outcomes revealed how health related outcomes dominate (for example see Albright *et al,* 2019). A limited number of systematic reviews with an explicit focus on children and young people related to facilitators and barriers to healthcare services for child survivors of human trafficking (Albright *et al.,* 2019), child labour and health (Batomen Kuimi *et al.,* 2018; Ibrahim *et al.,* 2018) and what works to prevent child marriage, with its associated hazards, high rates of early pregnancies, child and adult mortality or morbidity and intimate partner violence (IPV) during adolescence (Malhorta and Elnakib*,* 2021). Within this international trafficking-related literature there is a considerable range of mainly negative outcomes and, within the health focussed literature, a plethora of adverse physical and mental health sequalae detailed. These include depression, anxiety, PTSD, work related injuries, conditions due to workplace toxic exposures including exposure to extreme heat and chemicals, poor nutritional outcomes such as anaemia and wasting, behaviour and emotional disorders and high rates of early pregnancies and IPV during adolescence. When accessing healthcare, additional challenges were identified for foreign national children beyond those experienced by domestically born children (Albright *et al.,* 2019). The most common barriers at the survivor level involved feelings of shame and stigma and/or fear, making survivors reluctant to disclose and/or hold a fear of repercussions from policy, traffickers, immigration officials and healthcare providers (Albright *et al.,* 2019). Child labour is already framed as a major public health concern in low- and middle-income countries

(LMICs) and is also associated with such adverse physical and mental health outcomes (Ibrahim *et al.*, 2018). Ibrahim *et al.* (2018) also outline how child labour is associated with one or more forms of child abuse.

Further systematic and authoritative reviews with an explicit focus on human trafficking sometimes included both adults and children and, again and perhaps understandably given the public health antecedents of systematic reviews, most focussed health, healthcare and health outcomes (Cannon *et al.*, 2016; Garg *et al.*, 2020; Hemmings *et al.*, 2016; Simkhada *et al.*, 2018; Such *et al.*, 2020[11]). Ottisova *et al.* (2016) focussed on the prevalence and risk of violence and abuse as well as associated health problems during and post-trafficking.

The limited trafficking-related literature beyond a healthcare focus was then considered, with reviews relating to labour exploitation (Cockbain *et al.*, 2018), resilience in survivors of human trafficking (Knight *et al.*, 2021), measures for evaluating sex trafficking aftercare and support (Graham *et al.*, 2019), exit and post-exit interventions (Dell *et al.*, 2019) and social work research on human trafficking (Okech *et al.*, 2018). The search brought fragmented and disparate aspects of this topic together from which a meaningful structure emerged during analysis. Human trafficking is sometimes embedded in cognate and trafficking-adjacent literature such as children in armed conflict and during migration (Markkula *et al*, 2018; Timshel *et al*, 2017) again within health-specific related reviews (Ba and Bhopal, 2017; de Jong *et al.*, 2017; Fellmeth *et al*, 2018; Jud *et al.*, 2020; Kadir *et al.*, 2019).

Importantly, Jud *et al.* (2020) reviewed the epidemiology of violence against children (VAC) before, on and after their migration journeys, concluding that the discrepancy between the importance of the topic and dearth of data on why and how violence occurred was striking. Their finding in relation to post-migration outcomes included legal barriers, outcomes around traumatic experiences, barriers to integration and economic inequalities. None of the systematic reviews specifically on children during processes of migration included discussion of human trafficking or modern slavery, with only passing reference to exploitation in one review (Jud *et al.*, 2020). Terms on human trafficking were rarely included as search terms, highlighting the separation of literatures about different categories of children on the move. However, terms such as 'irregular' and pejorative labels such as 'illegal' and 'clandestine' did feature in searches, highlighting perceptions of child migration.

Children outside family care in LMICs was another area with embedded discussion of human trafficking (Ager *et al.*, 2012; Boothby *et al*, 2012). These included 'children of and on the street', 'trafficked children' and children affected by conflict, disaster and those exploited for their labour who experienced adverse developmental outcomes (Boothby *et al.*, 2012). McTavish *et al* (2020) discussed child maltreatment, including a screening instrument on 'child sex trafficking' with questions such as 'has the youth ever run away from home?'. The literature on child sexual exploitation (CSE) also has a focus on children going missing from home as a key indicator. CSE is a form of child sexual abuse (CSA) distinguished in the UK by the presence of some form of exchange between a 'victim' and 'perpetrator' or 'facilitator' (Beckett *et al*., 2017). Internationally, although having no unified global definition, CSE is widely considered to be a subtype of human trafficking (Laird *et al.*, 2020). In the UK, discourse around CSE has developed separately to human trafficking over time with practice responses to CSE largely focussed on UK-born children. Likewise, internationally, child or early marriage is considered to be a form of human trafficking, featuring in global statistics (Malhorta and Elnakib, 2021). In the UK, there is a separate governmental Forced Marriage Unit which includes those below 18 years of age so referrals tend not to be made to the NRM for this form of trafficking.

---

[11] The review from Such *et al.* was the only review on 'modern slavery' and was in the form of a rapid evidence assessment to explore the case for a public health approach to 'modern slavery' in the UK.

The search included a consideration of 'what works' across human trafficking and other associated trafficking-adjacent complex issues, with a recognition of the value of cognate topics that have evolved over time and thereby have more evidence of an 'experimental' or systematic type available (Sorensen and Consoli, 2022; Zimmerman *et al.,* 2015). These complex issues included reviews on Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) (Hughes *et al.,* 2017; Lester *et al.*, 2020; Marie-Mitchell and Kostolansky, 2019), violence against children (VAC) (UNICEF, 2017; WHO, 2020), violence against women (VAW) or violence against women and girls (VAWG) (Guedes, 2016; Fulu *et al.*, 2017; Jewkes, 2017; Jewkes *et al.,* 2020; Kerr-Wilson *et al.,* 2020; Murphy *et al.,* 2019), interpersonal violence (IPV) (Bailey *et al.,* 2018; Marrs-Fuchsel and Brummet, 2020) and 'what works' to prevent Sexual Violence Against Children (SVAC) (Ligiero *et al.*, 2019). It is notable that within the VAWG literature, more is known about 'what works' and it has been established over the past 20 years in associated 'what works' programmes that VAWG is preventable (Kerr-Wilson *et al.,* 2020). There is still not, however, consensus on gold standard outcomes in VAWG studies.

A key development in literature on VAC and VAW is how they intersect in multiple ways – around shared risk factors, social norms, co-occurrence of different forms of violence, inter-generational effects, plus common and compounding consequences (Guedes, 2016). VAC and VAW also intersect at adolescence where there may be elevated vulnerabilities to violence both inside and outside the home (Maternowska *et al.,* 2020). VAC and VAW have historically been siloed from each other, with VAC work through a lens of protection and welfare and VAW more often focus on rights, empowerment and public health approaches (Maternowska *et al.*, 2020). Future suggested synergies, particularly through a focus on adolescent girls – or 'the girl in the middle' (2020:6) – of these two approaches could be key area for human trafficking research, although not restricted to only females (Moynihan *et al.,* 2018b). Shared risk factors, the co-occurrence of different forms of violence and compounding consequences are pertinent to human trafficking and its intersections with other forms of violence.

Context matters when looking at the causes and consequences of human trafficking. Across all the literature the need for a socio-ecological and further contextual understandings were a common theme in literature for adults and children (UNICEF, 2020). Context also matters too fully understand CSE and how young people may have limited or 'constrained choices' to meet their needs when other means are not available (Beckett *et al.,* 2017:17). This socio-ecological approach has also been used to view risks located outside the home environment and a requirement to shift management of risk within the wider community (Beckett *et al.,* 2017; Firmin, 2020). Such 'contextual safeguarding' (Firmin, 2020) that draws on socio-ecological models holds the benefit of extending traditional views of child maltreatment within the family home of young children to older children, which is of particular relevance to known trafficking cases in the UK.

Young People Reinforced Negative and Discriminatory Experiences

The legal barriers, barriers to integration and economic inequalities highlighted by Jud *et al.* (2020) were recognised by the young people involved in workshops. Young people described how they had had what experienced what Sundbäck has called 'chains of small disappointments' or a 'culmination of bitter experiences' in their everyday interactions and encounters, impacting on their abilities to trust systems and professionals encountered (2024:17). The final report of the study detailed how barriers to positive outcomes were identified by young people as structural, systemic and discriminatory (Hynes *et al.,* 2022). Some young peole highlighted specific instances of overt discrimination such as one 16 year old who was requesting to be moved from age-inappropriate acommodation they had to share with much older adults:

> *'I used to go every single day to the social work office and talking to … the manager of the social workers. That's what he told me, 'why don't you go back to your country?'. That's what he say …'*

Such bordered encounters with professionals reflect broader narratives around migration in the UK and young people were very aware of the difficulties and endurance involved of living in the resulting 'policy-imposed liminality' this placed in their lives, including protracted processes and awaiting legal status within immigration, criminal justice and social care systems in the UK (Hynes, 2011). Young people were also conscious of the exclusions this meant for them, commenting on the enabling power of having a legal documents:

> *'… once you get here, for you to actually pursue your dream as a young person, in this country you need to be stable. For you to be stable, you need your documents…'*

> *'I don't have paper. Not free. Still in prison.'*

Young people's unfreedoms were continuously visible, particularly when transitioning into 'adulthood' in the UK and where 'politically-induced precarity' emerges (Chase, 2020). It is at this stage/age that two life-changing transitions simultaneously occur – adolescence and immigration – both of which are life-altering transitions. As with the focus in VAC and VAW literature on protective and then empowering lenses, a transition between protective child protection services and services for adults was keenly felt by young people. For human trafficking and known exploitation of both boys and girls, rather than the 'girl in the middle' this should make reference to the child or young person in the middle. This transitional age was apparent for young people, recounting numerous barriers to achieving positive outcomes, particularly for those with protracted immigration and asylum processes ongoing. As one young person outlined:

> *'… because technically at that point you're vulnerable, you're reaching, like depending on a whole adult to do all the things for you but when you are like, say, aged 17, 18, your thinking is then all about 'my status, my status' because especially at 17, 18, that's it, you're not relieved, it isn't like that. … But then you can't go to university without papers, you can't even go to college. Some college turn me down.'*

The protracted systems these young people found themselves presented clear barriers, as this young person, unable to go to university and also formally excluded from student finance arrangements found. Here capabilities are being imagined, envisaged but also thwarted and room for expanding real freedoms and the right to have rights that others enjoy being denied in practice. Article 2 of the UNCRC on non-discrimination makes a direct link with education which young people considered was unequally accessible.

A Limited Focus on Positive Outcomes

As can be seen above, internationally, the evidence-base on human trafficking-related and trafficking-adjacent literature mainly focusses on the many negative outcomes, negative sequalae and negative consequences of trafficking, with a few notable exceptions (see for example Knight *et al.,* 2021 on survivor resilience). Studies with children and young people, although viewed through a protective lens, tended to focus on risk rather than protective factors in their lives. However, it is notable that in the more mature 'what works' literature it has been found that VAWG is preventable with identified core elements known to support successful interventions. At present, there is an absence of work that considers the possibility of longer term and more positive outcomes, strengths and capabilities post-trafficking.

Research into human capabilities include Amartya Sen's seminal work on a 'capabilities approach' and development 'as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy' (Sen, 1999:3). As Sen outlines, such freedoms are dependent on social and economic arrangements such as facilities available for health and education, as well as the political and civil rights to, for example, have access to the labour market. For Sen, development requires the removal of 'unfreedoms' such as enforced exclusions from rights. This seminal focus on 'capabilities' relates to an expansion of freedoms as basic building blocks with attention paid to the expansion of the 'capabilities' a person has in order to lead the kind of lives they value (Ibid., 1999:18). The overall focus on expanding freedoms is relevant to discussions around creating spaces for possibility and possibilities. There is a distinction within Sen's capabilities approach between capabilities – the valuable things in life that individuals can actually *do* and *be* – and functioning which relate to realised states of *being* and *doing*, or outcomes in practice of what people actually manage to do or be (Burchardt and Vizard, 2011; Chase, 2020). This is also a relevant approach for young people who have experienced trafficking as the normative values of Sen's capabilities approach align with what young people valued and outlined as positive. Authors have drawn on Sen's capability approach to assess wellbeing[12] and a range of other topics and this approach has considerable future research potential.

Heyeres *et al.* (2021) looked at the wellbeing of migrant youths, focussing on Nussbaum's (2000, 2002, 2011) capabilities approach for assessing the wellbeing of individuals, which itself drew on and expanded Sen's work. This approach considered migrant youth capabilities – real opportunities based on personal and social circumstances – what migrant youth are able to do or be. Examples included being healthy, moving, reading, writing, and taking part in community life. This approach also considers the kind of life young migrants can pursue and are able to lead, implying wellbeing is based on what they do in the present as well as the future. It is argued that the freedom to achieve wellbeing is of primary importance. Reported outcomes centred around improving young migrants' psychological and emotional wellbeing, economic empowerment, and education and employment outcomes through creative, sports, empowerment and skills-based interventions and/or individual or group based therapies. Positive outcomes such as feelings of belonging, increased life satisfaction and hope were seen as improving wellbeing.

Also in a break from systematic reviews which consider many negative aspects of migration and/or children's lives during migration, Deng *et al.* (2021) examine children's behavioural agency within families in the context of migration. They outlined how children may change their behaviour in order to exercise agency to respond to migration of family members or themselves. However, there is again no mention of human trafficking, modern slavery or exploitation within the review or search terms except one example of children's agency in domestic labour wherein children's agency may be considered unwelcome due to the image of child labour. Calls for trauma-focussed, victim-centred and rights-based approaches to care were aligned with calls for measures used in outcomes studies to be tailored, culturally and contextually relevant to survivors (Hemmings *et al.,* 2016; Knight *et al.,* 2021; Okech *et al.,* 2018).

Young People's Focus on Positive Outcomes

The predominant focus on negative outcomes found in the literaure stood in stark contrast to evidence generated during workshops with young people and the ways they spoke about, imagined and envisaged their futures in positive ways. Young people spoke about possibilities, aspirations, overcoming the life challenges of living in the UK and how drawing on their own personal histories

---

[12] See for example the Multidimensional Inequality Framework (MIF) developed by Oxfam and academics to provide a systematic approach to measuring and analysing inequalities – view at: mif-framework-0719.pdf (lse.ac.uk)

gave them strength. Without over-romanticising the role of resilience (Knight *et al.,* 2021) or young people being able to overcome structural barriers, it was of note that the young people in workshops, who held resolved legal status after many years waiting, were able to reflect on their immediate histories. One young person, speaking at the launch of the final report said:

> *'I went through the process and it has made me stronger.'*

This brave reflection on time spent waiting, delays in education, dealing with an array of professionals and practitioners, being excluded from many of the rights and entitlements other children received reflects Knight *et al.*'s (2021) review of resilience in survivors of human trafficking, finding resilience in trafficking cases to be largely similar to other kinds of victimisation.

Young people discussed the search for safety and protection as being paramount:

> *'Yes, so when you are in transit, so you didn't feel like you are safe.'*

> *'When you are at home you feel safety you know? Because we have been living in, living in many different places.'*

Actively finding protection was detailed as the first step to safety, but also to education, healthcare, friendships and wider social networks to allow for some sense of belonging to develop:

> *'I feel like as a new person in a new country you basically don't know how the country works or how the system works so you don't know anything, you don't know anyone in the country, you're new or even if you know someone in the country, you technically don't have an idea, so community first, like it needs to be safe for life in general, even for me because I've been in a difficult situation…'*

This need for a safe network was emphasised, with young people detailing how their friends and wider social networks enabled them to know who to trust, including trust in professionals:

> *'If you don't trust, you don't ask for protection.'*

> *"… that's one of the protections, having people that you trust around you and having people who tell you who to trust and not trust.'*

Children and young people who had access to independent Guardians, acting in their best interests, commented on their beneficial role in helping them navigate systems and process in the UK, as well as advise them on such safe networks. Such relationship-based work was repeatedly highlighted when young people were talking about professionals:

> *'The guardian I think is really important for young people … they have like special experience with young people. Even the way they talk with the young people … that's really important and really special. They listen … and they give you advice and they help you if you have a problem or if you need any help.'*

Coming to the UK was discussed as being a 'life challenge' or challenging part of their lives. For example, one young person spoke about how they had 'fought' to stay in the country:

> *'… your history becomes your protection, so I think it's a bit kind of deep knowing that what I've been through in the past, I've fought to – because I got to stay in this country and get my stay…'*

Throughout, young people reflected on their initial motivations for travel and how their previous lives had given them the strengths and bravery to continue, despite subsequent experiences they had encountered en-route and/or within the UK. Learning the unwritten rules in the UK while actively looking for protection was part of this life challenge given a lack of close or extended family relations:

> *'Yeah, in a new country you don't know the rules, you don't know who you have to be protected from. Maybe back home you have friends and family around and you feel always protected, you had cousins and that's how it works in my country, your cousins, they're like your brothers, they protect you everywhere.'*

This was directly related to educational opportunities with the possibilities of achieving their aims through education as a strong theme. Education was also seen as providing a feeling of safety and protection, wherein young people were not only being protected through safeguarding structures but also the protection of wider services associated with education. As one young person recounted:

> *'Yeah, I feel like where you're studying, you feel like your future is being protected.'*

Young people talked about entering the school system as being much more than advancing education – it was also about learning how systems work as well as the norms, values and unwritten rules young people were encountering in the UK. As ne young person recounted:

> *'When you first come here, school or education* [is important] *because on the education they're going to learn about the system of the UK and they're going to know about what they have to do and what the government have to do so they know their rights.'*

During analysis it became clear that Article 6 of the UNCRC on the right to life, survival and development had gleaned a particularly strong response from young people, generating a high proportion of total data coded, and suggesting that the social development aspect of these young people's lives was particularly neglected. Young people discussed wanting a stable, healthy and safe life. They also outlined how they wanted access to education, to achieve their dreams and fulfil their own aspirations. They discussed wanting to grow into being an adult with confidence and without fear. There remains little evidence on how experiences of trafficking affect children's physical, emotional and social development.

There is a lot to learn about what works well for children and young people and in what context. However, it is apparent that a vital part of this are children's voices to address the UNCRC rights to personal development currently lacking for these young people, but also to promote narratives looking at longer term and more positive outcomes that better reflect desired trajectories. As one young person participating in the workshops proudly commented:

> *'And these young people, they're going to be someone in the future and they're going to give back all that help that they got from this government and it's very important for young people and support workers to know all of this.'*

And, succinctly, another young person, speaking at the launch of the final report declared:

> *'I am here to contribute, not to just eat, drink and sleep.'*

Young people wanted to create stable futures for themselves and others, they wanted to be young leaders, doctors, lawyers and be able to give to the community around they lived in as outlined by another young person:

> *'I might have got support at the beginning but I want to give back that to the country.'*

In the literature on trafficking, participation of children and young people is weak. Article 12 of the UNHCR on the right to participation was considered essential by young people and closely related to trust and being listened to:

> *'Trust is 100% very important. I trusted her so much that I would share any problem with her* [social worker] *and she would support me, give me advice.'*

The aspirations, strengths and capabilities, hopes and dreams of young people in the workshops were ultimately detailed in a CSF-POF, anchored in their own words, ideas, lives, UNCRC rights and associated outcomes and indicators considered necessary to achieve their own goals. The final version of the CSF-POF devised consisted of 25 outcomes and 86 indicators set out around the four General Principles of the UNCRC[13]. For example, outcomes identified under Article 6 around personal development included: 'I am safe', 'I feel safe', 'I can achieve and have dreams' and 'I can grow into being an adult with confidence and without fear'. This is the first-time young people who have experienced trafficking have identified what outcomes are important and meaningful to them and what they would need to see for positive and meaningful changes to happen in their lives and the lives of others, now and in the future.

Conclusions

This paper has reflected on how international literature on human trafficking and trafficking-adjacent literature mainly focusses on negative outcomes, negative health sequalae and the many negative consequences of trafficking. This body of work has been compared to a participatory study working with young people who had experienced trafficking but who had clear visions and aspirations around building futures that would contribute to society, based on their capabilities, strengths and endurance of complex and often protracted social care, immigration and criminal justice processes in the UK While experiencing disbelief, discrimination and hostile policies, young people in this study belied negative outcomes detailed in international literature by being positive and doing what they could within the constraints of their environments while moving on from passive and active betrayals often inherent in accounts of human trafficking. However, important questions remain about how everyday encounters with professionals are impacted by the UK's hostile policies, and whether relationships of trust are lost in the process.

This contrast is particularly salient as it suggests that the existing evidence-base misses a focus on positive outcomes that may emerge post-trafficking. It illustrates how young people did not want to be defined, or have their lives constrained, solely through negative or 'thin' stories which render them to be irretrievably traumatised by their past experiences, deny spaces of possibility to overcome these experiences, deny agency, deny hopeful futures and/or reflect the complex realities of their lives. This missed perspective is about what might be achieved if basic opportunities, based on capabilities, were made available to these young people.

This finding offers a key insight into a relatively unexplored aspect of human trafficking, that between the often-used terms of 'victim' and 'survivor' there are thicker, more nuanced and more positive

---

[13] View Appendix 6 of project final report at: Download.ashx (ecpat.org.uk) – see also the CSF-POF at: Download.ashx (ecpat.org.uk)

accounts of how young people speak about and imagine their futures. The study ultimately produced a *Creating Stable Futures – Positive Outcomes Framework* (CSF-POF) based on a participatory approach and what was considered meaningful to these young people, demonstrating that children's voices are possible and vital as well as balancing these with the universal rights included in the UNCRC. These included rights to personal development and day-to-day freedoms currently lacking but available to other children and young people not experiencing hostile environment policies. This CSF-POF is intended to be a holistic tool with implications for policy and practice and could be used in mulitple ways. In line with calls for service planning and provision to be informed by the views and experiences of service users (Forrester, 2017), this tool could be considered across social care, social work, policing, immigration and other professions to allow frontline workers to 'tune in' to the needs of young people. At an individual level, as an empowerment tool when working with young people who are wanting to move forward with their lives. There is also scope for use as a harm prevention tool when discussing risks and future potential harms with children and young people during assessments, pathway planning and referrals into the NRM. In line with calls to improve administrative data processes in the UK that are sensitive to children's views and experiences (Feinstein *et al.,* 2021), it could also influence data collection processes for children and young people within the NRM. Local authorities could conduct case audit reviews to determine if children are achieving positive outcomes post human trafficking. At a policy level its use could help determine the potential or impact of policy initiatives. Overall, the CSF-POF could prevent further harms and risks associated with human trafficking and/or re-trafficking while also ensuring a positive focus is maintained for these young people.

In the UK there has been a recent and welcome 'survivor turn' (Hynes, *et al.,* 2022) towards survivor involvement in generating knowledge and this is starting to highlight knowledge of the lived experiences of trafficking, Children and young people have the right to be heard and participate, have their views given weight in matters affecting them and be able to develop their lives and contribute to society. The CSF-POF promotes this with clear outcomes and associated indicators to achieve these rights in practice. The 25 outcomes young people wanted to achieve are, on the face of it, wholly reasonable suggestions for any child or young person. These outcomes also reflect what young people felt were lacking in term of the lack of rights afforded to them. Human trafficking is a complex and relatively young topic for social scientists but, from this study and reflecting on the turn towards 'survivor' knowledge, questions remain around how more traditional forms of research will sit alongside this emerging turn.

Operationalising this framework can therefore be a next step to address these neglected aspects of the lives of young people. The CSF-POF represents what possibilities in post-trafficking contexts look like for young people. These findings shed new light on the anticipated lives of young people affected by human trafficking, laying the groundwork for future research into aspirations, a capabilities approach and how positive outcomes for these young people can be promoted in practice and policy.

Article: 8,939 words
Title, abstract, article, tables and references: [9,292 words] [12,283 words, including title, abstract, tables and references]

and helpful comments during the drafting of this paper. Most importantly, without the young people who participated in this project and organisations who supported them, this paper could not have been written.

Declaration of Interest Statement

The author reports there are no competing interests to declare.

References

Ager, A., Zimmerman, C., Unlu, K., Rinehard, R., Nyberg, B., Zeanahr, C., Hunleth, J., Bastiaens, A., Weldy, A., Bachman, G., Blum, A.B. & Strottman, K. (2012) What strategies are appropriate for monitoring children outside of family care and evaluating the impact of the programs intended to serve them? *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 36:732-742.

Albright, K., Greenbaum, J., Edwards S.A. and Tsai, C. (2019) Systematic review of facilitators of, barriers to, and recommendations for healthcare services for child survivors of human trafficking globally. Child Abuse & Neglect. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104289.

Allsopp, J. and Chase, E. (2019) Best Interests, Durable Solutions and Belonging: Future Prospects for Unaccompanied Migrants Coming of Age in Europe, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies Special Issue: Undocumented and Unaccompanied Minors,* 45(2):293-311.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities,* Verso, London.

Anderson, B. (2019) New Directions in Migration Studies: Towards Methodological De-nationalism, *Comparative Migration Studies,* 7(36):1-13.

Ba, I. and Bhopal, R.S. (2017) Physical, mental and social consequences in civilians who have experienced war-related sexual violence: A systematic review (1981-2014), *Public Health,* 142:121-135.

Bailey, K., Trevillion, K. and Gilchrist, G. (2019) What works for whom and why: A narrative systematic review of interventions for reducing post-traumatic disorder and problematic substance use among women with experiences of interpersonal violence, *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment,* 99:88-103.

Batomen Kuimi, B.L., Oppong-Nkruman, O., Kaufman, J., Nazif-Munoz, J.I. & Nandi, A. (2018) Child labour and health: a systematic review, *International Journal of Public Health,* 63:663-672.

Beckett, H., Holmes, D. & Walker, J. (2017) *Child Sexual Exploitation: Definition and guide for practitioners, local leaders and decision makers working to protect children from child sexual exploitation – extended text,* Department for Education, University of Bedfordshire, Research in Practice, UK.

Bhabha, J. (2016) *Child Migration and Human Rights in a Global Age,* Princeton University Press, New Jersey, USA.

Bhabha, J. (2009) Arendt's Children: Do Today's Migrant Children Have a Right to Have Rights?, *Human Rights Quarterly,* 31(2): 410-451.

Boothby, N., Wessells, M., Williamson, J., Huebner, G., Canter, K., Rolland, E.G., Kutlesic, V., Bader, F., Diaw, L., Levine, M., Malley, A., Michels, K., Pateli, S., Rasa, T., Ssewamala, F. & Walker, V. (2012) What are the most effective early response strategies and interventions to assess and address the immediate needs of children outside of family care? *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 36:711-721.

Bovarnick, S. (2010) How do you define a 'trafficked child'? A discursive analysis of practitioners' perceptions around child trafficking, *Youth & Policy,* 104:80-96.

Brodie, I., Spring, D., Hynes, P., Burland, P., Dew, J., Gani-Yusuf, L., Tran, H.T., Lenja, V. and Thurnham, A. (2018) *'Vulnerability' to Human Trafficking: A study of Vietnam, Albania, Nigeria and the UK,* International Organization for Migration (IOM) and University of Bedfordshire.

Bryant, K. and Joudo, B. (2015) *Promising practices: What Works? A review of interventions to combat modern day slavery*, Walk Free Foundation.

Bryant, K. and Landman, T. (2020) Combatting Human Trafficking since Palermo: What Do We Know about What Works?, *Journal of Human Trafficking*, doi:10.1080/23322705.2020.1690097

Bryman, A. (2012) (4th Ed.) *Social Research Methods,* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Burchardt, T. and Vizard, P. (2011) 'Operationalizing' the Capability Approach as a Basis for Equality and Human Rights Monitoring in Twenty-first-century Britain, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities,* 12, doi.org/10.1080/19452829.2011.541790

Cannon, A.C., Arcara, J., Graham, L.M. & Macy, R.J. (2016) Trafficking and health: A systematic review of research methods, *Trauma, Violence & Abuse,* 1-17.

Chase, E. (2020) Transitions, capabilities and wellbeing: How Afghan unaccompanied young people experience becoming 'adult' in the UK and beyond, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 46:2, 439-456.

Chase, E. and Allsopp, J. (2013*) Future citizens of the world: The contested futures of young migrants in Europe*, Refugee Studies Centre working paper No.97, University of Oxford, Oxford.

Cockbain, E., Bowers, K. & Dimitrova, G. (2018) Human trafficking for labour exploitation: the results of a two-phase systematic review mapping the European evidence base and synthesising key scientific research evidence, *Journal of Experimental Criminology,* 14:319-360.

Creswell J and Plano Clark V. (2011) *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*, Sage, Los Angeles.

de Jong, L., Pavlova, M., Winters, M. and Rechel, B. (2017) A systematic literature review on the use and outcome of maternal and child healthcare services by undocumented migrants in Europe, *The European Journal of Public Health,* 27(6):990-997.

Dell, N.A., Maynard, B.R., Born, K.R., Wagner, E., Atkins, B. & House, W., (2019) Helping survivors of human trafficking: A systematic review of exit and postexit interventions, *Trauma, Violence & Abuse.,* 20(2):183-196. doi: 10.1177/1524838017692553.

Deng, Z., Xing, J., Katz, I. and Li, B. (2021) Children's behavioral agency within families in the context of migration: A systematic review, *Adolescent Research Review,* 7:4, 1-61.

Denzin, N.K. (2009) *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods,* Routledge, London and New York.

Feinstein, L., Aleghfeli, Y.K., Buckley, C., Gilhooly, R. and Kohli, R.K.S. (2021) Conceptualising and Measuring Levels of Risk by Immigration Status for Children in the UK, *Contemporary Social Science,* 16(5):538-555.

Fellmeth, G., Rose-Clark, K., Zhao, C., Busert, L.K., Zheng, Y., Massazza, A., Sonmez, H., Eder, B., Blewitt, A., Lertgrai, W., Orcutt, M., Ricci, K., Mohamed-Ahmed, O., Burns, R., Knipe, D., Hargreaves, S., Hesketh, T., Opondo, C., and Devakumar, D. (2018) Health impacts of parental migration on left-behind children and adolescents: A systematic review and meta-analysis, *Lancet,* 392:2567=82.

Finch, N. (2014) *Always migrants, sometimes children*, Coram Legal Centre, London.

Firmin, C. (2020) *Contextual Safeguarding and Child Protection: Rewriting the Rules,* Routledge, Oxon and New York.

Forrester, D. (2017) Outcomes in Children's Social Care, *Journal of Children's Services,* 12(2/3):144-157.

Fulu, E., McCook, S. and Falb, K. (2017) *What Works Evidence Review: Intersections of violence against women and violence against children,* What Works to Prevent Violence against Women and Girls Programme, South African Medical Research Council, South Africa.

Gallagher, A.T. (2015) Exploitation in Migration: Unacceptable but Inevitable, *Journal of International Affairs,* 68:55–74.

Garg, A., Panda, P., Neudecker, M. & Lee, S. (2020) Barriers to access and utilization of healthcare for trafficked youth: A systematic review, *Child Abuse & Neglect.* Doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104137

Gearon, A. (2019) Child trafficking: Young people's experiences of front-line services in England, *British Journal of Criminology,* 59(2):481-500.

Graham, L.M., Macy, R.J., Eckhardt, A., Rizo, C.F. & Jordan, B.L. (2019) Measures for evaluating sex trafficking aftercare and support services: A systematic review and resource compilation, *Aggression and Violence Behavior,* 47:117-136.

Guedes, A., Bott, S., Garcia-Moreno, C. and Colombini, M. (2016) Bridging the gaps: a global review of intersections of violence against women and violence against children, *Global Health Action,* 9:1-15.

Hemmings, S., Jakobowitz, S., Abas, M. Bick, D., Howard, L.M., Stanley, N., Zimmerman, C. & Oram, S.. Responding to the health needs of survivors of human trafficking: a systematic review. *BMC Health Serv Res* 16, 320 (2016). https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-016-1538-8

Heyeres, M., Perera N., Udah, H., Attakey, A., Whiteside, M. and Tsey, K. (2021) Interventions targeting the wellbeing of migrant youths: A systematic review of the literature, *SAGE Open,* 1-14.

Hughes, K., Bellis, M.A., Hardcastle, K.A., Sethi, D., Butchart, A., Mikton, C., Jones, L. and Dunne, M.P. (2017) The effects of multiple adverse childhood experiences on health: a systematic review and meta-analysis, *Lancet Public Health,* 2, 356-366.

Hynes, P., Connolly, H., Duran, L. with Durr, P., Mater, E. and Haydon, P. (2022), *Creating Stable Futures: Human Trafficking, Participation and Outcomes for Children – Final Report,* Helena Kennedy Centre for International Justice, Sheffield Hallam University, University of Bedfordshire and ECPAT UK.

Hynes, P., Burland, P., Thurnham, A., Dew, J., Gani-Yusuf, L., Lenja, V. and Hong Thi Tran with Olatunde, A. and Gaxha, A., (2019), *'Between Two Fires': Understanding Vulnerabilities and the Support Needs of People from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria who have experienced Human Trafficking into the UK,* University of Bedfordshire and International Organization for Migration (IOM), London.

Hynes, P., (2011), *The Dispersal and Social Exclusion of Asylum Seekers: Between Liminality and Belonging*, Policy Press, Bristol.

Ibrahim, A., Abdall, S.M., Jafer, M., Abdelgardir, J. & de Vries, N. (2018) Child labour and health: a systematic literature review of the impacts of child labor on child's health in low- and middle-income countries, *Journal of Public Health,* 41(1):18-26.

Independent Commission for Aid Impact (ICAI) *The UK's approach to tackling modern slavery through the aid programme*, ICAI, London.

Jewkes, R., Willan, S., Heise, L., Washington, L., Shai, N., Kerr-Wilson, A, Christofides, N. (2020) *Effective design and implementation elements in interventions to prevent violence against women and girls. What Works To Prevent VAWG?* Global Programme Synthesis Product Series. South African Medical Research Council, Pretoria.

Jewkes, R. (2017) *What Works Evidence Review: Social norms and violence against women and girls,* What Works to Prevent Violence against Women and Girls Programme, South African Medical Research Council, South Africa.

Jud, A., Pfeiffer, E. and Jarczok, M. (2020) Epidemiology of violence against children in migration: A systematic literature review, *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 108:1-13.

Kadir, A., Shenoda, S. and Goldhagen, J. (2019) Effects of armed conflict on child health and development: A systematic review. PLoS ONE 14:1-37.

Kerr-Wilson, A., Gibbs, A., McAslan Fraser E., Ramsoomar, L., Parke, A., Khuwaja, HMA and Jewkes, R. (2020). *A rigorous global evidence review of interventions to prevent violence against women and girls,* What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls Global Programme, Pretoria, South Africa.

Knight, L., Xin, Y. & Mengo, C. (2021) A scoping review of resilience in survivors of human trafficking, *Trauma, Violence & Abuse,* 1-15.

La Valle, I. Hart, D., Holmes, S. and Pinto, V.S. (2019) *How do we know if children's social care services make a difference? Development of an outcomes framework*, Nuffield Foundation and Rees Centre, University of Oxford.

Laird, J.J., Klettke, B., Hall, K., Clancy, E. & Hallford, D. (2020) Demographic and Psychosocial Factors Associated with Child Sexual Exploitation: A Systematic Review and Meta-analysis, *JAMA Network Open*, 3(9)1-17.

Lester, S. Kahtwa, M. & Sutcliffe, K. (2020) Service needs of young people affected by adverse childhood experiences (ACEs): A Systematic review of UK qualitative evidence, *Children and Youth Services Review,* 118, 1-18.

Ligiero, D., Hart, C., Fulu, E., Thomas, A. & Radford, L. (2019) *What Works to prevent sexual violence against children: Evidence review,* Together for Girls, The Equality Institute and Oak Foundation.

Lundy, L. (2007) 'Voice' is not enough: Conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations convention on the Rights of the Child, *British Educational Research Journal,* 33(6):927-942.

McTavish, J.R., Gonzalez, A., Santesso, N., MacGregor, J.C.D., McKee, C. & MacMillan, H.L. (2020) Identifying children exposed to maltreatment: a systematic review update, *BMC Pediatrics,* 20(113):1-14

Malhorta, A. & Elnakib, S. (2021) 20 Years of the Evidence Base on What Works to Prevent Child Marriage: A Systematic Review, *Journal of Adolescent Health* 68: 847-862.

Marie-Mitchell, A. & Kostolansky, R. (2019) A Systematic Review of Trials to Improve Child Outcomes Associated With Adverse Childhood Experiences, *American Journal of Preventive Medicine,* 56(5):756−764.

Markkula, N., Cabieses, B., Lehti, V., Uphoff, E., Astorga, S. and Stutzin, F. (2018) Use of health services among international migrant children – a systematic review, *Globalization and Health,* 14(52):1-10.

Marrs Fuchsel, C.L. and Brummett, A. (2020) Intimate partner violence prevention and intervention group format programs for immigrant Latinas: A Literature review, *Jounal of Family Violence,* 36:209-221.

Maternowska, C., Shackel, R.L., Carlson, C. and Levtov, R.G. (2020) The global politics of the age-gender divide in violence against women and children, *Global Public Health,* doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2020.1805783

Morrison, J. and Crosland, B. (2001) *The Trafficking and Smuggling of Refugees: The End Game in European Asylum Policy?* Working Ppaer No.39, New Issues in Refugee Research, UNHCR, Geneva.

Moynihan, M., Pitcher, C. & Saewyc, E. (2018a) Interventions that Foster Healing Among Sexually Exploited Children and Adolescents: A Systematic Review, *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse,* 27(4):403-423.

Moynihan, M., Mitchell, K., Pitcher, C., Havaei, F.,Ferguson, M. & Saewyc, E. (2018b) A systematic review of the state of the literature on sexually exploited boys internationally, *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 76:440-451.

Murphy, M., Hess, T., Casey, J. and Minchew, H. (2019) *What works to prevent violence against women and girls in conflict and humanitarian crisis: synthesis brief,* What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls Global Programme, Pretoria, South Africa.

Nussbaum, M. (2011) *Creating Capabilities,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, USA and London, England.

Nussbaum, M. (2002) Capabilities and Social Justice, *International Studies Review,* 4(2):123-135.

Nussbaum, M. (2000) *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Okech, D., Choi, Y.J., Elkins, J. & Burns, A.C. (2018) Seventeen years of human trafficking research in social work: A review of the literature, *Journal of Evidence-Informed Social Work,* 15(2):103-122.

Ottisova, L., Hemmings, S., Howard, L.M., Zimmerman, C. and Oram, S. (2016) Prevalence and risk of violence and the mental, physical and sexual health problems associated with human trafficking: an updated systematic review, *Epidemiology and Psychiatric Sciences,* doi: 10.1017/S2045796016000135

Pearce, J., Hynes, P. and Bovarnick, (2013) *Trafficked Young People,* Routledge, New York and Hove.

Peters, M.D.J., Godfrey, C.M., Khalil, H., McInerney, P., Parker, D. and Soares, C.B. (2015) Guidance for conducting systematic scoping reviews, *International Journal of Evidence-Based Healthcare,* 141-146.

Pinheiro, P. (2006) *World Report on Violence Against Children,* United Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

Radford, L., Corral, S., Bradley, C., Fisher, H., Bassett, C., Howat, N. and Collishaw, N. (2011) *Child abuse and neglect in the UK today*, NSPCC, London.

Radford, L., Allnock, D. and P. Hynes (2015a), *Preventing and Responding to Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation*: E*vidence Review,* UNICEF, New York.

Radford, L., Allnock, D. and P. Hynes (2015b), *Promising Programmes to Prevent and Respond to Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation*, UNICEF, New York.

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom,* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Silverman, D. (2001) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction,* (2nd Ed.), Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi.

Simkhada, P., Teijlingen, van E., Sharma, A., Bissell P., Poobalan, A. & Wasti, S.P. (2018) Health consequences of sex trafficking: A systematic review, *Journal of Manmohan Memorial Institute of Health Sciences,* 4(1):130 DOI:10.3126/jmmihs.v4i1.21150

Sorensen, J. and Consoli, S. (2022) *Human Trafficking Research and Learning Agenda*, Innovations for Poverty Action, USA.

Such, E., Laurent, C. Jaipaul, R. & Salway, S. (2020) Modern slavery and public health: A rapid evidence assessment and an emergent public health approach, *Public Health,* Vol 180, p.168-179.

Sundbäck, L. (2024) Exploring Sensemaking of Trust Through the lens of Time: Finnish Welfare Professionals' Perspectives on Institutional Encounters with Forced Migrants in the Neoliberal Welfare State, *Time & Society,* 1-22.

Timshel, I., Montgomery, E. and Dlagaard, N.T. (2017) A systematic review of risk and protective factors associated with family related violence in refugee families, *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 70:315-330.

UNICEF (2020) *Action to end child sexual abuse and exploitation: A review of the evidence,* UNICEF, New York.

UNICEF (2017) *Preventing and Responding to Violence Against Children and Adolescents: Theory of Change,* UNICEF Child Protection Section, New York.

Warrington, C. (2020) *Creating Safe Space: Ideas for the development of participatory group work to address sexual violence with young people,* University of Bedfordshire.

Wimmer, A. and Glick Schiller, N. (2003) Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology, *International Migration Review,* 37(3):576-610.

World Health Organization (2020) *Global status report on preventing violence against children*, WHO, Geneva.

Zetter, R. (2007) More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20:172–92.

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

Figure 1: PRISMA flow diagram – Systematic reviews of human trafficking and trafficking-adjacent literature search
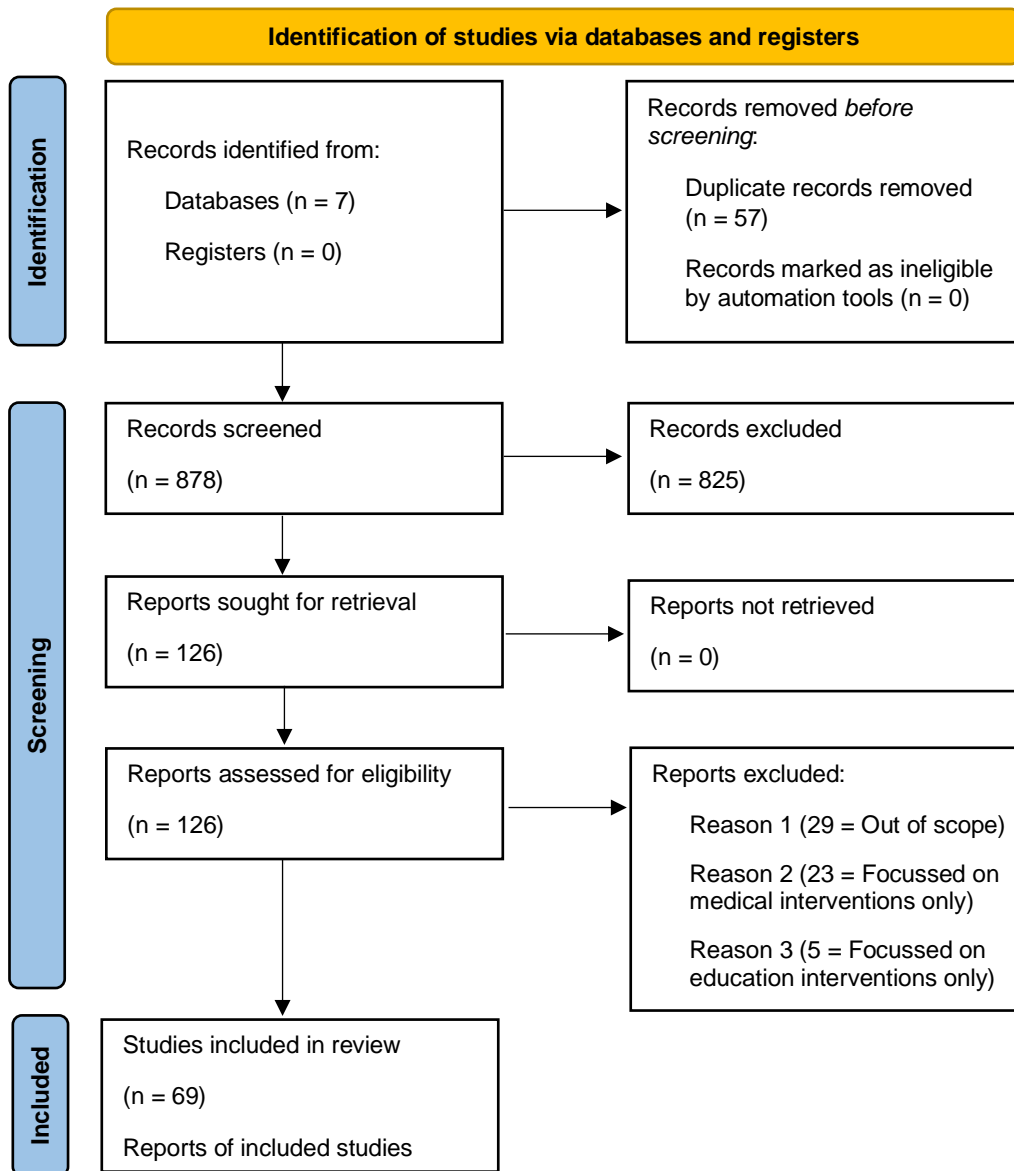
Figure 2: Convergent Parallel Design and Triangulation of Sources on Outcomes