Akullo, Margaret (2005):
Child Trafficking. A Metropolitan Police Service perspective
doi: 10.7396/2005_2_B
UNICEF’s report, “Stop the Traffic”, stated that the scale of the problem of trafficking was hidden by the nature of the crime and by a lack of police statistics. In May 2004, the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) published the “Operation Paladin Child” report, which was a first attempt to officially assess the profile of unaccompanied children entering the UK from non-EU countries. UNICEF (UK) believed the findings made a compelling case for a national strategy that would ensure effective monitoring and registration of unaccompanied children at all ports of entry in the UK, swift and appropriate social services follow up for all children at risk and a comprehensive care package for victims.

Introduction. The issues of migration and trafficking have aroused growing interest in the last few years and not everyone agrees on the nature and extent of the problem. Information from NGOs and international organizations like UNICEF appears to suggest that the United Kingdom is a country of destination and transit for trafficked women and girls. Trafficking in children into and via the UK has been identified and documented through other projects (National Crime Squad), but this UK study, known as “Operation Paladin Child” was a unique partnership between immigration, police, social services and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and was funded by the British Government. It examines work undertaken in the UK by the Child Abuse Investigation Command of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), in an attempt to define the nature of child migration from non-EU countries to the UK via London Heathrow Airport (LHR). It identifies for the first time key data, which can now be used to safeguard children arriving in the UK or in transit via London Heathrow Airport.

A proforma or questionnaire was designed for data gathering; hence the article relies solely on the completed forms received from UK Immigration Service (UKIS). The scope of the study was restricted to London Heathrow Airport and not all UK passenger ports. With the said restrictions, there will always be arguments that as a result of limited geographical focus, it may perhaps be invalid to draw conclusions. However, London Heathrow Airport is the main passenger port to the UK and a good starting point for data gathering and analysis on unaccompanied minors (UM). The methodology concentrated on non-EU nationals only, travelling without a parent or legal guardian, thereby isolating a huge segment of the travelling unaccompanied minors from EU countries.

The children who were considered most at risk were assessed based on the information recorded by UKIS relating to these six categories:
• The address of the minor was known to Police.
• The sponsor/greeter was already known to Police.

Vocabulary:
assessed = eingeschätzt, beurteilt, bewertet
unaccompanied = unbegleitet, ohne Begleitung
compelling = zwingend
port = Hafen
trafficking = Handel

abuse = Missbrauch
data gathering = Datenerfassung
soley = ausschließlich, einzig, alleinig
unaccompanied minor = unbegleiteter Minderjähriger
guardian = Vormund, Beschützer
to consider = erachten, erwägen
• The child was under 16 years of age and staying more than 28 days.
• There was no date of return recorded by UKIS.
• The sponsor/greeter is already known to UKIS.
• There were concerns identified by other means.

This information determined whether the child would be visited by social workers to ensure safety from potential significant harm.

The data relevant to this study was obtained during a three-month period from August to November 2003. UKIS had sole responsibility for data gathering on unaccompanied minors only, and the results in this article relates to non-asylum seeking children only. The research was mainly quantitative in nature and did not adopt the case study approach traditionally employed by NGO’s operating in this field. However, the work carried out by Social Services (SS) has been documented in this article and will be referred to.

The MPS analysed the information and the results showed that 1,738 unaccompanied minors were allowed entry into the UK during the three-month study period (Akullo and Spindler, 2004). 551 (30%) were identified as children who were potentially at risk of abuse or exploitation. The details of these unaccompanied minors were sent to social services all over the UK for further investigations to be carried out. Majority were found to be safe and those visiting the country for a short stay had returned to their country of embarkation.

**Research setting.** When a non-EU minor presented themselves at London Heathrow Airport, an Immigration Officer filled in the proforma and sent it to the MPS for a risk assessment to be carried out by an experienced team of Police Officers and Social Workers who used the six categories described. If there were no concerns for the child, the information on the proforma was input on the database for analysis and no further action taken. If it was believed that there was a potential risk to the minor, the information was then faxed to the relevant SS for a visit to the address linked to the minor. Depending on the results of the Social Workers visit, the

**Vocabulary:**
- to determine = bestimmen, entscheiden, beschließen
- harm = Schaden
- asylum seeker = Asylwerber
- to employ = anwenden, beschäftigen
- exploitation = Ausnutzung, Ausbeutung
- embarkation = Einschiffung, Verladung
- Immigration Officer = Beamter der Einwanderungsbehörde

**METHODOLOGY**
Child Trafficking is a complex issue and becomes even more complex when one considers definitions of trafficking and smuggling and its links to crime. Trafficking is not limited to the sex industry but includes forced labour and sometimes-involuntary organ transplants.

Existing research appears to suggest the links between trafficked victims and poor standards of living. Much of the research that has been carried out in the field of child trafficking in developed countries has endeavoured to illustrate that there is an over-representation of children from developing countries among the victims.

Too much of the literature on child trafficking is carried out by independent research organisations who have grouped reviews and reasons into categories concerned with economic disparity, high unemployment, political instability, demographic and environmental factors. When a major project is finished the reports are too often published by the government agencies that sponsored the study. Despite these limitations, existing research appears to suggest the links between trafficked victims and poor standards of living. Furthermore, much of the research that has been carried out in the field of child trafficking in developed countries has endeavoured to illustrate that there is an over-representation of children from developing countries among the victims. Victims are moved from poor environments to more affluent ones and this pattern of movement is seen at the domestic, regional and global levels (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime = UNODC). The explanation for this over-representation seems to be based on poor social conditions and researchers seem to have come to the conclusion.

What has not helped is the lack of systematic research, which therefore means that reliable data that would allow for comparative analysis is scarce. It is difficult to know the number of those trafficked due to its hidden nature, but UNICEF estimate the figure between 1-2 million children as trafficked worldwide for sexual exploitation, domestic servitude and benefit fraud across the world (Donati, Somerset, Plaza, Gorton, 2003).

Literature Review. Child Trafficking is a complex issue and becomes even more complex when one considers definitions of trafficking and smuggling and its links to crime. Trafficking is not limited to the sex industry but includes forced labour and sometimes-involuntary organ transplants. Much of the research that has been carried out in the field of child trafficking in developed countries has endeavoured to illustrate that there is an over-representation of children from developing countries among the victims.

Results I

Figure 1 – Total number of unaccompanied minors arrivals at London Heathrow Airport. Between 26th August and 23rd November 2003, a total of 1,904 children arrived in the UK via London Heathrow Airport. UK Immigration Officers "landed" 1,738 (91%) non-asylum seeking unaccompanied minors to a UK address with a further 166 (9%) claiming asylum on arrival.

Vocabulary:
- enquires = Erkundigung, (An-, Nach-) Frage
- disparity = Ungleichheit, Verschiedenheit
- unemployment = Arbeitslosigkeit
- to endeavour = sich bemühen (um), streben (nach)
- affluent = reich, wohlhabend
- reliable = verlässlich, zuverlässig
- scarce = knapp, selten
- estimate = schätzen, abschätzen
- servitude = Sklaverei
- benefit = Beihilfe, Unterstützung, Vergünstigung, Gewinn
- fraud = Betrug

(Figures and Tables: Akullo, M. and Spindler, P. (2004)).
Figure 2 – Monthly frequency. September recorded the highest number of arrivals, which signifies the end of summer holidays and the beginning of the school term in the UK.

Table 1 – Unaccompanied minors profile. The table below represents the age and gender of the top twenty nationalities of unaccompanied minors coming to the UK via London Heathrow Airport. The percentage was fairly proportional but with some regional differences. For example, it was recorded that Russia, India, Pakistan had a higher percentage of male arrivals when compared with Nigerians and Ghanaians who had a higher percentage of female arrivals.

Figure 3 – Unaccompanied minors age range. A greater percentage of minors were in the 12-16 age range with a combined total of 87% of arrivals falling in the 6-16 age group.
However, in the case of children going to private addresses this approach could be open to abuse as the person on the other end of the telephone line could have misrepresented information about the child and there was no way of checking the accuracy of their account.

The children coming into the country were coming in for a variety of reasons. Some children were coming in as students attending private or public schools in the UK. In most cases these could be checked out very quickly by a SS telephoning the school and ensuring that the child listed on the proforma was the child that was being educated at that particular school. In the majority of cases these were bona fide schools and there were no problems. However, in two cases there were further causes for concern.

Case A. A young Turkish boy had come to the UK and was attending an English Language School. There are many such schools in the UK, which specialise in teaching English to people whose first lan-

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Country</th>
<th>0-5</th>
<th>5-11</th>
<th>12-16</th>
<th>17-18</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>35</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>GERMANY</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUSSIA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 – Age per gender (top five nationalities). The table above represents the age per gender of the top five nationalities.

The Social Services departments to which the proformas were sent made the decision of how the assessment of the child should be undertaken. Some authorities completed an initial assessment following the UK government guidelines (London Child Protection Procedures 2003). Others conducted a home visit, saw the child and any documents that were available to authenticate that the child they were seeing was the one that the proforma referred to, while others conducted their investigations by phone using the telephone number that had been given to the Immigration officer when the child entered the country. In some cases this was obviously the best approach i.e. when a child had entered the country for the purposes of attending a bona fide private school. It was a simple exercise to phone the relevant person and check whether the child was attending that school or not. However, in the case of children going to private addresses this approach could be open to abuse as the person on the other end of the telephone line could have misrepresented information about the child and there was no way of checking the accuracy of their account.

The children coming into the country were coming in for a variety of reasons. Some children were coming in as students attending private or public schools in the UK. In most cases these could be checked out very quickly by a SS telephoning the school and ensuring that the child listed on the proforma was the child that was being educated at that particular school. In the majority of cases these were bona fide schools and there were no problems. However, in two cases there were further causes for concern.

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The language is not English. However, after several weeks the school found out that the boy was only 14 and they could only take those aged 16 and over. The agent was contacted who had arranged the original school placement. He arranged for the boy to leave the school but the school did not know his forwarding address.

Case B. The other case involves two Korean boys who had apparently come to stay with their aunt and uncle for the purposes of attending a private education establishment in the UK. When the social worker visited the home where the children were staying she was concerned that there seemed to be quite a few people living there and the aunt of the children seemed to be rather wary. When she and an officer from the local Police force visited they had further concerns about the school itself that resulted in a joint police and SS investigation.

Many children were coming into this country to be reunited with their parents. Some cases have implications for English and Welsh Law where the term relative is clearly defined as a person having a biological link. It also has implications for the private fostering regulations (LCPC, 2003 reference), as many of the people who were caring for these children would be seen as private foster carers under the legislation. Some children had no biological link to their sponsors.

Some of the children who had come to stay permanently in the UK were from countries that did not enjoy the same economic advantages as the UK. They had come here to join relatives and had basically hoped for a better life here than would have been the case in their own country. They came hoping for better health care, better education and probably ultimately better employment prospects.

Some children may come into the country to be used as carers for younger children or to help with domestic tasks in the home. These children may or may not be related to the sponsor. In some cultures it is also seen as quite acceptable for very young children to be caring for children even younger than themselves and it would not be seen as something that the state would take an interest in. It was difficult to get any tangible evidence of this and the only direct evidence of this is the case of the two Nepalese girls where the mother stated that she expected the girls to care for their younger brother. There were however, cases were suspicions were raised but never proved conclusively. These were cases were the information was that a child was going to stay with his or her aunt. Sometimes the social workers had suspicions that something was not quite right but they had no evidence.

The majority of children came in as short-term visitors (i.e. staying in the UK less than 28 days). A family member or friend usually accompanied the younger ones. These children did not usually come under the remit of SS but where there were particular concerns when the pro formas were sent out to SS. One of these cases is the case of the Nigerian woman who came into the country twice in a short period of time with ostensibly the same baby. In this case suspicions were aroused.

Case C. A young Nigerian girl of 18 months who it appeared had entered the country twice in the space of three weeks as a visitor with her aunt. The aunt had declared...
on both occasions on her landing card that she was going to stay in a certain hotel in North London. Enquiries at the hotel revealed that neither the woman nor the child had stayed at that hotel. The concern here is of course that the woman could have brought different children in on the same passport.

SS involvement as a result of Paladin forms being sent out has resulted in situations coming to light that otherwise would not have done.

**Case D.** An example of this is a young Somalian girl of 13 who had come to Britain with her 10-year-old brother. Her father who was now living with his new wife in the UK had made strenuous efforts to get them over here. The social worker visited and the 13 year old was on her own caring for her brother and half siblings. The social worker explained to the stepmother and father when they returned that this was not acceptable in this country and she was also able to write a letter to the Housing Department on their behalf as they were living in cramped conditions.

**Case E.** SS were already dealing with the case of a two year old Nepalese boy. He had been brought to the attention of SS by the health visitor because he had been neglected and physically abused, Operation Paladin Child officers were able to alert the social worker that two more girls aged nine and ten were living at this address. When the Paladin forms were sent out the social worker interviewed the parents and was surprised that the mother gave a different name for one of the girls than the name identified on the Paladin form, neither was she sure about the dates of birth of either of her daughters. Both parents also gave differing accounts of whom the girls had been staying with before coming to the UK. The mother also said that the girls would be looking after their two-year-old brother. The children were put on the Child Protection register.

**Results II**

![Figure 4: UK Sponsor Immigration Status](image)

Majority of the sponsors for the children were resident in the UK or work permit holders. 38 (591) of the recorded information on Sponsor’s status was not known.

**Vocabulary:**
- **strenuous** = anstrengend, ermüdend
- **sibling** = Geschwister, Bruder, Schwester
- **cramped** = beengt
- **neglect** = vernachlässigen
- **work permit holder** = Besitzer einer Arbeitserlaubnis
Figure 5 – Unaccompanied minors
Sponsor relationship to Non-EU unaccompanied minors. 42% (730) of sponsors were a family member (family, family relation or other family relation).

Figure 6 – Unaccompanied minors
Immigration Status. 40% (696) of unaccompanied minors were visitors to the UK.
Figure 7 – Unaccompanied minors
Gender per country. 55% (590) of the total number for the top twenty countries was female. 302 (51%) of female arrivals for the top twenty nationalities were of African origin and were mainly visitors to the UK.

Figure 8 – Unaccompanied minors per region. On a regional basis, Africans accounted for 38% of the total number of UM arrivals, with Europe at 21%, Asia 14% and America 27%.

Vocabulary:
to account for = ausmachen, ergeben, betragen
Figure 9 – Metropolitan Police District.
The final destination address for five in ten unaccompanied minors was within the Metropolitan Police District. The geographical distribution was UK wide with a concentration in the London and Greater London areas of the UK.

Concluding Discussion. This is the first time this data gathering process has been tried anywhere in the world and there have been significant learning points. The project used a unique data set from UKIS to profile and identify trafficked unaccompanied minors from non-EU countries. SS involvement identified cases that would otherwise not have come to the authorities’ attention. A methodology that involved EU nationals would have been more appropriate in defining the nature of migration of children and to identify traffickers who are more likely to use EU channels to escape immigration controls. The level of vulnerability of the child was linked to the risk assessment process that had six categories based on length of stay in the UK and whether Police or UKIS knew the sponsor. However, the methodology can be criticised as failing at the point of entry at London Heathrow Airport. It sometimes took up to a week for the Police to be aware of the arrival of an unaccompanied minor in the UK as UKIS had to arrange transportation of the proformas to Police HQ. The UKIS and MPS systems were incompatible, so no information could be transferred electronically. The other methodological issue was sending the information onto SS after the risk assessment process. Due to similar IT problems as UKIS, the information on an unaccompanied minor was normally faxed from the MPS to the relevant SS and occasionally followed by a phone call. This process meant that information was delayed or sometimes lost in the process thereby increasing the vulnerability of the child as it takes hours rather than days for a child to be trafficked. At an early stage of the study, it was acknowledged that there would be

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Vocabulary:
vulnerability = Verwundbarkeit, Verletzbarkeit
The lack of similar previous research in this area did not allow for a direct comparison of results. The basic question addressed was whether these children leave their homes because they were trafficked or whether they were driven by poverty, persecution, holiday or just a hope for a better life. As a result, the economic pressure on social services such as education, health and welfare is evident and difficult to measure.

The findings of this study provided a basis from which broad observations can be extracted. It identified some of the patterns and trends associated with the migration of unaccompanied minors and raised awareness among all the agencies and some of the communities that share the responsibility for safeguarding children. The lack of similar previous research in this area did not allow for a direct comparison of results. The basic question addressed was whether these children leave their homes because they were trafficked or whether they were driven by poverty, persecution, holiday or just a hope for a better life. As a result, the economic pressure on social services such as education, health and welfare is evident and difficult to measure.

The study highlighted many areas of concerns, e.g. unknown destination addresses for minors who had arrived at London Heathrow Airport, resource issues in relation to the visits by SS in the different geographical areas in the UK. There were huge implications for the SS that had a higher concentration of unaccompanied minors arrivals. There were problems between the agencies involved in the operation with regard to information sharing and communication systems. For example, it was not easy to migrate data from the MPS computer systems to UKIS or SS. Further concerns were the impact on London Heathrow Airport Immigration Officers for the record number of arrivals and the processing times (15 minutes) taken to fill one proforma. What was identified was whether there should be a dedicated minor’s team to deal with the volume of minors and some of the problems associated with these arrivals.

The data analysis was also geared towards counting how many unaccompanied minors arrived at London Heathrow Airport and where their final destination in the UK would be if “landed” by UKIS. The study attempted to measure the flow of unaccompanied minors from their country of embarkation into the UK via London Heathrow Airport. To provide an accurate flow figure for a specific year, measurements should be continuous for at least a year. Collecting data from London Heathrow Airport only, means there would be considerable gaps in the data available. The data in this report therefore represents as close an accurate picture as possible of unaccompanied minors’ migration through London Heathrow Airport over three months. If this study has exposed the high numbers of minors coming into the UK via London Heathrow Airport, how many more are arriving at other UK passenger ports? It should be noted that the number of unaccompanied minors is by no means a reflection of the scale of child trafficking.

Vocabulary:

procedural = verfahrensorientiert, prozessbezogen
persecution = Verfolgung
huge = riesig, enorm, gewaltig, ungeheuer
implication = Implikation, Auswirkung
gap = Lücke
scale = Ausmaß, Umfang
The data analysis suggests that African nationals appear to be the highest group of nationals coming to the UK. There is room for considerable discussion but it was difficult to explore the reasons given the limited timescales of the study. Majority of the unaccompanied minors had no date of return declared to Immigration officers, most likely suggesting a recording error by UKIS. If we review the data further, the small percentage of transit passengers could be a focus of police activity if traffickers who are using the UK as a transit zone to Europe are facilitating these minors via London Heathrow Airport. The methodological issues means that researchers may need to explore the EU route and though there might be legal, resource/budgetary implications for various government departments, these can be resolved by interventions that involve joined up working.

Criminal Intelligence needs to be assessed properly as none was carried out for this study. For example, a minor may have visitor immigration status but once in the UK try to change that status and claim asylum or other immigration status. In addition, a high percentage of the information on sponsors was unknown. The sponsor relationship to the minor is important at the data gathering stage. An "Uncle" and "Aunt" may not actually be a relative of the minor. When the study concluded no arrests were made as a result of trafficking. The agencies involved in this operation intended to make the travelling environment safe for the children, hence the development of a new risk assessment process to safeguard unaccompanied minors is needed and so is the proportionate establishment of safeguarding teams at other significant points of entry into the UK to address displacement of travelers to other ports. In the process, any potential exploitation of victim and the demand on SS is identified at an earlier stage.

The UK Government introduced an offence of trafficking under the Sexual Offences Act 2003 and Asylum and Immigration (treatment of claimants act) 2004, making trafficking a crime punishable with up to 14 years imprisonment.

This study established that there are high numbers of unaccompanied minors' arrivals to the UK via its main passenger port at London Heathrow Airport. This presents challenges to the management of migration of these minors within UK borders, as the dilemma of the minors can be many and varied. They may speak a different language and have different social and cultural practices. An understanding of migration issues is therefore needed between all agency partners.

Trafficking is clandestine in nature and because it is irregular migration, it is likely to remain under reported. The study did not identify any minor that had been trafficked but was successful in providing a profile of unaccompanied minors coming to the UK and has led to the creation of the Ports Safeguarding Team, with three Child Protection officers at London’s three main passenger ports at London Heathrow Airport, Waterloo International Eurostar and the Asylum Screening Unit, Croydon.

The study highlighted the demand in authorities responsible for safeguarding children. The underlying concern is that if a minor is found to be trafficked into the UK or further afield to Europe, do organisations responsible for safeguarding children have the resources to deal with counter trafficking measures?
Zusammenfassung


Die Metropolitan Police analysierte die Informationen und die Resultate zeigten, dass während dieser dreimonatigen Studienperiode 1.738 unbegleiteten Minderjährigen (UM) die Einreise nach Großbritannien erlaubt wurde. 551 (30%) der Kinder wurden als möglicherweise missbrauchs- oder ausbeutungsgefährdet identifiziert. Die genauen Detaildaten dieser unbegleiteten Minderjährigen wurden an Sozialeinrichtungen in ganz Großbritannien gesendet, damit in Zukunft weitere Untersuchungen durchgeführt werden können.


Literaturhinweise


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Die Untersuchung identifizierte einige Muster und Trends, die mit der Migration von unbegleiteten Minderjährigen in Verbindung gebracht werden und schlägt weitere Bereiche für wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen vor.