



The University of
Nottingham

China Policy Institute

Discussion Paper 54

HUMAN TRAFFICKING BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UK

Jackie SHEEHAN

November 2009

International House
University of Nottingham
Wollaton Road
Nottingham NG8 1BB
United Kingdom
Tel: +44 (0)115 846 7769
Fax: +44 (0)115 846 7900
Email: CPI@nottingham.ac.uk
Website: www.chinapolicyinstitute.org

The China Policy Institute, part of the School of Contemporary Chinese Studies at The University of Nottingham, was set up to analyse critical policy challenges faced by China in its rapid development. Its goals are to help expand the knowledge and understanding of contemporary China in Britain, Europe and worldwide, to help build a more informed dialogue between China and the UK and Europe, and to contribute to government and business strategies.

Human trafficking between China and the UK

Jackie Sheehan*

Introduction

Despite the difficulties in compiling complete and reliable statistics, the available evidence supports a consensus among law-enforcement agencies, governments and NGOs that the trafficking of women and girls (mostly) from the People's Republic of China (PRC) to the UK represents a serious and growing problem. Drawing on accounts from trafficking victims who have found their way into the UK's asylum system, as well as on recent research at Nottingham into undocumented Chinese migrant labour in the UK, this paper will examine the effects of the introduction of the UK's National Referral Mechanism (NRM) for identifying suspected victims of trafficking in April 2009 and look at some of the problems Chinese victims continue to face in having their needs identified and protected in the UK. It will also consider some of the "push" factors operating in China which give rise to transnational trafficking, and the rehabilitation and protection against re-trafficking available for repatriated victims in the PRC.

First, it is important to define trafficking and clarify who the victims are, and in particular to distinguish between people-smuggling and human trafficking. The key to the definition of trafficking is exploitation, which can take the form of forced labour or domestic servitude as well as sexual exploitation, although the latter is the most common form of exploitation to which trafficked women and girls from China are subject in the UK. Exploitation can occur in the PRC once they are under the trafficker's control and en route to the UK as well as on arrival. Trafficking is defined in the 2005 Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings as "the action of recruitment, movement or receipt of a person by coercion or deception for the purpose of exploitation, such as prostitution, slavery or forced labour." The significant term here is "deception"; while domestic trafficking victims in China, including children and women sold as wives, are sometimes forcibly abducted, for transnational trafficking, the victims almost always depart willingly in the belief that they are being smuggled to a place where their life will be better. The deception occurs where the trafficker transports them either without being paid in advance, or having taken a much smaller fee that would usually be required for

* Associate Professor, School of Contemporary Chinese Studies, The University of Nottingham.
Contact: Jackie.sheehan@nottingham.ac.uk.

transit from China to the UK, with the intention of making up the difference by exploiting the trafficked person at the destination. This makes the distinction between people-smugglers and traffickers rather an artificial one, since the same people engage in both types of operation (Schloenhardt, 2001). Given that people-smugglers can demand £20,000 or more for passage from China to the UK (Pieke and Xiang, 2007), the only way in which they can expect to make their money back from a victim of trafficking in a reasonable period of time is by exploiting her in the sex industry, given the relatively low education and skill level and earning potential of the average victim.

Quarterly statistics from the United Kingdom Human Trafficking Centre (UKHTC) collected since the implementation of the NRM for identifying victims of trafficking in April 2009 show that Chinese trafficking victims are the largest single nationality group and constitute about 17% of the total identified in the UK (UKHTC, June 2009). Of the total number of identified victims of trafficking in April to June 2009, 70% were female, and 60% of these women and girls were trafficked for sexual exploitation, with a further 21% trafficked into domestic servitude (78% of men and boys were trafficked for forced labour). All of those professionally involved with combating trafficking in the UK agree that identified victims constitute the tip of the iceberg, though none will venture a guess as to how much of the problem remains under the water, so to speak, in terms of overall numbers of victims. Evidence from around the world, though, as many countries, like the UK, make much greater efforts to identify transnational trafficking victims and to quantify the problem in order to meet the new obligations imposed on them by the ratification of agreements such as the 2005 Council of Europe Convention mentioned above, suggests that trafficking out of China is generally increasing (US State Department, 2009; University of British Columbia, 2008; *Vietnamese Workers Abroad*, 2008; *Modern Ghana News*, 2009). The substantial involvement of Chinese, including overseas Chinese from Malaysia or Vietnam, as traffickers to the UK is also confirmed by statistics on the outcomes of the Pentameter 2 anti-trafficking operation, which identified 47% of 406 suspected traffickers arrested as of Chinese or Southeast Asian origin (UKHTC, February 2009). Press reports have tended to focus on cases of Chinese women trafficked into the sex industry, although the work of Frank Pieke and Xiang Biao (2007) and Hsiao-Hung Pai (2008a) has found exploitation and coercion of Chinese migrant labour in a variety of industries, including agriculture, food processing, cleaning and catering. All but one of my own small sample of trafficking victims was subject to sexual exploitation (the other was a case of forced labour).

Chinese victims of trafficking in the UK asylum system

The trafficking cases on which these comments are based are not a properly constituted scientific sample, since they consist of a dozen asylum cases from the past two years in which I happen to have been engaged as a China Country Expert Witness. Nevertheless, for what they reveal about the profile of a typical trafficking victim and some of the common problems Chinese victims face in being identified as such and properly supported in the UK asylum and immigration system, they are worth considering as something more than anecdotal evidence. Additionally, they help to avoid the practical difficulty of conducting research about victims of trafficking, i.e. how to identify them when even the NRM procedures are often failing to do this and victims are either reluctant to self-identify or do not see themselves as victims. It also gets round one of the main ethical difficulties of conducting this type of research, since the victims' statements and various asylum interviews are already available and there is no need to put them through the possible trauma of talking about their experiences again. Two of the victims have been diagnosed as suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and two have attempted suicide following their trafficking experiences, so avoiding re-traumatisation is a serious issue. In the table in Appendix 1, I have summarised some of the main features of the twelve women's trafficking experiences, though not in such detail that they can easily be identified even by people familiar with their asylum claims. Although all the victims arrived in the UK before the NRM was established in April 2009, several were only identified as possible victims of trafficking after that date, and so their experiences can provide some evidence of how the NRM is working in practice.

With its December 2008 ratification of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, the UK has pledged to uphold international standards of action against trafficking which require proactive identification of trafficked women and children, who should be treated as victims rather than e.g. illegal migrants or sex workers. Yet both before and after the introduction of the NRM, teenage girls and women from China who have been trafficked have ended up in the asylum system, sometimes detained and fast-tracked for removal, without being identified as possible victims of trafficking until late in the legal process to remove them back to China, typically the stage of appeal against a refusal of asylum. Certain features of the trafficking process and of Chinese cultural and social norms around sexual behaviour seem to put trafficked women and girls

from China at a disadvantage in the asylum system where great store is set by the detail and consistency of a claimant's story. The typical way in which traffickers control their victims throughout the journey, keeping control of their identity documents, and often escorting them directly onto a plane, so that there is no need for them to be told the flight number or destination which they would be unable to read for themselves if they only speak and read Chinese, militates against their being able to give a coherent account of their journey, leaving aside for the moment the effects of trauma. People smugglers (snakeheads) or traffickers intimidate their victims in order to protect themselves, drumming into them very specific instructions about what to say at Customs and how to behave. They do not lay out the route they are using to their victims, only sharing information with agents and lower-level members of their own networks on a need-to-know basis, since such information is extremely valuable to them (Schloenhardt, 2001), and threaten victims with being returned to China in order to persuade them to give false details of their last home address, school etc. in China. When these discrepancies or gaps in the story the trafficked person is able to tell emerge in asylum interviews and hearings, they can often be fatally damaging to the credibility of a claimant. In the cases of which I have personal knowledge, I am not convinced to date that sufficient allowances are being made when trafficking victims go through the asylum system for the way in which they will have been actively prevented from knowing where they were on particular dates and understanding the route that they took to the UK.

The Home Office guidelines on how to deal with possible victims of trafficking include the following comments on the effects of their traumatic experiences: "Women who have been sexually assaulted may suffer trauma. The symptoms of this include persistent fear, a loss of self-confidence and self-esteem, difficulty in concentration, an attitude of self-blame, shame, a pervasive loss of control and memory loss or distortion. Decision makers should be aware of this and how such factors may affect how a woman responds during interview and not automatically draw adverse inferences from a woman's inability to recount details of their experience when assessing credibility" (Home Office, 2009). Again, my experience suggests that adverse inferences are commonly drawn when victims of trafficking have not mentioned, or have given little detail about, their sexual exploitation and the most traumatic aspects of their experience in their earliest witness statements or interviews, but are persuaded, by their legal representatives or NGO, social-service or medical personnel, to talk about it at a later date. The 45-day period of reflection and recovery now granted to possible victims of trafficking, during which time no detention or removal

action should be taken pending a conclusive decision on whether or not they have been trafficked, is a welcome aspect of the NRM, as is the possibility for the 45 days to be extended where necessary. Chinese society is still, on the whole, extremely conservative about sexual matters and attaches very high importance to female chastity. Trafficked women often feel deeply ashamed of their experiences, seeing themselves and expecting society to see them as the perpetrators of immoral acts rather than the coerced and exploited victims of others' acts. They expect and fear harsh social disapproval from others, in the UK as well as in China, and as a consequence of this, it can take months for trafficked women and girls to speak in detail about their experiences even to e.g. the Poppy Project's staff or to their own legal counsel.

As can be seen in the Appendix, most of the women in my sample had been sexually and/or physically abused by relatives or carers in China since early childhood, even before their eventual traffickers gained control of them; this is one of the most common factors prompting victims to go with their traffickers out of China in the first place. Some were also abused and/or sexually exploited by their traffickers before they left the PRC and en route to the UK. At present, it is very easy for legal representatives who have not dealt with Chinese trafficking victims before to miss the more subtle signs that part of their story is being withheld, and without encouragement to speak about it, unidentified victims of trafficking are unlikely to come forward themselves. I would hope that the extensions to the 45-day period of reflection and recovery permitted in Home Office guidelines are used often in practice to allow for the patient and lengthy process which can be required to draw out Chinese women victims' full stories, even given sympathetic female questioners. The guidelines also specify that female members of staff should be available where possible to interview possible victims of trafficking; I would say that it is essential that women interviewers are found in these cases. In one of the cases in my sample, the young woman only began to disclose details of her sexual exploitation after she had been detained on an unrelated matter to her new legal representative, whereupon the NRM swung into action as she had become a possible victim of trafficking, and a man was sent to interview her. This not only caused her considerable distress, but was completely counter-productive in terms of finding out her trafficking status, as she refused to recount details of her sexual exploitation to him. All this interview achieved was a further deterioration in her willingness to trust authority figures or engage with the process of victim identification.

Trafficking victims and UK law enforcement

Fear of authority figures and a reluctance to cooperate with the police even to escape their trafficked situation is common to most victims of trafficking, but where Chinese victims are concerned, there are specific features of their background which strengthen these tendencies to the point where e.g. Chinese sex workers found in raids refuse to give evidence against their exploiters and return to the brothel apparently voluntarily (Pieke and Xiang, 2007: 21). A UK press report on how trafficked Chinese women are controlled by their exploiters recounts how their "heads are filled with horror stories of how they will be raped and imprisoned by the British police" (Scott-Clark and Levy, 2008) if they try to get help. The cases in my sample feature the same pattern of intimidation of women by their pimps or brothel keepers, who tell them not to expect help from the police, or even that the police know all about the brothel but turn a blind eye, or are part of its clientele. This is a credible claim to a Chinese woman given the links with organized crime and typical behaviour of the Chinese police with regard to the sex industry. Chinese Public Security Bureau (PSB) officers have often taken the side of traffickers or pimps in cases involving women trafficked for sexual exploitation or as bought wives or servants, regarding it as their duty to return the women to their "owners" (Xin Ren, no date) rather than protecting them as citizens in their own right. During the 1990s, the PSB and the People's Liberation Army (PLA) themselves ran large numbers of businesses such as massage parlours and karaoke bars in which prostitution took place (Davin, 1999: 135) (since prostitution is illegal in the PRC, brothels do not operate openly but through these kinds of businesses, and also beauty parlours, hairdressers etc.). It has been noted that anti-prostitution campaigns in China tend to target the women themselves rather than their employers/pimps or their clients, and some campaigns have been associated with high levels of police brutality towards sex workers (Human Rights Watch-Asia, 2005). Some of the women and girls trafficked from China to the UK have already been exploited in the sex industry in China, where women do not seek the protection of the authorities despite the high incidence of violence they experience at work (Wang, 2000: 74), and so are likely to shun contact with UK law enforcement, having had no opportunity to form a more favourable impression of them.

Repatriation of trafficking victims to China

Whether or not they have been identified as such, Chinese victims of trafficking to the UK face certain risks on return to the PRC. The PRC itself has been making efforts over the past few years to improve its performance and attain international standards of action to prevent and detect trafficking and to protect victims, but it is still often the case that victims are not pro-actively identified as such, including when being repatriated after having been trafficked transnationally. They may be treated as illegal migrants or sex workers rather than trafficking victims, and may also be very reluctant to advertise their trafficked status even in order to access scarce opportunities for support and rehabilitation, given the powerful social stigma that having been trafficked still carries for women and girls in China (men are not recognized as possible victims of trafficking under Chinese law). As part of the preparatory work for its own December 2007 National Action Plan to Combat Trafficking (NAPCT), China in 2006-7 permitted several international NGOs to work with the state-controlled All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) in pilot projects for the shelter and rehabilitation of trafficking victims. However, these pilot projects seem to have been terminated, and the NAPCT in action has so far been disappointing. The latest US State Department Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report for China notes that the Chinese government "did not demonstrate progress in combating human trafficking from the previous year [2007], particularly in terms of punishment of trafficking crimes and the protection of Chinese and foreign victims of trafficking... Despite substantial resources, during the reporting period, the government did not make efforts to improve victim assistance programs. Protection of domestic and foreign victims of trafficking remains insufficient. Victims are sometimes punished for unlawful acts that were a direct result of their being trafficked – such as violations of prostitution or immigration/emigration controls" (US State Department, 2009).

Repatriated victims of trafficking are of course forewarned by their past experiences of the danger posed by traffickers within China, which makes the NAPCT's stress on awareness-raising largely irrelevant to them. But however wary and cautious they are as a result of their experiences, the PRC's anti-trafficking and victim protection efforts still do not provide lone women with safe methods of arranging employment and accommodation in the absence of the family or community networks of contacts on which most Chinese rely for these purposes. The risk factors present at their original trafficking (some in my sample had been trafficked internally in China before they came to the UK) are still there

on their return to the PRC, and protection from re-trafficking remains, in my view, wholly inadequate. The risk of trafficked women being found and either re-trafficked by their original exploiters or suffering reprisals for their escape is sometimes a significant one, depending on the area to which the woman is returning and the extent of the network to which her traffickers belong. Women and girls in remote rural areas of China will typically approach or be approached by the local "Da Ge" (big brother) criminal fixer as the first stage of their trafficking, but in the cities, trafficking networks can give every appearance of being legitimate agencies. One girl in my sample was handed a glossy flyer advertising work abroad in a Guangzhou shopping mall as the first contact with her eventual traffickers. For many victims, though, the re-trafficking risk comes from their vulnerability and isolation in Chinese society, the same circumstances in which they were originally trafficked.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has a remit to help monitor the resettlement of trafficking victims, but with its offices in China limited to Beijing and Hong Kong, it lacks the reach and resources to do this for all returned victims of trafficking in the PRC, and can only have any expectation of maintaining contact for up to six months with those victims of trafficking who have accepted voluntary repatriation and qualify for resettlement assistance, as this is given in installments. Those deported after the failure of their asylum claims or after being convicted of a criminal offence (quite likely to happen to girls and women trafficked into the sex industry and caught in police raids, as well as to those who manage to escape their original exploiters but remain vulnerable to detention as irregular migrants) are not eligible for assistance, and therefore have little incentive to keep in contact with the IOM and provide information about their safety on return and whether they have been able to reintegrate into Chinese society. China's NAPCT, in section 4, under "Operational Measures" to "Intensify work to rescue and rehabilitate trafficked women and children", states that relevant government and social organizations should, by 2012, "actively help female victims and minors above 16 years of age who cannot or are not willing to return to their original communities to obtain appropriate vocational skills training, vocational guidance, introductions to jobs and other such employment services, so that they can secure a job in a different area. (*The Ministry of Civil Affairs is the responsible unit; the Ministry of Labour and Social Security is the cooperating unit*) (State Council of China, 2007). This implies that identified victims of trafficking will be able to request relocation within China to avoid their original traffickers, but it seems to be an aspiration for the future; I do not know of any cases where

trafficked women have been relocated in this way, as published accounts all have both women and girls rescued from traffickers returning to their original homes. Additionally, the two ministries tasked with assisting victims in this way would need the authority to override China's household registration (*hukou*) regulations in order to make these arrangements for a victim of trafficking, but the hukou system is operated by the Ministry of Public Security, and based on previous practice in the PRC, I would expect the interests and preferences of the police to win out in any inter-departmental competition as these guidelines come into force. Finally, this would in any case only apply to identified trafficking victims, and the evidence to date is that China is not systematically and proactively identifying returning victims.

Debates on how better to tackle trafficking and assist victims from the Chinese end are hampered by the sensitivity of the issue and the reluctance of the Chinese authorities to address some of its root causes, namely the gender imbalance in many parts of rural China brought about by the combined effects of the one-child policy and the strong son preference of rural Chinese families. This has resulted in many parts of rural China now seeing 120-130 men of marriageable age for every 100 women, creating China's 40-million strong "army of bachelors" (Bossen, 2005) who provide the market for trafficked wives. The one-child policy is still a high priority of the government, and it remains difficult for researchers in China to focus on the demand side of trafficking while this is the case. The involvement of organized crime and police complicity with it in cases of human trafficking also makes the issue a sensitive one, and the failure to tackle official complicity in trafficking is one of the faults most strongly criticized in the latest TIP report on China (US State Department, 2009). UK cooperation and participation in China's anti-trafficking efforts, such as it has been to date, is welcome; Scott-Clark and Levy noted that when the Serious Organized Crime Agency (SOCA) held its first conference with Fujianese officials in late 2008, there had already been a "15 year head start for traffickers" (Scott-Clark and Levy, 2008), but I am aware that this was not first contact between the Met and the Fujian PSB, and that liaison with Fujian and other key areas in China for trafficking and people-smuggling are ongoing. Institutions such as DfID should certainly make the most of any future opportunities to work on pilot projects in China for victim support and protection against re-trafficking, but given the Chinese government's unease when working with its own or other countries' NGOs, such opportunities may continue to be very limited. Recent research conducted for the International Labour Organization (ILO) at Nottingham on Chinese migrants in the UK has found that fewer migrants are now using

the services of people smugglers to come to the UK, since alternative routes, including legal ones, are more available, and that those who are still using people smugglers are not paying the very high fees they once did. This trend may have the desired effect of putting people smugglers out of business, but given the lack of any real distinction between people smugglers and traffickers in practice, it could also mean that more agents will rely on trafficking and exploitation to replace income lost from the decline in smuggling business and income.

References

BBC News Online, "China arrests prostitution gang", 28 April 2000,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/729337.stm>.

Beyrer, Chris, and Julie Stachowiak (2003), "Health consequences of trafficking women and girls in southeast Asia", *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10, 1 (Summer/Fall 2003).

Booth, Martin (1999), *Dragon Syndicates* (London: Doubleday).

Bossen, Laurel (2005), "Forty million missing girls: land, population controls and sex imbalance in rural China", ZNet, 7 October 2005
(www.zmag.org/contents/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=889).

CEDAW, "Committee to Eliminate Discrimination against Women recognizes China's advances since last review, but urges greater progress", 11 August 2006,
<http://www.unis.univie.ac.at/pressrels/2006/wom1575.html>

China Daily, "China to investigate into 'slave labor' incident", 16 June 2007,
www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-06/16/content_895699.htm.

China Daily, "China strikes at root of brick kiln slavery", 21 June 2007,
www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-06/21/content_898742.htm.

Home Office (2009), *Asylum processing guidance: victims of trafficking*, available at
<http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/policyandlaw/asylumprocessg>

[uidance/specialcases/guidance/victimsoftrafficking.pdf?view=Binary#25](#).

Human Rights In China (HRIC), "The property of men: the trafficking and domestic abuse of women", *China Rights Forum*, 30 June 1995, http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/article?print=t&revision_id=3172&item_id=3171.

Humantrafficking.org, "China improves efforts to combat trafficking through regional mechanism", 7 January 2008, www.humantrafficking.org/updates/770; adapted from "There is no any (sic) safety umbrella for traffickers in China", *Beijing Youth Daily*, 15 December 2007.

Modern Ghana News (2009), "Chinese traffickers in tears over jail sentence", 26 June 2009, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/2204063/1/chinese-traffickers-in-tears-over-jail-sentence.html>.

O'Connell Davidson, Julia (2001), "Children in the Sex Trade in China", *Save the Children*, www.streetchildren.org.uk/reports/Children%20in%20the%20Sex%20Trade%20in%20China.pdf.

Office for National Statistics (2009), "Population estimates by ethnic group: 2001 to 2007 commentary", September 2009, available at http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_population/PEEGCommentary.pdf.
Pai, Hsiao-Hung (2008a), *Chinese Whispers: the true story behind Britain's hidden army of labour*, London: Penguin.

Pai, Hsiao-Hung (2008b), "Chinese migrant workers: lives in shadow", Open Democracy News Analysis, 30 May 2008, <http://www.opendemocracy.net>.

Pieke, Frank, and Xiang Biao (2007), "Legality and labour: Chinese migration, neoliberalism, and the state in the UK and China", University of Oxford BICC Working Paper Series no.5, October 2007.

Pieke, Frank et al. (eds.) (2004), *Transnational Chinese: Fujianese migrants in Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).

Schloenhardt, Andreas (2001), "Trafficking in migrants: Illegal migration and organized crime in Australia and the Asia Pacific Region", *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 29.

Scott-Clark, Cathy, and Adrian Levy (2008), "'It is down your street and in your lane'", *Guardian*, 11 October 2008.

State Council of China, *China National Plan of Action on Combating Trafficking in Women and Children (2008-2012)*, 13 December 2007,
<http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/population/trafficking/china.traf.08.pdf>.

UK Human Trafficking Centre (2009), "United Kingdom Pentameter 2 Statistics of Victims recovered and Suspects arrested during the operational phase", February 2009, available at
http://www.ukhtc.org/sites/default/files/UKHTC_UKP2_stats_not_protectively_marked.pdf.

University of British Columbia (2008), "Media Release: UBC legal expert releases Canada's first stats on foreign human trafficking victims", 28 October 2008,
<http://www.publicaffairs.ubc.ca/media/releases/2008/mr-08-143.html>.

US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report July 2009,
<http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2009/123135.htm>.

US State Department Trafficking in Persons Report, July 2008,
www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2008/

US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report July 2007,
www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2007/.

Vietnamese Workers Abroad (2008), "In the news: Chinese agency says human trafficking on the rise in Mekong countries", 7 November 2008,
<http://vietnameseworkersabroad.wordpress.com/2008/11/07/in-the-news-chinese-agency-says-human-trafficking-on-rise-in-mekong-countries/>.

Xin Ren, "Violence against women under China's economic modernization: Resurgence of women trafficking in China", <http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/proceedings/27/ren.pdf>

Zhuang Ping (1999), "On the social phenomenon of trafficking of women in China", *Chinese Education and Society* 26, 3 91993), 33-50, cited in Delia Davin, *Internal Migration in Contemporary China* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), 135.

Appendix 1: Outline details of victims of trafficking (VoTs) on which this research is based

VoT	Home Province	Family situation in PRC	Date of birth	Date to UK	Payment to trafficker; route/ duration of travel to UK	Type of Exploitation	Identified as VoT?
A	Guizhou	Parents migrated age 3; physical abuse by step-parents; sexual abuse by employer from age 10	1988	2004	Trafficker paid step-parents unknown amount; claimed VoT owed £20K; unknown	SE (DS)	Yes, on appeal
B	Anhui	Orphaned age 10; street child; deceived into sex work age c.14	1990	2006	Paid RMB 7,000; transit via Russia, E Europe, with SE en route; several months	SE	Yes, on appeal
C	Jiangxi	Orphaned age 6; guardian died age 16; trafficked for FL in PRC	1988	2005	No payment to trafficker; several months	FL (en route)	Not known; removed from Fast Track as possible VoT
D	Sichuan	Parents detained age 15	1988	2005	Unknown; via Russia, Ukraine, Slovakia, Czech Rep, Germany; 6 months	SE	Not known
E	Jiangxi	Orphaned age 13; last relative died age 15	1992	2007	House/property taken in lieu Of RMB 4-500,000 fee; via	SE	Not known

					HK, unknown route		
F	Fujian	Parents absent, probably long-term migrants; last relative died 2007, age 15	1992	2007	Trafficker made threats re unspecified debt for journey; several weeks, via Portugal	FL, groomed for SE	Not known
G	Guangdong	Orphan, lived with relatives to age 13 (physical abuse); informally adopted to age 15	1990	2005	Told she owed RMB 200,000 for transit (via 5-6 unknown countries)	SE	Not known
H	Guangdong	Married, 1 daughter (deceased); domestic abuse by husband	1972	2007	Trafficked in PRC by husband for sex work and forced marriage	SE (in PRC)	Not known
I	Anhui	Parents absent, presumed dead, age 9; from orphanage, adopted age 10 by single man – DS, physical/ sexual abuse	1990	2007	Told to pay back unspecified debt; 5 months, via 3 unknown countries	Detained at port of entry	Not known
J	Fujian	Abandoned by parents age c.3; street child or live-in servant to 2006	1989	2006	Unknown small amount; raped in PRC by trafficker	SE	Not known; Poppy Project support

K	Guangxi	Parents migrated age 9; lived with last relative to age c.14	1985	2006	Unknown amount paid by church contacts	SE	Not known; Poppy Project support
L	Sichuan	Mother died age 2, father left PRC age 15	1988	2007	Told she owed RMB 20,000; 2 years, via Sweden and unknown countries; SE en route	SE	Not known

Notes

1. Victims are identified by letter and only their year of birth is given to protect their anonymity. I have also avoided specific details, e.g. the exact relative an orphaned child lived with, to avoid identification of specific cases.
2. Type of exploitation: I have used the same key as the UKHTC in its NRM statistics, where SE = sexual exploitation, DS = domestic servitude, and FL = forced labour
3. Identification as a victim of trafficking: in most of these cases, asylum proceedings are ongoing, but the women have not yet been identified as victims of trafficking, although in my opinion and that of their legal representatives, there are clear signs of trafficking in their experiences. As indicated, two are being supported or have been supported by the Poppy Project, so staff there did accept them as victims of trafficking ahead of a final determination by the competent authority.