

PROJECT ACUMEN

ACPO MIGRATION AND ASSOCIATED MATTERS



SETTING THE RECORD

The trafficking of migrant women
in the England and Wales
off-street prostitution sector

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Foreword

Human trafficking for sexual exploitation involves the most extreme abuse of individuals within our communities in the UK.

In 2008 the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) Migration and Associated Matters portfolio, led by North Yorkshire Police Chief Constable Grahame Maxwell, recognised that there was an insufficient understanding of the nature and extent of the trafficking of foreign nationals for sexual exploitation. Building on knowledge gained and methodologies developed under UK Operation Pentameter 2, Project ACUMEN was commissioned to fill this gap. As the new ACPO lead for migration I am proud to have now taken over the role and continue this important work to safeguard victims of trafficking.



This report is the result of widespread collaboration between a number of law enforcement agencies, non-government organisations and academia. It sets the record of human trafficking within the off-street prostitution sector in England and Wales, providing an up to date and comprehensive estimate of the scale of the problems we collectively face. Moreover, it provides us with a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the various ways migrant women involved in prostitution are influenced, controlled, coerced, exploited and trafficked.

However, the publication of this report represents not the end of a process, but the start. In the light of the findings contained within it, the agencies and organisations charged with combating human trafficking and helping and protecting its victims have already started to review and optimise their processes and service provisions. Human trafficking can be tackled most effectively through a collaborative approach involving law enforcement, government and non-government organisations, working together to close down trafficking routes into the UK, make the UK a more hostile environment for traffickers, pursue traffickers and prosecute them robustly, and provide the most appropriate support for victims of this crime.

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Acknowledgements and contributions

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A number of individuals and organisations acted as consultants throughout the project, providing a range of perspectives and invaluable guidance, contributions, contacts, information and constructive criticism. Special thanks to: Dr Nick Mai of London Metropolitan University; Eaves and the Poppy Project; Rosie Campbell (with support from the UK Network of Sex Work Projects); the UK Human Trafficking Centre (of the Serious Organised Crime Agency); the UK Border Agency; the National Police Improvement Agency; the Home Office and all members of the Project ACUMEN steering group.

The project was coordinated by the ACPO-led Regional Intelligence Unit for the South West, who were also responsible for all data and intelligence analysis, and the writing of this report.

Executive summary

Project Acumen is a wide-ranging study aimed at improving our understanding of the nature and scale of the trafficking of migrant women for sexual exploitation so it can be tackled more effectively. Led by the Regional Intelligence Unit for the South West, the project sought to measure the extent of trafficking in England and Wales and provide a more nuanced picture of the trafficking landscape. It highlights the sometimes complex circumstances of trafficked women and the varied techniques used by traffickers to influence, control and exploit them.

The estimate of trafficking is built up from an examination of the off-street prostitution sector in seven regions, which has then been generalised to represent England and Wales as a whole. The project calculated the number of businesses operating in the sector, and then converted this into the number of women involved in prostitution (allowing for differences in size between businesses). The project has estimated the sector consists of 6,000 businesses and 30,000 women involved in prostitution. 17,000 of these women are migrants, and these were the focus of further analysis.

To assess the extent of trafficking, detailed information was gathered from a sample of migrant women involved in prostitution. This was done using a systematic methodology drawn from an internationally recognised process drawing on the International Labour Organisation's *operational indicators of trafficking* system and adhering to the United Nations definition of human trafficking (which is also used by the Government). This definition requires three components: the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by certain defined means for the purpose of exploitation.

The research included specially trained police officers conducting interviews with a sample of over 200 women involved in prostitution to determine each woman's individual circumstances. The results and findings were considered in consultation with experts from law enforcement, support services and academia; this rigorous approach was intended to ensure that the estimate is as reliable as possible.

The analysis suggests that of the 17,000 migrant women involved in prostitution in the off-street sector:

- **2,600 are trafficked.** These are highly vulnerable people. Although most are not subject to violence themselves, many are debt-bonded and strictly controlled through threats of violence to family members. 1,300 of these women are from China, and most of the rest are from South East Asia (primarily Thailand) and Eastern Europe.
- **9, 00 are considered to be vulnerable.** Although they have elements of vulnerability to trafficking, most are likely to fall short of the trafficking threshold. There may be cultural or financial factors which prevent them from exiting prostitution (or seeking help to do so) but they tend to have day to day control over their activities, and although they may have large debts they generally do not consider themselves to be debt-bonded. The majority of women in this

category are from Eastern Europe (4,100), followed by those from China and South East Asia (3,700). The remaining women are from South America and Africa.

- **5,500 do not meet the ‘trafficked’ or ‘vulnerable’ thresholds.** These women were aware before leaving their home country that they would likely become involved in prostitution, live and work largely independently of third party influence, keep a significant proportion of the money they earn and are not subject to debt-bondage or threats of violence. 85 per cent of migrants in this category are from Eastern Europe, and there are relatively few barriers preventing them from existing prostitution and returning to their countries of origin.

The report also finds that significant regional differences exist. For example, in London 96.4 per cent of women involved in prostitution are migrants, compared with only 31.5 per cent in Yorkshire and the Humber.

As with any research into organised crime, a number of important caveats need to be borne in mind. Firstly, human trafficking is a covert crime. This means any attempt at measuring or estimating it is inherently difficult. The estimates in this report are therefore just that – estimates – albeit robust ones based on research using open sources, police intelligence, published material and first hand interviews with women involved in prostitution.

Secondly, because there are believed to be few migrants in the on-street prostitution sector, the report is focused on the off-street sector. The report does not cover closed markets in the off-street sector (e.g. brothels that are advertised only in specific languages or only accept clients by invitation); although it has not been possible to formally estimate the extent of trafficking in these closed markets they are thought to comprise only a small proportion of the overall sector.

Thirdly, as the report attempts to demonstrate, there is no single story for all victims of trafficking any more than there is one for all women involved in prostitution. Some are subject to kidnap, rape and imprisonment, some enter the sector independently and are effectively self-employed within it, and others fit somewhere between these extremes. This presents significant challenges when trying to measure trafficking, which is itself a concept interpreted in variety of ways by different people and organisations.

The estimates in this report are therefore not a definitive account of the extent of trafficking, but it is our best attempt – based on a strong and transparent methodology. Although led by law enforcement using both analysts and officers specially trained in working with vulnerable women, Project Acumen has benefited from input from academics and the NGO sector. As a result, we believe that Project Acumen represents an important contribution to our overall effort at combating human trafficking.

Introduction

Background & objectives

Project ACUMEN commenced in January 2009 as a multi-agency year-long initiative to improve knowledge and understanding of the scale of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in England and Wales. This document reports the outputs and findings from a research project to produce a national (England and Wales) estimate of the extent of human trafficking for sexual exploitation in the off-street prostitution sector and to describe the nature of trafficking within that sector, in order to improve understanding and inform the development of more effective approaches to combating trafficking for sexual exploitation, which includes assisting victims.

Context

Human trafficking is sometimes mistakenly considered synonymous with human smuggling. Human smuggling is the process of illegally facilitating people across international borders; human trafficking includes an element of exploitation. Human trafficking is comprehensively defined in the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (The Council of Europe, 2005) (hereafter referred to as the ‘Action against Trafficking Convention’¹), and involves the combination of three elements:

1. The **action** of *“recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons”*
2. by **means** of *“the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability² or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person”*
3. for the **purpose** of *“exploitation [which includes] the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs”*.

The Action against Trafficking Convention was signed by the UK in March 2007, ratified in December 2008 and implemented from 1st April 2009. Its purpose is to prevent and combat trafficking in human beings, to identify and protect the victims of trafficking and to safeguard their rights; and to promote international co-operation against trafficking, and it encompasses all forms of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of exploitation. Key aspects include: the granting of a ‘reflection and recovery’ period for identified victims, during which time removal action is held in abeyance; the issuing of residence permits for identified victims in certain circumstances; and the setting up of a

¹ The Action against Trafficking Convention is based on the UN Convention on Transnational Organised Crime and its supplementary protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (The United Nations, 2003), often referred to as the Palermo Protocol.

² In accordance with Sections 83 & 84 of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings and its Explanatory Report (The Council of Europe, 2005), this includes people who are “impelled to accept being exploited” through “any state of hardship”. There are a wide range of means by which this can be achieved, including abduction, violence, taking advantage of vulnerability or the abuse of poverty of an individual who is hoping to better their life.

system by which victims can be systematically identified and referred to appropriate support. In the UK, this system is called the National Referral Mechanism (NRM). The NRM is a victim identification and support process, designed to make it easier for the various agencies that could be involved in a trafficking case (such as the police, UK Border Agency (UKBA), local authorities, and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)) to co-operate, share information about potential victims and facilitate their access to advice, accommodation and support.

Human Trafficking is criminalised through The Sexual Offences Act 2003 and the Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants) Act 2004. The Policing and Crime Act (2009) contains a (strict liability) criminal offence of paying for sex with someone subject to force, threats or deception, and Section 71 of the Coroners and Justice Act 2009 introduces a new offence of holding someone in slavery or servitude, or requiring them to perform forced or compulsory labour³. The UK Action Plan on Tackling Human Trafficking (The Home Office, 2007) sets out the UK's overall approach to combating human trafficking, including the implementation of the Action against Trafficking Convention, and provides the law enforcement context to human trafficking within the UK.

Broadly speaking, trafficking occurs in three contexts: sexual services; labour exploitation and the exploitation of children⁴, and in the UK its victims include both British and non-British men, women and children (Taylor and Jamieson, 1999). This report was commissioned by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) Migration Portfolio, with a remit to focus solely on the exploitation and trafficking of migrant females in the off-street prostitution sector. No attempt has therefore been made to estimate the scale or nature of the trafficking of British women in the prostitution sector. Furthermore, in consultation with prostitution experts from law enforcement, government and various charities, an early decision was taken not to include the on-street prostitution sector in this project, where it is thought migrants are far less prevalent. Male and transgender trafficking for sexual exploitation is not covered in this report, because the smaller and less overt nature of these markets render them unsuitable for the research methodology adopted. Trafficking for labour exploitation and trafficking of children are also outside the scope of this report.

Because of the relative strength of the UK economy, formal and informal employment opportunities in various industries and decreasing economic and political restrictions on global travel, the UK has in recent years become a destination for regular and irregular international economic migration (Serious Organised Crime Agency, 2009). Linked to the global feminisation of poverty (Bruckert and Parent, 2002), prostitution has become increasingly internationalised; Eastern Europeans, Chinese, Asians, Africans and South Americans now comprise significant proportions of the workforce, both in the UK and Europe.

Organised prostitution is an illegal and therefore unregulated sector in which there are potentially large profits to be made, and in comparison to other similarly profitable criminal activities such as drug trafficking, the perceived risk for criminals is low. In this context, there exists significant potential for exploitation and human trafficking. Brothels in the UK are run by British and non-British people, and individuals of various nationalities are involved in auxiliary activities such as

³ Further information on legislation relating to human trafficking can be found at <http://www.opsi.gov.uk/>.

⁴ These are broad categories and include trafficking in the contexts of begging, petty theft, cannabis farming, organ harvesting and human reproduction.

recruitment, facilitating international travel, moving women between establishments and money laundering.

Cultural and personal perspectives

There is no singular experience for migrant women involved in off-street prostitution (Mai, 2009). Some are subject to kidnap, rape, imprisonment and are forced into prostitution; others arrive independently in the sector and are effectively self-employed within it. Others fit somewhere between these two extremes, and the distribution of migrants within this continuum of exploitation is subject to much debate and, until now, little empirical evidence. In reality, traffickers use a variety of means to exert control over their victims and persuade, induce, compel or force them into prostitution, including violence or threats towards victims and their families, debt-bondage, shame, fear, deception, religious or cultural mechanisms and reward. Shelley (2003) identifies a number of business models for trafficking groups, each of which is an 'ideal' type associated with a national group, reflecting deep-rooted cultural norms and historical influences, and involving different levels of exploitation. This shows that although precise trafficking methodologies may vary between criminal groups, there exist broad patterns and themes which follow the cultural and ethnic backgrounds of those involved.

All individuals and organisations involved in the prostitution sector view it from their own perspective: women involved in prostitution, customers, law enforcement officials, charity and NGO staff, women previously involved in prostitution, legislators, judges, jurors and academics all have their own particular set of experiences, biases, expectations, cultural influences and worldviews. Everyone experiences the world through their own unique cultural filter (Adams, 1995; Thompson et al., 1990), and because the sale of sex itself is an emotive and politicised subject, when discussing human trafficking it is critical to recognise the effects of these cultural filters. Legitimate arguments on how best to minimise harm from prostitution range from toleration to legalisation to unconditional abolition. It could legitimately be argued that anyone who sells sex is by definition unacceptably exploited; conversely it could also be argued that in certain circumstances prostitution is an entirely legitimate form of employment. There exist a variety of opinions on all sides of the debate, and there seems little chance of achieving a widespread consensus. The morality of prostitution is not discussed here, neither is the legitimacy of its prohibition, legalisation or decriminalisation. Emphasis is instead placed on understanding and articulating the nature and extent of trafficking, coercion and exploitation in the sector.

Caveats and limitations

This report only examines organised, and thus illegal, forms of prostitution. For the purposes of this report, 'off-street' prostitution is defined as the illegal organisation and control of prostitution, other than that relating to on-street prostitution. Unless explicitly stated otherwise, any reference to 'the prostitution sector' or 'prostitution' in this report should be read as 'the off-street prostitution sector' or 'off-street prostitution' respectively. Furthermore, the phrase 'women involved in prostitution' only includes those individuals directly providing sexual services and excludes those solely concerned in auxiliary roles, such as organisers, controllers and receptionists. The term 'migrant' is applied to all non-British individuals, including EU nationals. It is recognised that there are important differences between the circumstances of migrants from EU and non-EU European countries, particularly in the prostitution sector, but the difficulties in accurately identifying the nationality of individuals involved in prostitution have prevented any analysis by nationality. Women involved in prostitution who operate entirely independently of third party influence or control are outside the scope of this report.

This document reports the findings of a pragmatic, police-led research project, and as such in some areas it may deviate from conventional academic research methods and standards. The report utilises statistics in a variety of ways throughout, but should not be viewed as a statistical report in the classical sense; rather as an inferential analysis which draws on statistics where appropriate.

The project consisted of two distinct phases, occurring over a 12 month period. The first phase involved conducting a combination of wide-ranging open and closed-source research in a number of regions in England and Wales to identify the number of businesses and migrant women involved in off-street prostitution. The second phase consisted of gathering more detailed information relating to a sample of specific individuals involved in prostitution to identify the extent of human trafficking within the sector, using a systematic methodology drawn from an existing and internationally recognised process. The data collected was then analysed centrally prior to a wide consultation process which drew on expertise from within law enforcement, support services and academia.

Although this methodology has led to a robust and detailed understanding of off-street prostitution in England and Wales, there are a number of limitations which must be recognised. Firstly, the prostitution sector is inherently covert in nature, and is therefore difficult to measure accurately. Secondly, advances in communication technology are changing the way sexual services are advertised. Businesses are increasingly utilising the internet to reach potential customers, either in addition to or instead of printed media; the nebulous nature of the internet makes it difficult to definitively determine the size and geographical boundaries of sex markets, and to distinguish women operating independently from those under the control of criminals. Thirdly, it is recognised that regional variations within the UK make drawing definitive conclusions about areas in which research was not directly conducted difficult. The above limitations are addressed further within the document. Finally, a proportion of the off-street prostitution sector operates within closed markets⁵. Although it is thought they account for only a small proportion of the sector, it has not been possible to estimate the size of these closed markets, or the extent of trafficking within them. The findings contained within this report therefore refer only to open markets. All numerical

⁵ For example, it is reported that in some areas with large Chinese communities there exist sex markets that are advertised only in Chinese language media and are only open to Chinese nationals.

findings represent the authors' best estimates, but because of the above limitations, it is unlikely that the sector is smaller than estimated, or that there are fewer women trafficked than estimated.

In comparison to the number of referrals of African women to support service providers, the research conducted identified a low number of women from Africa. This may indicate that a significant proportion of African women involved in prostitution operate within closed markets. This report frequently refers to migrants from 'Eastern Europe'; 'Eastern Europe' can be defined in a number of different ways, and it has no single, authoritative definition. For the purposes of this report a geographical approach has been adopted⁶. No political, social or other judgement is intended by the authors in defining countries or individuals as Eastern European.

The report is intended to be a wholly objective assessment of the relevant issues in order to stimulate further subjective debate. It includes a full and transparent explanation of the methodologies used, and as much of the raw data as possible to enable external scrutiny of the findings.

⁶ For the purposes of this report, 'Eastern European' countries include Albania, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey and Ukraine.

The size of the off-street prostitution sector

Key Findings

Around 17,000 of the estimated 30,000 women involved in off-street prostitution in England and Wales are migrants. Approximately half (9,000) of these come from Eastern Europe, and a third (6,000) from Asia. However, the sector is subject to substantial regional variations: in London and surrounding areas it is dominated by migrants but British women are more prevalent in provincial parts of the country.

The approach

Overview

The size of the off-street prostitution sector has been estimated through a sampling and extrapolation method. This involved:

- conducting coordinated, structured research in seven Government Office Regions (GORs)⁷ to determine the size of the sector⁸;
- estimating the size of the sector in the remaining three regions; and
- consulting with local experts on the results.

Methodological considerations

The way the off-street prostitution sector operates strongly influenced the methodological approach undertaken. The sector is primarily concerned with the generation of financial profit through interactions between customers and those selling sex. Because the control and organisation of prostitution is prohibited, persons engaged in organising prostitution have to balance two competing requirements: maximising their exposure to potential customers whilst maintaining a low enough profile to avoid coming to the attention of law enforcement. There are a variety of strategies adopted to achieve this:

Disguise

Some businesses disguise themselves as some form of legitimate enterprise, such as a massage parlour. This enables them able to widely advertise their presence through printed media, the internet and prominent physical signage without overtly advertising sexual services. Customers familiar with the general practices of these businesses are able to interpret subtle cues which indicate that sexual services are available. Due to the relatively high set-up costs and the importance of brand reputation these businesses tend to remain in the same location for long periods of time.

⁷ Government Office Regions are the primary classification for the presentation of all official regional statistics in the UK, and match the regional administrative groupings of police forces in the UK. The research conducted took place in all England & Wales regions except the North East, East Midlands and North West.

⁸ Although this project is only concerned with migrants involved in prostitution, the total size of the sector (including British individuals) was calculated in order to ascertain the proportion of the sector accounted for by migrants.

Camouflage

Some businesses operate from discreet, nondescript houses and flats in order to remain anonymous to the general public. They attract customers through adverts in the printed media, the internet and (decreasingly) cards in telephone kiosks⁹ which provide a telephone number to call to make an appointment, as well as by word of mouth. These businesses tend to be relatively mobile, usually using rented properties and changing location at least every few months.

Out-calls

Some businesses only offer 'out-call' services, where women involved in prostitution travel to visit customers. This negates the risk of neighbours becoming suspicious of successions of male callers to an address, and also reduces the overheads of the business. Customers are reached through the same methods as camouflaged businesses.

Limiting clientele

Some businesses reduce their visibility to law enforcement by only offering services to a limited group or community. They advertise either by word of mouth or in some cases in foreign-language newspapers and magazines. These types of businesses are said to operate within 'closed markets'.

It is thought only a small proportion of businesses limit their clientele¹⁰, and it is therefore possible to identify almost all of the businesses that exist through searching appropriate open-source material such as newspapers, magazines and internet sites. Furthermore, the 'nearness' or 'least effort' principle¹¹ suggests that in order for businesses to thrive in a competitive marketplace (such as the prostitution sector) they would seek to make it as straightforward for potential customers to find them as circumstances allow. It is therefore likely the vast majority of businesses can be identified using relatively simple search strategies.

A structured research programme¹² was devised to identify businesses and individuals selling sexual services in each of the seven GORs. This involved combining open source research of newspapers, magazines and the internet with local expert opinion, information held on police crime and intelligence systems and various proactive intelligence gathering techniques to obtain a snapshot of the number and size of businesses¹³ selling sexual services. The number of businesses was then converted into the number of women involved in prostitution. Because business models are often

⁹ Cards in telephone kiosks remain a widespread advertising method in some parts of London, but in general their use seems to be decreasing (Source: SCD9, personal communication 2010).

¹⁰ Source: consultation with local prostitution experts across seven GORs and a variety of prostitution experts both from law enforcement and relevant charities.

¹¹ The least effort principle states that given a number of equally attractive options, people will usually choose the one which requires the least expenditure of effort. In this case, this does not mean that it is assumed all customers will necessarily patronise the business physically closest to them; rather that people in general will patronise the business that, of all the suitable businesses available to them, requires the minimal expenditure of effort. 'Effort' may include travel time, research time, money, inconvenience, perceived safety, or any number of other factors.

¹² The research was carried out by seven separate teams, coordinated through the ACPO Regional Intelligence Unit (RIU) network.

¹³ For the purposes of estimating the size of the industry, the fact that a single group or individual may own or run multiple premises is not relevant. Therefore two premises which sell sexual services and are owned and run by the same individual but operate in separate locations are considered separate businesses for the purposes of this report.

strongly linked to areas of origin, some basic information about the nationality, area of origin and ethnic background of the women involved in each area was also collected.

The research programme was designed to obtain as consistent and complete an understanding as possible, whilst allowing for local variations in market conditions, existing knowledge levels and resource availability. It consisted of the following:

1. Research of advertisements in the printed media

The exact publications to be researched were determined locally in order to reflect local circumstances, but they included daily and periodical local, regional and national newspapers and relevant magazines. The full text of each advertisement was recorded along with any addresses, telephone numbers and web addresses. Because the publications in question had a range of publication dates it was not possible to fully synchronise the observation period, which was typically two to four weeks in each region.

2. Research of internet web sites

A standard list of websites to be researched was provided to each GOR research team. However, it was identified early on that there were significant regional differences in the relevance of these websites, and that in some cases other local or regional websites may offer a better picture for a particular area. The list of websites was therefore provided as a guide to local researchers rather than a definitive or prescriptive list. The amount of time spent researching the internet varied by region, with each investing enough time to achieve a 'comprehensive understanding' of the market in their region.

3. Research of police intelligence

Computerised intelligence systems within each region were researched to identify businesses and individuals selling sexual services (and instances of human trafficking in the prostitution sector). Because of the variety of computer systems that exist across UK law enforcement, each region devised a bespoke research strategy for this, in consultation with any identified local prostitution experts. Various proactive tactics were also used to identify businesses selling sexual services.

4. Consolidation of results

The results of 1-3 above were collated and examined to remove duplicates. This involved cross-checking specific phrases, names, telephone numbers, web addresses and physical addresses mentioned, and in some areas telephone calls and visits to the establishments identified.

5. Corroboration

Once processed, the results from each region were presented to local practitioners and experts, and the combined data from all regions presented to groups and individuals with a national interest. Results were also checked against data from other sources such as Bindel and Atkins (2008), Cusick et al. (2009) and Mai (2009) for any substantial anomalies.

6. Conversion

The research results were then converted from the number and size of businesses that exist to the total number of women involved in prostitution that exist, taking into account various factors such as days off and multiple shift systems.

7. Extrapolation

Because only seven of the ten GORs were able to participate in the research programme it was necessary to estimate the figures for the remaining three regions. This was done by analysing the statistical relationship between the results of the seven research programmes with a variety of open-source datasets relating to each of the ten regions and using the combined data to forecast likely values for the three non-participating regions.

8. Consultation

The findings from the research and analysis were distributed to a variety of practitioners and academics with expert knowledge in the fields of prostitution, human trafficking, law enforcement and statistics for review and feedback.

Limitations and qualifications

There is no theoretically wholly robust way to estimate the size of the sector in those areas in which no primary research was conducted. The extrapolations for the North West, North East and East Midlands regions should therefore not be used individually, although when aggregated to the national level the uncertainties involved are considered to be within acceptable limits.

In order to estimate the number of women operating in the sector various assumptions have been made relating to industry operating patterns, such as the number of businesses operating multiple shift patterns and the number of days off women involved in prostitution take per week. The figures used have been determined subjectively through extensive consultations with industry experts rather than through a strictly statistical approach. Full details of the assumptions made can be found in Appendix 2.

Results

Research data

Each region conducted a structured research programme to identify the number and size of businesses selling off-street sexual services in their area. Local variations in market conditions, existing knowledge and available resources led to slight variations in the application of the programme, which are detailed in Appendix 1. Initial scoping research in each of the GORs indicated that some regions have a less diverse population of women involved in prostitution than others. Some regions found the number of individuals from a particular area of origin to be too small to measure reliably, and therefore recorded the proportion as “negligible”. Figure 1 below summarises the data returned.

Figure 1. Market size data returned by each region

	London (LO)	West Midlands (WM)	South East (SE)	Eastern (EA)	South West (SW)	Wales (WA)	Yorkshire and The Humber (YH)	
Businesses identified	2103	342	426	268	326	76	534	
Average number of beds in use per business	1.7	6.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	3.4	4.4	
Area of origin	Africa	1.2%	8.4%	2.9%	1.5%	negligible	negligible	negligible
	Asia	22.5%	10.6%	50.7%	21.3%	27.0%	14.4%	10.9%
	Eastern Europe	55.6%	46.6%	13.0%	10.8%	16.0%	10.6%	19.0%
	South America	14.2%	negligible	4.3%	negligible	negligible	negligible	negligible
	UK	3.6%	24.4%	17.4%	17.5%	57.0%	62.4%	68.5%
	Western Europe	1.8%	negligible	5.8%	negligible	negligible	negligible	negligible
	Unknown / other	1.2%	10.0%	5.8%	48.9%	0.0%	12.6%	negligible

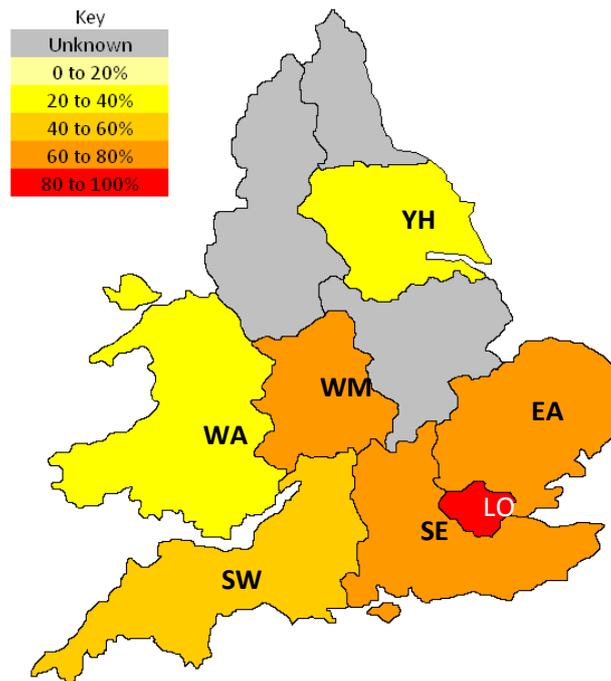
A number of anomalies in the returned data were subject to additional scrutiny:

Data from the West Midlands indicated there were on average 6.6 beds per business, far higher than in any other region. Consultation with local experts suggests this figure is a genuine representation of market conditions in the West Midlands, particularly in Birmingham where businesses often consist of a large number of women in large, multi room residential properties.

The Eastern region indicated 48.9% of individuals were of unknown/other area of origin, far higher than any other region. Time and resource limitations during the research phase prevented this figure from being reduced, and therefore aggregate data from other regions was used to estimate the proportion of women involved in prostitution from each area of origin for this proportion of the Eastern region.

The concentration of British women involved in prostitution across the country was extremely varied, accounting for just 3.6% of the total in London but 68.5% in Yorkshire and The Humber. Consultation with a variety of local experts in each of the regions suggests the distribution of British women involved in prostitution is genuinely different in different parts of the country: in London and surrounding areas the sector is dominated by migrants but British women are more prevalent in provincial parts of the country. Figure 2 below illustrates the proportion of women involved in prostitution accounted for by migrants by region:

Figure 2. Proportion of women involved in prostitution accounted for by migrants by region



Conversion

In order to convert the number and size of businesses into the total number of women involved in prostitution that exist at any point in time it is necessary to take into account sector operating patterns: relevant factors include the number of shifts each individual works per day/week, and premises that use more than one shift in a single day. Figure 3 shows the estimated number of women involved in prostitution in each region at any given time. A full explanation of how this has been calculated is available at Appendix 2.

Figure 3. Estimated number of women involved in prostitution in each region, by area of origin

Area of origin	LO	WM	SE	EA	SW	WA	YH
Africa	62	277	47	15	negligible	negligible	negligible
Asia	1174	349	820	208	321	55	375
Eastern Europe	2903	1535	211	106	190	40	651
South America	741	negligible	70	negligible	negligible	negligible	negligible
UK	265	1149	402	245	969	337	3356
Western Europe	93	negligible	94	negligible	negligible	negligible	negligible
Unknown	62	329	94	478	negligible	48	negligible
Total	5299	3639	1738	1052	1481	479	4382

Figure 4 below shows the distribution of women involved in off-street prostitution across England and Wales, and Figure 5 shows the non-uniform distribution of individuals from the UK, Asia and Eastern Europe within the sector.

Figure 4. The distribution of women involved in off-street prostitution across England and Wales

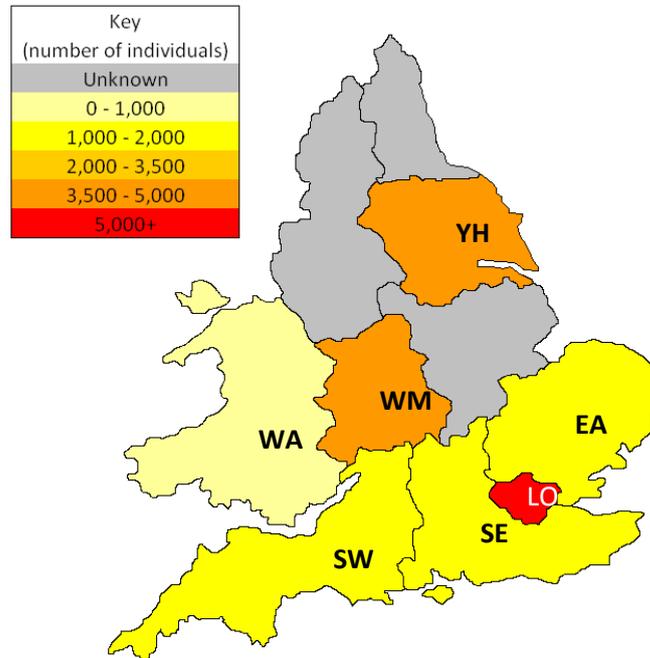
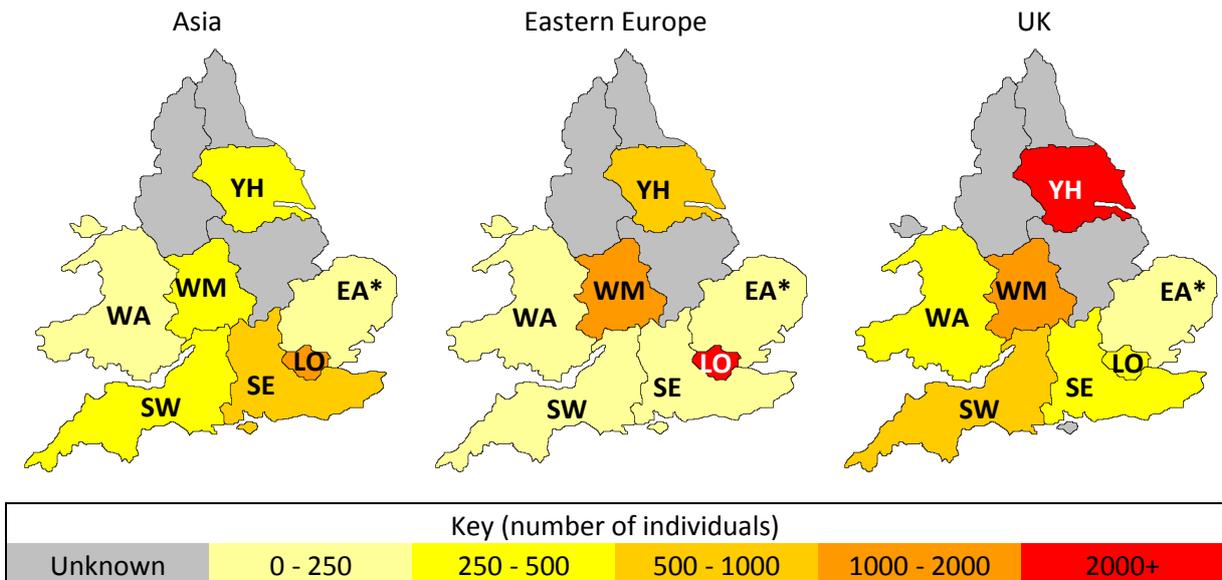


Figure 5. The distribution of women involved in off-street prostitution in the England and Wales by area of origin



* Data for the Eastern region (EA) contains a high proportion of individuals from unknown area of origin who are not represented here.

National Extrapolation

In order to establish the total size of the England and Wales off-street prostitution sector, it was necessary to identify the size of the markets in the three remaining GORs. However, as no research had been conducted in these areas, the size of each of their sex markets had to be estimated. This was achieved by comparing various quantifiable attributes of each of the ten regions (such as population size), and then using statistical procedures to identify the probable size of their sex markets, based on relevant attributes.

The datasets (e.g. population size) that were hypothesised to correlate to the number of individuals involved in prostitution and that could be split into Government Office Region areas were identified, and then subject to a variety of statistical tests which determined whether a relationship did exist between each dataset and the estimated number of businesses, beds and individuals involved in prostitution in the seven participating regions. Where a positive relationship existed the results were used to estimate the number of businesses and individuals involved in prostitution in each of the three non-participating regions (see Appendix 3 for full details of the methodology and calculations). A breakdown of the area of origin of individuals involved in prostitution in each of the three non-participating regions was then obtained by taking a simple average percentage from the other regions. Figure 6 shows the estimated number of businesses and individuals involved in prostitution in each GOR in England and Wales. It is important to note that the individual extrapolations for the NW, NE and EM regions should be treated with caution, but the aggregate figure for England and Wales is believed to be suitably reliable.

Figure 6. Estimated number of businesses and individuals involved in prostitution in each region

	Research data							Extrapolations			Total
	LO	WM	SE	EA	SW	WA	YH	NW	NE	EM	
Businesses	2103	342	426	268	326	76	534	760	649	405	5890
Individuals	5299	3639	1738	1052	1481	479	4382	4923	4204 ¹⁴	2626	29823

The average area of origin figures for the participating regions were then used to calculate the likely number of individuals from each area of origin, as shown in Figure 7.

¹⁴ The extrapolation for the NE region seems high compared to local expert opinion. However, it has not been adjusted in order to preserve methodological integrity.

Figure 7. Estimated number of individuals involved in prostitution from each area of origin

Area of origin	Research data							Extrapolations			Total
	LO	WM	SE	EA	SW	WA	YH	NW	NE	EM	
Africa	62	277	47	15	negligible	negligible	negligible	154	131	82	767
Asia	1174	349	820	208	321	55	375	967	826	516	5612
Eastern Europe	2903	1535	211	106	190	40	651	1242	1061	663	8603
South America	741	negligible	70	negligible	negligible	negligible	negligible	32	27	17	888
UK	265	1149	402	245	969	337	3356	2054	1754	1096	11625
Western Europe	93	negligible	94	negligible	negligible	negligible	negligible	43	36	23	288
Unknown /other	62	329	94	478	negligible	48	negligible	431	368	230	2041

It was presumed that the area of origin of the 2041 unknown/other individuals involved in prostitution were distributed proportionally¹⁵. The total number of individuals from each area of origin was therefore adjusted to remove the unknown/other category. Figure 8 shows the updated aggregated data.

Figure 8. Adjusted number of individuals involved in prostitution in England and Wales from each area of origin

Area of Origin	Total (unadjusted)	Total (adjusted)
Africa	767	823
Asia	5612	6024
Eastern Europe	8603	9234
South America	888	953
UK	11625	12479
Western Europe	288	309
Unknown	2041	0
Total	29823	29823
Total (migrants)	16157 - 18198	17344

¹⁵ 'Unknown' areas of origin are a result of an inherent limitation in the research methodology (the use of adverts), and are not thought to reflect a significant sample skew.

Trafficking in the off-street prostitution sector

Key Findings

Migrant women involved in off-street prostitution can be grouped into three categories: those who are trafficked; those who are vulnerable and those who do not meet the 'trafficked' or 'vulnerable' thresholds. There are an estimated 2,600 trafficked migrants in the England and Wales off-street prostitution sector, and a further 9,200 vulnerable migrants, amongst whom there may be further victims of trafficking.

An estimated 2,200 of the trafficked women are from Asia, primarily China. These are highly vulnerable people, working in poor conditions in an unregulated and sometimes hazardous sector. Although most are not subject to violence themselves, many are debt-bonded and strictly controlled through threats of violence to family members, the withholding of payment and by being forced into committing other offences. Approximately one third of all women from Asia involved in off-street prostitution are found to be trafficked.

Around 400 women from Eastern Europe are also trafficked. Many of these are brought to the UK under false pretences, and around 40% of them are debt-bonded to their controllers. They are typically highly dependent upon their controllers.

The 9,200 vulnerable migrants involved in prostitution have elements of vulnerability to trafficking, but most are likely to fall short of the trafficking threshold. Approximately 3,700 of them are from Asia; there may be significant cultural factors which prevent them from exiting prostitution or seeking help, but they tend to have day to day control over their activities and do not consider themselves to be debt-bonded. A further estimated 4,100 are from Eastern Europe; although many are legally entitled to live and work in the UK, they tend to speak little English and because they live and work in areas they are unfamiliar with they are overly reliant on their controllers. Most made a conscious decision to become involved in prostitution, albeit with limited alternatives, and the financial rewards on offer are considered to be a significant pull factor for these individuals. Additionally, there are around 1,000 vulnerable women from South America and 400 from Africa involved in prostitution, who are highly unlikely to be legally entitled to live and work in the country so operate outside normal societal support networks and systems.

Around one third (5,500) of all migrant women involved in prostitution (of whom 85% are from Eastern Europe) do not meet the thresholds for the 'trafficked' or 'vulnerable' categories.

The approach

Overview

The extent of trafficking and exploitation in the off-street prostitution sector has been estimated by:

- conducting primary research of a sample of women involved in prostitution from across England and Wales;
- applying the International Labour Organization (ILO)¹⁶ framework of operational indicators of trafficking in human beings (indicators of trafficking of adults for sexual exploitation) to the sampled population;
- analysing the results to identify typologies of trafficking, exploitation and coercion, and the relative prevalence of each typology; and
- combining the prevalence of each typology with previous estimations of the total market size to estimate the likely number of individuals that exist within each typology.

Methodological considerations

The methodology developed by the ILO to gather and structure relevant information about an individual in order to assess whether they meet the criteria for trafficking (International Labour Organization, 2009)¹⁷ consists of three stages:

1. Assess the individual for the presence or absence of 66 individual “operational indicators” of trafficking.

Examples of these indicators include: *RA01 Abuse of culture / religious beliefs*; *CR03 Debt bondage*; *RA11 Illegal status*, and *CD13 Violence on family (threats or effective)*¹⁸.

2. Analyse the combination of indicators present against set criteria to establish whether the individual exhibits any of the six “dimensions of the trafficking definition”.

Each “operational indicator” is linked to one or more of the “dimensions of the trafficking definition”, defined as:

- *DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT (or deception during recruitment, transfer and transportation)*
- *COERCIVE RECRUITMENT (or coercion during recruitment, transfer and transportation)*
- *RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY*
- *EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK*
- *COERCION AT DESTINATION*
- *ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION*

¹⁶ The ILO is the “tripartite United Nations agency that brings together governments, employers and workers of its member states in common action to promote decent work throughout the world” (www.ilo.org).

¹⁷ The ILO has four versions of this system, covering adult or child victims of trafficking for labour or sexual exploitation. The version used here is the “indicators of trafficking of adults for sexual exploitation”.

¹⁸ For the purposes of this document, each “operational indicator” has been allocated a coding. See Appendix 4 for a full list of the ILO indicators of trafficking and the codings allocated. Throughout this document, “operational indicators” are signified using *italics* and “dimensions of the trafficking definition” are signified using *CAPITALISED ITALICS*.

The combinations of indicators present are examined against pre-set criteria to establish whether the individual exhibits each “dimension of the trafficking definition”.

3. Analyse the combination of “dimensions of trafficking” present in the context of the Action against Trafficking Convention to assess whether the individual is trafficked.

The “dimensions of the trafficking definition” exhibited by an individual are considered in the context of the three requirements for trafficking under the above Convention (action, means and purpose) to assess whether the individual is trafficked¹⁹.

In order to estimate the number of victims of trafficking that exist, some primary research of women involved in prostitution was conducted by a small team of officers from the Metropolitan Police’s SCD9 (Human Exploitation and Organised Crime) unit. The officers from this specialist unit have extensive collective experience in the investigation of both organised prostitution and human trafficking, a good working knowledge of the sex sector and are specifically trained to be sensitive to the needs of women involved in prostitution and of victims of human trafficking.

Having received a briefing on the objectives of Project ACUMEN and studied the ILO indicators of trafficking, in late 2009 the SCD9 team overtly visited 142 premises across England and Wales in which sexual services were being sold²⁰, meeting a total of 254 women involved in prostitution. Within each location they sought to identify the individuals present who were involved in prostitution and use their experience, knowledge, interview and investigation skills to gather as much information as possible about each of them and their individual circumstances. Immediately following each encounter the officers reviewed the list of “operational indicators” and were asked to use their professional judgement to assess and record which applied to the individual in question. In addition to the information gathered directly from the individual(s), the officers took into account other factors such as their demeanour, the working conditions, the presence of any ‘minders’, input from other individuals involved in prostitution present and the possibility of response bias²¹.

Once collated, the data were analysed by a separate team to identify which “dimensions of the trafficking definition” were present for each individual, and these in turn were analysed to identify a number of patterns or distinct typologies of exploitation and trafficking. The proportion of sampled individuals in each typology was applied to the estimations of market size in order to estimate the number of individuals in England and Wales exhibiting the ILO dimensions of trafficking.

Although 44 British nationals were interviewed as part of the process and the results recorded, the scale of trafficking of British nationals is not assessed in this report²². Of the 210 migrants interviewed, 123 were from Eastern Europe, 52 from Asia and 24 from South America. The remaining 11 were from Africa, Australasia, North America and Western Europe. A full breakdown of interviewee nationalities is available as Appendix 5. It was found that the combinations of

¹⁹ It is important to note that under this system an individual can exhibit various “operational indicators” of trafficking, or even several “dimensions of the trafficking definition” without meeting the full criteria for human trafficking as defined in the Action against Trafficking Convention.

²⁰ A variety of types of premises were visited, including businesses using disguise and/or camouflage strategies.

²¹ Response bias is discussed later in this document.

²² None of the 44 British nationals exhibited any of the “dimensions of the trafficking definition”.

“dimensions of the trafficking definition” present were strongly grouped according to area of origin, and the analysis has therefore been described separately for individuals originating from each area.

Throughout the remainder of this document the following terms are used to refer to the various groups involved in the process:

- The SCD9 team which conducted the research: the research team
- The 254 individuals involved in prostitution the research team encountered: the sample of individuals involved in prostitution
- The 210 individuals involved in prostitution the research team encountered who originate from abroad: the sample of migrants involved in prostitution
- The team that analysed the data collected by the research team: the analysis team

Limitations and qualifications

This research was conducted in accordance with current UK law enforcement policy relating to prostitution and human trafficking; any person suspected by the research team to be a victim of human trafficking or requiring any form of assistance was referred to the appropriate authority and/or support service, and all criminal offences were dealt with appropriately.

The covert nature of human trafficking and the disconnection between its victims and mainstream society make it an intrinsically difficult phenomenon to measure. This is amplified when attempting to quantitatively articulate the inherently qualitative and diverse experiences of those involved; although it is imperfect, the system of sampling individuals involved in prostitution and identifying indicators of trafficking represents the most practical way of achieving this. The results are not claimed to be definitive: rather they represent a best estimate.

The National Referral Mechanism (NRM) is the UK’s formal approach to identifying individual victims of trafficking²³, and is broadly speaking a similar approach to the ILO system used here. The NRM provides an evidence-based, comprehensive assessment of each individual on a case by case basis, but the ILO system is preferred here because (unlike the NRM) it is points-based, which enables a more complex statistical analysis of the results and a more nuanced understanding of the work and life circumstances of migrants involved in prostitution.

The approach adopted relies upon the research team both encountering a representative sample of the prostitution sector and being able to conduct a sufficiently accurate assessment of the individuals encountered. A significant issue is that of reporting bias; there are a number of reasons why both trafficked and non-trafficked individuals involved in prostitution may not wish or be able to disclose the full facts of their situation to the (police) research team. Trafficked women may fear repercussions from their traffickers, and they may also seek to disguise their true identity or nationality through fear of deportation or removal from the UK. They may also fear the police themselves due to previous experiences of corrupt authorities in their country of origin or in transit countries, or because of misinformation provided by their controllers or traffickers. The traumatic effects of trafficking and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) may also make it difficult for victims

²³ Further details of the NRM can be found at <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/policyandlaw/asylumprocessguidance/specialcases/guidance/victimsoftrafficking.pdf?view=Binary>.

to talk openly about their experiences. 56% of trafficked women suffer from PTSD (Zimmerman et al, 2006), and Eaves report it can take several months within a support service context before trafficked women are able to talk about their experiences, and that some women never reveal the extent of the violence they suffer²⁴. Conversely, it has been reported anecdotally that some non-trafficked individuals have embellished or fabricated claims of exploitation as they are aware they will be treated more favourably by the police as a result. The limited time available with each individual decreases the potential for building up mutual trust to reduce these reporting biases, but it is impractical to significantly increase the contact time with each person whilst maintaining the required sample size.

The effects of reporting bias have been reduced by only deploying experienced, specialist officers, and allowing them the flexibility to make a professional judgement as to the likely presence of each indicator based on all the information available to them.

Although the premises visited were situated across the UK, there is an insufficient volume of data to determine whether regional differences exist in coercion methods. It has therefore been assumed that coercion methods and levels are uniform across the country.

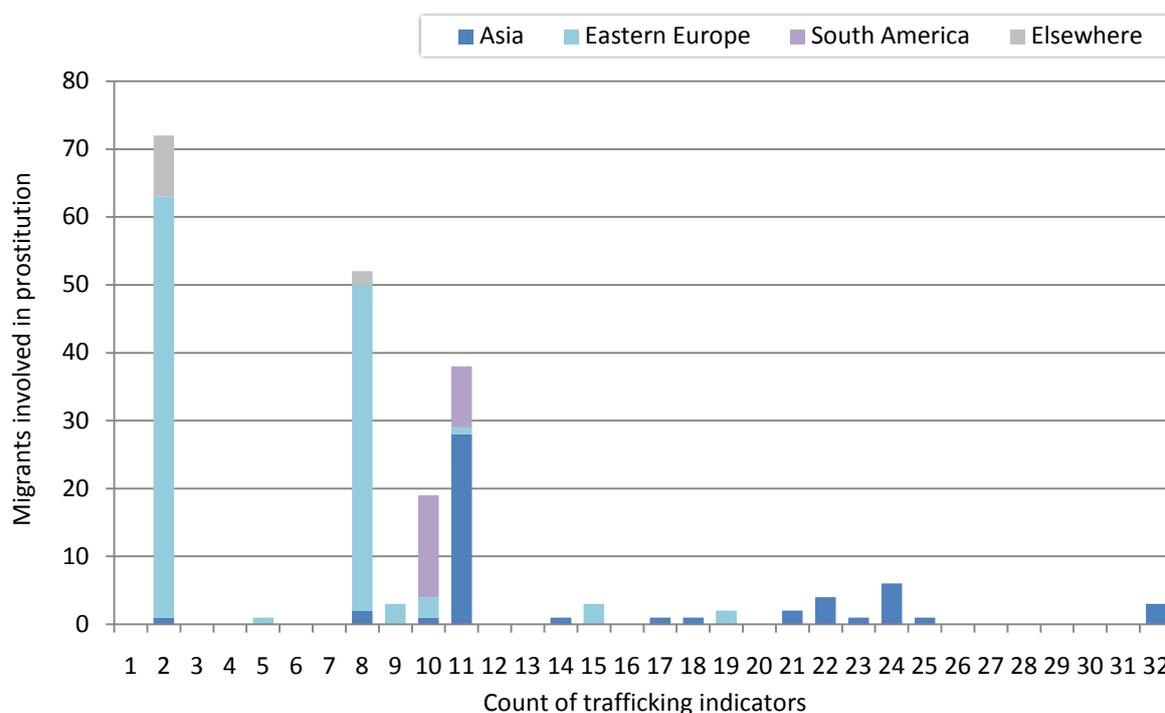
Although it is not possible to publish the raw research data, as much data as possible is included in the Appendices to this report.

²⁴ Personal communication, June 2010.

Results

The sample population of migrants involved in prostitution was judged to display an average of 8.3 “operational indicators” per individual. Figure 9 illustrates that whilst all migrants display at least two of the 66 “operational indicators”, relatively few (12.9%) displayed more than 11, and that migrants from Eastern Europe tended to display fewer than other migrants.

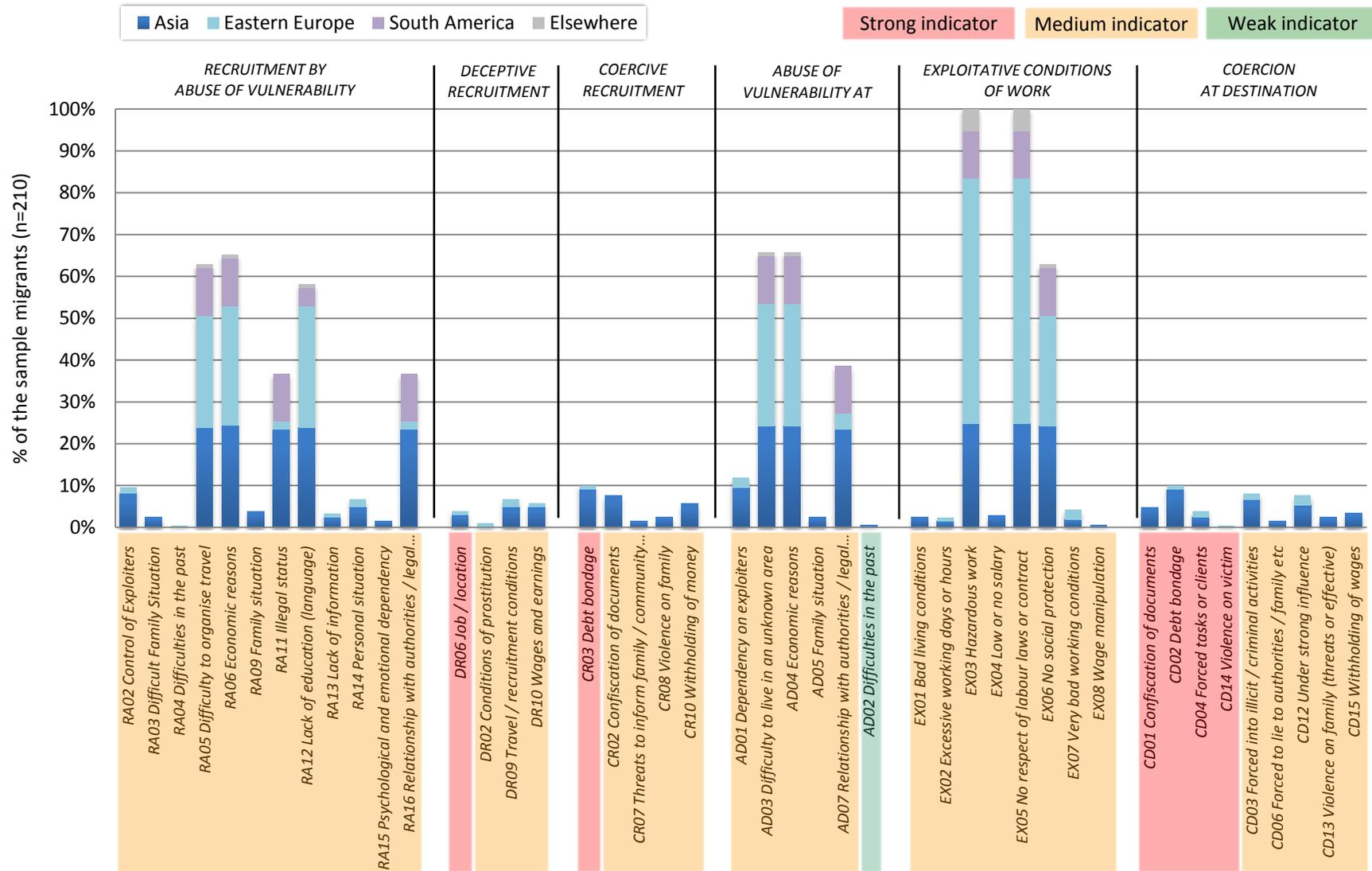
Figure 9. Count of “operational indicators” of trafficking for sample migrants involved in prostitution (n=210)



All 210 migrants were judged by the SCD9 team to exhibit the *EX03 hazardous work* and *EX05 no respect of labour laws or contract* indicators²⁵. All individuals from South America, almost all of those from Asia and around half of those from Eastern Europe were judged exhibit the *AD03 difficulty to live in an unknown area* and the *RA05 difficulty to organise travel* indicators, and either the *AD04 economic reasons* or *RA06 economic reasons* indicators. *EX06 no social protection*, *RA12 lack of education* and *AD07 relationship with authorities / legal status* were also commonly exhibited indicators. Women from Asia and South America also exhibited the *RA11 illegal status* indicator. The prevalence of each of the “operational indicators” of trafficking present in the sample is shown in Figure 10. A full count of the indicators present is available at Appendix 8.

²⁵ *EX05 no respect of labour laws or contract* was universally applied to all migrants interviewed, because by definition it is not possible to work in accordance with labour laws within the context of organised (and therefore illegal) prostitution or to have a valid employment contract. However, it is acknowledged that this indicator by itself does not necessarily indicate the presence of exploitation.

Figure 10. The prevalence of “operational indicators” of trafficking amongst the sample of migrants involved in prostitution



65.2% of the sampled migrants involved in prostitution exhibit one or more of the “dimensions of the trafficking definition”. However, this figure was as high as 98.1% for individuals from Asia, compared to 51.2% of those from Eastern Europe. The most common “dimensions of the trafficking definition” exhibited were *RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY* (65.2%) and *EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK* (also 65.2%). Almost every individual from Asia or South America and half of those from Eastern Europe exhibit the *RECRUITED BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY* and *EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK* dimensions. 11.4% of all migrants sampled and more than a third of those from Asia suffer *COERCION AT DESTINATION*. Figure 11 shows the proportion of sampled migrants exhibiting each “dimension of the trafficking definition”, by area of origin.

Figure 11. Sampled migrants exhibiting each “dimension of the trafficking definition”, by area of origin²⁶

Dimension of the trafficking definition	Asia (n=52)	Eastern Europe (n=123)	South America (n=24)	Total (n=210)
<i>RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY</i>	98.1%	48.8%	100.0%	65.2%
<i>DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT</i>	11.5%	3.3%	0.0%	4.8%
<i>COERCIVE RECRUITMENT</i>	32.7%	0.0%	0.0%	8.1%
<i>ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION</i>	94.2%	8.9%	100.0%	40.0%
<i>EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK</i>	98.1%	48.8%	100.0%	65.2%
<i>COERCION AT DESTINATION</i>	36.5%	4.1%	0.0%	11.4%

Migrants from Asia exhibited an average of 15.4 “operational indicators”. The *RA06 economic reasons*, *AD03 difficulty to live in an unknown area*, *AD04 economic reasons*, *EX06 no social protection*, *RA12 lack of education (language)*, *RA05 difficulty to organise travel*, *RA11 illegal status*, *RA16 relationship with authorities / legal status* and *AD07 relationship with authorities / legal status* indicators were each exhibited by more than 90% of the Asian women in the sample. Other less common indicators include *AD01 dependency on exploiters* (38.5%), *CR03 debt bondage* (36.5%), *CD02 debt bondage* (36.5%), *RA02 control of exploiters* (32.7%), *CR02 confiscation of documents* (30.8%), *CD03 forced into illicit / criminal activities* (26.9%), *CR10 withholding of money* (23.1%) and *CD12 under strong influence* (21.2%). All other indicators were present in less than 20% of the sample of Asian women. 94% exhibited at least three “dimensions of the trafficking definition”.

Migrants from Eastern Europe exhibited an average of 5.3 “operational indicators”. The *AD03 difficulty to live in an unknown area*, *AD04 economic reasons* and *RA12 lack of education (language)* indicators were each exhibited by 49.6% of Eastern Europeans in the sample. Other indicators included the *RA06 economic reasons* (48.8%), *RA05 difficulty to organise travel* (45.5%) and *EX06 no social protection* (44.7%). All other indicators were present in less than 10% of the Eastern European sample. 91% exhibited fewer than three “dimensions of the trafficking definition”.

Migrants from South America were highly homogenous in terms of the indicators they exhibited. They exhibited an average of 10.4 “operational indicators”, with 100% of the sample exhibiting the *AD03 difficulty to live in an unknown area*, *AD04 economic reasons*, *AD07 relationship with authorities / legal status*, *EX06 no social protection*, *RA05 difficulty to organise travel*, *RA06 economic reasons*, *RA11 illegal status* and, *RA16 relationship with authorities / legal status* indicators. 37.5% exhibited the *RA12 lack of education (language)* indicator, but no other indicators were observed in the sample.

²⁶ Small sample groups (Africa, Western Europe, Australasia, North America) are not shown in the table.

African migrants exhibited an average of 5 “operational indicators”, with the *AD03 difficulty to live in an unknown area*, *AD04 economic reasons*, *EX06 no social protection*, *RA06 economic reasons*, *RA05 difficulty to organise travel* and *RA12 lack of education (language)* each exhibited by 50% of the sample. The sample size of African women was small (n=4), so these findings should be treated with caution. 50% of the sample exhibited two “dimensions of the trafficking definition”, and the remaining 50% exhibited no dimensions.

Migrants from Australasia, Western Europe and North America all displayed no indicators of trafficking other than the previously discussed *EX03 hazardous work* and *EX05 no respect of labour laws or contract* (exhibited by 100% of the migrants sampled).

Analysis

Analysis of the combinations of “operational indicators”²⁷ and consequent “dimensions of the trafficking definition” exhibited by the sample of migrant women involved in prostitution shows that they can be grouped into three categories: trafficked migrants (Category A); vulnerable migrants (Category B) and those who do not meet the threshold for Category A or B (Category C)²⁸. These categories are defined below. Figure 12 shows which “dimensions of the trafficking definition” are exhibited by individuals in each category, and Figure 13 shows the proportion of migrant women involved in prostitution from each area of origin in each category²⁹.

Category A: trafficked migrants

This category is comprised of individuals who meet all three of the Action against Trafficking Convention requirements for human trafficking. They all exhibit the *RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY*, *ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION*, *EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK* and *COERCION AT DESTINATION* “dimensions of the trafficking definition”, and all but two exhibited either or both of the remaining two dimensions. 9% (n=24) of the sample of migrants involved in prostitution was found to be in Category A, 80% of which (n=19) were from Asia; the remaining 20% (n=5) were from Eastern Europe. In total, 37% (n=19) of all Asian migrants in the sample were in Category A.

Category B: vulnerable migrants

Individuals in Category B exhibit at least one of the ILO “dimensions of the trafficking definition”, but the available information is not able to definitively demonstrate that they fulfil all three elements of the trafficking definition. Although these individuals are vulnerable to trafficking, there is uncertainty in each case as to whether this vulnerability is actually abused: Section 83 of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings and its Explanatory Report (The Council of Europe, 2005) states that “abuse of a position of vulnerability [means] abuse of any situation in which the person involved has no real and acceptable alternative to submitting to the abuse”, and requires a person “being impelled to accept being exploited.” Although individuals in Category B may exhibit the *RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY*, *ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION*

²⁷ See Appendix 7 for full details of the combinations observed.

²⁸ These groupings have been formulated by the Project ACUMEN analysis team rather than the ILO.

²⁹ Appendix 6 contains a sensitivity analysis of the ILO system of combining “operational indicators” of trafficking, which shows that reducing the number of “operational indicators” required has minimal effect on the number of individuals in Category A, and ultimately only reduces the sensitivity of the system, resulting in only two categories instead of three.

or *EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK* “dimensions of the trafficking definition”, detailed analysis of the relevant “operational indicators” suggests most, in the balance of probabilities, would fall short of this threshold³⁰.

45% (n=113) of the sample of migrants involved in prostitution were in Category B. None of the Category B individuals exhibit the *DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT*, *COERCIVE RECRUITMENT* or *COERCION AT DESTINATION* dimensions; all those exhibiting these dimensions are in Category A.

Category C: migrants who do not meet the ‘trafficked’ or ‘vulnerable’ thresholds

This category is comprised of those who exhibit no “dimensions of the trafficking definition” and therefore do not meet the threshold for either ‘trafficked’ (Category A) or ‘vulnerable’ (Category B). It is important to note that although they do not exhibit any of the “dimensions of the trafficking definition”, individuals in Category C still exhibit a number of the “operational indicators” of trafficking (e.g. 100% of those sampled exhibited both the *EX03 hazardous work* and *EX05 no respect of labour laws or contract* indicators of the *EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK* “dimension of the trafficking definition”). So although individuals in this category are not considered to be trafficked, it is acknowledged they often work in difficult and unfavourable conditions.

Figure 12. “Dimensions of the trafficking definition” exhibited by individuals in each exploitation category

“Dimension of the trafficking definition”	A	B	C
	Trafficked migrants	Vulnerable migrants	Migrants not meeting the ‘trafficked’ or ‘vulnerable’ thresholds
<i>RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY</i>	All	Some	None
<i>DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT</i>	Some	None	None
<i>COERCIVE RECRUITMENT</i>	Some	None	None
<i>ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION</i>	All	Some	None
<i>EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK</i>	All	All	None
<i>COERCION AT DESTINATION</i>	All	None	None

³⁰ Whilst this approach would not be appropriate to determine whether an individual met the criteria for trafficking (which would instead require an extended period of contact with support services in a safe environment), it is considered appropriate for determining the overall approximate number of trafficked individuals.

Figure 13. Proportion of the sample in each exploitation category, by area of origin

Area of origin	Sample size	A	B	C
		Trafficked migrants	Vulnerable migrants	Migrants not meeting the 'trafficked' or 'vulnerable' thresholds
Africa	4*	0%	50.0%	50.0%
Asia	52	36.5%	61.5%	1.9%
Australasia	1*	0%	0%	100.0%
Eastern Europe	123	4.1%	44.7%	51.2%
North America	1*	0%	0%	100.0%
South America	24	0%	100.0%	0%
Western Europe	5*	0%	0%	100.0%
Total	210	9.4%	44.5%	46.1%

*denotes a small sample size, where caution should be used when drawing conclusions

National extrapolation

The proportion of the sampled migrants involved in prostitution in each category (Figure 13) can be combined with the previous estimations of the number of migrant women involved in prostitution in England and Wales (Figure 8) to predict the likely number of individuals from each area of origin in each category, as summarised in Figure 14 below.

Figure 14. National extrapolation of exploitation categories, by area of origin

Area of origin	Total number of migrants	A	B	C
		Trafficked migrants	Vulnerable migrants	Migrants not meeting the 'trafficked' or 'vulnerable' thresholds
Africa	823	Negligible*	412*	412*
Asia	6024	2199	3705	114
Australasia	Negligible	Negligible	Negligible	Negligible
Eastern Europe	9234	379	4128	4728
North America	Negligible	Negligible	Negligible	Negligible
South America	953	Negligible	953	Negligible
Western Europe	309	Negligible*	Negligible*	309*
Total	17344	2577	9197	5563

*drawn from small sample sizes so treat with caution

Interpretation

There are a myriad of reasons why migrants are involved in prostitution. For some, selling sex is the result of a conscious, rational and independent assessment of the available options, and working in the UK is seen as a relatively safe and profitable place to work. Others are victims of chance and circumstance, ending up with few viable alternatives, and yet others are either tricked or forced into prostitution through deception, threats or violence.

In order to articulate the scale and nature of human trafficking and exploitation within off-street prostitution in England & Wales, the sector is described below as a number of quantifiable segments. A different combination of coercive, cultural and financial factors is seen within each segment, and each therefore each requires a unique approach.

The sector segments described below do not cover every eventuality; there will always be unusual and atypical cases, and not every woman involved in prostitution will fit comfortably into one of the segment. For example, nobody encountered by the research team had been kidnapped or imprisoned. This, of course, does not mean this does not happen, but it may suggest it is rare. This report describes the major issues affecting significant proportions of migrants involved in off-street prostitution.

Segment 1: There are 2,200 Category A (trafficked) women from Asia involved in prostitution

These are extremely vulnerable people. They tend to work in poor conditions in a hazardous, unregulated sector for little money, and, as illegal immigrants, they exist outside of mainstream society in an unfamiliar culture where they do not speak the language. They are almost all debt-bonded³¹, have no identification documents and have no access to normal societal support systems and networks such as friends, family, the social services and the police, relying instead upon organised criminals for employment and protection. Although direct physical violence is commonly perceived to be integral to human trafficking, the research conducted identified few individuals subject to violence from their controllers.

Around 60% (1,300) of these individuals are likely to be from China. They are either controlled through threats of violence towards family members or by the withholding of wages, being forced into taking unwanted clients and engaging in other criminal activities. Approximately half (650) were deceived as to the nature or conditions of the work they would be involved in or the remuneration they would receive when they agreed to come to the UK.

Most of the remaining 900 trafficked women from Asia are from South East Asia, primarily Thailand. The majority (86%) were aware they would become involved in prostitution once in the UK, although some found the travel conditions or wages worse than they had been led to believe. All are debt-bonded, and most are subject to the withholding of wages and the confiscation of identification documents. Many are under the strong influence of their controllers, and their illegal status, a lack of financial resources and poor language skills make them particularly vulnerable.

³¹ It should be noted that debt-bondage can be either direct (where a creditor requires an individual to conduct sex work and deducts payment at or near to source) or indirect (where there is no requirement or imperative from the creditor(s) for the individual to conduct prostitution, but prostitution is in fact their only option because of overwhelming debt).

Segment 2: There are 400 Category A (trafficked) women from Eastern Europe involved in prostitution

These individuals are likely to be legally entitled to live and work in the UK, but they typically speak little English, have extremely limited financial resources, are highly dependent on their exploiters and may have reservations about engaging with the UK authorities (because of a lack of documentation, engagement in other illegal activities or through fear or mistrust). As a result, many suffer the same difficulties in accessing support networks as previously discussed. Most travelled to the UK unaware of the type, nature or conditions of the work they would be exposed to, and despite the relatively short distance travelled, around 40% are debt-bonded to their controllers. Those who are not debt-bonded are controlled by criminals who force them into taking unwanted clients or engaging in other criminal activities. Some are subject to direct violence from their controllers.

Segment 3: There are 3,700 Category B (vulnerable) women from Asia involved in prostitution

This is largely comprised of women from China, Thailand, Malaysia and other parts of South East Asia. They work in poor conditions for little money and live outside mainstream society with little access to support systems. They may have large debts but do not generally consider themselves to be debt-bonded into prostitution, and none were deceived as to the nature or conditions of the work they would be conducting. Although they are often exploited, they are usually more independent than their trafficked counterparts, have more control over their day to day activities and access to their identification documents, and their families are not subject to threats of violence. In comparison to individuals in Category A, these people may be comparatively free to extricate themselves from prostitution. However, this must be considered in the wider context of their overall situation and the available alternatives.

Segment 4: There are 4,100 Category B (vulnerable) women from Eastern Europe involved in prostitution

45% of all women from Eastern Europe involved in prostitution are considered to be vulnerable. Although most appear to be legally entitled to live and work in the UK³², they speak little English and live and work in areas they are unfamiliar with and are therefore overly reliant on third parties. They tend not to have been deceived about the nature or conditions of their employment or to be subject to debt-bondage, threats of violence or the withholding of wages. The comparatively high financial rewards available (in comparison to other opportunities) may act as an inhibitor to exiting prostitution. A particular feature of Category B migrants from Eastern Europe is that they all exhibit the *RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY* “dimension of the trafficking definition”, but none exhibit the *DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT* or *COERCIVE RECRUITMENT* dimensions.

Segment 5: There are 1,000 Category B (vulnerable) women from South America and 400 from Africa involved in prostitution

All women from South America involved in prostitution are likely to be vulnerable; they are unlikely to be legally entitled to live and work in the UK, and tend to lack the funds to return home. However, two thirds have reasonable English language skills, and most are likely to have been aware of the nature and conditions of their employment before leaving South America. Anecdotally, South

³² This observation is based on the indicated nationality of the sampled women involved in prostitution, and it is acknowledged there are a variety of reasons why individuals involved in prostitution may wish to conceal their true nationality from law enforcement. The extent to which EU nationals are aware of their employment and residency rights in the UK is unclear.

American women involved in prostitution are thought in general to have better informal support networks than others, and this may help to decrease their vulnerability to trafficking.

The sample of women from Africa involved in prostitution is relatively small and it is difficult to draw robust conclusions from the data. However, half of those encountered were judged to be vulnerable, for similar reasons to the South Americans.

Segment 6: There are 5,500 Category C migrants involved in prostitution who do not meet the 'trafficked' or 'vulnerable' thresholds, most of whom are from Eastern Europe

Approximately one third of the migrants involved in prostitution in England and Wales do not meet the thresholds for Category A (trafficked) or Category B (vulnerable): these are people who were aware before leaving their home country that they would likely become involved in prostitution, live and work largely independently of third party influence, keep a significant proportion of the money they earn, are not subject to debt-bondage or threats of violence. 85% of these women are from Eastern Europe, and this accounts for half of all Eastern European women involved in off-street prostitution. In general, these are people who have decided the risks and drawbacks of prostitution are outweighed by the benefits, and for whom there are fewer barriers to ceasing prostitution and returning home than for those women in the described risk categories.

Discussion and future directions

This research has produced an estimate of the extent of human trafficking within the off-street prostitution industry in England and Wales, by identifying and combining indicators and dimensions of trafficking according to the ILO definitions and criteria. Whilst every attempt has been made to remain as objective as possible, at each stage of the process judgements have been made by those involved in local research, the SCD9 research team and the central analysis team. These judgements and the language used to make meaning of the singular and shared circumstances of women involved in prostitution reflect the cultural and political subjectivities of the individuals involved, as well as their institutional engagement with the field. Human trafficking is ultimately about an individual being subject to forms and levels of exploitation which are considered to be morally unacceptable within a specific social setting. In the absence of legal and standardised definitions of acceptable labour conditions and practices, judging the threshold of unacceptability becomes a subjective process, and the vastly different experiences of those doing the judging inevitably lead to differences of opinion. If the research team or the analysis team had been comprised of different individuals from different backgrounds, different assumptions may have been made, possibly resulting in different categorisations and quantifications. In this respect, the difference between the 'internal' perspectives of migrant women involved in prostitution and the 'external' ones of people supporting them through projects and institutional services (such as law enforcement) is a crucial one. For example, consider the following scenario:

A (fictional) woman from rural China works in the UK as a prostitute for 6 days per week in order to repay a £30,000 loan she owes to an organised crime group for smuggling her to the UK. She is paid at the sector standard rate and lives in accommodation of a higher standard than she is used to, but the group deducts 25% of all her earnings to repay the loan. She knew before travelling to the UK that she would be selling sex, and is not threatened with any form of violence. However, she is obliged to continue selling sex until the loan is repaid because as an illegal immigrant with no contacts in the UK she has no other viable employment options.

While some external observers would judge that on the basis of the above description the individual is unacceptably exploited, others may judge that she is not. Furthermore, it is entirely conceivable that the individual in question herself could view the situation in different ways: she may feel trapped, afraid, vulnerable and exploited, alternatively she may judge that the benefits of her situation outweigh the drawbacks and as such not regret her decision. The way in which she views her situation may also be influenced by cultural factors³³.

Finally, any adjustments to the scenario (such as the total amount of money owed, the percentage of profits taken by the group, the individual's living conditions, the hours worked, the number of

³³ In China, the culture of seeking to better oneself and one's family is very strong; it is fairly common for families from poor, rural areas to work, save and borrow in order to raise the funds to send their (only) child abroad to earn a living. The 'loss of face' concept is also strong, and whilst prostitution is a shameful activity the idea of not repaying a debt, especially to one's parents, is unthinkable in mainstream Chinese society. Therefore a woman who ends up in the prostitution sector (or in the hands of traffickers) may be unable to seek help through a sense of shame, and therefore end up keep working to repay their debt. This is reinforced by language barriers, mistrust and lack of understanding of UK authorities and the strong sense of collectivism present in Chinese society and the Confucian mentality (Hester, 2009).

customers seen per day, the repercussions of not meeting loan repayments or whether she knew she would be selling sex before agreeing to leave China) may alter an individual's judgement.

One way of understanding the extent to which a migrant involved in prostitution is exploited, abused, coerced or trafficked is to consider both external and internal perspectives and influences. External influences may include severely coercive factors such as kidnapping, violence or debt-bondage, or more subtle influences such as withholding documents or wages and moral blackmail. Internal influences may include factors such as cultural constructions of gender roles, the Chinese 'loss of face' concept, shame, fear, and the perception of the lack of credible or similarly rewarding options. The combined analysis of these internal and external factors could produce a more accurate representation of the degree of autonomy and agency enjoyed by migrants working in the off-street prostitution sector³⁴.

The ability of the United Kingdom to tackle human trafficking within the off-street prostitution sector has in the past been made more difficult by limitations in the understanding of the problem. Project ACUMEN has sought to address this by objectively assessing and articulating human trafficking in the UK prostitution sector as a set of discrete, diverse but linked problems, each of which is likely to require a bespoke series of countermeasures. By definition, both the quantitative and qualitative estimates and predictions contained within this report are not definitive, because the covert nature of human trafficking prevents the complete eradication of uncertainty. In the future it may be possible to refine and improve these estimations further, but by providing an improved understanding of the scale and nature of each human trafficking problem they represent a platform on which the UK can develop more effective approaches to combating trafficking for sexual exploitation.

³⁴ It is acknowledged that support service providers already often seek to balance the requirements of legal frameworks, organisational perspectives and the individual perspectives and experiences of those affected on a case by case basis.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Regional research methodologies

London Government Office Region (GOR)

Officers from the London Regional Intelligence Unit and the Metropolitan Police's SCD9 (Human Exploitation and Organised Crime) unit collected 43 newspapers from across 32 London boroughs and over 1,000 cards from telephone boxes. Additionally, 380 premises were identified from police databases, and 268 premises and 44 escort agencies from internet research. All the data was analysed to remove duplicates, and the total number of separate businesses was estimated at 2,103. In order to ascertain the average number of individuals in each business, 450 brothels were telephoned (average 1.7 individuals involved in prostitution per premises) and 100 were visited (also average 1.7 individuals per premises).

The adverts were examined for indications of the nationality / area of origin of individuals involved in prostitution, and the results compared with the results of the telephone enquiries and visits to provide the best available estimate of the proportion of individuals from various parts of the world.

West Midlands GOR

Local newspapers covering the West Midlands region, a variety of internet sites and police intelligence systems were researched to identify sellers of sexual services. The duplicates were removed, leaving 342 separate businesses. The area of origin of individuals was unknown for 58% of the businesses identified, so the areas of origin estimates are based on under half the dataset. However, the results were reviewed by local immigration crime experts from The UK Border Agency's Operation Rebutia team (from an immigration perspective) and other local experts, and the figures obtained are believed to be a reasonable representation of local conditions.

South East GOR

Local newspapers covering the South East region, a variety of internet sites and police intelligence systems were researched to identify sellers of sexual services. However, once this had been completed it was locally judged to be not possible to accurately remove duplicates from the dataset with the available resources. In order to reduce the resources required, the dataset was reduced to cover just the Brighton and Hove region and each advert / intelligence item researched in greater detail. Brighton and Hove was selected because there was a good body of existing knowledge of the local prostitution market. This enabled duplicates to be removed and the proportion of individuals from various parts of the world to be established. The figures were then extrapolated locally (based on population size) to give an estimation for the South East Region, and the findings presented to local experts (where available) to check for anomalies.

Eastern GOR

Approximately 500 brothels were identified from police crime and intelligence systems, and a further 266 from newspapers and research of various web sites. 63 records were identified as duplicates, but because of discrepancies in how data are recorded in the different systems used this was thought unlikely to have removed all the duplicates, resulting in the final figure being thought too large. Local officers and experts were contacted to ascertain which of the businesses identified

could be confidently discounted. Additionally, brothels identified by a single source were also discounted. The final estimation is therefore a combination of (a) businesses known to exist and (b) businesses identified by more than one intelligence source.

South West GOR

In 2008/9 the South West region had conducted a similar initiative to estimate the number of individuals involved in off-street prostitution and their areas of origin under Operation Pentameter 2. This involved research of all relevant local and regional newspapers, a number of internet sites and police intelligence systems, in addition to a variety of covert intelligence gathering techniques and local expert consultation to remove duplicate businesses and ascertain the area of origin of the individuals involved. This research was refreshed for Project ACUMEN by updating the internet and police intelligence systems research conducted.

Wales GOR

10 local newspapers covering the Wales region, a variety of internet sites and various police intelligence systems were researched to identify sellers of sexual services. This resulted in the identification of 575 businesses, all but 76 of which were identified as duplicates.

Yorkshire and Humber GOR

Local newspapers covering the Yorkshire and Humber region, a variety of internet sites and police intelligence systems were researched to identify sellers of sexual services. Duplicates and any based on information not considered to be current were removed, leaving 534 separate businesses. 79 businesses in West and North Yorkshire areas were selected for further research to sample the nationality of the individuals involved.

Appendix 2. Market size calculations

The estimated number of businesses in each region (A), the average number of (used) beds in each business (B)³⁵, and the proportion of individuals involved in prostitution by area of origin (C_n) are as follows.

Figure 15. Market size and area of origin³⁶

		LO	WM	SE	EA	SW	WA	YH
A	Number of businesses	2103	342	426	268	326	76	534
B	Beds per business (average)	1.7	6.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	3.4	4.4
C ₁	Africa	1.2%	8.4%	2.9%	1.5%	negligible	negligible	negligible
C ₂	Asia	22.5%	10.6%	50.7%	21.3%	27.0%	14.4%	10.9%
C ₃	Eastern Europe	55.6%	46.6%	13.0%	10.8%	16.0%	10.6%	19.0%
C ₄	South America	14.2%	negligible	4.3%	negligible	negligible	negligible	negligible
C ₅	UK	3.6%	24.4%	17.4%	17.5%	57.0%	62.4%	68.5%
C ₆	Western Europe	1.8%	negligible	5.8%	negligible	negligible	negligible	negligible
C ₇	Unknown / other	1.2%	10.0%	5.8%	48.9%	negligible	12.6%	negligible

The total number of beds in each region (D) is calculated using the formula

$$D = A \times B$$

Figure 16. Number of businesses and beds

		LO	WM	SE	EA	SW	WA	YH
A	Number of business	2103	342	426	268	326	76	534
B	Beds per business (average)	1.7	6.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	3.4	4.4
D	Total number of beds	3575	2257	1108	670	815	259	2350

It has been identified that some businesses operate a multiple shift system, where each bed is used by more than one woman per day. The total number of “bed-shifts” that exist per day (E) is therefore calculated using the formula

$$E = D \times ((F \times G) + (1 - F))$$

where F = the proportion of businesses using a multiple shift system

and G = the average number of shifts run per day in businesses using a multiple shift system

³⁵ For the purposes of market size calculation, businesses that operate an out-call only system are said to have 1 bed for each individual employed at any one time. However, only a small proportion of the businesses identified operate an out-call only system.

³⁶ Throughout these calculations, “negligible” numbers are treated as being 0.

Figure 17. Shift systems and bed-shifts

		LO	WM	SE	EA	SW	WA	YH
D	Total number of beds	3575	2257	1108	670	815	259	2350
E	Total number of bed-shifts (per day)	3684	2353	1155	699	850	274	2411
F	Proportion of businesses using a multiple shift system				0.15			
G	average number of shifts run in businesses using a multiple shift system	1 shift per day for 5 days per week and 2 shifts for 2 days per week = 9/7 shifts per day = 1.29						

The number of individuals involved in prostitution of each area of origin required to accommodate all the bed-shifts (H_n) is calculated using the formula:

$$H_n = \frac{C_n \times E \times 7}{(7 - J_n)}$$

where J = the average number of days off an individual takes per week
and n refers to the area of origin codings previously applied to C

Figure 18. Adjusted estimation of individuals involved in off-street prostitution

		LO	WM	SE	EA	SW	WA	YH
E	Total number of bed-shifts (per day)	3684	2353	1155	699	850	274	2411
J_5	average number of days off a British individual involved in prostitution takes per week				3.5			
$J_{1-4, 6-8}$	average number of days off a non-British individual involved in prostitution takes per week				2			
H_1	African	61.8	276.7	46.9	14.7	negligible	negligible	negligible
H_2	Asian	1173.6	349.2	820.3	208.4	321.3	54.6	375.2
H_3	Eastern European	2903.2	1535.5	210.9	105.6	190.4	40.1	651.2
H_4	South American	741.3	negligible	70.3	negligible	negligible	negligible	negligible
H_5	UK	264.7	1148.6	401.8	244.6	968.9	337.1	3355.9
H_6	Western European	92.7	negligible	93.7	negligible	negligible	negligible	negligible
H_7	Unknown / other	0.3	329.5	93.7	476.4	negligible	52.9	negligible
H	Total	5237.6	3639.4	1737.6	1051.6	1480.6	484.7	4382.3

Appendix 3. Market size extrapolations

10 datasets (K_1 to K_{10}) that it is thought may correlate to the number of premises, beds and / or women involved in prostitution that exist and that can be interrogated by each government region area were gathered:

Figure 19. Datasets for correlation

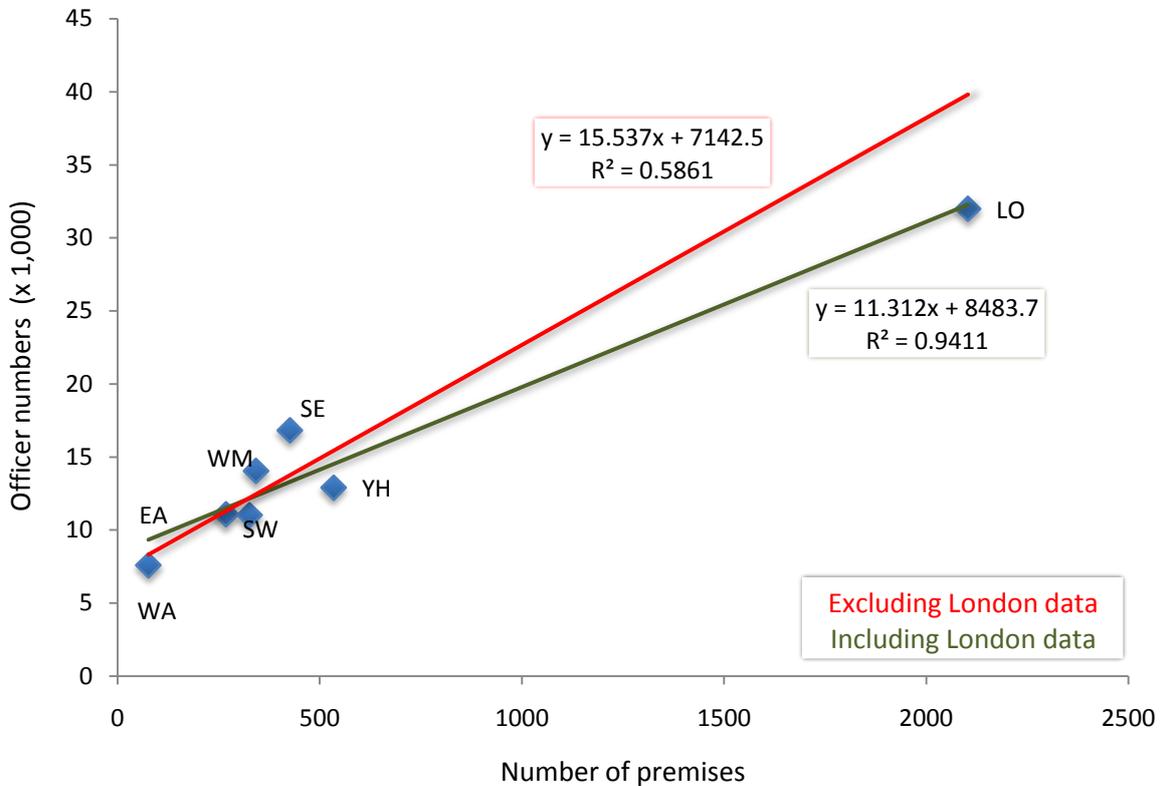
Dataset	LO	WM	SE	EA	SW	WA	YH	NW	NE	EM
K_1 Area (km ²)	1,572	12,998	19,069	19,110	23,837	20,732	15,408	1,572	8,573	15,607
K_2 Population (millions)	7.172	5.267	8.001	5.388	4.928	2.903	4.965	6.730	2.515	4.172
K_3 Population density	4,679	408	421	284	208	141	323	480	293	270
K_4 Police officer numbers	31989	14049	16831	11083	11024	7599	12908	19569	7425	9293
K_5 % of Lower Super Output Areas ³⁷ (LSOAs) in the most deprived 20% areas in England	28.4	27.5	6	6.3	9.3	N/A	27.5	31.8	34.2	16.8
K_6 Number of LSOAs in the most deprived 20% areas of England	1351	951	318	223	300	N/A	907	1420	566	460
K_7 Number of listings on a national sexual services website	327	31	82	30	22	2	31	32	9	28
K_8 Number of announcements on a national sexual services website	276	3	45	12	5	2	10	19	7	18
K_9 'Women Not for Sale' average number of adverts per newspaper ³⁸	36	35	31	22	9	N/A	6	13	2	18
K_{10} A national sexual services guide and review	784	308	N/A	259	297	141	320	469	86	295

³⁷ A Lower Super Output Area (LSOA) is a geographic unit used by the UK Government for official small area statistics. See <http://www.idea.gov.uk/idk/core/page.do?pageId=7175806> for further details.

³⁸ Government Equalities Office, 2008.

Values of each dataset for the sample regions (London, West Midlands, South East, South West, Wales and Yorkshire and The Humber) were compared to the estimated number of businesses, individuals involved in prostitution and beds in each of those regions. Initially this consisted of plotting a scatter graph of each dataset against the number of businesses, individuals involved in prostitution and beds, adding a linear trendline and calculating the Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient (r value). The analysis revealed that whilst some of the datasets did appear to correlate with the number of businesses, individuals involved in prostitution and/or beds, values for the London region were significant outliers in the data, and as such were applying a high degree of leverage on the data and artificially increasing the r value. It was therefore decided to exclude the London data from the analysis. Figure 20 below illustrates the effect of including and excluding London data in the analysis.

Figure 20. Police officer numbers against the number of businesses in the sample regions



Each correlation coefficient was then tested for statistical significance (with an appropriate number of degrees of freedom)³⁹. Figure 21 shows the results of these tests:

Figure 21. Statistical significance of correlations

Dataset	Businesses		Beds		Individuals involved in prostitution	
	r value	Significant?	r value	Significant?	r value	Significant?
K ₁	-0.427	No	-0.835	Yes (95%)	-0.788	No
K ₂	0.631	No	0.241	No	0.179	No
K ₃	0.697	No	0.678	No	0.598	No
K ₄	0.766	No	0.567	No	0.503	No
K ₅	0.501	No	0.967	Yes (99%)	0.964	Yes (99%)
K ₆	0.536	No	0.989	Yes (99%)	0.972	Yes (99%)
K ₇	0.606	No	0.227	No	0.171	No
K ₈	0.417	No	-0.042	No	-0.080	No
K ₉	-0.347	No	0.029	No	-0.122	No
K ₁₀	0.906	Yes (95%)	0.767	No	0.762	No

The results of Figure 21 suggest that

- (i) dataset K₁₀ can be used to predict the number of businesses in the three non-participating regions
- (ii) datasets K₁, K₅ and K₆ can be used to predict the number of Beds in the three non-participating regions and
- (iii) datasets K₅ and K₆ can be used to predict the number of individuals involved in prostitution in each region.

However, dataset K₁₀ was subsequently determined to be unsuitable as it returned a negative value for one of the regions, so option (i) was discounted. Options (ii) and (iii) were conducted independently using a linear forecast function, as described below.

Option (ii)

Using a linear forecast function, datasets K₁, K₅ and K₆ return the following values for the number of beds (C) in each region:

Figure 22. Linear forecast of bed numbers

Dataset	NW	NE	EM	Total
K ₁	2074	3114	1792	6980
K ₅	2586	2752	1543	6881
K ₆	3399.4	1498	1262	6159
Mean	2686	2455	1532	6673

It should be noted there are sizeable differences in the figures predicted by each dataset for the NW and NE regions, and therefore the data for each region should be treated with caution. However, the total number predicted is fairly consistent across the datasets.

³⁹ The table of r threshold values used can be found at <http://www.biology.ed.ac.uk/research/groups/jdeacon/statistics/table6.html#Correlation%20coefficient>.

Using the previously described calculations, the mean predictions can be used to estimate the number of individuals involved in prostitution (H) in each region:

Figure 23. Predicted number of individuals involved in prostitution

	NW	NE	EM	Total
Beds	2686	2455	1532	6673
Individuals	4599	4204	2626	11436

The average number of businesses per individual involved in prostitution across the sample regions (excluding London) can then be used to estimate the number of businesses (A) in each of the non-sample regions, using the following formula:

$$A_n = H_n \times \frac{\bar{A}}{\bar{H}} = H_n \times 0.154415$$

The same methodology as above can be applied to option (iii) (omitting the identification of the number of beds, which is not required). Figure 24 shows the estimated number of businesses, beds and individual involved in prostitution for each non-participating region based on options (ii) and (iii):

Figure 24. Estimated number of businesses and individuals involved in prostitution for each non-participating GOR

	GOR	Businesses	Individuals
Option (ii)	North West (NW)	711	4599
	North East (NE)	650	4204
	East Midlands (EM)	405	2626
	Total	1766	11437
Option (iii)	NW	521	5246
	NE	797	3699
	EM	354	2393
	Total	1672	11338
Average	NW	616	4923
	NE	723	3952
	EM	380	2510
	Total	1718	11388

In accordance with the established methodological principle of checking the credibility of estimations, these estimations were checked with a number of local experts in each region for comment. As a result, the NE estimations were identified as much higher than those perceived locally.

An alternative approach to estimating the number of businesses, beds and individuals involved in prostitution in non-participating regions was to utilise all datasets with an r value of $|r| > 0.75$. The benefit of this approach is that a greater number of datasets can be used; however the drawback is that it falls short of full statistical validity. The results of this approach are summarised in Figure 25 below. Option (iv) is based upon forecasting the number of beds and then calculating the other figures based on mean values (see (ii) above), and option (v) is based on forecasting the number of individuals involved in prostitution and then calculating the number of businesses based on mean values (see (iii) above):

Figure 25. Estimations of businesses, beds and individuals involved in prostitution based on datasets where $|r| > 0.75$

		Businesses	Beds	Individuals
Option (iv)	NW	754	2850	4880
	NE	451	1705	2920
	EM	408	1543	2642
	Total	1612	6097	10442
Option (v)	NW	493	n/a	4962
	NE	629	n/a	2921
	EM	391	n/a	2643
	Total	1513	n/a	10526
Average	NW	623	2850	4921
	NE	540	1705	2920
	EM	400	1543	2643
	Total	1563	3049	10484

Another approach to estimating the data for non participating regions (option vi) was for to produce subjective estimates based on a small number of simple heuristics, based on previous observations:

- The number of individuals involved in prostitution in non-participating regions is likely to be between that of the participating region with the fewest individuals involved in prostitution (Wales) and the region with the most (London).
- Regions containing particularly large cities are likely to have more than average individuals involved in prostitution.
- The concentration of businesses is likely to increase significantly in densely populated areas.
- Local opinion as to the overall scale of the sex market is a valuable indicator of its true size.

Figure 26 summarises the estimated number of individuals involved in prostitution for each methodology, the average figure and the standard deviation of the results. It illustrates that all methodologies return broadly similar values when aggregated into a single figure for the non-participating regions. In order to maximise the statistical credibility of the final results, the mean of options (ii) and (iii) were adopted as the figure used.

Figure 26. Summary of the estimated number of individuals involved in prostitution in non-participating regions, by methodology:

	Option					Average	Standard deviation
	ii	iii	iv	v	vi		
NW	4599	5246	4880	4962	4500	4837.6	297.7
NE	4204	3699	2920	2921	2000	3148.8	842.6
EM	2626	2393	2642	2643	3000	2660.4	217.3
Total	11437	11338	10442	10526	9500	10646.6	783.9

Using the mean of options (ii) and (iii) to provide the total number of individuals, and the average area of origin figures for the participating regions (excluding London), the likely number of individuals from various areas of origin were calculated, as shown in Figure 27.

Figure 27. Average area of origin predictions

Area of origin	Research data							Extrapolations			Total
	LO	WM	SE	EA	SW	WA	YH	NW	NE	EM	
Africa	62	277	47	15	0	0	0	154	131	82	767
Asia	1174	349	820	208	321	55	375	967	826	516	5612
Eastern Europe	2903	1535	211	106	190	40	651	1242	1061	663	8603
South America	741	0	70	0	0	0	0	32	27	17	888
UK	265	1149	402	245	969	337	3356	2054	1754	1096	11625
Western Europe	93	0	94	0	0	0	0	43	36	23	288
Unknown/other	62	329	94	478	0	48	0	431	368	230	2041

It was presumed that the area of origin of the 2041 unknown/other individuals involved in prostitution were distributed in proportion to the known amounts. The total number of individuals involved in prostitution from each area of origin was therefore adjusted to remove the unknown/other category. Figure 28 shows the updated aggregated data.

Figure 28. Adjusted aggregated data by area of origin

Area of origin	Number of individuals (unadjusted)	Number of individuals (adjusted)
Africa	767	823
Asia	5612	6024
Eastern Europe	8603	9234
South America	888	953
UK	11625	12479
Western Europe	288	309
Unknown	2041	0
Total (migrants)	16157 - 18198	17344

Appendix 4. The ILO indicators of trafficking

If the interviewer judges an interviewee exhibits at least:

- 2 strong “operational indicators” OR
- 1 strong + 1 medium or weak “operational indicator” OR
- 3 medium “operational indicators” OR
- 2 medium + 1 weak “operational indicator”

within one of the six “dimensions of the trafficking definition”⁴⁰, they are assessed to exhibit that dimension of trafficking.

Figure 29. The ILO “operational indicators” of trafficking⁴¹

RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY

Strong indicators	[none]
Medium indicators	<i>RA02 Control of exploiters</i> <i>RA03 Difficult family situation</i> <i>RA04 Difficulties in the past</i> <i>RA05 Difficulty to organise travel</i> <i>RA06 Economic reasons</i> <i>RA07 False information about law and attitude of authorities</i> <i>RA08 False information about successful migration</i> <i>RA09 Family situation</i> <i>RA10 General context</i> <i>RA11 Illegal status</i> <i>RA12 Lack of education (language)</i> <i>RA13 Lack of information</i> <i>RA14 Personal situation</i> <i>RA15 Psychological and emotional dependency</i> <i>RA16 Relationship with authorities / legal status</i>
Weak indicators	<i>RA01 Abuse of cultural/religious beliefs</i>

DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT

Strong indicators	<i>DR06 Job / location</i>
Medium indicators	<i>DR02 Conditions of prostitution</i> <i>DR03 Content / legality of contract</i> <i>DR04 Family reunification</i> <i>DR05 Housing and living conditions</i> <i>DR07 Legal documentation / immigration status</i> <i>DR08 Promise of marriage or adoption</i> <i>DR09 Travel / recruitment conditions</i> <i>DR10 Wages and earnings</i>
Weak indicators	<i>DR01 Deceived about access to education opportunities</i>

⁴⁰ See http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_105023.pdf for further details.

⁴¹ Definitions of the “operational indicators” can be found at http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_norm/@declaration/documents/publication/wcms_105036.pdf

COERCIVE RECRUITMENT

Strong indicators	CR01 Abduction / forced marriage or adoption / selling of victim CR03 Debt bondage CR06 Threats of violence CR09 Violence on victims
Medium indicators	CR02 Confiscation of documents CR04 Isolation / confinement or surveillance CR05 Threat of denunciation to authorities CR07 Threats to inform family / community or public CR08 Violence on family CR10 Withholding of money
Weak indicators	[none]

ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION

Strong indicators	[none]
Medium indicators	AD01 Dependency on exploiters AD03 Difficulty to live in an unknown area AD04 Economic reasons AD05 Family situation AD06 Personal characteristics AD07 Relationship with authorities / legal status
Weak indicators	AD02 Difficulties in the past

EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK

Strong indicators	[none]
Medium indicators	EX01 Bad living conditions EX02 Excessive working days or hours EX03 Hazardous work EX04 Low or no salary EX05 No respect of labour laws or contract EX06 No social protection EX07 Very bad working conditions EX08 Wage manipulation
Weak indicators	[none]

COERCION AT DESTINATION

Strong indicators	CD01 Confiscation of documents CD02 Debt bondage CD04 Forced tasks or clients CD07 Isolation / confinement or surveillance CD10 Threats of violence against victim CD14 Violence on victim
Medium indicators	CD03 Forced into illicit / criminal activities CD05 Forced to act against peers CD06 Forced to lie to authorities / family etc CD08 Threat of denunciation to authorities CD09 Threat to impose even worse working conditions CD11 Threats to inform family / community or public CD12 Under strong influence CD13 Violence on family (threats or effective) CD15 Withholding of wages
Weak indicators	[none]

Appendix 5. Nationalities of sample migrants involved in prostitution

Figure 30. The nationality of sample migrants involved in prostitution

Continent	Count	Country	Count
Africa	4	Kenya	1
		Zimbabwe	3
Asia	52	China	24
		Korea	2
		Malaysia	2
		Mongolia	1
		Thailand	22
		The Philippines	1
Australasia	1	New Zealand	1
Eastern Europe	123	Albania	6
		Belarus	1
		Bulgaria	2
		Czech Republic	1
		Unidentified	1
		E/European	1
		Greece	1
		Hungary	5
		Kosovo	4
		Latvia	7
		Lithuania	22
		Poland	5
		Romania	61
		Russia	3
Slovakia	3		
Slovenia	1		
North America	1	Jamaica	1
South America	24	Brazil	24
UK	44	Naturalised British	4
		UK	40
Western Europe	5	France	1
		Portugal	3
		Spain	1

Note: the above relate to stated (unverified) nationalities.

Appendix 6. Trafficking dimensions sensitivity analysis

A sensitivity analysis of the ILO system (in which prescribed combinations of strong, medium and weak “operational indicators” of trafficking result in an individual being said to exhibit one or more of the “dimensions of the trafficking definition”) reveals the analysis conducted holds. Decreasing the threshold levels by reducing the number and/or strength of the “operational indicators” required before an individual is said to exhibit a “dimension of the trafficking definition” has only a limited effect on the number of individuals falling into each category, particularly those categorised as Category A (trafficked).

An examination of all 210 data records reveals that reducing the threshold for meeting any of the “dimensions of the trafficking definition” from 2 strong indicators to only 1 strong indicator (Alteration Q) leads to one individual moving from Category B (vulnerable) to Category A (trafficked), but it has no other effect. Reducing the number of medium “operational indicators” required from 3 to 2 (Alteration T) leads to no further additional members of Category A, but every migrant involved in prostitution would then exhibit the *EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK* dimension, based on the *EX03 hazardous work*, *EX05 no respect of labour laws or contract* and *EX06 no social protection* indicators, so all members of Category C would move to Category B. Alteration T also leads to 54 more individuals exhibiting the *ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION* dimension, based on the *AD03 difficulty to live in an unknown area* and *AD04 economic reasons* indicators.

Figure 31. The effects of Alterations Q and T on the number of sample migrants in each Category

Category	ILO existing system	Alteration Q	Alteration T
A: Trafficked migrants	24 (11.4%)	25 (11.9%)	25 (11.9%)
B: Vulnerable migrants	113 (53.8%)	112 (53.3%)	185 (88.1%)
C: Migrants not meeting the ‘trafficked’ or ‘vulnerable’ thresholds	73 (34.8%)	73 (34.8%)	0 (0%)

Alteration Q: Reducing the strong factors from 2 or more to 1 or more

Alteration T: Reducing the strong factors from 2 or more to 1 or more AND reducing the medium factors from 3 or more to 2 or more

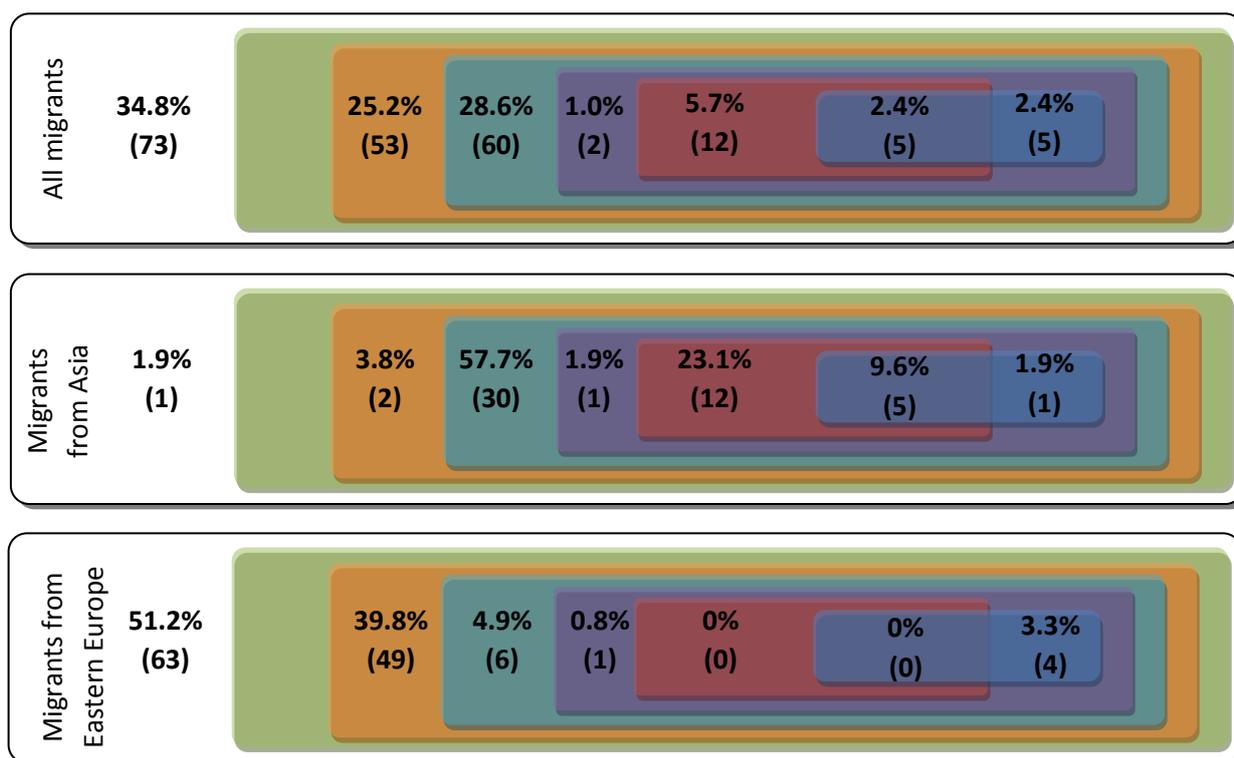
Figure 32. The effects of Alterations Q and T on the “dimensions of the trafficking definition” exhibited

Dimension	Indicators			Individuals exhibiting the dimension		
	Strong	Medium	Weak	ILO existing system	Alteration Q	Alteration T
<i>RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY</i>	0	605	0	137	137 (+0)	137 (+0)
<i>DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT</i>	8	28	0	10	10 (+0)	14 (+4)
<i>COERCIVE RECRUITMENT</i>	21	36	0	17	21 (+4)	21 (+4)
<i>ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION</i>	0	389	1	84	84 (+0)	138 (+54)
<i>EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK</i>	0	666	0	137	137 (+0)	210 (+73)
<i>COERCION AT DESTINATION</i>	40	48	0	24	25 (+1)	25 (+1)

Appendix 7. Observed combinations of ILO trafficking dimensions

Only seven of a possible 64 different combinations of the “dimensions of the trafficking definition” were observed in the sample. Figure 33 shows three Euler diagrams⁴² illustrating the observed combinations. The first diagram shows that 34.8% (n=73) of all migrants exhibit no “dimensions of the trafficking definition”, 25.2% (n=53) exhibit just the *RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AND EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK* dimensions, 26.8% (n=60) *RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AND EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK AND ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION* dimensions, etc.

Figure 33. Combination of ILO “dimensions of the trafficking definition” exhibited



Key:



⁴² Euler diagrams are Venn diagrams which do not show empty sets.

Appendix 8. The prevalence of the 66 “operational indicators” of trafficking amongst the sample of migrants involved in prostitution

Figure 34. Prevalence of the ILO operational indicators of trafficking

Key: Strong indicator Medium indicator Weak indicator

Code	“Operational indicator”	“Dimension of the trafficking definition”	Count
EX03	<i>Hazardous work</i>	EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK	210
EX05	<i>No respect of labour laws or contract</i>	EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK	210
AD03	<i>Difficulty to live in an unknown area</i>	ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION	138
AD04	<i>Economic reasons</i>	ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION	138
RA06	<i>Economic reasons</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	137
EX06	<i>No social protection</i>	EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK	132
RA05	<i>Difficulty to organise travel</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	132
RA12	<i>Lack of education (language)</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	122
AD07	<i>Relationship with authorities / legal status</i>	ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION	81
RA11	<i>Illegal status</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	77
RA16	<i>Relationship with authorities / legal status</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	77
AD01	<i>Dependency on exploiters</i>	ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION	25
CD02	<i>Debt bondage</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	21
CR03	<i>Debt bondage</i>	COERCIVE RECRUITMENT	21
RA02	<i>Control of exploiters</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	20
CD03	<i>Forced into illicit / criminal activities</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	17
CD12	<i>Under strong influence</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	16
CR02	<i>Confiscation of documents</i>	COERCIVE RECRUITMENT	16
DR09	<i>Travel / recruitment conditions</i>	DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT	14
RA14	<i>Personal situation</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	14
CR10	<i>Withholding of money</i>	COERCIVE RECRUITMENT	12
DR10	<i>Wages and earnings</i>	DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT	12
CD01	<i>Confiscation of documents</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	10
EX07	<i>Very bad working conditions</i>	EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK	9
CD04	<i>Forced tasks or clients</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	8
DR06	<i>Job / location</i>	DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT	8
RA09	<i>Family situation</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	8
CD15	<i>Withholding of wages</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	7
RA13	<i>Lack of information</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	7
EX04	<i>Low or no salary</i>	EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK	6
AD05	<i>Family situation</i>	ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION	5
CD13	<i>Violence on family (threats or effective)</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	5
CR08	<i>Violence on family</i>	COERCIVE RECRUITMENT	5
EX01	<i>Bad living conditions</i>	EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK	5
EX02	<i>Excessive working days or hours</i>	EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK	5

Code	"Operational indicator"	"Dimension of the trafficking definition"	Count
RA03	<i>Difficult family situation</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	5
CD06	<i>Forced to lie to authorities / family etc</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	3
CR07	<i>Threats to inform family / community or public</i>	COERCIVE RECRUITMENT	3
RA15	<i>Psychological and emotional dependency</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	3
DR02	<i>Conditions of prostitution</i>	DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT	2
AD02	<i>Difficulties in the past</i>	ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION	1
CD14	<i>Violence on victim</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	1
EX08	<i>Wage manipulation</i>	EXPLOITATIVE CONDITIONS OF WORK	1
RA04	<i>Difficulties in the past</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	1
AD06	<i>Personal characteristics</i>	ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION	0
CD05	<i>Forced to act against peers</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	0
CD07	<i>Isolation / confinement or surveillance</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	0
CD08	<i>Threat of denunciation to authorities</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	0
CD09	<i>Threat to impose even worse working conditions</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	0
CD10	<i>Threats of violence against victim</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	0
CD11	<i>Threats to inform family / community or public</i>	COERCION AT DESTINATION	0
CR01	<i>Adduction / forced marriage or adoption / selling of victim</i>	COERCIVE RECRUITMENT	0
CR04	<i>Isolation / confinement or surveillance</i>	COERCIVE RECRUITMENT	0
CR05	<i>Threat of denunciation to authorities</i>	COERCIVE RECRUITMENT	0
CR06	<i>Threats of violence</i>	COERCIVE RECRUITMENT	0
CR09	<i>Violence on victims</i>	COERCIVE RECRUITMENT	0
DR01	<i>Access to education</i>	DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT	0
DR03	<i>Content / legality of contract</i>	DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT	0
DR04	<i>Family reunification</i>	DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT	0
DR05	<i>Housing and living conditions</i>	DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT	0
DR07	<i>Legal documentation / immigration status</i>	DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT	0
DR08	<i>Promise of marriage or adoption</i>	DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT	0
RA01	<i>Abuse of culture / religious beliefs</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	0
RA07	<i>False information about law and attitude of authorities</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	0
RA08	<i>False information about successful migration</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	0
RA10	<i>General context</i>	RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY	0

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