

research report



Hidden Children –separated children at risk

The Children's Society is a leading children's charity committed to making childhood better for all children in the UK. We take action to prevent, rescue and support children facing life trapped in a vicious circle of fear and harm; a vicious circle driven by violence, neglect, poverty and discrimination, which destroys childhood and wrecks community living. We give children the hope and confidence they need to face the future with optimism. We never turn away.

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Introduction

Hidden Children

A 14-year old is brought by a stranger to a foreign country, where she knows nothing except that here she will be able to go to school. What happens to her in the new country is largely out of her control. She doesn't know what her rights or options are, she only knows what the stranger tells her. She may apply for asylum, get a school place and make friends with other children, or she may be taken to a house where she will spend years working for no pay until she either runs away or becomes pregnant and is thrown out. Until she is made safe and has access to her rights and entitlements, she will be one of the UK's unknown number of hidden children. How long she has to wait to be made safe could depend on her willingness to take the risk of running away, or on someone else recognising the signs that she is being exploited. That someone else may be a neighbour, a teacher, a school friend, or a social worker. Once she has escaped from her exploiters, she may face a culture of disbelief from individuals and agencies that do not understand the extent of her experiences or the reasons she seems to have acquiesced with her treatment.

This report explores the experience of trafficking and abuse from the point of view of migrant young people. This report is the result of a one-year research project carried out by The Children's Society into a little-known phenomenon. The findings and recommendations are intended for anyone who has contact with or makes decisions affecting young migrants including education workers, police, social workers, practitioners in voluntary agencies and community members.

We hope this report will improve awareness of the experiences of hidden children and how to better support them and provide tools for intervention and for further research with vulnerable young people.

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Definitions

The term **separated children** is used to describe children who live outside of their country of origin and are separated from their parents or usual carers. These include unaccompanied asylum seeking and refugee children, other young migrants who are not asylum seekers, young people who are accompanied into the UK by someone other than their usual carers, and those who become separated after arrival (<http://www.separated-children-europe-programme.org>).

Exploitation - In this report, 'exploitation' is used to refer to a relationship based on a power imbalance in which one party benefits and another party's life chances are put at risk. In the case of children, the life chances are the Every Child Matters outcomes: *be healthy, stay safe, enjoy and achieve, make a positive contribution and achieve economic well-being* (HM Government 2004).

The term **hidden children** is used to describe separated children who are exploited or otherwise mistreated by the people who are responsible for them. The term is of unknown origin, but has been in use over recent years by voluntary agencies and the media to refer to this group (eg McGregor 2007). 'Hidden' is intended to refer to the unseen nature of the exploitation, the lack of awareness about these young people and the fact that exploiters deliberately act to keep them and their treatment hidden.

Child trafficking is the transportation of a child for exploitative reasons, either across borders or within a country. This definition derives from the Palermo Protocol (2000), and has been incorporated into policy and procedure in the UK for example in the DCSF Guidance for Safeguarding Children and Young People who may have been Trafficked (DCSF 2007) and the London Safeguarding Trafficked Children Toolkit (LSCB 2009). The definition assumes that someone under age 18 cannot consent to being smuggled or facilitated across borders.

Domestic servitude is exploitative labour involving housework and/or childcare in a home setting.

*A **private fostering** arrangement is essentially one that is made privately (that is to say without the involvement of a local authority) for the care of a child under the age of 16 (under 18, if disabled) by someone other than a parent or close relative with the intention that it should last for 28 days or more. Private foster carers may be from the extended family, such as a cousin or great aunt. (DCSF 2005)*

By law, the parents or fosterers must notify the Local Authority of the private fostering arrangement *at least 6 weeks before the date on which the private fostering arrangement is to begin or immediately where the arrangement is to begin within 6 weeks* (DCSF 2005).

The term **child** refers to anyone under the age of 18, as defined by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and The Children Act 1989 in England and Wales.

The term **guardian** is used to refer to the adult a young person was living with when they were mistreated.

A note on immigration status

Some hidden children have no immigration status in the UK because of the way they have been trafficked by their exploiters. Although **some** trafficked young people are also refugees and may apply for asylum, there are also children seeking asylum who have **not** been brought to the UK to be exploited but left their home country specifically to flee persecution. Some hidden children who are not refugees are able to stay in the UK because they are given humanitarian protection by the government. (see <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/asylum/claimingasylum/>)

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Setting the scene

3.1 Background and aims of this research

The Hidden Children research project came about as a response to issues that emerged from The Children's Society's direct casework with separated children in East London. Over the past ten years, several of the young people have reported that they experienced exploitation through domestic or other forced labour as well as emotional, physical and sexual abuse and neglect after coming to the UK. These young people said that they wished that they had known that they could have got help earlier. Some of the young people had felt suicidal because they felt that this was the only escape from their situation. More than half of the young people in these initial case studies had been in education while also hidden and when they asked for support from various agencies, the frontline workers did not know how to help or refer them.

The Hidden Children research project was set up to address particular gaps in knowledge. It was found that little was known about young people who are exploited or abused in ways other than trafficking for sexual exploitation, and there was also a gap in the research about children and young people's own perspectives on having been trafficked (Pearce et al 2009, p186).

Additionally, little was known about how to intervene with young people whose freedom is limited by their exploiters, for example, by not permitting them to attend school. Consequently, The Children's Society sought funding for a participatory, child-centred research project with the following **intended outcomes**:

- Practitioners will be better able to identify and support hidden children.
- Decision-makers will better understand the steps that need to be taken to safeguard hidden children.
- A small number of hidden children will have had their voices heard.

3.2 Why migrant children?

This study concentrates on migrant children in order to raise awareness of this group's particular experiences, needs and vulnerabilities. It should be noted though that UK nationals are also trafficked within and from the UK, particularly for sexual exploitation or forced marriage, in circumstances sometimes similar to those experienced by migrants to the UK (Ceop 2009, Bokhari 2009). The cases **examined for** this report represent children from four Asian and ten African countries. Four children were from **unidentified** African countries.

3.3 Trafficking facts and figures

The International Labour Organisation estimates that 1.2 million children worldwide are trafficked each year (ILO 2002, p32) and that the trade is worth USD \$32 billion annually (ILO 2005).

In the UK, the United Kingdom Human Trafficking Centre (UKHTC) is aware of 325 children from 52 countries who may have been trafficked in the year to March 2008 (Ceop 2009 p9). Of these children, 68% were girls. In the majority of cases (193), the type of exploitation was identified and broke down in the following ways:

- 56% (109) of children were sexually exploited,
- 19% (36) were forced into labour (working in restaurants, construction sites and salons).

Other types of exploitation included street crime (shoplifting, illegal street trade and begging), domestic servitude, cultivation of cannabis, benefit fraud, drug smuggling, forced marriage, application of residence and illegal adoption. Fourteen children were identified as undergoing a secondary form of exploitation; many were African girls who were initially used as domestic servants and then later sexually exploited in their mid or late teens. (Ceop 2009, p10).

The actual number and extent of child trafficking victims in the UK is unknown. The 325 children reported on by Ceop only consists of those young people that the authorities were aware of and so excludes those who have entered clandestinely and not become known to any statutory agencies, those who were not recognised as trafficked by any agencies, those who were not reported to UKHTC and those who did not disclose that they were exploited due to fear of reprisals or other negative consequences. The British Association for Adoption and Fostering estimates that the majority of the private fostering arrangements in the country are not known to the Local Authority (Philpot 2001).

Once a child is identified of being at risk of exploitation and taken into care, many remain at risk of running away to or being kidnapped by traffickers. In May 2009, a report was leaked from the UK Border and Immigration Agency that 77 Chinese children had gone missing from a single children's home near Heathrow airport since March 2006. In the year surveyed by Ceop, 20% of the children were missing from care at the time the cases were referred. In December 2008, the Care Leavers Association reported that 389 children were currently missing from local authority care, most of whom were asylum seeking children in the South East of England. Research by Ecpat in 2007 found that 60% of children identified as trafficked in three English regions had gone missing and never been found (Beddoe 2007). Most of these children go missing from unsupervised or semi-supervised accommodation (Ceop 2007).

3.4 Childrens rights

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (United Nations 1989) has several articles that refer to protection from the types of exploitation experienced by hidden children:

- *Article 19: All children shall be protected from abuse and neglect.*
- *Article 32: All children shall be protected from economic exploitation and work that is hazardous, interferes with her/his education or harms her/his health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.*
- *Article 34: All children shall be protected from sexual exploitation and abuse, including prostitution and involvement in pornography.*
- *Article 35: All children have the right to protection from being abducted, sold or trafficked.*
- *Article 39: All children have the right, if the victim of armed conflict, torture, neglect, maltreatment or exploitation, to receive appropriate treatment for her/his physical and psychological recovery and reintegration into society.*

(Summaries from thinkquest.org)

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Research methodology

Because the participatory methodology of the Hidden Children research may be useful to other workers in the field, it is explored in detail in this section and the following section on research ethics. The examples may be most interesting to researchers, but practitioners working with vulnerable young people may also find examples that are applicable to their work.

The research was carried out by one researcher based at The Children's Society, New Londoners project and involved the following:

- A review of relevant literature on participatory methodology, research with young people, trafficking, child trafficking and the needs of separated children
- Interviews with 8 former hidden children and 15 professionals from the voluntary and statutory sectors
- An analysis of 34 case studies provided by the above professionals
- Further data, analysis, advice and guidance from the 4 members of the young people's steering group and the 5 members of a professionals steering group made up of workers from statutory and voluntary agencies

4.1 Recording

Thirteen of the 15 professionals and 4 of the 8 young people consented to be audio recorded during interviews, and the interviewer took written notes in the other cases. One professional answered the questions by email. Interviews were transcribed and sorted by theme by the interviewer. Written notes were taken by the researcher during steering group meetings.

4.2 Participation

In our direct work with young people at The Children's Society, we aim to be young people-centred and participatory in line with Article 12 of the UNCRC. The research ethics and methodology of the Hidden Children project are also based on these principles. The context-specific participation of hidden children themselves was also essential for effectively identifying interventions and young people's needs from their points of view (WCRWC 2000). Young people were involved in the research in two ways: as interviewees or as members of a steering group.

4.2.1 Young People's Steering Group

The steering group comprised of four young adults aged in their early 20s who had been hidden children themselves. Their role was to advise on the

methodology, ethical procedures, analysis and recommendations. We involved young people in this way in order to:

- Make the research more participatory and young people-centred
- Improve the quality of the information collected
- Improve the sensitivity of the data collection
- Improve the ethics of the data collection
- Improve the cultural sensitivity of the data analysis

Both steering group meetings and interviews involved participatory activities and discussions as well as question and answer sections. Steering group meetings were facilitated as a forum for sharing and evaluating ideas. As with any group activity, the meetings started with icebreakers to help everyone to get to know each other. Rather than ask the group to produce the methodology from scratch, the researcher brought drafts and example activities that the group tested, evaluated, altered and added to. At later stages of the project, the emerging findings were shared so the group could comment and they did so by sharing that they had similar experiences, giving insights about cultural beliefs and norms and mentioning other issues that the researcher had not come across.

As data emerged from the interviews, the group was asked to consider particular aspects such as:

- differences between the answers of young people and professionals,
- cultural insights made by interviewees,
- the support needed when young people leave an exploitative situation, and
- possible indicators of exploitation.

Examples of the changes suggested by the group follow below.

4.2.1.1 Consent forms

The draft consent forms for young interviewees was handed out. The group had already signed their own consent form for the research group, and the researcher explained that she would talk the interviewees through the form as she had done with them. The researcher welcomed any feedback but specifically asked if anything should be changed to make it easier to understand, and whether they think it will make people feel safe enough. The group suggested that some details could be removed such as the explanation of who had access to the recordings and notes from the interviews, and that the forms should be printed in colour to look more appealing.

4.2.1.2 Mapping

The group was given a list of the information that the research was intended to find out, and told that some of this would be found out using creative

activities and some by asking questions. It was suggested that one of the creative activities might be asking interviewees if they could draw a map of the place they lived in London. They were then shown an example spider map showing a home, school, shops etc. and asked if they could think of any reasons it might be difficult for the interviewees to describe their life in London this way. For example, might it feel like an intrusive or very personal activity? The group was also asked what can be done to make the mapping more comfortable. The group was asked to consider the same questions for a map of the home the interviewees left to come to the UK. The group liked the mapping, felt it would not seem very intrusive and thought it was a good way of considering the places and people that were known in each place.

4.2.1.3 Questions

The group was asked to give feedback and suggestions about the list of draft questions and asked to particularly consider whether some would feel 'safer' to answer than others. The group put the questions into the order they thought most suitable, combined two questions into one and rewrote some into simpler language. The group discussed how and whether to ask questions about abuse. The young people suggested the following questions:

Did anyone make you do anything that you didn't want to do in any way?

Did anything else happen that you didn't like or that hurts you to think about now?

4.2.1.4 Debrief

The steering group meetings were followed by individual debriefings. After the first meeting, the researcher contacted each member to ask how they found the first meeting, if they think they can come to the next meeting, if they want to change the venue, and if there was anything else they wanted to say about the meeting or the project.

4.2.1.5 Group evaluation

An evaluation took place at the last meeting of the young people's steering group. Since the members had taken part in evaluations previously in other projects, they were asked if they were willing to evaluate the research group, given some examples of evaluation approaches and asked how they would like to evaluate. The group preferred a discussion with the results written on a white board. The researcher drew a smiling face above the column for things people liked, a frowning face for things people didn't like and the words 'next time' for suggestions about what to do with future group work.

The young people did not like when members were late to meetings because this was unfair to the people who were on time. The researcher did not like the fact that not every person was able to attend every meeting.

The members [made the following comments about their involvement in the group:](#)

- *I feel rewarded and privileged*
- *I developed skills from the discussions and knowledge about the issues*
- *I met new, critically thinking people*
- *I kept up to date with what was happening at [The Children's Society project]*
- *[The researcher] was a 'good leader' and got us to take part*
- *The way [the researcher] set questions during meetings*

The researcher said that she enjoyed the meetings and said that the group's involvement added hugely to the project and the final report.

It was suggested that in future similar groups, the facilitator should tell people in advance what the meetings will be about and also send a report after meetings of what was done as a reminder that might lead to more ideas for the next time. There was a discussion of whether participants would actually read such a report, but it was felt generally that it would be appreciated and that people would try to read it.

4.2.1.6 Information-sharing

At the last steering group meeting, the group was told about the impact both of their involvement but also of the project in general. By this point in the project, the work was already having some effect in particular stakeholder groups. The researcher felt it was important to inform the group that their work [may contribute to changes in practice and policy](#). The members appreciated the fact that awareness of the issues was being raised, individual interviewees gained improved access to services and participatory research methods were being shared with other researchers.

4.2.1.7 Preparation of the report.

The researcher shared with the group an outline of the findings about hidden children as well as the draft learning points and recommendations. Various examples of case studies were also shared and the group was asked if these seemed anonymous enough and also if they had any particular thoughts about their content. The group read through the drafts, discussed them and suggested additions to the learning points and recommendations. The researcher said that with these changes these would be included in the final report. The researcher also highlighted issues that seemed to need particular attention such as *7.1.6 Hidden children's feelings about their exploiters* to see if they agreed or had any other thoughts about these learning points.

4.2.1.8 Participatory dissemination.

The group was told about some of the ways the research results could be shared with various stakeholders, what would happen at the launch event and what the media launch would involve. Some members said they wanted to

attend dissemination events and also volunteered to speak at the launch event about how and why they were involved in the research.

Media and public speaking training was offered by The Children's Society to anyone who wanted to speak at events or be interviewed by journalists about the research. One member was willing to speak anonymously to journalists about their own life story and the other members preferred to not speak about themselves but to speak on behalf of the research project about the research itself.

The members were asked how they would like to access the report when published – online or to receive a printed copy. They were also asked for feedback on the choice of photographs to include on the cover of the report.

4.2.1.9 Participatory future planning.

The group was asked for ideas and feedback about future direct work following on from the research. Some ideas were brainstormed and discussed and the group agreed to meet again to concentrate specifically on planning future hidden children work.

4.2.2 Interviews with Hidden Children

Gaining access to interviewees was a significant challenge for this research project. Some young people were not comfortable talking about their experiences to a researcher, some gatekeepers were too busy to follow up requests from the researcher, some young people were too busy, and some gatekeepers lost touch with young people whose phone numbers often change, who may have gone underground due to lacking immigration status, or in one case, were in prison.

A note about child trafficking and sample size

The young people who were involved in the research cover a wide range of experiences and countries of origin. It is a small sample size however and some experiences of hidden children did not appear in the case studies considered. These included forced marriage and illegal adoption. The case studies are not intended to be a representative sample and have been anonymised in order not to indicate the countries of origin. The actual numbers and backgrounds of trafficked people in the UK is not fully known. People of all ages from infancy upwards are trafficked to and through the UK and people are trafficked in every part of the world. The analysis and findings here refer to certain trends related to country of origin and types of exploitation, but frontline practitioners should keep in mind that these do not rule out other countries of origin and types of exploitation. Rather than showing a cross section of all hidden children, this sample shows a range and some of the particular vulnerabilities and needs of young people within that range.

4.2.2.2 Contacting young people

All the young people involved in the research were no longer in the exploitative situation referred to, and had been out of the situation for between a few months and 10 years. Interviewees and steering group members were contacted after being recommended by their current or former support worker. Some young people have been known to The Children's Society and the rest were referred by other voluntary agencies or schools. Only one child was referred to the researcher who was still in a possible situation of abuse, but the researcher, in consultation with Children's Services, was not able to find a way of contacting them without going through their guardian. Risk assessments were made at the beginning of the project in case any current hidden children were referred to be interviewed.

4.2.2.3 Interview methods

The interview methods resulted from methods used in direct work at The Children's Society, published guides on participation work with young people and reports of previous research projects. The Children's Society has carried out empowerment work with young people including in a 'girls group' and in one-to-one casework. At one girls' group event, the workers asked young people to draw venn diagrams and maps of the things that make them feel safe. This process was the genesis of the idea to use maps as a way of identifying the people and places young people knew before and after coming to the UK. This idea was later refined with reference to Hart and Tyrer (2006).

In the years since the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child enshrined children's right to participate, there has been a great deal of development by researchers around issues of ethics, methods and participatory methods in research on children and childhood (for example, Alderson 1995, Kirby 1999, Christensen and James 2000, Worrel 2000, Punch 2002, Alderson and Morrow 2004, Morrow 2005). The distilled essence of these developments includes the principles that research should be child-centred, engaging and participatory and the ethics should take into account the power imbalances of age and experience. The Hidden Children research benefited from both the insights and practical examples of tested methods from the field of research with children. Reference was also made to sources in specialised areas including interviewing trafficked women (World Health Organisation 2003), children in situations of armed conflict (Hart and Tyrer 2006) and child trafficking (RWG-CL 2002).

Interviews were semi-structured. Half of the young people were interviewed one-to-one and half in a focus group that took place in a pre-existing peer group run by a voluntary agency. The young people interviewed were aged 16 and upwards. All the young people were interviewed in English without an interpreter after consultation with the gatekeepers. If interviewees had wanted an interpreter, this would have been provided by the researcher, the young person would have been given a choice of a man or woman and they would have had an opportunity to reject the interpreter offered. To take into account

the young people's ages and the fact that English was not their first language, the interviewer used simple language, rephrased questions and repeated and rephrased some answers to check that they were understood.

Much of the interview involved drawing and writing if the young people were willing to do so. The first activity was to fill in a protection shield [fig. 1] with the most positive things in their life – what makes them feel strong, what they are best at etc. The steering group suggested that this activity be done at the beginning and also be reviewed at the end to finish interviews with something positive and affirming. The group also suggested that the things they put that make them feel safe now could be referred to during parts of the interview when the young people recounted being made to feel unsafe.

This activity is to get you to think about the things and people in your life that give you strength, make you happy, or help you.

Most beautiful event:
 My birthday, my friends and families birthdays. My drama exam was great. The drama party and Brampton international was the most beautiful events.

People I love most:
 My Brothers, Sisters, Cousins, uncle, auntie and friends.

Makes me feel strong:
 God, friends and something to look forward to.
 Hope.

Makes me feel safe:
 My friends and school makes me feel safe. My family also makes me feel safe.

I am best at:
 Drama, dance and sport are one of the things I'm best at. I enjoy acting and making people laugh.
 Life is too short make the most out of it!
 I e!!!

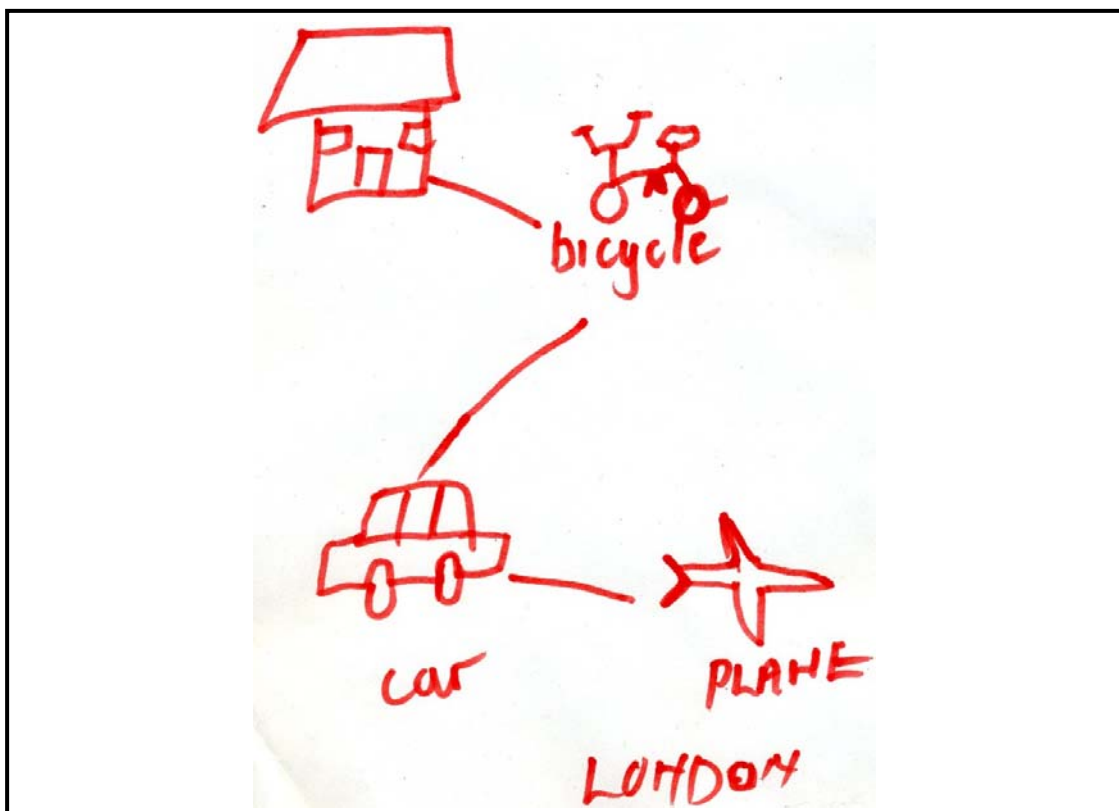
My life motto:
BE Positive

The rest of the interview was structured by the creation of 3 maps. In the first section, the young people were asked to draw a simple map of where they lived in their home country and the people and places they knew there. This map was the basis for questions such as, *Whose idea was it that you go abroad?* and *Did you go to school?* The maps were intended:

- To aid memory
- To facilitate collecting a variety of data
- To engage interviewees more than just answering questions
- To enable the interviewer to easily clarify details such as who lived where and who was in the family
- To make questions more comfortable to answer since the answer involves adding to the illustration as well as or instead of speaking

To clarify who was involved in moving the young person and whether they had access to identification papers, the young people are also asked to draw a diagram of their journey to the UK [fig 2].

The next section of the interview was the same map but of where they lived in the UK. A major part of the research was finding out where we can intervene with young people whose freedom is being limited by their exploiters, so this map could indicate these intervention points. When the basic map is drawn, it would lead to questions such as, *Who did you know at school?* *Was there someone at the church that you felt you could talk to?* and *Did you go out to work anywhere?*



The final map was the interior of the house where they lived in the UK and where for many of them the abuse took place. This was potentially the most sensitive part of the interview, so the previous mapping helped build towards it. This section included questions such as, *Where did you sleep? Did you have a key? Did you have to do chores? Were they different from the chores you did in your home country?* and so on.

The interview ended with some questions separate from the drawing of the map. These included questions about their knowledge of their immigration status at the time, what help they needed when they left the situation, and whether they have particular recommendations for decision-makers. The end of the interview also included reflective questions about whether they have problems as a result of what they went through, what helped them cope at the time and what strengths they have now to help them cope. The questions were followed by a review of the shield activity as well as other strengths they may have mentioned.

The researcher also asked interviewees if they were willing to carry out an evaluation of the interview that consisted of the questions, *Which parts of the interview did you like most & least?* and *What should I do differently when I do other interviews?*. Two people answered the first question by referring to the happy and sad memories they experienced, for example one said that she enjoyed talking about her home life before she came to the UK and the other young person said that this part made her sad. One young person commented that she liked the fact that she felt she was empowered by the methodology, for example when the researcher asked at the end if her shield could be one of the ones printed in the report.

4.2.3 Adult interviewees

The professionals interviewed were selected for a range of expertise, sectors and types of work though generally they had worked direct with hidden children. They were asked for case studies, their experiences of good practice when supporting hidden children and their recommendations for improved direct and joint work. Case studies were drawn from a few London boroughs, particularly in East London, and North West England. Like the young people, they were told they could be anonymous in the report and asked to choose how their role would be described.

4.2.4 Professionals Steering Group

The researcher met four times with a group of workers from education, health, children's services and the voluntary sector to advise on methodology, analysis and recommendations. Each member gave insights about relevant policy and practice in their particular area of work. The group was also asked to advise on questions asked to young people and professionals, research ethics with professional interviewees, who should be involved in the research, and final recommendations.

The suggestions from this group included:

- using genograms with young people with complex family lives
- telling interviewees how to contact the researcher later if they have changes, additions or retractions following the interview
- adding questions to the young people's interviews about whether living relatives remain in the home country,
- asking young people about the age they gave at school (as an indication of the young people's awareness)
- asking the young people whether the fostering arrangement was a secret and whether they knew it was an unusual arrangement in the UK.

The professionals group had particularly valuable suggestions for the practical applications of the findings and the safeguarding of hidden children. School and GP surgeries were discussed as key locations for engaging migrant communities in services and the group refined the processes needed to improve both the engagement and the safeguarding of children in these settings.

4.2.5 Evaluation and reflection on the methodology

The research methods worked well with individuals. One young person said during the post-interview evaluation that it was the first time she had talked about what happened to her without crying. One young person was visibly upset during the interview when talking about what life was like in the home country, and the researcher asked if the young person wanted to take a break. They did not want to take a break, so the researcher acknowledged that they were talking about difficult things and asked if they should carry on. At the end of the interview, the researcher spent more time than usual reflecting with the young person on the positive things in their life now.

Two young people did not engage very much with the map-drawing. They were both very articulate people and spoke extensively about their experiences with little prompting. One young person also said that he did not have good drawing abilities, so the researcher asked if it was ok for her to map what he was saying for him and he agreed. One young person did not want to fill in the protection shield, so the instead of reviewing this at the end, the interviewer reviewed their answers to some of the questions towards the end which addressed their strengths and the help they have had since leaving the exploitative situation (see Appendices for interview questions).

The methods were less successful in a group setting and there were several reasons for this. The mapping involves a great deal of one-to-one discussion, so could not be done with more than one person at a time, particularly because the young people were from very different backgrounds. The group had never met the researcher before, and the researcher did not succeed in

creating a relationship of trust with the group. Practitioners report that some young people who have been trafficked find it difficult to trust new people. Two practitioners who have managed peer groups for hidden children reported that the young people have felt disappointed in the past when after speaking with people such as journalists and nothing seemed to result from the meeting. These factors may have been relevant in the focus group, because some of the members asked the researcher to re-explain the purpose of the research a few times during the discussion. The questions might also have indicated a general discomfort with either the subjects or the way the discussion was being facilitated. The facilitation of the group was particularly disrupted because the members all arrived at different times, at approximately half hour intervals throughout the meeting. This meant that the researcher spent much of the time going through the explanation and consent procedures with new arrivals.

In hindsight, the focus group could have better focussed solely on a general discussion of a few areas of the research. If the group could spare the time and had the same members attending in succession, the information and consent sections could have been done in one meeting, and the focus group at a subsequent meeting. Alternatively, the literate young people could have been given forms to fill in individually such as template maps or questionnaires while the researcher met with late arrivals one-to-one and later circulated.

Since the research was qualitative and participatory throughout, the interview schedule was altered and added to over time. Part way through the interviews, the researcher spoke with practitioners who had worked with refugee young carers and advised that caring responsibilities should be particularly drawn out. In consultation with these practitioners, questions were added to the schedule about caring responsibilities.

A member of the professionals steering group pointed out that some young people referred to be interviewed may not be aware of how abusive their situation had been, for example they may not know that their experience could be considered exploitative, that what happened to them was illegal, or that their family may have paid their guardian to look after them. These young people may realise or begin to understand them during or after the interview. The researcher kept this possibility in mind during the introductory conversation as well as the interview and dealt with it by using vignettes. The research project was explained generally and then illustrated with a range of examples, so the researcher said that she was speaking with young people *who came to the UK without their parents and were treated badly by adults* here, and that she has for example spoken with young people who were thrown out by their carers or made to work with no pay or physically abused. Examples were also used for questions about payment so young people were

told that some young people's carers are paid by their parents to look after them and do they know if that happened with them.

Towards the end of the fieldwork period the researcher attended a research conference and heard a presentation (Livesay 2009) about the importance of disclosure as an experience for survivors of sexual abuse. The presenter advised that disclosures themselves should be acknowledged during interviews and that interviewees sometimes appreciate the acknowledgement and say that no one had ever before asked them how it felt to disclose. Only one person was interviewed after this conference, and when the young person explained how she had disclosed her story for the first time formally to the police, the researcher said she imagined it had been difficult to tell the story. The young person responded that after the meeting with the police, she went home and missed her mum and felt sad. The acknowledgement of the disclosure seemed to fit into the interview well, and would have been used in some form in any following interviews. The researcher also brought the subject of disclosure as an ongoing experience to the young people's steering group, and the resulting discussion formed the basis for the disclosure section of this report.

Some advice was given to and referrals made for some of young people involved in the research including the following:

- One young person was informed that scholarships are available for some African students at UK universities and advised to ask their college and the public library for access to guides on university funding.
- One support worker who was supporting a young person with no recourse to public funds was sent information on resources for destitute people.
- Two young people who wanted access to social activities were given information about a project for young refugees that provides these.
- One young person who needed immigration advice was given information about a project for young refugees that provides this.

5

Research ethics

The research followed The Children's Society's Research Unit's ethical procedures which include the use of a written set of ethical principles and procedures that must be approved by two senior researchers from the Research Unit and two external academics. Potential ethical issues and difficulties were explored and addressed before the steering groups met and fieldwork began. This provided a basis for the young people's steering group to build on the ethics design, tailoring it to the needs of hidden children.

5.1 Steering group input

To begin the discussion on research ethics, the researcher provided the following definition of ethics in research: *Ethics in research means not causing harm. (keeping people safe, giving people all the relevant information so they can give 'informed consent' to participate)*. The group then considered the ethics that had been used for the research group, for example they were told they can leave anytime, they signed a consent form and they were told what the research is about and why it was being done. The group was asked if anything else could be done to be more ethical and if they wanted more information about the research or the group or anything else.

The group then turned to ethical approaches to the interviews and brainstormed what might make young people feel anxious about the research, for example if there are people in their lives who don't know they were hidden children. The researcher shared the intended ethical approaches to the interviews that had been previously approved by the formal ethics review process above and asked if anything were missing. The group was satisfied with the approaches that were planned and the ethical procedures that were being used for the steering group.

The group also anticipated a few outcomes of the research. One was that interviewees might have been excited about the idea of traveling and that they might enjoy talking about the period of their life before making their journey. It had not occurred to the researcher that the interviewees might enjoy aspects of the interviews. Later, one interviewee did talk about her excitement at the time, and two young people picked out particular sections of the interviews they enjoyed because they had spoken about a happy part of their lives. The group also anticipated that the interviewees probably would not have had any expectations about the UK and what would happen here and probably would not understand why they were sent. These predictions were reflected in some interviews and it was useful for the researcher to see that the experiences and insights of the steering group were reflected more widely.

The group made some suggestions that could not be carried out for various reasons. One of these was the use of videos as a tool for the interviews. The group suggested that interviewees could be shown videos of hidden children telling their stories as a trigger for discussion, a random video to put them at their ease, a video showing a young person who overcame difficulties, or videos illustrating differences between normal and exploitative lifestyles. The researcher looked at DVDs produced by different young refugee projects and looked online but did not find anything suitable. She reported this back to the group at the next meeting and thanked them for the suggestion.

5.2 Ethical principles.

The ethical procedures were characterised by the following principles: opt in, informed consent, anonymity, incentives, follow-up, confidentiality, safety and avoiding emotional manipulation.

5.2.1 Opt-in

At every stage, the young people's involvement was presented as optional rather than expected. Potential interviewees were told that whether they were involved or not, it would not affect the support they get from the worker who referred them to the project.

5.2.2 Informed consent

At the first meeting with each young person, the researcher explained what the research was about and what their involvement could be and answered any questions they had. The young people were asked if they wanted to do an interview straightaway or to think about it and maybe meet again another day. One young person took up the suggestion of postponing the interview and was told he could phone, email or send a text with his answer and he chose to text that he did not want to do the interview.

5.2.3 Avoiding emotional manipulation

In particular, potential interviewees were not asked if they would like to 'help' other young people like them or to help with the project, instead they were told the intended outcomes and asked if they thought they might be interested in being involved.

5.2.4 Anonymity

Anonymity was addressed in various ways. Only the researcher and her managers knew the names of the people interviewed and had access to the transcripts. All the young people were concerned that they and even their exploiters should not be identified from the report. Potential steering group members were told that they might know some of the other people in the group and that this would mean that those people would know that they had also had some of the same experiences of exploitation. Interviewees were asked to choose themselves the name to be used for them in the report.

5.2.5 Incentives

Incentives were presented non-coercively. For example, travel costs were refunded at the beginning of meetings. All young people involved in the

research got a voucher as recognition that they have given up their time, and they also received this at the beginning, before being told that they can leave at any time.

Participation groups can become their own reward when the members get along well, so it was important to foster a good dynamic between the members of the steering group by using icebreakers, a comfortable, familiar and convenient venue and time for everyone to be heard and to have informal chats. Because steering group meetings took place in the afternoon, lunch was provided.

Some of the steering group also took up offers of using their participation to get a Youth Achievement Award and to attend relevant events, for example one member attended a reception organised by one of the funders and an event on private fostering that took place at Parliament. The members were also presented with a certificate from The Children's Society stating the number of hours they had volunteered on the project.

It's not because it's happening to me, it's happening to other people as well. Every time I watch the news, it's never happening to children my age. It's always younger ones and I have this big guilt that these young ones can't do nothing. If I'm old enough and going through the same thing, I'm lucky to be alive. I have to say something so that someone can put a stop to it. I'm speaking for them that can't speak. If I don't do it, then who's going to do it and who is going to listen? (Sasha, age 16)

The main incentive for the participants was having a chance to make a difference. The young people were very conscious of this and both steering group members and interviewees stated this as a motivation. It was important that the research was being carried out by an organisation with a record of successful campaigning for young people's rights.

5.2.6 Follow-up

Because the research was based in a project that does direct work with young migrants, the researcher was well placed to respond to any support needs that might arise from the interviews. The researcher referred some of the interviewees to The Children's Society for further support and also passed on details of specialist agencies to their support workers when appropriate. The researcher brought a list of specialist agencies to each interview in case a need arose for a referral for a particular type of support. Each interviewee was also given a list of confidential helplines such as Childline to take away in case the interview does bring up any issues for them (see Appendix V).

5.2.7 Confidentiality

Interviewees were informed that what they said was confidential unless there was reason to think that they or someone else was at risk, but that they would be informed if this concern was followed up. Since most of the young people had been supported by confidential services previously, the researcher began the discussion on confidentiality by asking them about their understanding of the word.

5.2.8 Safety

In case the researcher and/or young people were at risk from traffickers or exploiters, extra care was taken to assess interview locations for example by checking that interview venues had staffed receptions guarding access to meeting rooms. The researcher also made checking in phone calls with managers before and after interviews. Apart from this, the researcher followed The Children's Society's lone working procedures. As with any activity with young people at The Children's Society, each interview or meeting was also formally risk assessed. All risk assessments were signed off by line managers.

When any safeguarding/child protection concerns arose, the researcher followed The Children's Society's Safeguarding Policy by referring to line managers in the first instance and sending formal written concerns to the relevant statutory agencies and individuals. The researcher was an employee of the organisation and therefore had been CRB checked and trained in safeguarding and professional boundaries.

6

Findings

There follows a list of particular findings from the fieldwork. The findings are organised into sections representing the children's experiences before coming to the UK, their time in the abusive situation, how they got away from the abuse and their needs and experiences after leaving the situation.

6.1 Background and journey

The children's backgrounds were considered in order to find out if there were common 'push' factors, if there were cultural factors that should be taken into consideration, and other patterns that may be useful as identifiers. The results varied widely, and suggested that a migrant child from any background could be vulnerable to exploitation.

The children came from capital cities as well as villages with no school and no electricity. Their parents were vegetable growers, politicians, teachers and international business people. Some families could not afford school, and at least one child had attended a fee-paying private school. At least nine of the 42 children came from countries affected by war or political violence. There were no clear examples of parents or carers sending their children abroad knowing they would be exploited.

In the instances where family members are responsible for making the private fostering arrangement, it seems to be fuelled by a desire for their children to have a safer and better life (although the outcome may be different). (Separated children practitioner)

The ages at which they were sent abroad ranged from below 8 to age 17, with most (where known by practitioners) falling between 12 and 16. This range is younger than that of the sample in the most recent Ceop survey in which nearly half of the children were 16 or 17 (Ceop 2009). The ratio of boys to girls in the sample is 3:4, at approximately 40% boys and 60% girls.

The 'pull' factors also varied. Access to education or what was perceived as a better education was a common reason for the children to be sent abroad. The desire for a better education was also deliberately used by traffickers to convince parents to send their children away. Some came to the UK to join family, and for some of these the exploitation occurred when they were later moved on to live with other family members or family friends.

CASE STUDY

Peter was raised by his grandmother. When he was 13 years old, his father came to visit and his grandmother said he had to go to the UK with his father because she was too ill to look after him. Because his father travelled for work, Peter was moved around to stay with different

associates of his father. While he was living in one private fostering arrangement, his father died and he stayed with the fosterer until she threw him out.

Two of the interviewees described traffickers approaching their families with offers of a better life.

CASE STUDY

Anna's mother had a friend whose daughter and grandson lived abroad. This friend suggested that Anna could go live with them, help look after the grandson take him to school and go to school herself. Anna's parents thought this was a good idea because they considered the education to be better in UK than in their country. The woman suggested Anna because she was 'the eldest girl' in the family and house work was 'women's work'.

6.1.2 The journey

The young people's journeys varied greatly. Some entered undetected on lorries or trucks and one reported coming by boat. Most children in the study arrived by plane and either with the person they would be living with, a family member or a trafficker. One young person came on her own passport, was given a temporary visa and unwittingly became an overstayer. Some came to join family members in the UK. Commonly, the children were brought into the country on other people's passports and by people claiming to be their parents. One girl was told to memorise the identity and wear the clothes of a boy. This girl says she 'messed up' her answers to the immigration official who questioned her, but this was not picked up.

The means of travel into the UK from West Africa (by air with an agent, sometimes claiming to be a parent) and Vietnam (clandestinely) that emerged in this study [supports](#) the most recent survey by Ceop (2009).

6.1.3 Financial arrangements

Three young people mentioned financial arrangements that were or may have been made for their transportation.

CASE STUDIES

May was raised by her mother who was very ill. When she was 13, her mother sold their house and all the family's belongings. May thinks that she used the money from selling the house to pay a man to take her away for a better life because her mother thought she was dying.

Anna was brought to the UK by a woman she had never met before who also transported six other people of various ages on the same flight. The woman drove around dropping the other people off, then took Anna to her own house. The woman who was to be Anna's guardian came to pick Anna up and gave money to the transporter who she then never saw again.

Sandra was orphaned at age 12 and went to a big city to find work. When she was 16, she paid an agent for a fake passport and ticket for a flight. She was trafficked over a few months and via other countries before being brought to the UK.

6.1.4 Young people's agency

A common theme that emerged was the young people's lack of choice or awareness when they were sent abroad.

I thought it was a holiday, I didn't know I was going to stay here. I can't turn around and say to my mum that I don't want to go, because she would just say, do you want to stay here and die? (16-year old girl who came to the UK aged 10)

The young people were not given a choice about whether to leave their families and go abroad. Two young people said they were not told where they were going.

CASE STUDY

One day a man came with a truck and May's mother said to go with him. He told May he was taking her to another country, but she didn't know where to.

From a mainstream western European perspective, some of the African and East Asian young people described a cultural passivity and disempowerment based on age.

I was brought up in a family in which you have to give respect to your elders, and that's defined my whole way of life until now. I thought if I argued with people I'd get in trouble. (African boy)

In my country, if someone does you a favour, you owe them a favour. So if someone takes you to another country, you owe them a very big favour back. (East Asian young woman)

The young people were further disempowered by the lack of control over identification documents. Two of the interviewees travelled with their father and on their own passports, though only one of them ever saw their passport after that. Other young people described not knowing what or even whether documents were used for them.

You won't even have the confidence to ask to see [your] passport. (African young woman)

One practitioner highlighted age as an important factor in itself.

If you put yourself into the position of an eight year old child and you're told that you're going to do this and this is what you have to say by a grown up that you trust, you follow instruction don't you? (Social work employee of a local authority)

One young person also mentioned a cultural factor that may prevent hidden children from contemplating that they have a choice about where and with whom they will live.

In my country, you don't leave home. Your parents tell you when it is time to leave home. And they treat you like you are 15 or whatever even when you are an adult. (African young man)

This young person said that he believed hidden children would stay in an abusive situation in the UK because they would think they would get in trouble, even with the police, for not staying with their guardians.

The disempowerment and lack of agency goes some way to explain why even those children who were not locked in to their exploitative situations do not run away. Other reasons are:

- cultural expectations of the sorts of work children can be expected to carry out,
- a lack of knowledge about rights and options, and
- fear.

These reasons will be explored in the next three sections.

6.2 Hidden children's experiences in the UK

6.2.1 Types of exploitation and abuse

The 42 examples examined for this report included the following:

25	domestic servitude
11	prevented from going to school or access support
6	sexual exploitation/abuse
5	thrown out of home/abandoned
3	benefit fraud
3	other physical abuse/neglect
3	other financial abuse (eg being forced to steal or being stolen from)
2	cannabis cultivation
2	other forced labour (in a shop and/or factory)
1	accusation of witchcraft

There was a great deal of overlap across these categories including domestic servitude often being accompanied by physical and emotional neglect and/or abuse and benefit fraud. The types of exploitation and abuse applied to both the boys and girls in the sample apart from 'other forced labour' and 'other financial abuse' that were only experienced by boys.

6.2.2 Awareness of life in the UK

One particular area that young people lacked information about was financial arrangements made to support them. Some of the children did not know if their guardians got any benefits for them or if their parents paid for them to be looked after. One young person was told by her guardians that her parents were not paying for her, and this seemed to make the guardians angry. Three

young people from the case studies were thrown out of their homes when the guardians could no longer afford to pay for them or were no longer receiving money for them from another sponsor.

Young people were also asked about their knowledge of their immigration status.

I didn't even know you needed papers or passports. (Anna)

CASE STUDY

One girl looked in her passport and saw that she had only had a one year visa to stay in the UK and she had been in the country for 2 years at that point. She had seen in the news that some migrants were not allowed to stay in the UK but thought that it only applied to migrants who had committed crimes. She said, 'The first time I heard about it was that someone committed a crime and they said he was a migrant and he had to go back.'

None of the young people had an understanding of their own immigration status or what determines the right to reside. Four young people discovered they had to regularise their status when their school or college asked to see their identification papers. The lack of awareness about the immigration system in the UK made hidden children more vulnerable to manipulation by their guardians (see 'Fear and threats' below).

6.2.3 Hidden Children's own views of their experiences.

It was unfair. They made promises they never kept [to send me to school].

The above comment was made by a young person who experienced the following treatment from a woman she lived with for 18 months:

CASE STUDY

Anna lived with a married couple who had a young son. She got up at 6am, cleaned, woke the son, gave him breakfast & made his lunch, took him to school, cleaned until 12, had food, went to her bedroom until it was time to pick up the son from school, helped him with his homework, prepared food that the woman would then cook, did whatever chores she was called to do, went to bed at 9. The woman would often call her to get out of bed and do more chores such as getting drinks & snacks for her. If she didn't hear, the woman would pour cold water on her face in bed. She shouted at her, hit and beat her for things like not knowing that she had finished her cup of tea. The beatings increased over time. The woman also sent her to clean the houses of several of her friends. Anna had been told she was going abroad to get a better education.

During the interview, Anna corrected the interviewer for using the term 'domestic work'. She called the work 'helping out', which is also what she had called the chores she did at home with her parents. This is an example of a

phenomenon that was particular to several of the domestic servitude case studies - that the young people, in the words of one professional, 'didn't mind the abuse, they resented the lack of the education they had expected'.

The extent to which the abuse is accepted is difficult to distinguish from the lack of awareness the young people have about their rights. Some may however distinguish between their treatment in the UK and in their home country, if only as a matter of degree. One young person who had caring responsibilities in his home country, said that he had to do more work in the UK because his guardian had children who made their home impossible to keep clean and tidy. Anna made the distinction that her abuser beat her for no reason and back home people were beaten for a reason.

Some practitioners pointed out that various guardians and communities have differing attitudes to physical punishment of children. People from migrant communities may not know that certain types and levels of physical punishment, neglect and other treatment of children is considered abusive or illegal in the UK.

6.2.4 Awareness of rights and options.

I would feel like maybe that was my duty, doing all the stuff in the house. But it got to a point where I was thinking, hold on, I'm not these children's mum, she's meant to be doing all the cooking for everyone. (Peter)

Peter was one of only three examples out of the 42 case studies of young people refusing any of the tasks they were expected to do. On the occasions he refused, Peter was shouted at and not given dinner. Another teenage boy was accused of being a witch and thrown out of his home. The other young people are reported as having generally acquiesced with their tasks.

When it first started happening I think they just weren't quite sure what was going on and whether it was something that would pass. (project worker at a children's charity)

Although several of the young people were in school, no one reported that they had disclosed because they knew what their rights were or what the outcome of the disclosure would be. None of the young people said they had known that their treatment was illegal at the time.

CASE STUDIES

One girl was trafficked to a brothel in the UK at age 14. She had never seen European people before. When one of the men who ran the brothel tried to touch her, it frightened her and she ran away because she was scared. She climbed out of a window to get away. She ran all night and the next day was found by a man who bought her some food, then pointed at a police station to indicate that she should go inside. The police put her on the phone to an interpreter who asked her if she had a place to stay and told her she was in England and that a social

worker would come for her. 'They asked why I came here. I said I don't know I just ran away from the house.'

Anna was trafficked for domestic servitude and was not allowed to go to school. She took the children she was looking after to school every day and at the school gates got to know a mother who was from her country. The woman befriended her and offered to let her live with her so she could escape the situation with her exploiter. Anna felt unsure that this woman was safe and 'genuine' and that if she went there she wouldn't be kicked out onto the street. On the day she had to decide though, her exploiter 'beat' her 'really really bad' so she left. The new guardian tried to get her into school but couldn't because Anna had no identification papers. Later the guardian was planning to return to her home country and so took Anna to the police station because she didn't know what else to do with her since she had no immigration status.

A girl was groomed and sexually exploited while in the care of children's services. She didn't know that what was happening was illegal or that it was considered abuse.

A boy had all his belongings stolen from him by older boys and men living in the same accommodation when he was in care of children's services. He didn't know that it was illegal for people to steal from him.

A boy was not sent to school by his guardian for the first year that he was in the UK. His guardian said that she did not want him to go to school because he would start to question her authority.

The lack of awareness of their rights and the systems in the UK meant that after being thrown out or running away from their exploitative situations, some young people continued to live without status or access to statutory services.

CASE STUDY

Jamal was sent to the UK by a sponsor who paid a guardian to look after him. The guardian used him as a domestic servant, physically abused him and did not send him to school for 2 years. When the payments stopped, Jamal's guardian threw him out and later moved house, taking any identification documents with him. Jamal then worked illegally to pay for a rented flat and later lived at a friend's house. By the time he found out he needed to regularise his status in the UK, he was 18 years old. He applied for asylum, and when he went to the Home Office for an asylum screening interview, he was put in detention.

Other young people reported living on the streets and being re-trafficked, being further sexually exploited, or finding out they had no status in the UK when they went to a Job Centre to try to find work.

6.2.5 Fear and threats

As illustrated by Anna's case study above, some children may not disclose or not run away due to a fear of the unknown, particularly a fear of homelessness, and an uncertainty about who can be trusted. As has been well documented (CEOP 2009), trafficked children are also actively threatened by their exploiters in order to keep them from disobeying or running away.

They said if I ran away and they got me, they would hit me. They said do not run away. That made me scared. (girl trafficked into a brothel)

[The guardian said] "When you get out of this house, you are going straight back to your country, I will report you to the Home Office, I will tell them how you are a bad person, I will tell your dad everything". (girl abused through domestic servitude)

Some young people were told by their exploiters that they were 'illegal' because they didn't have a passport, and the children believed they could be put in prison for this or deported straightaway. Other children were afraid that they would get in trouble for reporting that they were being exploited and that they, rather than their exploiters, would be punished by being deported.

Some young people were threatened with being sent back home. One girl said this was scary because she didn't know where she could live or what she could do if she went back to her country. Another young person was told that if the police knew about her, she would be sent home. A practitioner who works with African communities said it is common practice by exploiters to instil a fear of the police in children being exploited through domestic servitude and she addressed the children's fear of being sent home. She explained that a significant reason for the fear is that by going abroad, the children are expected to be 'a conduit' for a better life for the rest of the family. Getting sent back means the 'end of the dream'. The children would also experience 'shame and stigma from going back empty-handed'.

Young people may also fear that their disclosure will bring jeopardy to extended family relationships. A community-based worker mentioned an extended family in both the UK and the home country that no longer speak to each other because a disclosure led to a member being imprisoned. A member of the young people's steering group also referred to this possibility, saying that if there is a strong family bond, young people might feel they will 'let the family down' by disclosing and that this would damage the family bond forever, particularly for the family based in the UK. A young person who experienced domestic servitude and physical and sexual abuse explained why she did not want to press charges. Having left the situation behind her, she said she did not want to cause any more problems. She also wanted to avoid her parents finding out that she had sent someone to jail because her family back home would feel that she was 'naughty'. This young person's practitioner was also interviewed and reported that her guardians had told her that she would bring shame on her family if she told people what was going on.

6.2.6 Being sent home

None of the case studies involved re-trafficking or hidden children being returned to their country of origin, though some examples were mentioned. Two adult interviewees were aware of cases of young people being returned to their home countries by guardians who accused them of witchcraft. The interviewees believed that this was done because the guardians were aware of people being arrested in the UK for accusing children of witchcraft.

One young person reported working as a domestic labourer in a family that had sent one of their own children back to the home country to improve their behaviour. A steering group member also personally knew two young people exploited through domestic labour who were sent back to their home country. This took place after the children they were looking after grew up and the guardian no longer had a use for them. One young person was sent home after she finished college and asked her guardian if she could go to university. The UK does not currently monitor children leaving the country, and more information is needed about the practice of sending children abroad for punishment or exorcism and what happens to them.

6.2.7 Risky survival strategies

Three adult interviewees referred to cases in which hidden children resorted to criminal activities or other risky behaviour either to survive (such as in Jamal's case above) or because they were forced into it by older people. One young person was given false documents to use to find work. One girl went to live with an older man who sexually assaulted her. One boy took part in petty crime to pay his guardian for his living costs. Another boy was placed in mixed age accommodation at age 15 and some men there bullied him and forced him to shoplift.

6.2.8 Who are the exploiters?

Most of the young people in this report were brought to the UK by someone from their own country and lived with people from their own country, religious and ethnic background. The guardians' immigration status was not explored in the interviews, but at least one was British, and others were thought to have refugee status or other leave to remain. Some of the young people were used as carers for other children while their guardians attended ESOL classes. Some of the guardians were relatives, usually older brothers, sisters or male cousins. In these cases, the workers and young people believed that a formal kinship care assessment was not carried out by children's services, even when the young person was transferred to the relative from being in care.

A worker from the national Child Trafficking And Information Line (CTAIL) pointed out that trafficking and exploitation are typically carried out by people of high status, since they have the resources to make the arrangements. These high status people can be from the same community as the young people, the destination country or a third country and includes people working in embassies. Though no officials were implicated in the cases considered here, some interviewees did mention that people in their communities would be too scared of their exploiters to intervene or tell anyone else. This may indicate another reason that discourages disclosures - young people may

believe that their exploiters are more powerful than the police and other authorities.

6.2.9 A range of freedom

Not all hidden children are physically 'locked in' and they experience a wide range of freedom or limits to freedom. For example:

- Some had keys
- Some went to school and were allowed to spend some time outside of the house socialising
- One went to school but was expected home by a certain time
- One who was in school was told she wasn't allowed friends
- One was only allowed out on her own to go to school or the church youth group
- Some weren't allowed to use the internet including teenagers who were not allowed to use it for homework
- One was allowed to use the internet only under observation
- Some only watched television when the children they were looking after were watching
- Some were taken to other people's houses to work
- Some went out shopping on their own
- One was told to speak to no one and make eye contact with no one when she went out shopping
- Some worked in shops or factories run by the guardian
- Some visited doctors & dentists either alone or with their guardian
- One had freedom of movement but was given a false identification document in case she was ever questioned by authorities

The range and limits of freedom applied to both boys and girls.

6.2.10 Experiences of private fostering monitoring

Useless. So many opportunities and they missed it. I would have been like Baby P.

Sometimes [the social workers] would ask the questions when [the guardians] were there.

Mainly they asked [the guardians] the questions, and then they asked them to get out of the room and asked me questions. They would check that I go to school and things like that. I had 5 or 6 of them. Every 6 weeks they would change. So many of [the social workers] have information about me. Why are you coming back to ask me the same questions – members of your team have got it, get it from them. They check about, "Did you have a good day at school", but never "Where do you sleep".

A few of the young people in this study were known to children's services while still in the abusive situations and experienced monitoring by Local Authority private fostering teams. Two interviewees spoke of their dissatisfaction with the private fostering monitoring visits, which are supposed to take place every 6 weeks until a child is 16 years old. In particular, they did not like the following:

- The social worker asked them questions while their guardians were in the same room or in the next room and could overhear
- A worker gave their contact information to the guardians and not the young person
- A worker gave the family a switchboard rather than a direct line number
- Different social workers would visit and they found it difficult to disclose when they did not have a chance to build a relationship of trust with one person.
- Visits were delayed or cancelled
- Visits were cut short because the worker had to visit other young people

By not speaking with the children alone and delaying or cancelling visits, these local authority workers were not carrying out their statutory duties (DCSF 2005). Ofsted's 2008 survey of privately fostered children found similar examples of incomplete implementation of the legal requirements with examples including irregular visits and varying opportunities to speak privately (Ofsted 2008).

One young person described feeling discouraged from disclosing because the social worker would rush through visits:

My social worker would say to me, 'I've got to go now, I've got another boy to see' so even if there were questions I was waiting for her to ask me, she would just blurt out, 'I've got to go now'. If you come to see me, see me and make sure you see me properly before you move on to the next one.

The young people also reported that their guardians behaved manipulatively when monitoring visits were taking place or due. A boy said that his guardian's personality changed when the social worker was present, because she was friendly and polite to the worker. A girl reported that in the week before the visit, her guardian would treat her kindly and give her treats, and the result was that when the social worker asked how things were, she could only remember good recent experiences rather than the previous five weeks.

For the 5 weeks she would be as horrible as she can, and in that one week she would try and be nice so that when my social worker came I could think, oh maybe something I am doing was wrong. When [the social worker] asked me, 'are you alright', I was like, "yeah, everything's fine, we went to the park yesterday", because those are the current stuff I can remember. She blanks all the stuff out of my head. It's only now I realise that that's what she was doing. (16-year old girl)

Practitioners also expressed concerns about private fostering monitoring practices. The concerns included insufficient resources and cases being referred to private fostering departments as a way of avoiding following up concerns. An example was given of a safeguarding team referring a family to the private fostering department and then no longer visiting the family in spite of ongoing safeguarding concerns. In other cases, the initial assessment team found evidence that a placement was unsuitable because of risks of harm to the young person, but referred cases to the private fostering team anyway. One practitioner noted that in the current system, the private fostering worker has split loyalties between the carer and the child and a potential conflict of interest between supporting the carer and safeguarding the child. This would be addressed by the child having their own social worker.

Private fostering notifications and monitoring were made legal requirements by the Children's Act 2004. In spite of the acknowledgement with this Act and in the Laming Report following the death of Victoria Climbié that some private fostering arrangements are unsafe for children, some local authorities may not be providing sufficient resources to carry out their statutory duties.

6.2.11 Accusations of witchcraft

One young person was accused of witchcraft by the people he lived with. Though the reason for the accusation could not definitely be identified, the reasons suspected by the practitioner and the young person are in line with those outlined in the Stobart Report (Stobart 2006). The young person was teenage and disobedient, and the accusations may have been made as an excuse to give up responsibility for him and throw him out without bringing disgrace to the family.

6.3 Disclosures, interventions and escapes

6.3.1 Disclosures

A couple of them said to me that the reason they didn't [disclose] was because they didn't have status, they didn't think they'd be listened to and they felt so bad about what happened...it got to the stage, 'well, there's nothing worse than this now, I might as well tell someone'. They felt they had nothing to lose. (Project worker at a children's charity)

Though the reasons for disclosure ran a full spectrum, there were three trends with initial disclosures that stand out as distinctive:

- unintentional disclosures
- young people wanting to disclose but waiting until they are safe and with a person they trust
- disclosure only taking place when young people feel their situation cannot get any worse.

The points at which children thought they had nothing to lose by disclosing included:

- when they were sleeping on the street

- when they were pregnant and afraid that their baby would also be abused
- after an incident when they had been particularly badly physically abused.

Unintentional disclosures took place when practitioners were approached for help with another issue and the story came out during the discussion. Hidden children might approach an agency for advice on housing, immigration etc. and the disclosure may follow general enquiries or small talk such as 'how are things at home'. Three young people disclosed to advisers at school or college in order to explain why they were struggling with their studies. One disclosed when meeting a practitioner to ask for immigration advice.

CASE STUDIES

John ran away from an abusive guardian and found a job to pay rent. He attended school during the day and was picked up from school to work in a factory until up to 3am. The employer paid him £110 for a 60 hour week. He was doing his GCSEs and finding it hard to concentrate because of what he was going through. He wanted to do well at his GCSEs, so he told a teacher about his situation. He had been in the country 3 years and had no immigration status.

Andrea was placed by social services in a flatshare with a girl who had a boyfriend. Her disclosure of previous sexual exploitation came when she explained to her support worker the reason she did not like the boyfriend's behaviour.

Iqbal was living with a relative who used him for benefit fraud. The relative got housing benefit for Iqbal but financially exploited and physically abused him. Iqbal went to an agency to ask for help finding new accommodation and explained why he wanted to move.

Some young people waited until they were in a position of relative safety and so only disclosed after leaving the situation. Their experiences may remain hidden then until much later. A social worker gave an example of a young person being in care for a year before they were found to have been trafficked.

Practitioners often mentioned the importance of relationships of trust enabling disclosures. One voluntary sector worker believed that young people were more open and honest with her agency because they knew they were independent from the state. A statutory worker mentioned that age assessments in particular break down trust in social workers and can affect the likelihood of disclosures. A social work employee noted that hidden children trust social workers more than immigration staff and are more likely to disclose to social workers than immigration staff after being picked up at port and taken into care.

One young person now in her 20s had a particularly complex insight about disclosure. She considers her experiences to be in the past and does not tell anyone about what happened. A significant reason for this is because she has

observed that people may not have an 'open mind' about migrant people. When a migrant discloses abuse, they are facing other people's pre/misconceptions about the person's home country and also about people who are exploited. The migrant may not want to deal with or to feel responsible for other people's misconceptions. This young person suggested that practitioners such as health professionals should be trained to be aware of the stigma attached to migrants.

Practitioners should be aware that disclosure is not a one-off event, but a decision that reoccurs throughout the life of someone who was a hidden child. While carrying out interviews, the researcher had to be conscious that some young people who had known each other for years and were supported by the same project had never disclosed to each other that they had been through similar experiences. Similarly, one young person brought their partner to an interview and the researcher had to arrange to speak with the interviewee alone to determine whether the interview was a suitable way for the partner to learn the details of the young person's history of exploitation. Each disclosure to a new person or agency is likely to be significant for the discloser and it is good practice for practitioners to acknowledge that whether to do so may have been a difficult decision.

One young person's initial disclosure came after a friend disclosed her own abuse. According to their practitioner, *this gave them the courage to say me too*. Both young people and practitioners suggested that knowing about other people's experiences could empower young people to seek help themselves.

6.3.2 Contact with home

Young people's contact with their families back home was considered as a possible means of disclosure and escaping their situation. One of the children was able to speak with her mother on the phone twice during the 18 months she was in the exploitative situation but did so under observation from her exploiter. Another young person who was exploited through domestic labour was able to tell her family what was happening and was told, in the words of her practitioners, *to get on with it and not make a fuss*. As is discussed elsewhere in the report, various factors may preclude young people turning to family back home for help.

6.3.3 Would anything have got them away from their exploiters sooner?

The young people were asked if there is anything that might have got them out of the situation sooner. Their answers were specific to their particular situations.

- If trusted adults asked yes/no questions to find out if they were being abused.
- If people in the community hadn't been afraid of their guardians.
- If people weren't afraid they would get a criminal record for helping.
- If something had made them frightened enough to run away sooner.

- If a service who knew what their rights were had known about their home situation.
- If social services had rejected their guardian as a private foster carer because of a history of mental illness.

Practitioners' answers were also specific to the hidden children they had worked with:

- Having access to services, because services 'not being there sends a message' that help is not available
- If they had known it was wrong
- If they had information provided at school
- If questions had been asked by the school about who they stayed with and what the relationship was
- If they had known that something could be done about their situation
- If they knew they wouldn't be made homeless
- If they knew they would not just be deported or put in prison by the immigration authorities
- If a properly resourced Private Fostering team had looked at all the evidence
- If a support plan had been done earlier, by someone the young person knew and considering the who the young person had around them and lived with
- If they knew someone they could trust
- If they knew it wasn't just them and heard someone else's story
- If the school had informed social services that they were privately fostered
- If children's services had actively investigated the case
- If medical services had kept Children's Services updated
- If they believed children's services will protect them
- If social services had followed up or monitored the private fostering arrangement and spoken separately with the young person

6.3.4 Possible locations for interventions - statutory and voluntary agencies

The following list is of places that hidden children said they visited when still under the control of their exploiters and/or immediately after escaping.

- The immigration service on arrival at UK airports
- Children's Services
- Churches
- Connexions
- Dentists
- Ethnic shops eg. African or Vietnamese supermarkets

- GP surgeries
- Hospitals
- Job Centres
- Migrant community groups
- Nurseries
- Play centres
- Police stations
- School/College
- Solicitors
- Youth advice centres
- Youth clubs

Whether hidden children found help from these places depended upon the people they met there, how well informed they were, how willing they were to help or refer on and how well they judged the risk to the young person.

CASE STUDIES

A 15-year old boy told a school advisor what was happening to him. The advisor did not know what his rights were in this case, so took him to a local community advice organisation who said they could not advise him because he did not have immigration status. His school advisor then referred him to a refugee charity that supported his asylum application and with being taken into care.

A 17-year old boy ran away from the house where he did domestic labour and went to children's services. A social worker from the same ethnic background as him and the guardian who was exploiting him telephoned the guardian and spoke to them in their home language. The guardian said they had adopted the boy. Without asking for proof of the adoption, the social worker sent the boy back to the house he had run away from.

A 16-year old boy was thrown out of the house by his guardian for coming home at 5.30 in the evening. He found that Children's Services was closed so went to the police. They did not believe that he could have been thrown out for coming home at that time, so they rang his guardian to ask if he could stay with her that night. She refused so the police suggested he stay with friends of the guardian. He did not think he could trust her friends, so he asked one of his friends if he could stay that night.

A teenage boy was thrown out by his guardian and went to the voluntary sector youth club he often visited to ask the workers what he should do. They advised him to go to Children's Services. He was taken into care.

A girl exploited through domestic servitude disclosed to her GP. The GP told the girl's guardian what she had said, and she was beaten for disclosing.

A teenager reported to a hospital complaining of sexual assault.

A 16-year old girl approached a refugee children's charity for help with getting immigration status. At the first meeting with a worker at the charity, she made a full disclosure.

A 17-year old girl with a baby was referred to children's services by the baby's nursery because it appeared to be malnourished and had severe nappy rash. The girl was used as a domestic servant by a relative who gave her a small amount of money infrequently. Because she had little money, she watered down the baby's formula and rationed the nappies.

A 12-year old girl was trafficked for domestic servitude, but after a few months was abandoned on the street by the guardian. A refugee charity worker brought her to an appointment with an immigration solicitor, and the girl disclosed to the solicitor what had happened though she did not want to talk about it.

The above examples show the range of people and agencies that may be the first point of contact or disclosure for hidden children. The variety demonstrates the importance of a range of agencies having access to training on trafficking highlighting the vulnerability of young migrants to a variety of types of exploitation.

6.3.5 Possible locations for interventions - in the community

I think they pretty much knew [about the domestic labour], because they knew that I was always the one that picked up the kids. (Peter)

One of the aims of the hidden children research was to explore points of intervention for young people whose freedom is most limited. The findings indicate that most of these are in informal community and faith settings.

CASE STUDIES

A teenage girl disclosed to the pastor at her church that she was being emotionally abused by her guardian. The pastor advised that she should pray and try to not make the guardian angry.

A boy ran away from his exploiters and went to an ethnic shop where people spoke his language. Someone in the shop told him about a migrant community group for people from his country, so he went there to ask for help.

A girl exploited through domestic servitude was reported to children's services by someone who lived in their street and noticed she was not in school and looked physically neglected.

A young person with no immigration status was referred to a refugee organisation by a friend who was supported by them.

A 12-year old boy was sent by his 'aunt' to work for someone else in the same migrant community. When the new guardian realised the boy's age, she contacted children's services to force the aunt to let the boy go to school.

Practitioners also spoke of a general awareness in some migrant communities that private fostering is a common though un-notified practice. Young people said variously that their friends, guardians' friends, neighbours and the community in general knew that their guardians were not their parents, and some of these knew that they were doing domestic labour and were not happy. Several of the children attended churches where some were known to be privately fostered. Some were sent out to work for friends of their guardians. The 12-year old above and 'Anna' were both helped by people from the same country as themselves. More community outreach is needed to encourage more such interventions for those children who are most hidden. The next section reviews examples of public and targeted community outreach.

6.3.6 Awareness-raising in the community

If you hear something in the next door house and you see that they're treating this child badly, you can't say that it's none of my business because that is your business. If it's wrong, you've got to say it. I would call the police. (Sasha)

[What might help is] if there is a law that if a child is being abused and if you're family or not and you know and don't tell that you can go to court. (16-year old girl)

Interventions may be made more likely by increased public awareness of types of exploitation, children's rights and UK law regarding child safeguarding and private fostering. Up to now, public campaigns and targeted engagement with communities has been limited. The examples found during the research are summarised below.

6.3.6.1 The Community Partnership Project

In 2006 the year-long Community Partnership Project (CPP) began in London with the aim of improving awareness and joint working around issues of child protection between statutory organisations and communities (http://www.londonscb.gov.uk/community_partnership_project/). The project report concluded that it had been *extraordinarily successful* in engaging socially isolated / excluded communities and faith groups both on specific child protection issues and also on a range of other issues which contribute to the welfare and safety of London's children. Statutory agencies were able to increase their own knowledge and awareness of the issues facing local communities and faith groups through their participation in this project, and

the creation of cross-London partnerships will further help improve their responses to these communities. (LSCB 2007)

Central funding had been provided for the CPP for the initial year, and following the end of the project, a few boroughs funded the continuation of the work locally.

6.3.6.2 Television advertisement

One advertising campaign targeted at migrant communities was carried out by Afruca, a UK-based charity that works in the area of safeguarding African children. Afruca broadcast an advert on child labour exploitation on a satellite channel watched by African diaspora communities in the UK. As a result, a group of young people ran away from the houses where they had been exploited through domestic labour.

6.3.6.3 Outreach through training and advice

The Churches Child Protection Advisory Service (CCPAS) provides training as well as free advice and support to faith groups in improving their safeguarding provision and has engaged with many migrant majority churches. CCPAS has also produced guidance for other agencies on engaging with faith communities on safeguarding matters (CCPAS 2008).

6.3.6.4 Community meeting

A migrant majority church in London hosted an event organised by the Metropolitan police at which speakers from Social Services shared information about the care process, private fostering and adoption. Attendees indicated in the evaluation at the end that they had not been aware of the relevant laws and wondered why they had not been told before.

6.3.6.5 Public awareness campaign 1

One general public awareness campaign has taken place in the UK in recent years. In 2007, UKHTC ran a two-month public awareness campaign in Leeds and Bristol using advertising and flyers. The Blue Blindfold Campaign aimed to raise awareness about the different forms of trafficking, the fact that it exists in the local community and how to report suspected trafficking (<http://www.blueblindfold.co.uk>). The campaign was a pilot, and has been followed by some local Crimestoppers branches in England using the campaign's materials. An evaluation of the campaign will be funded by the Home Office (IOM 2009).

6.3.6.6 Public awareness campaign 2

The Poppy Project, which provides direct support work for women who have been trafficked, has run poster campaigns to raise awareness of trafficking of women for sexual exploitation and the services provided by Poppy. The campaigns use hard-hitting images designed to be understood by non-English speakers.

6.3.7 Interventions in school

Hidden children who were not allowed to go to school often had childcare responsibilities for other children who did go to school. Several of the children

knew another child who like them was in domestic servitude but also attended school. Some of the least free young people therefore have some connection to a place of education. As for those who were themselves in school, the young people's steering group felt very strongly that secondary schools in particular can better safeguard hidden children by improving access to immigration advice and improving all young people's awareness of rights and entitlements.

School counsellors and advisors in particular were felt to be an important resource. The steering group felt that young people might not want to use the service if they thought that all the worker would do is listen to them. They recommended that schools should make it explicit that students can bring their concerns about immigration to counselling and advice services, and that the service can refer on for further help. Practical support outcomes were felt to be more important than having someone to talk to. The confidentiality of these services should also be made explicit.

6.3.8 Interventions in healthcare settings

A health professional highlighted problems of access to health care for migrants. Surgery receptionists are acting as gatekeepers and making incorrect decisions, for example a young person with Discretionary Leave to Remain who was entitled to healthcare was sent away and told to only come back in case of an emergency. Apart from the risk to the individual young person, denying medical treatment such as immunisations puts the health of the wider community at risk. Denial of health care to young people is also a violation of several articles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, in particular article 24 which explicitly sets out the right to health services.

Several African young people who were used as domestic servants and not allowed to go to school did visit doctors. One young person spoke of being taken to the GP by her guardian who suspected the girl was pregnant. The GP only spoke to the guardian, who was present the whole time. The experience upset the girl so much that afterwards she tried to kill herself by drinking cleaning products.

One young person, Tania, made her initial disclosure to a medical professional.

CASE STUDY

Tania experienced domestic servitude and sexual abuse. She ran away and was taken into care. Social services workers never asked her any sensitive or probing questions and did not find out she had been trafficked. Tania saw a nurse for stomach pains she was experiencing and they spoke to her sensitively and asked "are there other things that you think might have caused the pain?". Tania responded by disclosing her history of abuse.

Health services are one of the few points of intervention for hidden children with limited freedom and health professionals are well placed to notice indicators or form relationships of trust with hidden children. Consequently it is

important that migrants do not face barriers when trying to access healthcare, and health professionals are focused on the needs of children rather than their guardians.

6.3.9 Interventions by Immigration staff

In recent years, resources have been put toward improving the detection of trafficked children at certain UK ports such as Gatwick Airport. One practitioner noted that the increase in checks, including at European arrival gates, has led to more trafficked young people being identified on arrival.

6.4 Support needs

One of the interview questions was about the help hidden children need once they leave the situation. The needs of hidden children overlap largely with those of other separated children and these have been well documented (Dennis 2002, Hek 2005). Once trafficked children are taken into social care, the quality of that care varies widely. Like other separated children, hidden children may experience a spectrum of support based on the resources, thresholds and procedures of their particular Local Authority. Hidden children reported experiences ranging from good, caring foster placements to independent post-16 accommodation with key workers who forgot to attend medical appointments with them.

Practitioners reported an ongoing misunderstanding of entitlements for migrants to the extent that social workers assume any foreign young person has no recourse to public funds. The particular support needs of trafficked children will be set out in the recommendations section below. The list brings together the recommendations of interviewees and has been reviewed and added to by the young people's steering group.

One practitioner had supported hidden children who were caught in disputes between two local authorities that each said the other was responsible for providing care. In the meantime, the young people did not have access to accommodation or other support from any Children's Services department. In one case, a voluntary agency got a young person taken into care by threatening legal action.

6.4.1 Housing

Most children in this study were taken into local authority care or into new private fostering arrangements. Some of the less successful outcomes were as follows:

CASE STUDIES

A teenage boy was kicked out by the relatives he lived with and was refused support by homeless services because he didn't have his passport. A worker from a charity went with him to ask the former guardians for the passport.

One boy was about to be taken into care when a woman who lived in another borough and claimed to be his mother contacted children's services saying she wanted the boy to live with her. Children's services

discharged him to the other borough. The practitioner suspected the boy was actually going into another private fostering arrangement and continued domestic servitude.

One girl was supported by an inner city borough that places young people in accommodation in another city where they are far from their social workers. The practice was known by sexual exploiters who targeted the accommodation. The girl was groomed and sexually exploited. The abuse was not picked up on in spite of the fact that the girl had a pregnancy terminated.

It should be remembered that hidden children are migrants who may have no contacts in the UK apart from their former guardians and so have nowhere safe to go if they are not safely housed by the Local Authority.

The government has not yet recommended or provided a model of safe accommodation for trafficked children who have been taken into care. A pilot for improved care provision for this group has been taking place in West Sussex. The pilot includes the use of specialist foster carers, closer monitoring in children's homes and an education programme. The West Sussex pilot is being evaluated and is due to end in 2010.

6.4.2 Therapeutic support

Several practitioners mentioned counselling as an important provision for former hidden children to access. None of the young people mentioned that they had found counselling useful though it may be that none had accessed the service. One young person who had been out of the exploitative situation for some years said she now felt she would like to try counselling, and it may be that young people prefer a period of settling into a new life before accessing therapy.

The young people's steering group discussed possible reasons that counselling was not mentioned by young people. They thought people may perceive that counselling just involves talking and that young people may not consider it to offer them practical help. This was the same skepticism that was mentioned earlier in regards to school counsellors.

The voluntary agency Afruca has worked with several African former hidden children and have found some Western talking therapies to be culturally inappropriate and not liked by the young people. Consequently, they are developing new types of therapeutic work.

The Refugee Council Specialist Team offers a culturally sensitive therapeutic casework service to asylum seekers and refugees with mental health and mental well-being needs. The service blends counselling skills, practical advice and advocacy and was found to be *highly successful* by an external evaluator (see Keefe and Hage 2009 p12 for more information).

6.4.3 Post-16 support

A key theme from the interviews has been the vulnerability of young migrants once they reach age 16. Older teenagers are more likely to be trafficked, exploited, and made homeless than younger children. At the same time, they are less likely to access their entitlements and also receive fewer entitlements from age 16 onwards. In a study in Sussex in 2007, Harris and Robinson found that 14 to 18-year olds did not receive adequate support when they were vulnerable to sexual exploitation. The same study found that young people over 16 years old were unlikely to receive a child protection response when being sexually exploited. Sixteen to 18 year olds made up 77% of sexually exploited young people in the study (ibid).

As mentioned previously, as many as half the young people trafficked into the UK are aged 16 or 17 (Ceop 2009). Child benefit ends at 16 for young people not in full time education, and this research has identified cases of young people being made homeless by guardians who can no longer claim child benefit for them. Rees and Siakeu (2004) found that 15 and 16 are the peak age at which young people are forced to leave home.

The government's figures show that young who have gone missing from home, those in and leaving residential and foster care, migrant children, and unaccompanied asylum seeking children are among the groups most vulnerable to sexual exploitation (DCSF 2009b p17).

Private fostering monitoring ends at age 16 (18 if the young person is disabled). When private fostering arrangements break down and young people are thrown out or run away, over 16s may only receive limited children's services support. Some children's services departments routinely support over 16s using Section 17 rather than Section 20 which would ensure them support such as supervised accommodation and a leaving care plan (Crawley 2006, p21, Bokhari 2008 p208). This research also found examples of over 16s not being taken into care at all because some children's services refused to accommodate 16 and 17 year olds. Examples were given of over 16s being referred to homelessness support rather than taken into care as unaccompanied minors. Unaccompanied minors often have limited leave to remain for three years or until age 17.5 or 18, and if they are not in care or with a guardian they may not have anyone to ensure they apply for immigration status at this point. Without this support, some hidden children unwittingly became unlawfully in the country simply because a deadline for their Home Office application was missed. As mentioned earlier in this report, trafficked children are more vulnerable to absconding to or exploitation by traffickers when placed in the sort of accommodation usually provided for post-16s, that is shared housing with limited or no support and supervision from on-site workers.

CASE STUDY

A 16-year old girl lived with a relative who used her as a domestic servant. The relationship broke down and he threw her out. The Children's Services unaccompanied minors team would not support her because they did not consider her unaccompanied. A voluntary agency

threatened to take the Local Authority to court and this pushed them into accommodating the young person. It transpired that while living with her relative, she missed the deadline to apply for an extension for her leave to remain. This was because her relative had been throwing away her Home Office letters.

The young people's steering group members, who had all been in care, made the following observations about separated teenagers in the care system:

- They don't have family in this country, so after age 18 or 21 they may have no one for practical or emotional support.
- When they turn 18, unless they are NEET (not in employment, education, or training) their support sometimes stops suddenly. There is no reward for being engaged with services. One young person summarised this approach:

They think that if you are good in school that you are good in life as well.

6.4.4 Preparation for parenthood

Some practitioners pointed out that hidden children may have lacked positive parental role models if they spent much of their lives in situations of exploitation and abuse, and so care has to be taken to ensure they are equipped to give their own children the care that they themselves were denied.

Other practitioners pointed out that girls and young women who were emotionally abused often get pregnant at an early age, often soon after escaping domestic servitude. Because they had been emotionally abused, they were vulnerable to men who gave them attention or told them they loved them. One practitioner highlighted the need for young people to be aware of the law, the importance of their own consent, and what constitutes a healthy relationship.

The young people interviewed had a different point of view of becoming parents. Those who had become mothers cited their children as a positive aspect of their current lives, including them in their protection shields as something that makes them feel happy and strong. One practitioner also cited a positive impact of parenthood and said of one of her clients that, *She wanted a better life for her child so she wanted to sort herself out.*

6.5 How hidden children have been affected by their experiences

6.5.1 Practitioners' views of the short, medium and long-term effects

They tend to find it difficult to trust. They often find it difficult to fully share their experiences. (Practitioner)

Their world is turned upside down and they are disoriented. They don't know who to trust, what is going on or who to believe. (Social work employee)

Practitioners observed the following in the hidden children they have worked with:

- Low self-esteem
- Lack of confidence that they can achieve
- Sense of loss
- Distrust, wariness (particularly of adults in some cases)
- Naivety
- Passivity, lack of assertiveness
- Feelings of shame
- Headaches
- Nightmares
- Depression, talk of suicide
- Feelings of isolation
- Unwillingness to show emotion in front of workers
- Stomach ulcers (particularly for the girls)
- Disclosures make them feel sad and upset
- Disillusionment, feelings that the system failed to protect them

Some indicators appeared just before some young people disclosed:

- Headaches and inability to sleep
- School performance declining sharply

6.5.2 Hidden children's views of the short, medium and long-term effects

Young people were asked about how their experiences have affected them. Some spoke of ongoing sadness, fear and feelings of missing their family. The interviews also reflected difficulties with immigration and services even after several years in the country.

When I remember, that hurts me. (East Asian young woman)

CASE STUDIES

One young woman who escaped from her traffickers eight years ago, believes they are looking for her in her home country and will find and recognise her if she is sent home.

One young man in his 20s who has been away from his exploiter for eight years still feels upset when he sees his ex-guardian's car in the street.

One young woman who spent 18 months in domestic labour ran away and was taken into care at age 15. She had not been in school while being exploited, but was put straight into a class that was revising for GCSEs. It upset her that she didn't understand what they were

studying. Now she is in the last year of college and is still struggling. The college teachers expect the students to be able to cope on their own, and the migrant students to cope as well as the British-born students.

One young man missed two years of school because no department in the local authority took responsibility for finding him a school place.

One young woman had discretionary leave to remain until age 18 and has waited for 17 months for the Home Office to tell her if the extension to her leave to remain she applied for has been approved. She has been incorrectly advised by her college that she will have difficulties getting into university with her status still uncertain.

6.5.3 Problems with age assessments

Like other separated young people, hidden children may be assessed by social services to determine if they are under 18 and entitled to children's services. Some practitioners noted that hidden children may be at a disadvantage when undergoing age assessments. Crawley (2007) points out that age assessments are carried out within agencies that can be seen to have a vested interest in assessing young people as over 18. Although individual social workers make assessments themselves and not in consultation with their managers, they may be influenced by their own knowledge of their agency's limited resources. Consequently, hidden children may be vulnerable to being denied the benefit of the doubt. If a hidden child is incorrectly assessed, they may never access the support services that will enable them to disclose their exploitation and receive the help and safeguarding they need.

CASE STUDIES

A young man disclosed abuse soon after arriving in the UK. He said he was 17 but was assessed as over 17. After the assessment, he gradually lost access to services including help with accessing education, supervised housing, monitoring, therapeutic engagement, and interpreting services. According to his support worker, the way he was assessed seemed to his support worker like 'a means to an end of getting someone off their books'.

A girl exploited through domestic servitude who also attended school ran away and was found crying in the street. She claimed asylum, and although she had been in school, she was age assessed as an adult.

One worker with particular experience of young people exploited through domestic servitude observed that they are likely to be assessed as older. She said that these young people look and seem more mature than they are because they have had to look after themselves from a young age and lacked love, care and parenting.

6.5.4 Hidden children's feelings about their exploiters

Some of the children who experienced domestic servitude have ambivalent feelings about the people they had lived with. After a gap, Peter is now speaking with his former guardian and has visited her at home. He says, *I'm going to be 19, so she can't control my life no more. It's a different thing.* Another young person, who unlike Peter was physically abused by her guardian said,

I said to myself, when I'm leaving I'll get a card and post it to them and say thank you for looking after me because they did the basic stuff for me but at the same time they did stuff they shouldn't have done. They did the basic stuff for me and without that I probably wouldn't [have] survived. I don't want them to think I'm ungrateful.

One young person who had been emotionally and physically abused expressed gratitude because he had been able to go to school. He only agreed to take part in the research after assurances that his former guardian would not get in trouble with the police.

Other young people equivocated about the actions of their former guardians by seeing the situation from their point of view.

They think what they are doing to us is making us better [eg by giving us skills, discipline etc.].

Another young person pointed out that the way the relationship with their guardians ends can have wider repercussions. She said that it is important that the relationship ends well so the young people can *maintain a good standing* with the rest of the community. This connection with the community is very important for separated young people and may override their feelings about their guardians.

6.5.5 Hidden children's feelings about their families

In some African countries, it is a common practice for children to live with carers other than their parents (Franks 2006); often to do domestic work in exchange for attending school (Afruca 2009). Nevertheless, hidden children may have mixed feelings about the families that sent them abroad into a situation of vulnerability. One girl, who is destitute because she does not have immigration status, asked her mother if she could come home and was told not to.

They don't understand how it is here, they think you can just come and stay. They don't really understand the law.

The young people were not asked how they feel about their families, but one social work practitioner had some comments based on her experience with trafficked young people. Some children she has worked with have been frightened to speak to parents by phone or don't want to speak to them because they know they will pressure them to send money back. This same practitioner had experience of children being fearful for their family's safety if they did not do what they were told. Though may did not say that traffickers

have actually threatened them in relation to their families, such threats are a common way for traffickers to control young people (Ceop 2009).

6.5.6 Identity issues

A practitioner who advocates for African families spoke about concerns that hidden children lose their cultural identity when they enter the care system which usually involves them leaving their cultural communities. Identity issues for refugee and migrant children are complex and have been well documented elsewhere (see Richman p31-37 for literature review). Hidden children's relationship with their country, community and extended family is made particularly complex by the fact that their abuse was carried out by people with the same language and ethnic group.

CASE STUDIES

One young person was accused of being a witch by his family and his church pastor supported the accusation. He felt his community had ostracised him, so he said he wanted to be British.

One young person said her guardians used cultural identity to justify the abuse by saying this is how things are done back home 'even though they know it's not true'.

Some young people reportedly felt confused about their identities because their guardians had changed their names or used fake documents for them in order to claim benefits. In particular, when they later applied to regularise their status in the UK, they did not know which personal information to use.

It is possible that when accessing services some hidden children will show a preference for people from their host country rather than their home country. Some practitioners mentioned cases of young people choosing to ask white British practitioners for support instead of practitioners from, for example, another African country. This may be because of conflicts between different African countries or ethnic groups, but another practitioner reported that some of her clients claimed that white British social workers were more sympathetic.

6.5.7 Problems with immigration status

The ones who have gone on to be much more confident now are the ones who got Indefinite Leave to Remain or Refugee status. They've been able to go forward and move on, whereas those who haven't have just remained quite crushed by it all and not able to really deal with it. I suppose because they aren't in a secure and safe place.
(Practitioner)

Some practitioners observed that the young people who had made the most progress with moving on from their experiences are those who had regularised their immigration status and were no longer waiting for a response from the Home Office. For some young people, getting status made them feel safe enough to disclose that they had been abused. Those who didn't get status often spent years in uncertainty. Others have waited years for a Home Office decision. In one case, a young person's leave to remain documents

expired while they waited for a decision and this left them with no current document to show to college, potential employers and so on. The young people's steering group said that uncertainty about immigration status makes it hard to make plans for the future including about education, jobs and beyond and that this makes them vulnerable. This was also observed by practitioners.

Commonly, hidden children may face difficulties meeting the very precise criteria for a successful asylum claim. The Refugee Convention is very limited and restrictive and some lawyers wrongly assume that a valid claim can be made. The restrictiveness of the system can mean that their exploiters can say they have no chance of staying in the UK unless they stay under their control.

They've come over as asylum seekers because that's what the traffickers have done to get them through, but they don't have a valid asylum claim, they're too scared to give the details of the trafficking to the government, and they're trapped...that plays right into the traffickers hands. (Social work employee)

Several young people did not have documents that proved their identification. This was because they were smuggled into the country, or because false identification was used for them, or because their guardians kept their identification from them.

As mentioned previously, not knowing how the immigration system works also makes young people afraid to engage with services because of a fear of deportation. Those who are in the system can have very negative experiences particularly if they do not receive appropriate support from the professionals around them such as accompanying them on appointments with solicitors and the Home Office.

[The immigration system] feels quite abusive and no one tells them how the system is going to be. (Practitioner)

CASE STUDIES

One young person had a friend whose social worker told him he would be deported at 18. The friend decided to stop going to college because he didn't see a point to it. The young person believed the social worker used the likelihood of deportation to stop the friend from asking for more support from children's services.

Another young person had a friend who tried to kill themselves after their first visit to their solicitor. The solicitor had warned them that their immigration appeal might not succeed, and the young person misunderstood and thought the solicitor had given them the final verdict.

A young person who was brought to the UK to live with a relative may have to be sent home because she was on a family reunion visa. She

said 'The only reason I don't kill myself is because God tells me to keep going'.

Since many hidden children have complex histories, practitioners should take care to find them specialist and reputable legal assistance (see Resources list). Some hidden children have a claim for humanitarian protection and this should be recognised by their legal advisors.

6.6 Moving on and building a new life

6.6.1 What hidden children say has helped them

A good cry always helps. A good cry is a release. Even now, if I have a bad day, I go into my room and have a cry. (19-year old girl)

When I think of what I have been through and where I am right now it makes me feel I can do almost anything. (19-year old girl)

When young people were asked what has given them strength, makes them feel safe and helped them to cope with their situation and move on, the most common answers were: *friends, having a goal, having a good foster carer, school, faith/God, thinking about how much they have achieved, their child and having help with immigration*. The young people's steering group added to this list - *having help opening up and saying what they want and what their goals are*. These answers are expanded upon below.

6.6.1.1 Education

If they engage well with education and settle in it gives them a focus, and an identity, and a way out. A good engagement with education improves the chances they won't run away to the traffickers.
(Practitioner)

Having the chance to go to school and having education to focus on was often cited as important by both young people and practitioners, though one young person also said that the importance of her education also means that she worries when she isn't doing well at school.

6.6.1.2 Friends

Chatty and Hundt (2002) found that young people's resilience in situations of displacement can depend on whether they have support from friends or peers, and hidden children mentioned friends as both a source of fun and of emotional support.

When I'm down, I just call one of them and say, can I have a visit.
(Anna)

Both young people and practitioners mentioned the role of having fun and friends for hidden children to cope with past and present difficulties and be positive about the future.

6.6.1.3 Support workers

Four of the young people mentioned individual workers who they felt supported them when they were having particular difficulties, were feeling down or were feeling confused about the systems in the UK. These workers were all in the voluntary sector, but this may reflect the fact that they had been referred to the research by voluntary sector organisations that they had been engaged with and supported by.

6.6.1.4 Foster carers

A good foster placement can also be a good base for young people to build their future on.

CASE STUDY

One young person was put into a statutory fostering placement when she ran away from her traffickers and there were several elements of that placement that were helpful for her:

- *The foster mother 'loved' her and involved her in celebrations such as weddings with her extended family.*
- *There were two other girls from her country in the foster home one of whom had also been a hidden child.*
- *The other two girls helped teach her English, took her shopping, took her to church, and taught her how to cook meat and fish.*

In some local authorities, only under 16s are usually placed in foster care, but the close care of a foster placement is recommended for keeping hidden children safe and helping them rebuilt their lives.

6.6.2 What practitioners say has helped hidden children

Two practitioners who have each worked in drop-in centres for young people noted that having a safe, informal environment for meeting people and talking through issues is important for exploited children to have access to. One practitioner particularly highlighted the value of such an environment to be multicultural because this can increase young people's belief that the workers may *understand where they are coming from*.

One case study highlights some of the benefits that can come from agencies co-operating to provide holistic support:

CASE STUDY

A ten-year old boy who had been exploited through domestic servitude had disturbed behaviour, threatened self-harm, was unsettled at school and sometimes ran out of class or school. Several individuals and agencies including his foster carer, social worker, Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service (CAHMS), and a learning mentor at school are working together to manage risks and provide support aimed at stabilising his behaviour. He has regular meetings with CAHMS, managed contact with his birth family and an agreement with his teacher that he can give a signal to leave the classroom if he feels upset.

Multi-agency co-operation is particularly important for providing holistic support for hidden children. A holistic support model is in the recommendations section of the report.

- Their innocence - not knowing that the abuse isn't normal behaviour in the UK
- Disassociation during the abuse
- Running away
- Concentrating on school/college, learning English
- Being supported to stay in school
- Memories of a happy childhood/good formative experiences growing up
- Having a trusted adult to talk to and the time and space to build a supporting relationship with them
- Inner resilience
- A daily schedule to follow
- A good foster placement
- Access to statutory services
- Friends/ peer support and the time and space to build relationships with them
- Moving to a better private fostering arrangement
- Having roots and networks in the UK
- Having a goal for the future

Something to look forward to and work towards to give them a reason to get up in the morning even if it is just ESOL classes or a youth club.
(Practitioner)

In order to better support hidden children, practitioners can recognise and acknowledge their personal strengths and achievements, help them access education and other essential services and encourage them to focus on personal goals. The support has to address the young people's lives holistically.

6.6.3 Peer support

Young people listen to each other and they trust each other. Even more so, asylum seeking children trust even more so young people that come from their country of origin in similar circumstances. (Practitioner)

Some practitioners recommended that trafficked young people benefit from peer, mentoring and buddying support from each other. Peer support groups offer opportunities for therapeutic work, empowerment work, life skills sharing and activism.

The research identified 4 groups in London and 1 in the North of England which offer trafficked young people a chance for peer support and/or participation in strategic work. All the groups are based in voluntary organisations. Three of the groups are for girls only and one has an upper age limit of 19. Two practitioners who run such groups mentioned that young people, including those with babies, have to travel long distances to attend meetings because they live outside of London or in outer London. A statutory worker outside of London said that a peer support group for her cohort would be valuable and that she would refer young people to a voluntary agency for this support.

The young people's steering group also thought peer support groups would be valuable, but felt that these did not need to be trafficking-specific. They recommended that young people have access to general peer support groups where they would be encouraged to facilitate discussions about issues they want to know more about and to learn skills. By taking part in general peer support groups, hidden children may feel encouraged to disclose their experiences and seek further help for their particular circumstances.

A similar model of nested support is currently in practice at a voluntary organisation. The organisation offers a regular informal drop-in session for young people who are at risk of sexual exploitation. Each new attendee has a one to one meeting with practitioners, and if at some point they are identified as having been trafficked, they may have the chance of accessing the agency's peer support group for trafficked young people.

6.7 Other findings

6.7.1 Faith settings

For some hidden children, attending church events was a break from their guardians.

CASE STUDIES

A girl who was not allowed to go to school attended Sunday school and considered this to be a time when she had 'freedom' from the family she worked for. She had no opportunity to speak with the Sunday school teachers one-to-one and believes that if she had disclosed, the teachers would have thought she was 'going crazy'.

One girl was not allowed to have friends, go to after school clubs or use the internet because her guardians 'thought I would get pregnant if I used Myspace and stuff.' The only exception was that she was sometimes allowed to go to the church youth group, but only because the pastor specifically asked the aunt if she could go. She was allowed to go on her own because it was a 5-minute walk from home.

Although this research provides no examples of faith settings safeguarding hidden children and enabling them to get away from their exploiters, there is potential of improved safeguarding if people in faith communities consciously work to empower young people, enable them young people to be heard, and

become more aware of indicators of exploitation (Maginley 2007). Churches can also share this good practice by networking with each other as per the example of the Congolese Pastorship (can be contacted via the Churches Child Protection Advisory Service).

6.7.2 Private fostering notification

Guardians fail to notify local authorities about private fostering arrangements either because they do not know the law or because they believe notification is of no benefit to them. Some guardians did approach social services not because they knew about the requirement but to ask for help with the costs of looking after the child. Local authorities have a statutory duty to inform local communities about private fostering notification. It is possible that more private foster carers would come forward if public awareness campaigns mentioned entitlements to benefits such as child benefit, tax credits and guardians allowance. Some local authorities offer Section 17 money as a grant to private foster carers in need of financial assistance.

One child safeguarding consultant with previous police experience suggested that the incentive approach above be combined with prosecutions and a public awareness campaign about the penalties for not notifying.

6.7.3 Police

Approaching the police can be a frightening prospect for hidden children. Many migrants come from situations where authorities such as the police have taken part in the persecution of their families. As mentioned previously, some exploiters of hidden children deliberately instil a fear of police as a way of controlling them. For some hidden children though, approaching or being brought to a police station is the way their situation becomes known to the statutory services and it may have an impact on their future engagement with services.

We've been abducted and we're sitting in this little room with hardly anything to look at and a policeman standing on the outside to prevent you from leaving. It's not pleasant. You're being victimised again. You're back in the same situation of incarceration. [They may think] I can't trust these people because they're doing exactly the same thing to me'. They're victims so they should be treated as victims. [They should have access] to teas and coffees and drinks and have someone there who's not in uniform who's actually quite nice to them rather than waiting 12 hours for someone to talk to them. (Child safeguarding consultant with previous police experience)

CASE STUDY

Anna ran away from her abusive guardian and stayed with another woman from her country. The woman later decided to go back to her home country and took Anna to the police station because she didn't know what else to do with her since Anna had no immigration status. The police were wearing normal clothes and spoke to her in the office. She was there for several hours and had to wait on her own for 2 hours in between questioning sessions. The questioning frightened her. She

felt like she might be a criminal and that the way she had been treated by her exploiters might have been her fault. She said, 'They were interrogating me as if I was in the wrong. I had never been to a police station before. I didn't know what was going to happen to me, so it was scary.' Eventually, the police took her to a foster carer where she also met a social worker. She ended up living with this foster carer. The foster carer's young children asked Anna if she had done something wrong because they saw her arrive in a police car.

In London, domestic abuse and rape victims are taken to a more comfortable facility outside of the police station for their statement to be taken. If such facilities aren't available, it can be frightening for a young person to be put into a bare room with bars on the windows. They might not know that the bars are to stop people from breaking in. The less distressing the experience is for hidden children, the better their transition to support services is likely to be.

One young person who ran away from his guardian later found out that the guardian had reported him missing to the police. He believes that if the police had found him at the time and returned him to the guardian, he might never have been able to escape again.

6.7.4 Terminology

Some professionals mentioned problems with the term 'private fostering' and said that some colleagues confuse the concept with foster carers who are employed by independent fostering agencies (ISAs). The young people's steering group also conflated private fostering guardians with professional foster carers when discussing good practice in fostering. It is possible that public awareness campaigns that urge guardians to notify the Local Authority that they are private fosterers may be misinterpreted due to the multiple meaning of the word fostering. Local authorities also run advertising campaigns to recruit foster carers, so this creates a competition for public awareness of two concepts using the same terminology. Some professionals including one working in a private fostering department said that different terminology would be useful, and this is one of the reasons that 'guardian' is used instead of 'fosterer' in this report. 'Guardian' has specific meanings in the legal and benefits systems, so is not put forward as an alternative term outside of this report. Although it is a few years since the Laming Report insured that the concept of private fostering is regarded as a safeguarding issue, it is not necessarily too late to rename the concept in a way that may improve people's grasp of it.

6.7.5 School

The importance of education for the social, emotional and developmental well-being of young refugees has been widely documented (see Hek 2005 for literature review). More recent research (Pearce 2009) has also highlighted the importance of English classes and integration. The Hidden Children research has also found that access to school can make the difference between whether or not a hidden child is safeguarded.

Since 2006, local authorities have had a statutory duty under the Education and Inspections Act to identify children in their area missing education. The statutory guidance specifically identifies immigrant, trafficked, privately fostered and refugee and asylum seeker children under the heading 'most at risk of missing education'. Nevertheless, in the course of this research it emerged that one London local authority has issued guidance to its schools to deny school registration to children who do not have identification papers.

Where guardians did come forward or were made by children's services to register for school, some children waited weeks or even years to get a place. Professionals highlighted uncertainties about responsibility for getting a child into school, with different departments expecting each other to do so.

6.7.6 Multiagency work

When asked about good practice in safeguarding hidden children, a common response was to describe positive experiences of multiagency training on trafficking. The benefits of trafficking training being delivered to a range of agencies are that when sharing experiences, workers get a more holistic view of cases, understand better how they can work with other agencies and form relationships that can improve joint working in the future.

Some local authorities or geographical areas have multiagency groups dedicated to trafficking or child sexual abuse where practitioners can share and compare cases, learn about each other's approaches and plan and put into place suitable services based on the types of exploitation happening in the local area. In some cases, these are subgroups of the Local Safeguarding Children's Board. These groups meet to share information to improve safeguarding and intervention but also to make prosecutions possible (Jago and Pearce, 2008). Professionals particularly noted the difficulty of getting immigration services involved in these groups.

6.7.7 Young carers

Young carers are children who have responsibilities providing practical support for a parent or other relative with an illness or disability. Two hidden children interviewed had caring responsibilities in their home countries, and this may have affected their views of the tasks expected of them in the UK. In both cases, the relatives they cared for died after they left. Two practitioners from the same region of England identified a number of young carers among the refugee families they worked with and highlighted particular issues relevant to hidden children (see recommendations).

6.7.8 Emerging hidden children profiles

Two patterns emerged in both the London and Manchester case studies that may need more investigation. One pattern was Somali teenagers, particularly boys, being thrown out by their guardians at age 16. The most recent Ceop survey (Ceop 2009) mentions a possible pattern of Somali children used for benefit fraud, and practitioners have noted that the children were thrown out at the age that child benefit stops for children not in full-time education. One practitioner also mentioned that the guardians cited a young person's behaviour as the reason they were thrown out. It is possible that there are

cultural factors in the relationship break down as the children became more independent teenagers and perhaps the effects of living in the UK emerged in their personalities. In some private fostering situations, the teenagers may have been considered a burden because of a lack of parental bond between them and the guardian.

Another issue raised by practitioners was that some pastors in African diaspora communities had been implicated in the abuse and possibly trafficking of children from the same countries as themselves. Two practitioners suspected that two children were facilitated into the UK by the pastors they lived with here. Three children were exploited while living in the home of a pastor in the UK. As mentioned earlier, trafficking may be arranged by people with high status in a community, and this pattern may be explained by the fact of pastors being powerful members of their community. It should be mentioned that some African churches and pastors in the UK have started new initiatives in recent years and worked to actively promote the safeguarding of African children in faith settings.

The researcher was also informed by a practitioner that in their area they were aware of a possible increase in cases of orphans being brought to the UK to work as carers for people connected to their community.

7

Learning points & recommendations

7.1 Learning Points

7.1.1 Hidden children's own views of their experiences: Learning points

- Hidden children may play down their experiences of abuse and focus more on what they missed out on (eg education).
- Some hidden children will have experienced various kinds of labour before they were trafficked and may not know that their experiences of abuse are unusual, illegal or abusive in the UK.
- Young people may play down how upsetting their experiences were because they don't want to portray themselves as having been weak or vulnerable.
- Many hidden children will have undergone several types of mistreatment and trauma. An individual young person may have experienced war and bereavement, a frightening journey to the UK, domestic servitude and sexual exploitation, and the realisation that they were lied to or sold by their guardians/ traffickers. Any one of these or combination of these may be the most traumatising to individual young people.

7.1.2 Disclosures: Learning points

- Hidden children are more likely to disclose if they feel empowered to by their personal resilience, knowledge of where to go for advice and help, knowledge of their rights, and if they have someone to talk to that they trust.
- Disclosure is not a one-off event, but a decision that reoccurs throughout someone's life.
- Young people who know each other well may not disclose to each other that they have been through similar experiences.
- Each disclosure to a new person or agency is likely to be significant for the discloser and it is good practice for practitioners to acknowledge that it may have been a difficult decision.

7.1.3 Who are the exploiters: Learning point

- Young people may believe that their exploiters are more powerful than the police and other authorities and this may discourage them from disclosing.

7.1.4 A range of freedom: Learning point

- Practitioners should not assume that being in school, being registered with a GP, having freedom of movement or having a house key negates possible indicators of exploitation.

7.1.5 Public awareness-raising: Learning points

- Among UK nationals and migrant communities there is a lack of knowledge about specific laws around private fostering.
- Migrant communities often do not engage with mainstream services.
- Migrant communities may not access English newspapers.
- Some African communities may be targeted for awareness-raising via certain African and Christian satellite channels.
- Some migrant communities are well engaged with each other, for example French-speaking or Yoruba people.
- African people from different countries worship together, work together and intermarry.
- Information may be more effectively spread through word of mouth than through print-based campaigns.
- ESOL class venues may be a place to target migrant communities with information about private fostering notification.

7.1.6 Hidden children's feelings about their exploiters: Learning points

- It is possible that traumatic bonding ('Stockholm syndrome') takes place in some of these relationships. Practitioners should be aware of this and assess the risk that a young person may be vulnerable to re-trafficking due to the ambiguity of some of these relationships.
- Hidden children may also find it therapeutic to have further contact with their former guardians. Agencies supporting the young people should be aware of this and assist in managing the risk for example by offering to accompany them on visits. Local authorities should not consider this contact an indication that hidden children do not need to be safeguarded by being in care.

- Hidden children's relationship to their former guardians may be influenced by a desire to maintain good contacts with the rest of their migrant community. This may influence things like willingness to maintain contact or unwillingness to prosecute.

7.1.7 Hidden children's feelings about their families: Learning point

- Hidden children may have ambivalent feelings about their families and may be vulnerable to pressure from them or related to them to stay in or return to exploitative situations.

7.1.8 Access to statutory services support: Learning points

- All children in care should receive the maximum level of support they are entitled to under the provisions in the Children Act 1989 and Children (Leaving Care) Act 2000.
- Migrants over 16 may be more vulnerable to abuse, exploitation and being made homeless than younger children.
- Young people who are achieving in school may still have support needs.
- The particular vulnerabilities of migrants over the age of 16 should be taken into account and they should not automatically be excluded from care.
- Age thresholds for private fostering monitoring and access to care provision are discriminatory.
- Support for teenagers from statutory services should be transitional and not stop suddenly at age 16 or 18.

7.1.9 Leaving care: Learning point

- Children's services should take particular care to prepare hidden children for eventual parenthood and to empower young women by addressing self esteem, emotional intelligence and healthy relationships.

7.1.10 Age assessments: Learning point

- Hidden children may appear and behave more mature than other people their age.

7.1.11 Identity issues: Learning points

- Practitioners should be aware of young people having ambivalent or negative feelings about their community of origin or cultural identity. Immigration workers should not assume that confusion about aspects of hidden children's identity indicates that they are being untruthful, particularly if they were previously given a false identity by exploiters.

- If young people feel more comfortable with workers who do not share aspects of their cultural background, workers should clarify the principles of equal opportunities but also be understanding of this preference and consider accommodating it if appropriate.

7.1.12 Young carers: Learning points

- Due to a stigma attached to illness, young migrants' caring responsibilities may be kept particularly hidden.
- Family back home may still be unwell and this may add to young migrants' stress and trauma.
- Family back home may have died since they left and this may also emotionally affect the young person.
- The reason the young person left home may be because the relative they cared for died.

7.1.13 Hidden children in school: Learning point

- Disclosures may take place during exam preparation because young people are concerned they will not do well.

7.1.14 Police: Learning point

- When hidden children run away from their abusive guardians, these guardians may report them missing.

7.2 General recommendations

7.2.1 All practitioners who work with children and young people should have an awareness of:

- The local procedure for informing the local authority about a child who is/may be missing education
- The indicators of exploitation, trafficking, private fostering and young carers (see Appendix I)
- Local services for refugees and other migrants including free classes in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and know how to make referrals
- Their responsibility to use professional, CRB-checked interpreting services rather than depending on guardians to interpret for young people.
- Local resources for people with no recourse to public funds (usually local voluntary agencies and churches)

- Local agencies that keep lists of recommended solicitors that do legal aid immigration work. Some local authority departments and voluntary agencies can put people in touch with recommended solicitors.
- How to refer young people to recreational and social provision, especially during school holidays. Some local authority children's services and voluntary agencies run social events for children in care or young refugees.
- How to refer young people to local peer support groups for migrant or trafficked young people
- The stigma attached to migrants and people who have experienced exploitation and consider that this may affect their willingness to disclose
- Young people's right to their own immigration documents, and should involve the police if guardians refuse to give them to the young people
- Hidden children's vulnerability to risky survival strategies including sleeping rough, sofa-surfing, petty crime and illegal working
- Various options for therapeutic support including therapy tailored for different cultural groups.
- Whether a young person is in school and registered with a GP
- Where young people can access information about their rights (see resources list)
- The limits of confidentiality and how to communicate these so that young people understand
- The importance of ensuring that young people who have been overpowered and exploited are enabled to act independently and to make decisions on their own behalf
- Young people's wishes for the future in order to develop plans based on these
- Young people's survival strategies in order to praise them for their resilience and achievements where appropriate
- The fact that being a survivor of abuse does not inevitably mean that someone is mentally ill

7.3 Recommendations – Statutory agencies

7.3.1 Age assessments

- Age assessments should be carried out in a way that doesn't risk a perceived conflict of interest or damage to young people's relationships with their social workers. A system such as ILPA's proposed regional age assessment centres (Crawley 2007) would address this conflict of interest.

7.3.2 Children's Services

- Should ensure that hidden children have good, free legal representation from a legal advisor registered with the OISC (<http://www.oisc.gov.uk/>) or the Law Society (<http://www.lawsociety.org.uk>).
- If a young person has limited leave to remain in the UK until a certain date (eg until they are 17.5 years old), ensure that their solicitor sends their application for extension within the month before the leave expires. **It is crucial that this application is not late.**
- Should ensure that a sympathetic adult (eg. foster carer, advocate, social worker) attends solicitor meetings with the young person and debriefs them afterwards
- Workers should be aware of which department is responsible for ensuring a child has access to education.
- Hidden children should where possible be supported by social workers who are aware of how immigration status affects entitlement and immigration law processes.
- Hidden children should be placed in accommodation where they are supervised and supported such as a foster placement with a carer experienced in supporting vulnerable children.
- Should consider advertising one-off financial aid to private foster carers who come forward to notify about the arrangement. This could be a voucher for a school uniform or children's clothes or needs-assessed Section 17 money
- Should carry out formal kinship care assessments when a young person known to children's services goes to live with a relative
- Should when possible be friendly on the phone with young people, which will help develop a relationship of trust

7.3.3 Health

- GPs and dentists should inform children who are under the age of medical consent that they have the right to be accompanied by a social worker if their guardian refuses to attend appointments with them. With the child's consent, health workers can contact children's services themselves to arrange this.
- Surgery receptionists should receive up to date training in entitlements if they are to be the gatekeepers for access to **primary** health care.
- GP surgeries may better identify hidden children by asking at registration for papers showing the guardian's relationship to the child, or by asking questions to determine the relationship between the guardian and child.
- Health professionals should speak with children themselves rather than via the guardian.
- Health professionals should create opportunities to speak with young people in private particularly if they are considered competent to consent to their own medical treatment (eg. 'Gillick competent' - <http://confidential.oxfordradcliffe.net/Gillick>).
- Health visitors on home visits should be aware of other young people living there who may be exploited for domestic servitude and/or prevented from attending school.

7.3.4 Police

- When a separated child presents at a station they should where possible have access to the interview and waiting facilities that are available for victims of violence.
- Separated children should be kept informed of what is happening when they wait at a police station.
- Separated children should where possible be interviewed by non-uniform officers.

7.3.5 Local Authority Private Fostering teams

- Use an activity such as the House mapping activity (Appendix IX) to determine if domestic or other labour exploitation are taking place.
- Ensure that resolving immigration status is part of the young person's pathway plan if they do not have indefinite leave to remain (see also 7.3.2 above).

The following recommendations are in line with or extensions of the statutory guidance (DCSF 2005).

- Private fostering monitoring visits should be done by a consistent worker where possible.
- Workers who monitor private fostering placements should give their contact information to the young person as well as the guardians.
- Workers who monitor private fostering placements should avoid rushing visits so that the young person feels their needs are being considered.
- Visits should occasionally take place unannounced.
- *Visits must not be neglected because a placement is apparently going well.* (DCSF 2005).
- *The child should be seen alone at each visit* (ibid).
- The time alone with the young person should regularly take place outside of their home eg. at school or a local authority setting.
- If a child is known to have moved to another local authority, their private fostering team should be notified so that monitoring can continue.

7.3.6 Local Safeguarding Children Boards

- Ensure that multiagency safeguarding training is accessible to local agencies including education, health, voluntary sector and social workers, police, and representatives of faith communities. The training should be geared towards improved networks of communication, putting the young person at the centre, and should include a trafficking and private fostering element. This recommendation is in line with the London Child Protection Procedures (LSCB 2007b)
- Ensure that issues related to trafficked and hidden children are addressed in a local multi-agency forum and that new information is shared with Government agencies that can improve strategic safeguarding.
- Ensure that private fostering teams, police and other frontline workers are involved in local strategic safeguarding forums to consider specific cases and develop preventative measures.
- Involve local immigration agency staff and voluntary and community organisations in relevant committees and meetings where they may be able to contribute to the safeguarding of migrant children.

- Carry out sustained outreach work such as that of the Community Partnership Project. This should involve for example engaging migrant communities with services, raising awareness of children's rights and childcare law and sharing skills such as non-violent parenting.

7.3.7 School registration

In order to ensure that hidden and other migrant children receive the education and safeguarding to which they are entitled, schools should:

- Register children as soon as possible, and if proof of age and address are not readily available, to ask to see these later, possibly on a home visit.
- Use admission forms and child-friendly genograms as a way of assessing the relationship between the child and guardian, for example to establish if they are in a private fostering arrangement.
- Notify the local authority of any private fostering arrangements identified (this is a statutory duty).
- Interview new pupils alone in the school environment.

7.3.8 School - other recommendations

- Speak directly with young people about concerns about their progress and not only to carers.
- Ensure that student advisors know where to refer young people who have immigration concerns (see resources list for example agencies).
- Be aware of other young people dropping children off at and picking them up from school but not attending themselves.
- Don't assume an 'aunt' or 'uncle' is a relative.
- Raise awareness of counselling and advice services as confidential and as sources of practical advice and help including about immigration or housing concerns.
- Raise awareness of children's rights including the right to an education, health care, housing, play and protection from violence, exploitation and neglect, using examples of hidden children being denied these rights in the UK. (See Resources list for free online tools)

7.3.9 Immigration staff.

- If interviewing young people at port, tell them that, 'we are here to help' even before asking their name. This is in order to put young people at their

ease which is particularly important when young people are faced with uniformed staff.

- Engage with the local safeguarding children board to find out from other local agencies how the immigration service can contribute to strategic safeguarding of migrant children.
- Provide a receipt for applications that can be shown in place of expired documents while a decision is being made.
- Before a young person is to be returned to their country of origin, a formal child protection assessment should be made.

7.4 Recommendations - Voluntary and community agencies

7.4.1 Trustees, staff and volunteers in faith settings should

- Put child protection procedures and policies in place.
- Provide safeguarding training for staff and volunteers.
- Empower young people through more child-centred participation in decision making.
- Encourage young people to tell someone they trust if they need help (for example a teacher, a social worker or police).
- Be willing to report abuse to the authorities on a child's behalf.
- Know where to refer young people who want confidential advice and support (see Appendix V for examples).
- Be aware of children in the community who are privately fostered and encourage families to inform the local authority private fostering team.
- Be aware of children being used to do work that other children do not do such as setting up or cleaning up or looking after other children and consider the possibility that they are being exploited.

7.4.2 Voluntary agencies should

- Be aware of immigration rights and entitlements and prepared to advocate to statutory services for hidden children's entitlements.
- Co-ordinate support and information-sharing on a young person if the statutory agencies are failing to do so.

- Make themselves known to agencies such as children's services, Connexions, schools and further education colleges who might be able to refer young people to them for advice and support.
- Share their expertise with other agencies for example by offering training.
- Take the initiative and responsibility of inviting themselves to multi-agency meetings when plans are being made for individual young people they support.
- Attend relevant meetings/sub-committees of the local safeguarding children board to contribute to strategic safeguarding.
- Be aware of children in the community who are privately fostered and encourage families to inform the local authority private fostering team.

7.5 Recommendations – Legal advice agencies

7.5.1 Legal advisors and solicitors should:

- Take care that young migrants understand the different stages immigration process including the difference between the beginning of the immigration process and the end.
- Give young people space and time to understand the whole process.
- Attend appointments with young people such as interviews at the Home Office.
- Ensure young people have a support worker to accompany them to appointments and in court such as a social worker or voluntary sector support worker.
- Keep support workers informed about the progress of the case.
- Be aware of the resources provided by Atlep - The Anti-Trafficking Legal Project <http://www.ein.org.uk/resources/printfriendly2.shtml?x=227892>

7.6 Policy recommendations.

In May 2009, the House of Lords ruled that a 17-year old who had been made homeless by his mother fulfilled the criteria to receive Section 20 support. The Department for Children, Schools and Families commented that the judgement *supports our view that local authorities should presume, in the case of any homeless child, that the child should be accommodated under section 20(1) of the Children Act 1989 and be looked after by the local*

authority (Samuel 2009). The ruling has implications for the rights of hidden and other migrant children and it is possible that guidance from DCSF will be necessary to ensure that local authorities fulfil their duties towards vulnerable teenagers.

Local authorities should also be prevented from leaving a young person in limbo by claiming that another local authority is responsible for them. In order to avoid vulnerable young people being left unsupported during disputes, Local Authorities should have local or centralised methods to account for and resolve the numbers of disputed cases and the resulting resource costs.

Better awareness and joint working with other agencies is needed throughout the immigration service, in accordance with section 55 of the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009.

The visa process should be changed for adults accompanying children. The children's visa should have the name and photograph of the adult who brought them to get a visa and this should be the same adult who brings them to the UK.

Reform to the immigration system is needed to ensure those children that have been trafficked and are in need of international protection will receive protection.

All children should come within the remit of the Department for Children, Schools and Families to ensure that policy and legislation that affects them is made with their welfare in mind.

GP practices should have the discretion to accept all migrants as registered NHS patients and should not be expected to police access to healthcare or to turn away vulnerable migrants.

The UK should put into place the full 90 days reflection period for trafficking victims to recover and escape the influence of their exploiters, as recommended in the European Convention Against Trafficking In Human Beings (Council of Europe, 2005).

The UK has yet to fulfil the requirement for a Guardian for child victims of trafficking which is set out in the Council of Europe Convention on Trafficking. The lack of a statutory Guardian has left hidden children vulnerable when they are still under the control of their exploiters. A dedicated and specialised Guardian would advocate in the best interest of the young person for example when accessing their entitlements and navigating the immigration system. Guardians would protect those children who are still under the control of exploiters for example by giving instructions to their solicitors that are in their best interest rather than that of the exploiters.

7.7 Areas for future research

More information is needed about the practice of sending children abroad for punishment or exorcism and what happens to them. More information is also

needed about the practice of returning young people to their home country after being hidden children in the UK.

Health visitors may be particularly well placed to identify hidden children whose freedom is being limited since they have access to the family home. More research may determine if these professionals are equipped to recognise and follow up cases.

An independent impact assessment should be made of the consequences of denying healthcare to certain groups of migrants. The assessment should cover the repercussions for the migrants' health and well-being as well as that of the wider society.

The emerging hidden children profiles mentioned in section 6.7.8 should be investigated further to improve the safeguarding of these young people.

7.8 Prosecutions & Asset Recovery

Some hidden children will not want to prosecute their exploiters for various reasons. Those who do, have the right to see justice done. Prosecutions for people who exploit hidden children can be difficult because a case may not be built on the young person's word against the guardians'. If agencies co-operate and share information, convictions may be more likely.

Currently, someone can only be prosecuted for subjecting someone to forced labour if an offence of trafficking can be proved. Amendments 182 and 183 of the Coroners and Justice Bill 2009 should be passed, making it a criminal offence to hold someone in servitude or to subject someone to forced or compulsory labour.

Prosecutions for failure to notify of a private fostering arrangement or for exploiting a child through domestic servitude may raise awareness of the rights of migrant children, encourage more disclosures and improve safeguarding. Prosecutions for trafficking offences are eligible for the Asset Recovery Scheme under the Proceeds of Crime Act 2002.

7.9 Future policy & practice

New policies and guidance are being piloted and put into place over the next year that may improve outcomes for hidden children. From November 2010, anyone working in a paid or voluntary role with children or vulnerable adults will have to register with the Independent Safeguarding Authority (ISA). The ISA's new 'Vetting and Barring Scheme' will include people in faith groups, and in preparation for this, the Charity Commission and some insurance companies are already requiring that churches and mosques have safeguarding policies and procedures. Consequently, more church leaders are beginning to seek out safeguarding training and putting policies in place. For some hidden children, being brought to church by their guardians may be the only contact they have with the outside world, and time will tell if this roll out will lead to more interventions with these young people.

In December 2008, the UK ratified the *Council of Europe's Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings* (Council of Europe, 2005). Consequently a national referral mechanism (NRM) is currently being piloted, which is intended to be a definitive process for identifying victims and may improve safeguarding.

7.10 A holistic model of support, engagement and resilience-building.

Hidden children should:

- Experience consistency from the agencies and individuals they engage with including being supported by consistent workers from the beginning
- Be placed in a stable placement with a specialised, experienced foster carer with experience of building trusting relationships with young people and skills at containing them if they are at risk of absconding (as recommended in DCSF 2009b)
- Once they are in a stable placement, receive an explanation of their choices and options for the future including around immigration status
- Have access to free legal advice on their immigration status if they do not have indefinite leave to remain
- Be made aware they are at risk of being exploited again and have this risk managed by their support workers and foster carers
- Have a support plan that takes into account the safety of the place they live, their social networks, their plans for the future and how to achieve their goals, and where they have strengths and gaps
- Be offered both one to one and group peer support
- Be offered therapeutic support including alternatives to one to one counselling
- Be made aware of their rights and entitlements
- Be given the opportunity to apply for compensation from the Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority
- Be made aware of legal and other issues around consent in personal relationships and provided with skills to defend their personal boundaries
- Be encouraged and enabled to act independently and to make decisions on their own behalf

- Be given opportunities for participation in decision-making
- Be given opportunities for political activism, strategic influence, self-advocacy and peer support around their experiences
- Be offered support to prepare them for independent adulthood and eventual parenthood.

8

Conclusions

Summary of key findings

- Migrant children's engagement with services is essential for safeguarding and can be key for disclosures to take place.
- From age 16, hidden children's vulnerability to abuse may increase and this is not reflected in the thresholds of the care system.
- When hidden children have escaped the exploitative situation, they may still face barriers accessing their rights, entitlements and services they need to help them move on and build a new life, particularly if they are over 16.
- People who exploit children in ways other than trafficking for sexual exploitation should also face penalties and prosecution.
- When young people are out of the exploitative situation, agencies can better support young people by ensuring they have access to education, social networks and immigration advice and by recognising their achievements and supporting them to realise their goals.

Summary of key recommendations

- Discriminatory age thresholds should be removed that currently prevent over-16-year-olds from benefiting from private fostering monitoring and from receiving full support from the care system including Section 20 support.
- All agencies that come into contact with young people should access safeguarding training and strategic multi-agency safeguarding forums.
- Hidden children should be placed in accommodation where they are supervised and supported such as a foster placement with a carer experienced in supporting vulnerable children.
- Private fostering team should have the resources to carry out monitoring that is in line with statutory guidance.
- Schools should register children as soon as possible, and if proof of age and address are not readily available, to arrange to see these later.
- Schools should be aware of children's living arrangements and should notify social services of any private fostering or kinship care arrangements.

- Schools should raise awareness of children's rights including the right to an education, health care, housing, play and protection from violence, exploitation and neglect, using examples of hidden children being denied these rights in the UK.
- People in faith communities should be more proactive to ensure that children are safeguarded
- All children should come within the remit of the Department for Children, Schools and Families to ensure that policy and legislation that affects them is made with their welfare in mind.

Finally, what is sometimes left out of discussions on trafficking is **prevention in source countries**. Whatever pull factors the traffickers have at their disposal to persuade families to engage with them, they are more likely to succeed if basic rights such as education for children are denied (UNFPA 2006), conflicts proliferate because of the availability of small arms (Irin 2006) and the status of girls and women does not improve (op cit). Governments in source and destination countries have a choice of whether and how to address these issues and a responsibility to children to do so under the Millennium Development Goals.

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Resources

If you discover or suspect that a child is trafficked or exploited

If you are a member of the public and are concerned a child you know is a victim of trafficking, you should report this to your local police or your local Children's Services.

If you work with children in a professional capacity you can also contact:

- The UK Human Trafficking Centre (UKHTC) on 0114 252 3891
- NSPCC Child Trafficking and Information Line
Contact: 0800 107 7057 for advice (between 9.30am and 4.30pm Monday-Friday).

For specific guidance for your type of agency, refer to Appendix 7 of the London Safeguarding Trafficked Children Toolkit (<http://www.londonscb.gov.uk/trafficking/>)

If you work for a school and a child stops attending school

The Local Authority has a duty to identify these children. The staff member responsible for child protection should be informed and should notify the relevant LA contact or team.

Also refer to the London Safeguarding Trafficked Children Toolkit Appendix 5 (LSCB 2009).

Training providers

- Afruca
 - provides training on safeguarding victims of trafficking, safeguarding Black African children and working with BME families
 - Contact: 0844 660 8607, <http://www.afruca.org/>
- Anti-Trafficking Legal Project (ATLeP)
 - provides training to immigration practitioners and other agencies on welfare and immigration issues, support, medical and psychiatric issues as well as practical issues associated with their support, case preparation and presentation
 - Contact: <http://www.ein.org.uk/resources/printfriendly2.shtml?x=227892>
- The Children's Society Training & Consultancy Unit
 - provides training in the areas of running away, missing persons and sexual exploitation
 - Contact: http://www.childrensociety.org.uk/all_about_us/how_we_do_it/training_and_consultancy/young_runaways_training_and_consultancy/training/Training_2241.html
- The Churches' Child Protection Advisory Service
 - provides advice and training to faith groups on safeguarding
 - Contact: <http://www.ccpas.co.uk/>

- CROP – The Coalition for the removal of pimping
 - provides advice and training related to sexual exploitation of young people
 Contact: <http://www.crop1.org.uk/>
 - also provides a national database of training on child sexual exploitation:
 - <http://www.cropuk.org.uk/CSE%20Training%20Compendium.pdf>

- Ecpat UK

ECPAT UK stands for End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes.

 - provides training on safeguarding child victims of trafficking for practitioners who work with or make decisions about children, or anyone who may come across children at risk of trafficking.
 Contact: 020 7233 9887, info@ecpat.co.uk <http://www.ecpat.org.uk>

- NSPCC Fresh Start
 - provides training for professionals working in the area of child sexual abuse.
 Contact: 020 7428 1175 or email tfreshstart@nspcc.org.uk

- Refugee Council
 - provides training on refugee and asylum seeker rights and entitlements and specialist practitioner courses including working with interpreters and emotional wellbeing of refugee young people.
 Contact: 0207 346 6733 or at training@refugeecouncil.org.uk

- Rights of Women
 - provides training on the rights of women who have experienced violence or sexual abuse or been trafficked and asylum seeking women
 Contact: www.rightsofwomen.org.uk

Resources for young people & survivors

- Afruca
 - This charity offers two support services for African boys and girls:
 - One to one therapeutic support for survivors to help them with psychological recovery.
 - A Survivors Forum that meets regularly to guide Afruca's work, provide peer support and mentoring and take part in social activities.
 Contact: 0844 660 8607, <http://www.afruca.org/>

- The Anna Freud Centre
 - run a mother-infant psychotherapy service and provide training and advice on the issue of pregnancy and children resulting from rape
 Contact: www.annafreudcentre.org)

- Childwatch
 - free confidential telephone counselling service for children who have been abused. Open 9am to 5pm Monday to Friday
 Contact: 01482 325 552, <http://www.childwatch.org.uk/>

- Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority
 - People who have experienced abuse may be eligible for financial compensation from the government.
 - Contact: <http://www.cica.gov.uk/>
- <http://www.dabsbooks.co.uk/Directory/Regions.html>
 - A comprehensive database of local and national support services for survivors of childhood sexual abuse or domestic violence.
- Eaves
 - Housing and support to vulnerable adult women. Includes the Poppy Project, a specialist service for adult women who have been trafficked.
 - Contact: <http://www.eaves4women.co.uk/index.php>
- From There 2 Here
 - Peer support group for African girls and young women who have been trafficked
 - Contact: Rebecca Einhorn, 020 7791 9600 / 9621, reinhorn@NSPCC.org.uk
- From Report to Court: A handbook for adult survivors of sexual violence
 - Free online guide from Rights of Women on engaging with the legal process as a survivor.
 - Available: <http://www.rightsofwomen.org.uk/pdfs/report%20to%20court%204%20web.pdf>
- The Haven Centres
 - Provide on-going support to survivors on the emotional and physical impacts of rape and also a sensitive medical examination service
 - Contact: www.thehavens.co.uk
- The Women and Girls Network
 - Has a support & advocacy group for trafficked women
 - Contact: <http://www.wgn.org.uk/>
- The Women's Therapy Centre
 - A specialist provider of psychoanalytic psychotherapy to women, including refugee and asylum seeking women.
 - Contact: www.womenstherapycentre.co.uk
- STOP (Trafficking UK)
 - Has a trafficked victims helpline, supports people to access services including the criminal justice system and to contact their families.
 - Contact: <http://www.stop-uk.org>, Helpline: 0844 800 3314

Resources for migrants

- Kalayaan
 - advice for migrant domestic workers in the UK
 - Contact: <http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/>

- Language Line
- interpretation and translation service
Contact: <http://www.languageline.com/>
- Refugee Council
- advice for asylum seekers and refugees
Contact: <http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/>
- Refugee and Migrant Justice
- formerly the Refugee Legal Centre, are lawyers committed to securing justice for asylum seekers and other migrants in the UK.
Contact: <http://www.refugee-legal-centre.org.uk/>
- The Children's Society, New Londoners project (in London only)
Contact: www.childrenssociety.org.uk/newlondoners

Resources about young people's rights.

<http://www.crae.org.uk/rights/uncrc.html>

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

<http://www.crae.org.uk/rights/help.html>

Links to various sources of advice and information

<http://www.crae.org.uk/rights/uncrc20.html>

Activity resources for using with young people

<http://www.unicef.org/uk/tz/rights/index.asp>

More learning resources for using with young people

Other resources

<http://www.antislaveryinternational.org.uk>

Antislavery International's website has resources for schools to use to inform children about contemporary forms of slavery.

<http://www.ein.org.uk/resources/printfriendly2.shtml?x=227892>

Anti-Trafficking Legal Project (ATLeP) has country reports and other documents useful to practitioners giving legal advice to people who have been trafficked.

<http://www.blueblindfold.co.uk/thesigns/>

A UK-based public awareness campaign about trafficking

<http://www.growingkids.co.uk/AgeAppropriateChores.html>

Parenting guidance - an example list of age appropriate chores

<http://www.nationalworkinggroup.co.uk/>

The National Working Group for Sexually Exploited Children and Young People (NWG) is a support group for individuals and service providers working with children and young people who are at risk of or who experience sexual exploitation.

http://www.londonscb.gov.uk/files/resources/cpp/newham_mosques_policy.pdf

Newham's child protection policy for Mosques and Madrassahs, produced as a result of the Community Partnership Project.

<http://www.privatefostering.org.uk/>

The website of Somebody Else's Child, the private fostering awareness campaign of the British Association of Adoption and Fostering. Includes a guide to young people's rights when being privately fostered

<http://www.refugeetoolkit.org.uk/>

An online resource for practitioners working with refugee young people and families

<http://www.youngcarer.com/pdfs/Whole%20Family%20Pathway%2010th.pdf>

An online resource for practitioners working with young carers. Includes good practice guidance for education staff on identifying and supporting young carers in school.

Slave, by Mende Nazer and Damien Lewis

The memoir of a Sudanese girl who experienced domestic slavery in Khartoum and the UK before escaping and being granted asylum.

Appendices

- I. Indicators of possible exploitation
- II. Young people's steering group consent form
- III. Interview consent form
- IV. Professionals interview schedule
- V. Phone numbers handout
- VI. Hidden children interview schedule - home country
- VII. Hidden children interview schedule - journey
- VIII. Hidden children interview schedule - in the UK
- IX. House mapping activity

Appendix I - Indicators of possible exploitation

Identifying a trafficked child

Indicators of exploitation may change with emerging patterns of exploitation, so it is advisable to check the following websites for up to date lists:

<http://www.ceop.gov.uk/publications/research.asp> and

<http://www.londonscb.gov.uk/trafficking/>

Indicators - list taken from LSCB 2009

At port of entry

The child:

- Has entered the country illegally;
- Has no passport or other means of identification;
- Has false documentation;
- Possesses money and goods not accounted for;
- Is malnourished;
- Is unable to confirm the name and address of the person meeting them on arrival;
- Has had their journey or visa arranged by someone other than themselves or their family;
- Is accompanied by an adult who insists on remaining with the child at all times;
- Is withdrawn and refuses to talk or appears afraid to talk to a person in authority;
- Has a prepared story very similar to those that other children have given;
- Exhibits self-assurance, maturity and self-confidence not expected to be seen in a child of such age;
- Does not appear to have money but does have a mobile phone; and/or
- Is unable or reluctant to give details of accommodation or other personal details.

The sponsor could:

- Be a community member, family member, or any other intermediary;
- Have previously made multiple visa applications for other children and/or has acted as the guarantor for other children's visa applications; and/or
- Is known to have acted as the guarantor on the visa applications for other visitors who have not returned to their countries of origin on the expiry of those visas.

Whilst resident in the UK

The child:

- Does not appear to have money but does have a mobile phone;
- Receives unexplained / unidentified phone calls whilst in placement / temporary accommodation;
- Possesses money and goods not accounted for;
- Exhibits self assurance, maturity and self-confidence not expected to be

seen in a child of such age;

- Has a prepared story very similar to those that other children have given;
- Shows signs of physical or sexual abuse, and/or has contracted a sexually transmitted infection or has an unwanted pregnancy;
- Has a history with missing links and unexplained moves;
- Has gone missing from local authority care;
- Is required to earn a minimum amount of money every day;
- Works in various locations;
- Has limited freedom of movement;
- Appears to be missing for periods;
- Is known to beg for money;
- Performs excessive housework chores and rarely leaves the residence;
- Is malnourished;
- Is being cared for by adult/s who are not their parents and the quality of the relationship between the child and their adult carers is not good;
- Is one among a number of unrelated children found at one address;
- Has not been registered with or attended a GP practice;
- Has not been enrolled in school;
- Has to pay off an exorbitant debt (e.g. for travel costs) before having control over own earnings;
- Is permanently deprived of a large part of their earnings by another person;

and/or

- Is excessively afraid of being deported.

Children internally trafficked within the UK

Indicators include:

- Physical symptoms (bruising indicating either physical or sexual assault);
- Prevalence of a sexually transmitted infection or unwanted pregnancy;
- Young person known to be sexually active;
- Reports from reliable sources suggesting the likelihood of involvement in sexual exploitation;
- Reports that the child has been seen in places known to be used for sexual exploitation;
- Evidence of drug, alcohol or substance misuse;
- Leaving home / care setting in clothing unusual for the individual child (inappropriate for age, borrowing clothing from older people);
- Phone calls or letters from adults outside the usual range of social contacts;
- Adults loitering outside the child's usual place of residence;
- Significantly older boyfriend;
- Accounts of social activities with no plausible explanation of the source of necessary funding;
- Persistently missing, staying out overnight or returning late with no plausible explanation;
- Returning after having been missing, looking well cared for despite having no known base;
- Missing for long periods, with no known base;

- Placement breakdown;
- Pattern of street homelessness;
- Possession of large amounts of money with no plausible explanation; without plausible explanation;
- Having keys to premises other than those known about;
- Low self-image, low self-esteem, self-harming behaviour including cutting, overdosing, eating disorder, promiscuity;
- Truancy / disengagement with education;
- Entering or leaving vehicles driven by unknown adults;
- Going missing and being found in areas where the child or young person has no known links; and/or
- Possible inappropriate use of the internet and forming on-line relationships, particularly with adults.

Other lists of indicators

<http://www.afruca.org/documents/child-trafficking-info.pdf> p14-15

http://www.nspcc.org.uk/Inform/research/Findings/breaking_the_wall_of_silence_wda65628.html p191 - 192

Indicators of a privately fostered child

List from <http://www.privatefostering.org.uk/checklist>

In the neighbourhood:

A child you don't know suddenly appears next door

A child you know from the neighbourhood suddenly disappears

Your neighbour has lots of different children staying with them at different periods in time

At school:

One of the parents at your school has turned up with a 'niece' or 'nephew' who is staying with them for a little while.

A child in your class suddenly disappears without warning

A child in your class mentions that they are staying with a stranger or distant relative

In the doctor's surgery:

A patient turns up with a child you haven't seen before.

A patient turns up with many different children on a regular basis that they refer to as a 'nieces' or 'nephew'.

A child mentions that the person they are with is not their parent.

Identifying a young carer

List from The Princess Royal Trust for Carers. Available:

<http://www.carers.org/professionals/young-carers/articles/how-do-i-identify-a-young-carer,3072,PR.html>

- Anxiety or concern over an ill or disabled relative. Needs to be in constant touch with home.
- Often late or misses days or weeks off from school or youth group for no apparent reason – secretive about home life.
- Often tired, withdrawn or stressed.
- Isolated or a victim of bullying – either because of the situation in the family, or because they lack social skills when they are around their peers. May take on a caring role with younger children. In contrast, they may be confident with adults.
- Behavioural problems – there is often a big difference between the young person who seems "mature beyond their years" in their home environment, where they are very protective of a disabled relative and the young person who takes out their pent-up frustration or stress at school or in a youth group.
- Suffers from back pain due to lifting heavy loads.

See also <http://www.youngcarer.com/>

Identifying young carers in school

List from Northamptonshire Young Carers Service PRTC, 2001

- Arriving late at school
- Unable to complete homework on time
- Difficulty concentrating in class
- Behavioural difficulties
- Missing school
- Tired
- Withdrawn, over-sensitive
- Clothing or appearance may not be clean or tidy
- Low self-esteem
- Under-achieving
- Ill health (e.g. stress-related illnesses, back problems from lifting, anxiety, depression)
- Difficulties in mixing with peers and joining in after-school activities and in attending school trips (e.g. residential)
- Being bullied
- Some parents are unable to have contact with school – missing parents evenings, for example
- Financial difficulties

Appendix II – Young People’s Steering Group Consent Form

The Hub, 123 Star Lane, London E16 4PZ
Tel. 020 7474 7222 Email. lzw@childsoc.org.uk

New Londoners is doing a research project about children and young people who have come to the UK from abroad, do not live with their parents and been mistreated here by adults. A researcher (Laura) will interview young people who have had these experiences and try to find ways of helping young people like them. We would like you to help this project by joining the research group.

What will the group do?

The group will help decide which questions we will be asking these young people, how we will ask them and who we will share the information with. You can do this at group meetings or just by working one to one with the researcher.

What will happen to the information?

The information will be put into a report and shared with adults who make decisions that affect young people’s lives to tell them what they should do to help more young people. You can ask the researcher or the Programme Manager (Susan) of New Londoners what the decision-makers are doing with the information after the report has been published.

Confidentiality and anonymity

All the information you give us will be kept confidential – only the other research group members, the researcher (Laura) and her manager (Susan) will know what you have said - unless you tell us that you or someone else is in serious danger - and even then we would talk to you about this first. Susan will know what you said because she will help Laura decide if you or someone else is in danger. Your name will not be linked with anything you tell us and any quotes we may use in the report will be anonymous. We will always ask for your permission to audio record research group meetings.

You can stop taking part in the research at any point and this will not affect any support you receive from The Children’s Society.

If you want to be involved

Please sign below and give this form to Laura.

- I am willing to participate in the *steering group*
- I give my permission for a researcher to use an audio recorder

Signed _____

Name _____ Date _____

- Feedback form given

Thank you. For more information please talk to Laura at New Londoners.

New Londoners

Research Group Consent Form



Appendix III – Interview consent form

The Hub, 123 Star Lane, London E16 4PZ
Tel. 020 7474 7222 Email. lzw@childsoc.org.uk

The New Londoners Project in Canning Town is doing a research project called 'Hidden Children' about children and young people who have come to the UK from abroad, do not live with their parents and been mistreated here by adults. A researcher will interview young people who have had these experiences. We would like to meet and talk with you about your experiences – this is called a research interview.

What will happen in the interview?

The researcher will ask you questions about your life before and after you came to the UK. You can choose not to answer any of the questions and you can stop or leave anytime.

I understand this

What will happen after the meeting?

The information you give will be put into a report and shared with adults who make decisions about young people to tell them what they should do to help more young people. We hope that the report will lead to:

- Fewer children being mistreated
- Hidden children being empowered to get away from their exploiters sooner
- Hidden children getting better services from the adults that support them

I understand this

Anonymity

Your name will not be linked with anything you tell us. Bits of what you say/tell us will be used in reports, articles and papers that we write that we hope will be helpful to local and national governments and other researchers when making plans/planning services for children in the future.

I understand this

Confidentiality

All the information you give us will be kept confidential – only the researcher (Laura) and her manager will know what you have said - unless you tell us that you or someone else is in serious danger - and even then we would talk to you about this first.

I agree with this

Hidden Children

www.childrensociety.org.uk



Appendix IV - Professionals interview schedule

1. Name, employer & position
2. How they would like their position described in the report
Date of interview & venue
3. Experience of hidden children
4. Experience of disclosure from hidden children
5. Would anything have prompted them to disclose earlier?
6. What sort of background did they come from? – family make up, social standing, countries,
7. How did they enter the UK?
8. What did they think they were coming to when they came to the UK?
9. What age were they when arrived in UK?
10. Was there cultural acceptance of their situation?
11. What sort of exploitation/abuse took place? How long for? Any pattern as to who is carrying out the exploitation?
12. Do children/adults actually view it as exploitation?
13. Did they have access to essential services eg health, education etc?
14. Who outside of the family knew of their existence?
15. Were their families at home aware of their situation?
16. Were they ever threatened?
17. Always lived with same people in UK or moved about?
18. How has what happened to them affected them – emotionally, physically, immigration status, achievement at school etc?

19. What are the young people's protective factors?
20. Do young people want to return to their home countries? Why?
21. Do you feel equipped about how to recognise/deal with it? Is your agency equipped?

22. What support do hidden children need when they are out of the exploitative situation?
23. What can professionals/agencies do to better recognise hidden children?
24. What can professionals/agencies do to better support hidden children?
25. What improvements to communication or joint working could make a difference?
26. What resources for the agencies or young people could make a difference?
27. What policy changes could make a difference?
28. Do you have examples of best practice?
29. Any other recommendations?
Would they like a copy of the report?
Anyone else I should contact?

Appendix V – Helplines handout

Emergency 999 or 112 (free)
(fire, ambulance or police)

Alternatives Crisis Pregnancy Centre
020 7476 8215
(based in Newham)

Childline 0800 1111 (free)

Alcohol Abuse 0800 1111 (free)

Drug Abuse 0800 1111 (free)

HIV/Aids 0800 567 123 (free)

MIND 020 8522 1728
(mental health)

NHS-Direct **0845 4647**
(medical advice 24 hours a day)

Samaritans 08457 90 90 90 jo@samaritans.org
(24 hours a day)

Sexwise 0800 282 903 (free)

Sexual Abuse 0800 1111 (free)

The Albert Kennedy Trust 020 7831 6562 contact@akt.org.uk
(support for gay, lesbian & bisexual youth)

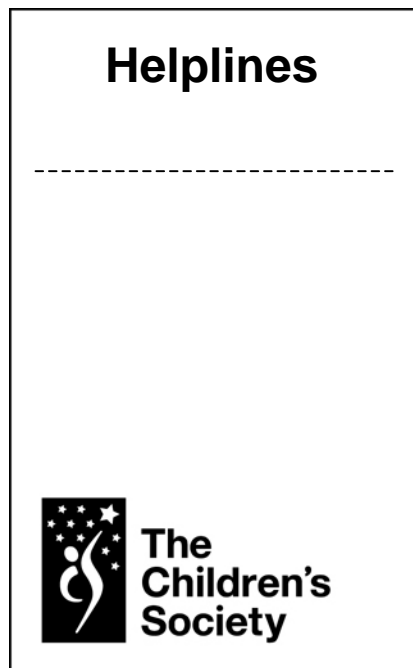
Youth2Youth 020 8896 3675 <http://www.youth2youth.co.uk>
(helpline run by young people – can also email)

The Children's Society, New Londoners project
020 7474 7222 (ask for Lucy) lucy.leon@childsoc.org.uk
(advice, advocacy and social activities for young refugees and asylum seekers aged 13-19)

Feedback about The Children's Society 0800 783 7173 / 07720 941 881 /
complaints@childrenssociety.org.uk

www.childrenssociety.org.uk
number 221124

Charity Registration



Appendix VI - Hidden children interview schedule - home country

Materials: 1 large sheet of paper, pens, pencils, crayons and marker pens

Instructions:

what life was like in your home country

1. What country & region/area?
2. Draw your house and the people who lived there.
3. Did you have brothers and sisters? How many? Did they live with you?
4. Was it in a city, a small town, the countryside?
5. Did they have other family they knew? Did they live nearby?
6. Are these family members still there/alive/moved somewhere else?
7. What sort of work did your family do? Were they well-respected in their village/town/city/tribe?
8. Did the yp & family members go to school? – until what age? If they left school early, why?
9. Did you go out to work?
10. Did you have chores to do at home?
11. Were any of the family members ill and needed help? Did you help them? How did you help them?
12. Who knew that you were going to England/abroad? (put tick with blue marker by name)
13. Whose idea was it? (put orange lightbulb by person)
14. I'm not asking their name, but was it one of the people in the map who took you to England? Were they from the same place?
15. Did your family or someone else pay this person for the journey?
16. Did they have other family members or children they knew who went to England?
17. Was it unusual or normal to go abroad like this?

18. If you had siblings, why was it you that went abroad?
19. Was there a problem at home that meant they had to leave (eg too many children)?
20. Before you left, were there any special ceremonies or parties – magic or good luck charm done for you? By whom?
21. How did you feel about leaving & about going abroad?
22. Did you know where you were going?
23. Did you know why you were going?
24. Anything else you want to say about your life before you came to England?
25. Review exercise.
26. Evaluate exercise – we've finished this part, was it easy or difficult? Was there any part you didn't understand?

Break?

Appendix VII - Hidden children interview schedule – journey

Instructions:

1. Can they show me how they got to UK using a diagram
2. How old were they when they left?
3. Who was with them on each journey?
4. Did anyone tell them to obey this person?
5. Who were they with when they stopped along the journey?
6. When did they have travel papers/id/passport?
7. Did they pay for any part of the journey?
8. How long did the whole journey take?
9. What happened to the people they travelled with when they got to the UK?
10. Did they go straight to London?
11. Review exercise.
12. Anything to add?

Appendix VIII - Hidden children interview schedule - in the UK

Instructions:

I want to know what people they knew and places they visited when they first came to London.

1. Where did you sleep when you first came to London?
2. Draw your house and the people who lived there.
3. Did you move house? Why? Was it good for you to keep moving?
4. When did you first meet them & how?
5. Did they have a doctor/GP? Did they have any injections or other treatment?
6. Did they go to school? Every day?
7. What age did they give at school? (different from actual age?)
8. Did you go out to work? What sort of work? Were you paid? How did you feel about the work? Was it hard work? Who took them to work? How long were the days? How long did you work there?
9. Were any of the people you lived with ill and needed help? Did you help them? How did you help them?
10. Where else did they go (change marker pen colour)? Eg. park, shops (what kind of shops – ethnic food?), library, station, church, mosque,
11. Where did they go to play, celebrate festivals, for help, when they were ill, for church/prayers. Did they go with their carers? What was it like? (eg. did they like going to church?)
12. Did you sometimes visit other houses? Can you draw it and all the people who were there? Who lived there?
13. Who were these people, how often did they visited them and why? What did they do when they visited them?
14. Who did they talk to if they were worried or unhappy?
15. What people did they know there?
16. What other people did they know – who visited their house, who they saw outside the house etc.
17. Did you have a social worker?
18. Did they stay or live in any other houses with these same people?

19. Which places did they like/dislike? (use different colours eg. green tick, red cross)
20. Who knew that they weren't living with their parents? (pink dot)
21. Did you have friends or children you played with in any of these places?
22. Who did you go to when you were lonely or upset?
23. Who did you share jokes with?
24. Who did you/could you go to for advice?
25. If you were not happy at home or at school, who could you talk to?
26. Review exercise. To end this section, can they think about the people they know now who they like and who help them.

(Do genogram if needed)

Mapping London part 2

1. Thinking about your own house again – how did you use the space – is there anywhere you weren't allowed to go? Where did they spend the most time? (might be useful to draw house bigger on another piece of paper)
2. Where did you sleep?
3. Where did you eat?
4. Did you eat with the others?
5. Did you make your own food? Did you cook for other people?
6. Was there a living room? Did you use it?
7. What was an average day like? When did you wake up? (split into morning, afternoon, night time?)
8. Could you go out whenever you wanted?
9. Did you have your own key?
10. Did you have meals on your own or with other people?
11. Could you watch TV & use the internet? Whenever you wanted?
12. What websites did you use?
13. Did you have chores? Who gave you chores?
14. Was it different from chores you had in your country?
15. How did you feel about the work you did?

16. Did you get pocket money or other payment? From whom? What did you do with it?
17. Did you get money for school materials or were they bought for you?
18. Were your carers paid to look after you? By your parents/child benefit?
19. Did you have contact with anyone back home? Could you phone home? Were you able to speak with your family back home privately? As often as you wanted to? How did you feel about that?
20. Were the hosts in contact with people back home (eg. told them how you were doing)
21. Is there anyone who knew you then who could have helped if they had known about your situation?
22. Did you ever get punished? By whom? What were the threats?
23. Was it different from the way you were punished in your country?
24. Did you ever get threatened? By whom?
25. Did anyone make you do anything that you didn't want to do in any way?
26. Did anything else happen that you didn't like or that hurts you to think about now?
27. Do you think the way you were treated by x, y, z was wrong?
28. Was it different from the way things were in your country?
29. Did you know if what was happening was illegal? If no, would it have made a difference to you if you knew?
30. Did you tell the hosts or anyone else that you were unhappy? If not why was that (embarrassment, scared, didn't think you'd be believed)?
31. How did you get out of the situation?
32. What would have helped you get out of the situation sooner? – if you had information about your rights? If there was someone you trusted? If you thought you would be believed? Any other reason?
33. Is there anything that stopped them from getting out of the situation sooner?

Questions about life in England (not using map)

1. Were they aware of their immigration status?
2. Did their hosts tell them anything about their immigration status?
3. Did they know what would happen when they turned 16/18?

4. What help did they need when they turned 16/18?
5. What help did you need when you left the situation? Did you get it?
6. How has this experience affected you?
7. Do you have problems now because of what you went through?
8. What helped you at the time cope with the situation?
9. Any other recommendations for decision-makers about how to support young people who have had experiences like yours?
10. What strengths do you have now that have helped you cope and move on?

Appendix IX – House mapping activity

- to be used to gather information about possible domestic or other labour exploitation of a young person.

Ask the young person if they can draw the place where they live, showing where the different rooms are.

1. Where do they spend the most time?
2. Where do you sleep?
3. Where do you eat?
4. Did you eat with the others?
5. Did you make your own food? Did you cook for other people?
6. Was there a living room? Did you use it?
7. Is there anywhere you aren't allowed to go?
8. What is an average day like? When do you wake up? (split into morning, afternoon, night time?)
9. Can you watch TV & use the internet? Whenever you wanted?
10. Do you have chores? Who gave you chores?
11. Was it different from chores you had in your country?
12. What kind of chores are they?
13. Do you go out to work anywhere?
14. How do you feel about the work you do?
15. Do you get pocket money or other payment? From whom? What do you do with it?
16. Do you get money for school materials or were they bought for you?
17. Can you go out whenever you want?
18. Do you have your own key?

Hidden Children

