



**In co-operation with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office**

**Report on Wilton Park Conference WP854**

**HUMAN TRAFFICKING: HOW BEST TO STEM THE FLOW?**

**Thursday 28- Saturday 30 JUNE 2007**

1. This year sees the celebration of the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the legal abolition of the slave trade. It is therefore an appropriate time to look at what many describe as a form of modern-day slavery, the traffic in human beings. This is by no means a new phenomenon but recent decades have witnessed an alarming increase in the scale and extent of the problem.

2. Trafficking in persons need not involve cross-border movement. However, it was the growing concern among the international community of increasing transnational criminal activities which led to the establishment, in 1998, of an *ad hoc* committee of the United Nations (UN), tasked with drafting comprehensive international legislation to assist in the fight against cross-border crime. The result was the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (the TOC Convention) and its supplementary protocols, among them the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (the Palermo Protocol).

3. The Palermo Protocol entered into force on 25 December 2003. It sets forth the internationally agreed legal definition of trafficking as involving the recruitment, transportation and exploitation of persons and stipulates certain minimum standards as to what constitutes exploitation. States which have ratified the Palermo Protocol are required to prevent and combat trafficking in

persons, paying particular attention to women and children; to provide protection and assistance to victims of human trafficking; and to promote co-operation among states in order to meet these objectives. The significance of international consensus on the legal definition of human trafficking should not be under-estimated. It enables countries with widely divergent policies and laws to formulate and implement compliant domestic legislation, and to aid international efforts in monitoring and combating the problem. The UN can assist states with implementation, advocacy and capacity building. It recognises the need to involve all stakeholders, civil society and the business sector, as well as governments. However, different states will have different and, at times, competing priorities. It is therefore important to identify common interests and establish an international consensus reflecting the norms which all can comply with. This will enable the problem of human trafficking to be tackled globally, regionally and locally to find short, medium, and long-term solutions.

4. It is apparent that definitions are not uniformly understood and applied. Questions persist as to how far, and to what extent, the minimum standards provided for within the Palermo Protocol can adequately address the complexity of the problem. These difficulties are compounded by a lack of accurate and reliable data on the nature, scale and extent of the phenomenon. Additionally, whilst another protocol supplements the TOC Convention to outlaw smuggling, in practice there is much overlap between smuggling and human trafficking. Furthermore, vulnerable, exploited persons may not identify themselves as such for any number of reasons, not least the fear of reprisal. However, conditions in countries of origin, fear of stigmatisation and pressures to send remittances to families back home weigh heavily on the minds of many.

### **Tackling Human Trafficking: Key Priorities and Strategies**

5. Trafficking in persons is a global problem from which almost no part of the world is exempt. The key priorities in tackling it are generally conceived

in terms of prevention, protection and prosecution, or the '3 P's'. The UN, through its Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), provides assistance to member states and facilitates international co-operation and co-ordination of actions to prevent and combat the crime of human trafficking. As a first step in meeting its international obligations, however, a state must acknowledge the problem of human trafficking within and across its borders, recognise the seriousness of the problem, and then demonstrate the political will to tackle it by making available sufficient resources. The perspective of states will be influenced by their position in the trafficking chain. Some states may be primarily countries of origin for trafficked persons, some of transit, some of destination; other states may be all three. In some regions, such as South East Asia, the problem is one of internal migration, particularly into the highly segmented sex markets. However, cross-border migration also occurs, in Cambodia, for example, for labour purposes. The lack of evidence of human trafficking in that region, within the terms of the Palermo Protocol, reinforces the overlap with smuggling. The high levels of abuse which have been identified serve to further illustrate the vulnerabilities of migrants.

6. In considering the root causes of trafficking in persons, focus has tended to be on adverse conditions in countries of origin; poverty, unemployment and conflict are among the typical factors which render human beings vulnerable to becoming victims of trafficking. They also count among the factors that drive individuals towards crime and into becoming perpetrators, that is, traffickers in human beings. However, it is important to recognise not only the general conditions which prevail in source countries. Regional differences should also be taken into account and much greater attention should be paid to specific conditions, including discrimination and domestic violence, which render individuals or groups of individuals particularly vulnerable. There is no one root cause of human trafficking. Vulnerability will always result from a combination of factors and these should be tackled through empowerment, awareness raising, and gender-sensitive actions. It is not only conditions in source countries which require attention. Conditions in destination countries, perceived or actual, need to be at the

forefront of any debate on the root causes of trafficking, as well as any measures to combat it. Here, a key factor is that of demand, be it demand for cheap labour, sexual or other services. Receiving countries have been slow to recognise this and concerted and sustained action is required to develop and implement demand reduction measures as a key element in preventing and combating human trafficking.

## **PREVENTION**

### **Source Countries**

7. Prevention strategies in countries of origin include education and training programmes, information campaigns and poverty reduction and development measures. A diversity of views, strategies and priorities can be found among government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), international organisations (IOs) and other agencies involved in tackling the problem of human trafficking. Resources, and funding in particular can, but need not be, an issue. There is scope for better co-ordination between donors and recipients, as well as improved targeting of vulnerable and other groups. Some interventions which target adults will also be appropriate for children but, more often, different, specific and innovative measures are necessary for effective action on behalf of this vulnerable group.

8. Training should be equally specific and tailor-made. Programmes should be designed for all parties, including embassy and consular personnel. Vocational training should be linked with real jobs and employees matched with employers. Campaigns need to be ongoing and content-specific, directed at national, regional and local particularities. This has been noted, particularly in Moldova, the main country of origin in South Eastern Europe, where regional variations mean that the same campaign will not work everywhere. Similarly, the Albanian government has taken the initiative to set up smaller, regional anti-trafficking units, comprising police, NGOs, health, social and other services, better suited to addressing the needs of local communities.

9. Another of the acknowledged difficulties with education and information campaigns, however, lies in assessing their impact. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) draws attention to this, particularly within highly diverse populations. Campaigns may be directed at groups deemed vulnerable to trafficking or at whistle-blowers or, indeed, at traffickers themselves. However, even with specifically targeted campaigns, evaluating their success can be problematic, more so when set against a backdrop of uncertainty as to the scale of human trafficking. Nevertheless, television, radio and poster campaigns are important tools in raising awareness. The use of theatre and other interactive media can be particularly useful for engaging with children, as can be the integration of anti-trafficking programmes into school curricula, currently being piloted in countries such as China. Private sector partnerships may also have much to offer. It is important, however, that such campaigns are not regarded as the only means of prevention. Long-term investment is also needed.

### **Destination Countries**

10. Prevention is not only the domain of countries of origin. Destination states also have an important part to play, acting in partnership and providing funding and other assistance to source countries. The United Kingdom (UK) has forged such partnerships with Romania and Bulgaria, and work continues there under the auspices of the new UK Human Trafficking Centre (UKHTC). However, the UK also recognises the importance of tackling demand, whether for commercial sex or for cheap labour. Police Operation Pentameter raised awareness of the plight of women trafficked into the UK for the purposes of sexual exploitation. The government sought to build on that initiative and further raise awareness by placing advertisements in men's magazines and elsewhere, targeting actual or potential users of prostituted women. Nevertheless, the UK government acknowledges that demand reduction remains the least developed strategy in the country's action plan.

11. Difficulties arise insofar as different states have different policies and laws, particularly pertaining to the commercial sex industry. In some states, such as the Netherlands, prostitution is legal, in others it is illegal and in others, again, certain aspects of prostitution are legalised or criminalised. Such inconsistencies make comparisons difficult. Fears have been expressed that criminalisation serves to drive the market underground, thereby creating more dangerous conditions for women and making it harder to distinguish between instances of forced prostitution and unforced sex work. However, these fears should be weighed against recent European research indicating that the existence of legal markets fuels demand and favours the growth of semi-licit and illicit markets and leads to greater trafficking activities.

12. Similar inconsistencies arise in relation to conceptualisations and definitions of forced labour. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has identified some fundamental dilemmas. It is known that forced labour is a significant problem but in the UK, for example, the country Action Plan indicates there is insufficient information to assess the scale of the problem there, and there have been no prosecutions to date. This raises queries as to whether reliance should be placed on the minimal definition of exploitation set forth in the Palermo Protocol, or whether focus should be on issues of coercion, degrading work or conditions incompatible with human dignity, as is the case in some countries, such as France. Furthermore, whilst smuggling and human trafficking may be legal terms, exploitation is also an economic term and should also be seen as a labour market issue. Where there are flexible labour markets, difficult issues are raised of equal treatment and rights for all workers, as well as practical concerns about the criminalisation of certain behaviours and appropriate penalties for employers and others. There is a further dilemma when there is a continuum of exploitation, linked largely to conditions in source countries, the survival of the informal economy or the more recent growth of an illicit economy in countries with more protected labour markets. It is generally migrant workers, whether regular or irregular, who are most affected, especially when recruited through complex sub-contracting chains.

13. Much work, nationally and internationally, has tended to focus on human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation. However, considerably more efforts need to be concentrated on issues of labour exploitation. A greater understanding of the complex interaction between the forces of supply and demand is required, particularly in the context of globalisation and its impact, internally within a nation-state, and across borders. Some initiatives are to be welcomed. Alliances between workers and businesses are being forged but these are in the early stages. The Gangmaster Licencing Authority in the UK is a good start but fees should not be set so high as to deter registration and there should be adequate follow-up, such as unannounced workplace inspections. Partnerships and co-operation are acknowledged as vital elements in attempts to reconcile supply and demand; however, their achievements will be limited unless account is taken of different priorities in sending and destination countries.

### **Managing Borders**

14. National border security is a priority for any nation state. Under the TOC Convention, cross-border trafficking in persons is a transnational crime and many governments, particularly those of destination countries, seek to enhance their border security in efforts to prevent, not just human trafficking, but also illegal migration. International law enforcement agencies can assist governments in creating systems of effective border management and facilitate detection of illegal activities. The International Police Organisation (INTERPOL) has developed global databases allowing border checks to be made on stolen, forged or missing documents or stolen vehicles. This system is operational and is a vital tool in the fight against transnational organised crime, including human trafficking, but is currently in use by only a total of seventeen out of some one hundred and ninety two countries worldwide, including Switzerland, Belgium, France, Spain, Lithuania and ten Caribbean countries. The UK and the United States (US) are not yet among them.

15. Effective border management alone, however, is unlikely to stem the flow of trafficking in persons. Amnesty International UK (AIUK) points to the tens of millions of migrants across the world. Of these, fifty per cent are women, often the most vulnerable group, who are driven to seek migration opportunities to richer countries by inadequate living standards and other adverse conditions in countries of origin. Dealing with the root causes, especially violence against women, is vital in any anti-trafficking measures and AIUK emphasises and echoes concerns elsewhere that destination countries are not doing enough to reduce demand, including demand for semi- and unskilled labour. Much of this demand is met by migrant labourers who may be forced to work in conditions akin to slavery to put agricultural produce and other goods on the shelves of UK retail outlets. This implicates consumers, but government failure to prioritise the protection of victims over their immigration status lies at the heart of the matter. The UK government's signing of the Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Human Trafficking (CoE Trafficking Convention), is an important step towards redressing the balance. However, civil society and other actors should continue to work together and sustain pressure to implement all measures necessary to comply with, and then to ratify, the CoE Trafficking Convention.

### **Law Enforcement: Core Strategies**

16. Law enforcement against trafficking in persons in the UK tended to be somewhat piecemeal until the creation and launch, in October 2004, of the UKHTC. This came about following the success of 'Operation Pentameter', involving all of the UK's police forces, and aimed at the open prostitution market. Over two hundred and thirty arrests were made and more than eighty women were rescued, including twelve minors. The work of UKHTC is now five-fold. It deals with operations and intelligence; prevention; victim care; training and awareness raising, and research. It has been instrumental in ensuring that the problem of human trafficking is included on the main agenda of the UK's annual risk assessment of organised crime and plans to reintroduce neighbourhood policing as a key element in its anti-trafficking

strategy. In the European context, UKHTC is working with partners in a number of countries to plan and prepare for future anti-trafficking operations.

17. Nigeria has also set up a centralised agency to assist in the fight against trafficking in persons. The National Agency for the Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP) coordinates the development, implementation and enforcement of all anti-trafficking and related laws. It is a multi-security agency, working with the Nigerian police, immigration and customs and other relevant security agencies. NAPTIP also liaises with other security agencies in West and Central Africa and, from 2004 to date, has seen a year on year rise in arrests, prosecutions and convictions of traffickers and the rescue of victims. Experience and research in Nigeria and parts of West Africa points to a loose criminal network of largely independent individuals who are contracted by traffickers in destination countries, sometimes referred to as 'kingpins', to assist in the various stages of the human trafficking process. NAPTIP therefore works with destination and other countries to secure bilateral agreements and memoranda of understanding designed to facilitate the extradition of such 'kingpins'.

18. Effective law enforcement, however, may be hampered when legal clarity comes at the expense of effective law. Academic research has consistently pointed to a high degree of overlap between human trafficking and smuggling. Both processes render individuals vulnerable to exploitation, more so when journeys are longer or where there is reliance on third parties to secure jobs in destination countries. It is not uncommon for individuals to enter into a contract for facilitated migration, only to be exploited at a later stage. This is especially so in cases of bonded labour contracts when the exploited migrant discovers too late that no payment will be forthcoming. The issue is therefore more complicated and whilst resource problems might lead law enforcement agencies and others to contract definitions to those involving coercion, there is a danger that this will impede the identification of much human trafficking. It is therefore important to recognise there is a continuum between smuggling and trafficking in persons. Law enforcement should be

sensitive to this, as well as to other wider issues, such as gender violence and harmful cultural practices which treat human beings as commodities. Challenges should be made to sexist and racist attitudes which may be individual or systemic and affect who is deemed to fit the image of a real victim. This can be linked to attitudes towards women reporting sexual or other violence and may significantly impact law enforcement practices and access to justice. It is therefore important to talk not only of victim support and care, but also of victim rights, in particular, their human rights.

19. Consideration should also be given to problems of under-enforcement. This may be due to a lack of resources but it is also a capacity issue. Donors do not always donate what is required. There is little point in funding a lot of training if law enforcement personnel lack basic equipment such as telephones, or have to engage in bribery to put petrol in their vehicles. Basic infrastructure and local conditions should be taken into account when determining what will work and where. Furthermore, greater efforts are needed to ensure consistency among all agencies engaged in law enforcement activities, police and immigration, to maximise effective law enforcement.

## **PROTECTION**

### **Victim Support**

20. Victim support is a key element in tackling human trafficking. In the UK there are no designated services for persons trafficked for the purposes of forced labour. However, the Poppy Project was set up in London in 2003 to assist women trafficked into forced prostitution. Funded by the Home Office and London Councils, it offers complex service provision, including safe accommodation, access to medical, counselling and legal services, and undertakes outreach work. It also undertakes research to assist in expanding the knowledge base and improve all services to victims of human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation. The Poppy Project operates according

to strict criteria which it is currently seeking to enlarge. At present, it is able to offer assistance to women over the age of eighteen years, who have worked in prostitution within thirty days of their referral to the project, and who are willing to co-operate with the authorities in the prosecution of offenders. It plays a vital role in the care and support of victims and in ensuring that their needs and rights remain central particularly within the criminal justice system. In providing essential support to women who decide to testify against their abusers, it plays an important part in securing convictions against traffickers.

21. Children should be recognised as a particularly vulnerable group, requiring specialised intervention, care and support. In the Philippines, in Olongapo City, the People's Recovery Empowerment Development Assistance Foundation (PREDA) provides services dedicated to child victims of sexual and labour exploitation. It works with government and other NGOs, nationally and internationally, to highlight and tackle the problem of official corruption, to challenge and pursue abusers and other perpetrators, and to pressure the authorities to take measures to combat the exploitation of children at all levels. It recognises that rehabilitated children can become powerful and effective advocates against human trafficking.

22. The obligations imposed on states by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) should be taken into account. The CRC has been ratified by most states and provides for wide-ranging and comprehensive rights for all children. The organisation End Child Prostitution and Trafficking (ECPAT), emphasises the need to challenge the culture of disbelief of children, a culture which has also impacted globally on women in all criminal justice systems and is embedded in the history of gender relations. Within the UK and other destination countries, particular caution is urged against repatriation of children to transit countries in light of a growing body of evidence of children being forced to claim asylum in those countries. When issues of intra-familial abuse arise, ECPAT advocates the use of restorative justice, although this should be weighed against concerns that this might be another way to create a system of private justice, with the latter serving as a poor cousin to what

occurs in the domain of public law. NAPTIP in Nigeria, however, has had some success with this, working at grass roots levels with traditional rulers and others to address familial circumstances which create conditions conducive to the trafficking of children, and to rehabilitate and re-integrate children into their communities.

## **PROSECUTION**

23. Successful prosecutions are an integral part of the fight against human trafficking. However, the Palermo Protocol creates a high burden of proof to establish all of the elements of the offence of trafficking, namely recruitment, transportation and exploitation. This may be alleviated if countries were to adapt and implement national legislation criminalising each individual element, thereby affording prosecutors a choice. It should also be recognised that different legal systems are based on different models. In some countries, such as Italy, the office of the public prosecutor directs police investigations, whilst in others, police act independently and on their own initiative. Whichever system operates in a given country, it is important that the criminal justice system functions to ensure a fair and timely trial. The rights of defendants should be protected, not only as a matter of principle, but to avoid unnecessary delays and subsequent challenges which might undermine the credibility of the judicial process. With this in mind, a number of factors will impact the likely success of criminal proceedings. The TOC Convention clearly establishes the link between human trafficking and organised crime. The Office of the Prosecutor General of the Italian Supreme Court has been able to draw on its experience of combating organised crime in the form of the mafia. It recognises how important it is to have in place adequate victim and witness protection arrangements. This not only guards against the possibility of victims and witnesses disappearing before trial, but also reduces the risk, so far as possible, that threats and intimidation will lead to false testimony. The transnational nature of much trafficking in persons further highlights the need for interpreters and translators. Victims and their traffickers will originate from many different countries and speak different languages and dialects.

Good translators will be essential at earlier surveillance stages, particularly when electronic eavesdropping equipment is used. Honest and trustworthy interpreters are also required during interviews with victims and suspects and the risks to them should also be recognised. Suitable arrangements should be in place to ensure their protection.

24. Training of the authorities is essential for all successful prosecutions. This should be continuous and include judges as well as police and prosecutors. Account should be taken of the educational and cultural background of victims and perpetrators to understand particular fears and methods of control, such as the use of magic against African girls and young women. A greater understanding of the global picture will assist strong co-ordination to find connections, nationally and internationally, and to recognise that human traffickers often use routes common to those engaged in the smuggling of drugs or firearms.

25. In addition to seeking the conviction and imprisonment of individual traffickers, attention should also focus on powers of seizure and confiscation of assets. It is repeatedly asserted that human trafficking is a low risk-high profit crime. Measures to increase the risk and reduce the capacity to make and benefit from the proceeds of human trafficking are vital. These should extend further into actions against facilitating and ancillary businesses, those who provide transportation and communication resources, and money-laundering or other services. Thorough investigations of those links may reveal not only the money trail, but also other connections which might facilitate prosecution and reduce reliance on victim testimony. In the Netherlands a number of agencies have been working together to uncover such connections in cases of women trafficked into forced prostitution, including the investigation of private clinics undertaking breast enhancement surgery. The effectiveness of this approach will be tested when these cases come to trial.

26. Reducing reliance on victim testimony can also reduce the burden on victims. Anti-Slavery International has identified two primary reactions on the part of victims: those who want to see their abusers brought to justice but feel unable to participate in criminal proceedings, and those for whom participation in the criminal justice system can have positive, rehabilitative effects. It is important that victims are not simply regarded as instrumental in prosecutions. Their willingness and readiness to talk should be taken into account and they should be enabled to make informed decisions. Where appropriate, protection should extend beyond the outcome of the trial; measures should be taken to regularise their immigration status, to consider third country destinations, or to undertake specific assessments prior to repatriation. In light of the length of time it takes many cases to come to trial, due consideration should be afforded to their rights to work pending trial and issues of compensation and reparations should be addressed. The message of any successful prosecution should not simply be hostile to traffickers; it should also be favourable to victims.

## **INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION**

27. International co-operation is seen as vital in the global fight against human trafficking. Many countries recognise the need to work with international and regional partners, particularly countries such as Pakistan, which are sensitised to connections between trafficking, organised crime and terrorism. All IOs have anti-trafficking strategies, although these vary according to their respective mandates. The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has initiated close partnerships with all major actors under the heading of the Alliance Against Trafficking in Persons. It focuses on establishing joint strategies, setting common agendas and providing national governments with harmonised approaches and recommendations for decision-making. It has contributed to a better understanding of the phenomenon of trafficking in persons, encouraged transnational co-operation and secured a better balance between countries of origin, transit and destination.

28. UNODC has also instigated the Global Initiative Against Trafficking in Human Beings which aims to strengthen policies, strategies and measures on prevention, to focus on demand and to underpin efforts for the support and protection of trafficking victims. It also seeks to reinforce co-operation between law enforcement agencies, to promote joint research initiatives and to produce evidence-based reports on global trafficking trends. However, the need to develop a global knowledge base requires more academic scholarship as well as an economic analysis of trafficking in persons, particularly its relationship to international labour markets.

29. The European Union (EU) merits deeper examination. Its member countries comprise one of the largest destination areas for trafficked persons, therefore EU policy on trafficking in human beings, has significant impact with broad consequences. In particular, the EU has recognised the importance of victim-centred and human rights approaches, although legitimate questions might be asked as to the extent to which these have been overshadowed by focus on law enforcement and controls on migration into the EU. At the EU level, and at the level of national governments, the need for border security can conflict with international obligations to protect human rights.

30. More work is needed to secure additional ratifications of the CoE Trafficking Convention. To date there have been only four ratifications from EU countries and three from non-EU countries, namely, Austria, Bulgaria, Romania and Slovakia, and Albania, Georgia and Moldova respectively. This is considered to be an extremely important treaty with far-reaching implications because of its binding provisions with respect to the protection of trafficked persons. It ensures that victims of trafficking obtain access to medical treatment, counselling services, and interpreters; it additionally provides for education for minors, a non-punishment clause for victims and the possibility of residence permits irrespective of the victim's co-operation with authorities. A key provision, however, is the entitlement of victims to a recovery and reflection period. At present, the minimum period is fixed at thirty

days but pressures are being brought to bear on national governments to extend this to at least three months. The CoE Trafficking Convention goes considerably further than the Palermo Protocol and may yet pave the way for a similar global treaty.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

31. During the last ten to fifteen years, much progress has been made in tackling the problem of trafficking in human beings. Significant contributions have come from the international community, IOs and NGOs, which have exerted sustained pressure to force the issue onto government agendas. Even so, there is little evidence that human trafficking is on the decline; on the contrary, there are indications that it continues on a global scale, largely unabated, with impunity and official corruption remaining among the key issues to be tackled. Much remains to be done. Greater political will is required. This should be backed by the provision of adequate resources and better regional and international co-operation, although this should not come at the expense of action.

32. The root causes of human trafficking can be located in source and in destination countries. Low standards of living and limited opportunities force many to embark on hazardous journeys. However, the costs of, and restrictions on, legal migration drive individuals into the hands of traffickers and abusers, who continue to profit from the exploitation of such vulnerable persons. It is vital that issues of vulnerability be addressed, not simply in general terms, but taking account of national, regional and local particularities to ensure that any measures are relevant, appropriate and gender-sensitive. Special attention should be paid to the needs and vulnerabilities of children.

33. Destination countries are beginning to recognise their obligations to tackle demand, but effective policies and strategies for demand reduction remain in their infancy in some countries, whilst others have yet to take any steps to tackle markets for commercial sexual services and exploited labour.

Furthermore, conflicts between demand for cheap labour, border security and restrictive immigration policies, inhibit informed public debate and hamper effective intra- and inter-agency action to stem the flow of human trafficking. In addition, destination countries, in particular, should develop and implement a more victim-centred approach, focused not only on affording appropriate care and assistance, but designed also to recognise their rights and to secure them redress and reparations. Law enforcement agencies and prosecutors should give due consideration to the short and long term protection of victims, and continue to forge relationships and partnerships with their counterparts elsewhere, to obtain and act on better and more accurate intelligence.

34. There is a pressing need for continuing research to close gaps and to expand the knowledge base. This will assist the development and implementation of better-targeted policies and allow for more informed decision-making at national and international levels. Above all, however, the message is directed towards governments. IOs and NGOs can facilitate, promote and assist but governments should accept that they have responsibility for effective counter-trafficking action and for the protection of the human rights of those within their jurisdiction. This is a responsibility which cannot be outsourced, to the international community or elsewhere.

**Jackie Turner**  
**London Metropolitan University**  
**July 2007**

Wilton Park Reports are brief summaries of the main points and conclusions of a conference. The reports reflect rapporteurs' personal interpretations of the proceedings –as such they do not constitute any institutional policy of Wilton Park nor do they necessarily represent the views of rapporteurs