



University of
Nottingham
Rights Lab



Modern Slavery Research: the UK Picture

A research report from the Office of
the Independent Anti-Slavery
Commissioner and the University of
Nottingham's Rights Lab

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Authors

Kevin Bales, CMG, is Professor of Contemporary Slavery at the University of Nottingham, and Research Director of the Rights Lab, a University Beacon of Excellence. His many books and articles include *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (1999), *Ending Slavery: How We Free Today's Slaves* (2007), *To Plead Our Own Cause: Personal Stories by Today's Slaves* (2008, with Zoe Trodd), and *Blood and Earth: Modern Slavery, Ecocide, and the Secret to Saving the World* (2016).

Dr. Bodean Hedwards is a Research Associate with the University of Nottingham's Rights Lab. She has previously worked on the issue of modern slavery with Monash University's Border Crossing Observatory, and as a researcher with the Walk Free Foundation, where she specialised in government responses to modern slavery.

Sir Bernard Silverman FRS is Professor of Modern Slavery Statistics at the University of Nottingham. He was previously Chief Scientific Adviser to the UK Home Office and is a member of the Prime Minister's Task Force on Modern Slavery and the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner's Advisory Board.

Executive summary

In 2017 the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner (IASC) and the Rights Lab at the University of Nottingham released a call for submissions on recent and current research about slavery and slavery-related practices. The call focused on slavery in the UK and/or research by UK researchers. Based primarily on the 59 submissions provided by researchers, this report (and companion website, <http://iascresearch.nottingham.ac.uk/>) now maps the UK's current research landscape for modern slavery.

There is already a significant evidence base to better understand and respond to slavery. The existing major research areas are:

- Estimating the number of people in slavery and slavery-like conditions.
- Exploring the nature of modern slavery in contemporary business supply chains.
- Exploring the intersections between society and slavery, including the impact of climate change, migration and conflict on modern slavery.
- Understanding and addressing the factors that make people vulnerable to modern slavery.
- Monitoring and evaluating government, business and civil society responses to modern slavery and identifying best practice.
- Examining the conceptual and theoretical understanding of modern slavery to legal contexts.

To build on the efforts already underway, there are several areas that require further research and investigation:

Nature and prevalence of modern slavery and related practices

- Improve estimates on the number of people in modern slavery and the underlying methodology to obtain these.
- Further understand the risks and vulnerabilities to modern slavery in the UK.
- Continue to understand the experience of modern slavery among different victim groups, including those from different social, cultural and economic backgrounds.
- Continue to examine the differential impact of modern slavery on different groups demarcated by age, gender, ethnicity, national origin, religion or sexual orientation or practice.
- Build on ongoing research efforts, including by IASC on offenders.

Responses to modern slavery in the UK

- Continue to monitor and evaluate current responses to modern slavery, including within law enforcement, support services and reintegration.
- Continue to examine and learn from international interventions that have been developed in victims' countries of origin.
- Continue research into the mechanisms that facilitate the recruitment, trafficking and exploitation.
- Continue to monitor and evaluate interventions and responses by businesses in their efforts to comply with the Modern Slavery Act.

Foreword by Kevin Hyland

Modern slavery is a brutal abuse, denying people their dignity, safety and freedom. It affects millions worldwide and thousands here in the UK. If we want to see more victims rescued and more perpetrators behind bars, we need to know everything we can about the scale, causes, and consequences of modern slavery, and about strategies to combat it. As one of the major challenges facing us today, the fight against modern slavery needs to be supported by the best possible research and evidence.



A position of understanding will empower evidence-led action to improve prevention, justice and victim care. High quality research is therefore a crucial tool in the fight against this crime; to support its development, I have partnered with the University of Nottingham's Rights Lab to better understand the UK modern slavery research picture. Together, we have developed this first compendium of modern slavery research in order to map out who is working on this issue, what research they are undertaking and where more needs to be done to strengthen the modern slavery evidence base. It includes a review of existing evidence and a strategic forward look, identifying what further knowledge is needed. It also presents its findings through an extremely useful online tool which complements the more traditional report format.

This compendium will support the aim expressed in my Strategic Plan of developing partnerships with academic and research institutions and promoting external high quality quantitative and qualitative research into modern slavery issues. But more importantly, it will empower others to build upon the excellent research that is going on in many parts of the UK and more widely, and also help build connections between various research groups and activities. I am sure that its impact will be widely felt.

As this report makes clear, UK universities and research institutions are undertaking a great deal of important research into the crime of modern slavery. I am glad to see academics working to understand modern slavery and the best anti-slavery response. This and future research will help policy makers to tailor their activities better and help bring an end to this injustice.

Clear and helpful recommendations have been provided in this report for further building the evidence base through research. I look forward to working with researchers over the coming year and beyond to encourage the implementation of these recommendations, and will continue to highlight good research in order to achieve our collective objective of eradicating slavery.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'KH', with a stylized flourish.

Kevin Hyland OBE
UK Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner

Introduction

Evidence-based responses are vital in the ongoing effort to eradicate modern slavery.¹ Academic, non-governmental and government research play an important role in building a detailed body of research to inform the policies and practices that underpin this anti-slavery effort. In 2017, the annual report of the UK Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner (IASC) reiterated this, noting that:

“the only way to eradicate modern slavery is from a position of understanding, taking evidence-led action to improve prevention, justice and victim care” (IASC 2017, p. 7).

There is a well-established body of research on both historical and contemporary forms of modern slavery, however there is still much that we do not know about the nature of slavery, and the best ways to prevent it. This report by IASC and the Rights Lab at the University of Nottingham (along with its companion website, <http://iascresearch.nottingham.ac.uk/>) therefore maps the current evidence base on modern slavery in UK: both modern slavery in the UK and all modern slavery research by UK-based researchers. This includes research on the anti-slavery responses being implemented by government, law enforcement and civil society.

Research methodology

In February 2017, IASC and the Rights Lab released a call for submissions. The call requested an overview of recent and on-going research, including in the following areas:

- Definition, measurement and quantification of different forms of exploitation;
- Processes to identify, liberate and support victims and the monitoring and evaluation of those processes;
- Geographical issues such as the countries of origin of victims;
- Best practice in responding to and eradicating slavery in supply chains;
- Best practice in law enforcement;
- Promising international interventions that have been developed to combat flows into the UK;
- Practices in recruitment of victims and related criminal activities link to trafficking and slavery; and
- The differential impact of trafficking and slavery on different groups demarcated by (but not limited to) age, gender, ethnicity, national origins, religion, sexual orientation or practice.

We received 59 submissions from 41 universities and three non-academic organisations, from across the UK and around the world. Given the variety of submissions, we edited each one to have similar structures and focus: where the research was being conducted, who was conducted the research, relevance to the UK and major findings or outcomes. Each submission was first tagged with a primary code (type of exploitation/slavery and response), and then a series of secondary codes were applied to capture detail about the specific type of slavery, the geographical focus of the research, specific supply chains or sectors in which the type of exploitation was being examined, survivor experiences, vulnerability factors, theoretical

¹ The terms modern slavery and contemporary slavery are used interchangeably throughout this report. Both are used as an umbrella term to account for all forms of exploitation outlined in the UK's Modern Slavery Act (2015), including slavery, servitude, and forced or compulsory labour.

assumptions and the type of research, (i.e. historical, mixed-method, collaborative). The primary code was applied based on the broad focus of the entire submission (i.e. the submission was primarily focused on the nature and extent of a particular type of slavery as opposed to an international, regional or local response). In many of the submissions, authors outlined several projects and/or publications that had a different focus (i.e. type of slavery, or a specific type of response) so the secondary codes were applied to each of the different publications and/or projects. As a result, one submission could have several codes. The submissions were then sorted thematically to create a typology that provides an overview of the nature of research being conducted on research across the UK (see below for overview of codes). The codes were then used to structure the analysis of current, and ongoing research, which is presented in the following sections.

Table 1: Coding scheme for submissions

Primary code

- **Type of slavery**
 - Modern slavery
 - Human trafficking
 - Forced labour (& related practices)
 - Forced marriage
 - Forced sexual exploitation
 - Emerging exploitative practices
- **Type of response**
 - International law
 - Domestic law
 - Domestic policy
 - Law enforcement
 - Business/supply chains
 - Support services

Secondary code

- **Geographical focus**
 - UK
 - Southeast Asia
 - South Asia
 - Asia-pacific
 - Africa
 - South America
 - Eastern Europe
 - Europe
 - Middle East
 - Global
- **Sector**
 - Cocoa industry
 - Sex industry
 - Construction industry
 - Tea industry
 - Garment industry
 - Domestic/care work
 - Cannabis cultivation
 - Agricultural sector
 - Food industry
 - Hotel industry
 - Sugar industry
- **Survivor group**
 - Men
 - Women
 - Children
 - Adolescents / youth
 - Specific ethnicity
 - Refugee/asylum seeker
 - Sex workers
- **Vulnerability factors**
 - Climate change
 - Irregular migration
 - Labour migration
 - Homelessness
 - Transnational and organised crime
 - Conflict
- **Research type**
 - History of slavery
 - Mixed-methods
 - M&E
 - Collaborative research

Who is conducting research on modern slavery

The aim of this project was to map the UK’s modern slavery research landscape. To achieve this we invited submissions about the UK and/or by UK-based researchers. There is research being conducted across the country, by a range of academics and researchers from across disciplines. In addition to university-based academics, there were submissions from three non-university organisations (Freedom Fund, Lumos Foundation and Crown Prosecution Service) and two major collaborative projects between universities and industry (DemandAT and the PROTECT project). Although we did not receive submissions from the following groups, additional relevant research has been released in reports by the US Department of State, OSCE, the Council of Europe, UNODC, the UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, and the European Commission.

Collaboration was a prominent feature, with over 50 per cent of submissions including research being conducted collaboratively. This included research between academics at different universities, cross-disciplinary collaborations at the same university, and collaborative projects with an external organisation. The industry collaborations included non-government organisations, police and health care other service providers.

Research is being conducted across disciplines. Where the school, faculty or department was able to be identified (included in the submission or on authors’ university profile page), it was included in the count (n= 31). The majority of submissions are from academics with disciplinary attachments to law and social sciences disciplines. The figure below details the more specific disciplinary base that academics self-identified or were evident from their public university profiles.

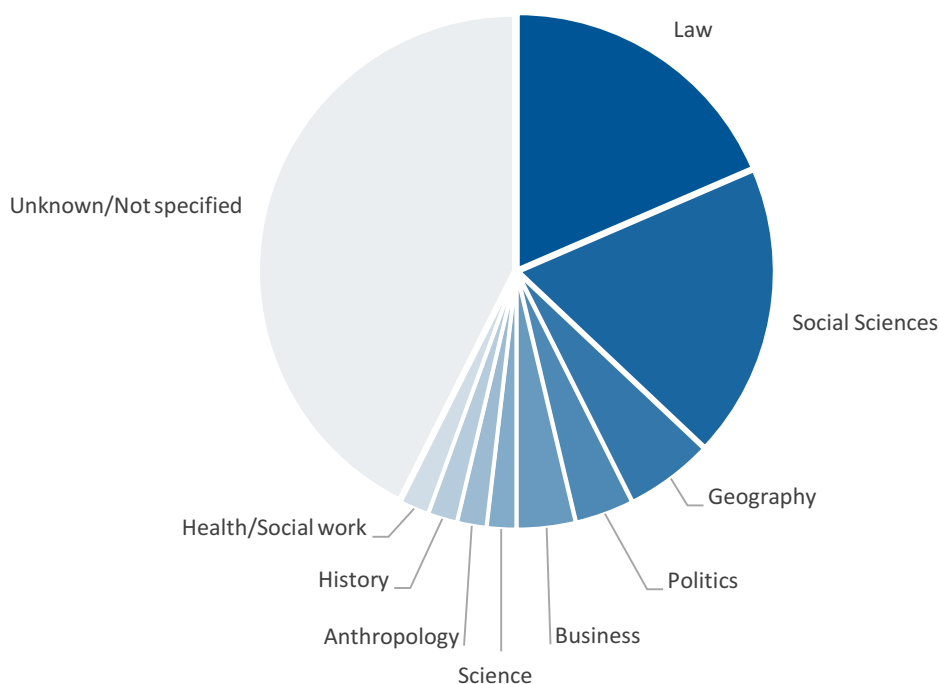


Figure 1: Research by disciplinary attachment

Research on the nature and extent of slavery and human trafficking

Key words: historical & theoretical conceptualisation of slavery in the UK; human trafficking and victim experiences; forced labour; forced marriage; sexual exploitation; 'paper-orphaning'; vulnerability to slavery

Much of the work involved an analysis of the different ways that slavery manifests in the UK, how slavery is understood, how it is represented, and factors that can increase vulnerability or the risk of being enslaved. As this section illustrates, there are individual academics and researchers working on specific elements or types of slavery, trafficking or forced labour, and some that have established research programs or centres to undertake a variety of projects that focus on modern slavery. For example, at the University of Twickenham London's Centre for the Study of Modern Slavery (submission 4), academics are working with government departments to identify gaps in research, and generate empirical evidence to improve responses to slavery and trafficking. The Centre's research priorities look at how we understand the notion of *modern* slavery, and how slavery and trafficking manifest, including examining slavery as a form of organised crime, and how the practice occurs in the context of conflict. The newly-established Rights Lab at the University of Nottingham (multiple submissions) is undertaking research ranging from understanding and engaging the experience of survivors to inform public policy, to the ways that satellite technology can be used to identify locations of slavery in high-risk industries such as brick kilns, mines, fishers and farms. The Wilberforce Institute for the Study of Slavery and Emancipation largely focuses on understanding and learning from the past, and how this can influence contemporary responses to slavery. There are also several more specific research centres and collaborative projects, such as the FLEX project (submission 55) and the Precarious Lives Project (submission 23). Beyond formalised research centres or projects, collaboration is a prominent feature across the submissions, both within and between academics at different universities, and with government and NGOs.

The submissions demonstrate that the nature and extent of modern slavery – in all its forms – has been a significant focus of academic research across the UK. Broadly, submissions focused on modern slavery as a 'catch-all' concept, often capturing different practices, including human trafficking, forced labour and sexual exploitation (see table 1). Human trafficking was a prominent research focus, with submissions specifically examining trafficking into the UK and the experience of victims on arrival. The issue of forced labour was explored within specific populations in the UK, however it was also captured in research about forced labour and related practices in countries where the UK has a trade or aid relationship. Forced sexual exploitation and forced marriage fell within submissions that were focused on broader issues of human trafficking or modern slavery, and while they formed separate publications or projects, they were not the sole focus of a submission. Finally, there is an emerging concern on the practice of 'paper-orphaning' and the impact of orphanage tourism in the context of trafficking and exploitation of children.

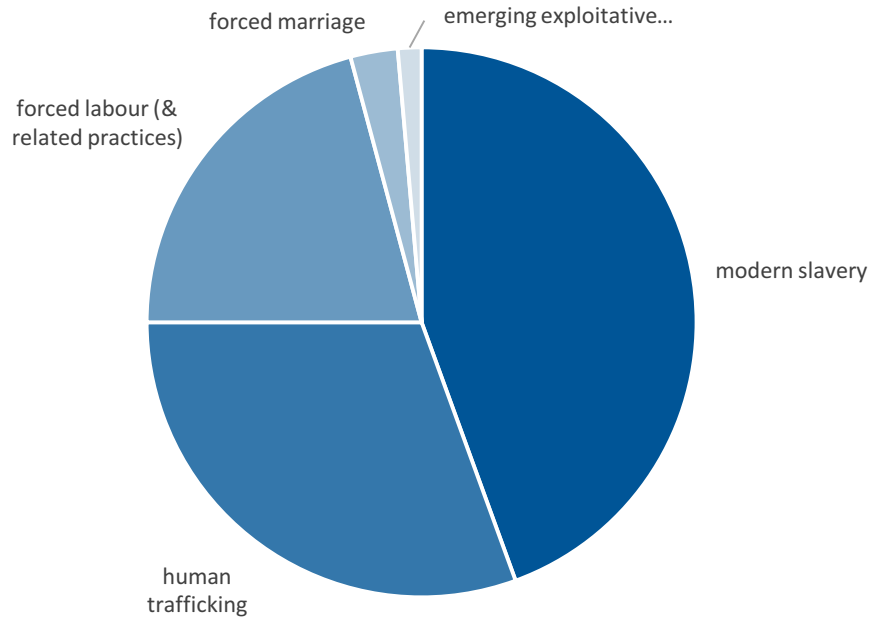


Figure 2: focus of research submission - by type of slavery

Modern Slavery

Research on modern slavery includes a focus on historical representations of slavery and how this can be used to inform contemporary responses, and on the personal, social and systematic or policy-related factors that can create vulnerability to slavery. Importantly, the research explored in this section focus on slavery as it is defined in international legislation, as well as the concept of *modern slavery*, which is often used as a catch-all phrase that is used to capture a variety of exploitative practices including forced and bonded labour, human trafficking, forced and servile marriage and servitude (IASC 2017). The subsequent sections refer specifically to human trafficking, forced labour (and related practices), and emerging exploitative practices.

Historical and theoretical representations of modern slavery

There is a well-established body of research that seeks to understand and learn from the history of slavery and anti-slavery to inform contemporary policies and practices. At the University of Exeter, Kristopher Alderfeldt (submission 9) has been conducting a pilot project that places the US 1910 White Slave (Mann) Act and the UK's 2015 Modern Slavery Act into the historical context to provide a comparative and collaborative backdrop for historical research and present-day policy making on human trafficking. At the University of Nottingham, Todd Landman (submission 7) and Zoe Trodd are collaborating on a comparative historical analysis of abolitionism (Landman and Trodd, forthcoming). Trodd's research (submission 11) also anti-slavery visual culture, slave narratives, and activist memory. Abigail Ward (submission 8) explores the connections between transatlantic slavery and contemporary forms of enslavement in the UK, with a view of understanding both the ongoing legacies of transatlantic slavery, and how to better work to end modern slavery. The history of slavery is also of interest to Benedetta Rossi, who has focused much of her research on the twentieth-century history and anthropology of slavery in Africa, the connection between slavery and other unfree labour regimes across space and time, as well as a comparison of consequences of historical abolitionism (submission 10).

There were several publications included in submissions that took a theoretical approach to understanding modern slavery. For example, Amir Paz-Fuchs published an article that highlights how the notion of 'badges of slavery' can be used to distinguish slavery from forced labour and from other instances of exploitative employment practices (submission 9 – see also Paz-Fuchs 2016). Several submissions draw attention to the theoretical notion of 'unfreedom' as a feature of life *after* exploitation. Benjamin Lawrance at the Rochester Institute of Technology explores the 'varieties of unfreedom' in the global market place in a forthcoming article. While in reference to human trafficking, the article will argue that victims deploy 'unfreedom papers' as evidence of their experience, and to reinstate their vulnerability to resist securitised migration policies (submission 16 - Lawrance forthcoming (a)). Cathryn Costello also examines this concept in her recent chapter that argues that UK immigration law, immigration process and labour market structures can interact to create vulnerability to forced labour (submission 29 – Costello 2015). Similarly, Siobhán McGrath's doctoral research on slave labour in Brazilian sugar cane and garment sectors lead to several publications on 'unfreedom in labour relations' (submission 46).

Finally, there is a growing body of literature that examines the way that slavery – old and new – is represented and visualised. Pietro Deandra's work is concerned with the way literature and the visual arts deals with globalisation's slaveries in contemporary Britain (submission 6). Similarly, while in the United States, Eddie Chambers' work explores some of the ways in which Black-British artists visualised slavery, arguing that visualisation sheds light on history and identity during the 1989s (Chambers 2013). In addition to her work on the history of slavery exploring the connections between the transatlantic slave trade and contemporary slavery in the UK, Abigail Ward (submission 12) examined trauma in relation to postcolonial testimony and written representations of slavery, particularly around Indian indenture in the Caribbean (Ward 2015; 2011). Zoe Trodd has also published on this issue, with an article about contemporary anti-slavery visual culture in 2013 (Trodd 2013). Amy Russell's doctoral research also examines narratives of trafficking, and she has published an article on the feminisation of poverty and migration within the gendered narratives of trafficking (submission 19 – Russell 2013). Others have examined the way that slavery is remembered across the UK, in which Beech (2008) argues that in 2008 there was still significant work to be done to highlight the role of slavery in UK history and its long-term impact. Andrea Nicholson's (submission 8) research is interdisciplinary, drawing on cultures, history, literature and psychology to interpret the law and frameworks surrounding contemporary slavery from survivor perspectives and using qualitative methods. She uses adapted cognitive interviewing techniques to gather survivor testimony and employs a deep textual analysis to these and other contemporary slavery narratives to gain insights into the complexity of the challenges facing survivors of slavery and what this means for their recovery.

There is also a body of research that examines the various forms of slavery and slavery-related practices abroad. This work includes investigations into specific supply chains, types of slavery and exploitation and related interventions in countries that receive aid from the UK and non-government organisations. The Freedom Fund for example has a series of research projects examining the nature of, and best practice interventions that target bonded labour and sexual exploitation of children in hotspots in India and Nepal (submission 17). The submissions that focus on slavery and slavery-related practices and interventions abroad not only highlight the relationships between source and destination countries, they also draw attention to comparable issues around vulnerability and risks of modern slavery and trafficking in the UK. A project lead

by Katherine Brickell at Royal Holloway, University of London (submission 2) seeks to understand the nexus between climate change and modern slavery in the Cambodian construction industry, and will examine how climate change facilitates trafficking into modern slavery and ongoing livelihoods within it. This research ties into the work of Kevin Bales that explores the relationship between environmental destruction at the hands of those in slavery (Bales 2016).

Vulnerability factors – research on what puts people at risk of being enslaved

Through the detail provided in the submissions and the articles highlighted by academics, we also have some insight into the contextual features that make individuals in the UK at risk of being enslaved, or trafficked. The vulnerability factors highlighted manifest at the international, domestic and individual level. At the international level for example, research highlighted the way in which climate change can contribute to the risk of exploitation, and human trafficking. Katherine Brickell is conducting research on this issue (submission 2), and Kevin Bales (submission 1) recently released the book *Blood and Earth: Modern Slavery, Ecocide, and the Secret to Saving the World* (Bales 2016), which brings together the way in which the exploitation of people via modern slavery and environmental destruction are inextricably linked. There is a growing body of work on the links between climate change, environmental destruction and natural disasters and the increased risk of exploitation and trafficking in grey literature (see IOM 2015 for example), however there is space within academia to better understand the links between these issues. This is particularly evident where UK aid is being deployed to countries where exploitation in the wake of natural disasters has been documented. For example, the UK distributed £33 million to Nepal in the wake of the 7.8 magnitude earthquake, alongside building evidence that there was an increase in children being trafficked as a result. The impact of the aid system was not raised in submissions, however the research being done on the practice of ‘paper-orphaning’ and development focused tourism (otherwise referred to as *voluntourism*) (see submission 23 and 24) highlights that there are issues associated with providing aid to, or funding orphanages. The Lumos Foundation and Kathryn van Doore (submission 28) both raised concerns about the way in which children are exploited by orphanages to secure aid and funds from international donors; practices that they argue could amount to human trafficking. This issue was raised in the Australian Government Inquiry into a Modern Slavery Act, and there is now a push to outlaw supporting orphanages that may profit from having children in their care (van Doore 2017).

At the domestic level, there are several regulatory and legislative frameworks that research suggests can contribute to increased vulnerability. While examined in more detail in the following section of the report, this is largely in reference to the impact that UK migration and visa systems can play in making people vulnerable to exploitation. The role that citizenship and migration status play as both a risk and protective factor is a particularly important focus given the continual growth in complex migration patterns globally and arguably warrants further attention. Linked to this is the way in which labour migration systems and processes can exacerbate vulnerability. This is raised in relation to the exploitation of domestic workers and temporary migrant workers, with research suggesting that there is a disconnect between the need to strengthen UK migration systems and prevent the exploitation of migrant workers.

The individual circumstances identified as increasing a person’s vulnerability include the experience of homelessness. In early 2017, the Office of the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner released a report that found that homeless people are at risk of being

exploitation and victims of modern slavery here at risk of becoming homeless (The Passage 2017). Vulnerability has also been discussed in the context of belief systems. In a very specific research project discussed in detail below, Dunkerly argued that there were specific belief systems that can play a role in the control of Nigerian victims trafficked into the UK. Belief and religious systems may also be relevant to forced (including child) marriage, as discussed below. Understanding the way in which these practices manifest in the UK, and the experience of victims is important for formulating effective responses.

Human trafficking

This section looks more specifically at the nature of, and the victim experience of human trafficking into the UK. This body of research also explores the nature and prevalence of trafficking of UK citizens, as well as the nature of the work they are forced into upon arriving at their destination.

The experience of trafficking victims in the United Kingdom

UK is widely known as a destination for victims of trafficking, many coming from Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (Sarkar 2014). In 2017, the National Crime Agency reported that 3,805 potential victims were referred to the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) in 2016. It is well established however, that victim identification and other crime reports often underestimate the true number of people in slavery in any one country. Efforts to estimate the number of people in slavery is examined in more detail in the final section of this report.

The most recent reporting indicates that the majority of victims identified in the UK were foreign citizens, with the most common being Albanian, Vietnamese, Nigerian and Chinese nationals (National Crime Agency 2017). The research submitted for this report reflects these figures, with submissions examining the experiences of those that have migrated, or have been trafficked into the UK and those working in supply chains that send products into the UK. While recognised primarily as a destination country, internal trafficking has also been raised as a serious issue, with UK citizens being one of the five most commonly identified victims in the UK (National Crime Agency 2017; Braley and Cockbain 2014; Nichol and Skipper 2013; Westcott 2013), and the second most commonly referred to the NRM in 2016 (National Crime Agency 2017). The trafficking of British minors within the UK for exploitation was the focus of Ella Cockbain's doctoral work. Her study included a situational analysis of the issue, and was focused on six major investigations in Derby, Rochdale and Telford (submission 22). Since then, Cockbain has collaborated with Helen Brayley and Gloria Laycock and has co-published articles highlighting the need to better define and understand internal trafficking of children for sexual exploitation (Brayley and Cockbain 2014), how social network analysis can support the investigation of child sex trafficking in the UK (Cockbain, Brayley and Laycock 2011) and the benefits of the crime-scripting in understanding internal child sex trafficking (Brayley, Cockbain and Laycock 2011). Nichols and Skipper (2014) explored child sex trafficking from the UK policy perspective, prompting questions about how internal child sex trafficking should be analysed and responded to.

Research detailed in the submissions that focused on foreign nationals trafficked into the UK primarily examined the experience of Nigerian and Chinese victims. In the IASC Strategic Plan (Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner 2015), Nigeria is identified as a target country for ongoing intervention efforts, with Nigerian nationals being one of the most commonly identified and referred potential victims in the UK. As noted above, Dunkerly's study shows how

traffickers manipulate the victim's traditional religious beliefs by taking them to a shrine to swear an oath to the spirit world promising not to disclose their experience. To reinforce the oath, the victim's skin and hair is cut, blood is taken and they are locked in coffins. The fear of spiritual retribution through breaching their oath, as well as the resultant psychological trauma of sexual exploitation, creates significant barriers for criminal investigators in terms of developing and maintaining victim cooperation. Research by Ikeora (2016; 2014) also examined this issue, highlighting how 'African Traditional Religion' is used to as a method of control by traffickers. Nigeria is not the only African nation explored in research however, with several studies examining the experience of African migrants more broadly in the UK, and in supply chains that come into the UK. Gary Craig has also conducted research on slavery in the UK, including of women and children from African countries that are trafficked into the UK for sexual or domestic work (submission 5).

Across the submissions there were several projects that examined the experience and vulnerability of asylum seekers and refugees in the UK. At the University of Bedfordshire, much of Patricia Hynes' work has been on asylum seekers, refugees and the risks and experiences associated with trafficking and exploitation (submission 15). Her most recent article considers the experiences of women and children during displacement and provides insight into experiences of interpersonal and broader gender-based violence in countries of asylum (Hynes 2017). Hynes' work has also explored the association between the disappearance of women and children during the process of migration and adults that are trafficked for exploitative purposes. Julija Sardelic at the University of Liverpool has also examined the experience of refugee children, having conducted research on the impact of the refugee crisis, and within that, the experience of forced labour among refugee children. A partnership between the University of Salford and the University of Leeds conducted the Precarious Lives Project, which was the first study to focus on the experiences of forced labour among people who make a claim for asylum in the UK. The study found that forced labour was experienced by three groups of asylum seekers at different points in the UK asylum process: asylum seekers at entry into the UK, trafficked migrants and undocumented migrants (Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite 2013). After exploring the experiences of participants, the report suggests that the UK asylum process contributes to an environment that can make those in it susceptible to conditions of forced labour in that it favours employers and penalises workers.

The experience of survivors in the UK has also been a focus of Andrea Nicholson's (submission 8) research, which has analysed what survivors' experiences and perceptions mean for the development of legal definitions, and the effectiveness of central support mechanisms and government policies. Her research gathers vital information about risk factors, agency, gender, cultural identities, and the efficacy of community specific anti-slavery solutions to identify new anti-slavery ideas and solutions. Nicholson is also part of a project funded by the ESRC, 'Modern Slavery: Meaning and Measurement', which gathers the views and experience of survivors of slavery on their perspectives on the definition of slavery to offer new suggestions for consideration in the legal and social field. This is the first research to bring survivors' perspectives to the debate and brings new measures for inclusion in the operation of definition.

Forced labour

Research explored in this section looks specifically at the experience of forced labour both in the UK, and in UK supply chains. The death of 20 Chinese cockle pickers in 2004 drew attention to the nature of exploitation and forced labour among Chinese migrants, as well as

other South and Southeast Asian citizens in the UK. At the Manchester Metropolitan University, the Social Change and Community Wellbeing Research Group conducted research on the experiences of forced labour among low-skilled migrant workers (submission 22). The study found widespread exploitation among Chinese workers, most of whom were working with an irregular immigration status. The recent report by the IASC found that between 2009 and 2016, 1,747 Vietnamese nationals were referred to the NRM, primarily for labour exploitation among men (Silverstone and Brickell 2017). Beyond specific nationalities, there has been research on Asian migrants collectively, much of which examines the nature of forced labour (Anderson and Rogaly 2005), and labour conditions among migrants (Jones, Ram and Edwards 2006) or within specific sectors, such as domestic work (Human Rights Watch 2014).

Research conducted on slavery in supply chains covered a variety of products from around the world. At the Leicester Business School, Amanda Berlan has conducted research on global cocoa production, focusing on labour issues in India, Ghana and the Dominican Republic (submission 20). While her research did not identify widespread forced labour, it found cases of the worst forms of child labour. Berlan's findings suggest that there were issues with accuracy and representation of slavery and related practices in the cocoa industry in the UK, and an enormous disparity between media accounts and the reality on the ground. Ben Richardson (submission 24) at the University of Warwick conducted research on labour conditions in the sugar industry. Richardson's work examines conditions in countries that produce and trade sugar, including the UK, the US, Brazil, Dominican Republic and Swaziland. While Richardson's research has not identified allegations that any of this sugar is tainted by forced labour, he highlighted that some of the exporters could be considered 'at risk'. Supply chains and labour conditions in the UK food industry has also been examined, with Sam Scott at the University of Gloucestershire examining the nature of informalisation in this sector (submission 25). His paper identified five facets of informalisation, which include job security, work intensification, worker expendability, worker subordination and employment intermediation. The UK case study reveals that this type of work experience is not confined to the margins and is also evident in the mainstream work force (Scott 2017b). Gary Craig Lumos also published several articles on forced labour in the UK, with one in particular drawing on research in the UK food industry (agriculture, food packing and processing, hospitality and catering) (Geddes, Craig and Scott 2014; Scott, Craig and Geddes 2012).

Related exploitative practices

The two final issues explored are that of forced marriage, and an emerging issue referred to as 'paper-orphaning'. The issue of forced marriage in the UK was only raised in two submissions. At the Wilberforce Institute for the Study of Slavery and Emancipation, Craig has conducted research on forced marriage in the UK (Bkhari and Craig 2008), as has Bernadette Rossi, who examined sexual slavery and forced marriage during contemporary African wars (submission 7). Beyond the submissions however, there is a body of work that examines the complexity of forced and servile marriage, and questions the government response the UK. Much of this literature suggests that there is a broad misconceptualisation and simplification of the nature and drivers of forced and servile marriage in the UK and highlights some of the issues with examining forced and child marriage as an inherently traditional or religious practice. This is considered particularly problematic for policy responses, as it can undermine a women's agency at different stages of their marriage (Anitha and Gill 2011). Anitha and Gill (2011) argue that in understanding forced marriage, the issues of consent and coercion would be better examined as existing on two ends of a continuum, whereby different social and cultural

expectations, control, the presence of persuasion and pressure and threat or force, lie between the two poles. The article also highlights that these issues need to be considered in the context of gender inequality and the way in which this can contribute to an exploitative marriage. Finally, the authors draw attention to women's agency, the importance of examining how they can navigate the conditions of subjugation and highlights the importance of accounting for this in policy responses. Fauzia Shariff (2012) also examines the complexities in understanding the distinction between forced and arranged marriages, and highlights the importance of engaging the community in establishing effective policies. Gill and Mitra-Kahn (2012) challenge the conceptualization of forced marriage as being primarily a problem that was 'imported by immigrants'. The notion that South Asian and Muslim countries in particular are responsible for the forced marriages in the UK is also examined by Chantler, Gangoli and Hester (2009), who examine the perceptions of forced marriage as the product of a 'backward culture' and argue that it has resulted in pathologizing the practice in contemporary policies and responses. In addition, the authors examine the nature of forced marriage in the UK, contemporary policy responses (which primarily focus on increasing the age of sponsorship for non-UK migrants entering the UK and interventions at the *entry* point of marriage), and highlight the importance of also providing services to *exiting* forced marriages.

Paper orphaning refers to the active recruitment of children into orphanages or residential care institutions in developing nations for ongoing exploitation through orphanage tourism (van Doore 2016). In her submission, Katharyn van Door at the Griffith University Law School highlighted how orphanages recruit children from families by promising to put them through school. Instead the children are institutionalised to support the demand for orphanage tourism, with operators withholding food and proper living environment to attract more sympathy and therefore donations (submission 24). Van Door's article on this issue examines the legal argument for this to be recognised as a form of human trafficking. The Lumos Foundation (submission 27) supports this argument, and contends that it is important to recognise and address volunteering approaches that support orphanages and ensure that charitable organisations in the UK are not funding such institutions.

International and domestic responses to slavery and human trafficking

Key words: slavery in international & domestic legislation; policy development; law enforcement policies and practice; business and private sector response; service provision for victims of slavery

This section of the report examines the research that has been conducted on responses to modern slavery. The research examining responses address four key areas; legislation and policy responses, law enforcement policies and practices, business or private sector responses and victim support services.

Legislation and policy responses to modern slavery in the UK

International legal research

There were three submissions that focused primarily on international law; much of which examines the way that it can be adopted into domestic laws and policies. Jean Allain, now at Monash University in Australia with a part-time appointment at the University of Hull and previously at Queens University Belfast, has focused much of his research on the international legal and associated historical context in which they were established (submission 29). His current work includes the development of a data set that will allow states to assess their international obligations and domestic implementation, he is currently on a working group to develop model legislation for Anti-Slavery International and is drafting a monograph on human trafficking in law. The examination of history to understand how to best respond to the various elements of modern slavery is also a key component of Allain's work, and he recently published an article that explores lessons from the pre-League of Nations negotiations on the Abolition and Suppression of White Slave Traffic in relation to responses to contemporary forms of sexual exploitation (Allain 2017). While Kristofer Allertfelt's research is focused on human trafficking more broadly, there is also a historical and legal component (submission 13). By placing the US's 1910 White Slave (Mann) Act and the UK's 2015 Modern Slavery Act in their historical context, his project seeks to enhance knowledge of how policy has aimed to define, control and prosecute transnational crime in terms of human trafficking and the exploitation of vulnerable groups over the last century in the US and UK.

In addition to the historical lessons, legal research examined key components of laws at both the international and domestic level. Of particular interest is the term *modern slavery*, and how this is understood in legislation. Nicole Sillar's (submission 30) research aims to understand the prosecutorial deficiency in trafficking in persons cases, in which she argues is a result of the codification of crime in both international and domestic law. She does this by examining the international definition of trafficking in persons as codified in the Trafficking Protocol, and the role of the international criminal justice system. Sillar argues that the lack of conceptual clarity concerning the definition of 'trafficking in persons' is further compounded by rhetoric used in and outside of the law. For example, the concept 'modern slavery' is not presently a legal term of art under international law. That fact, however, has not inhibited academics, practitioners or institutions from its usage. In an attempt to understand the impact resulting from the use of terms like 'modern slavery', Sillar also examined the introduction of UK's Modern Slavery Act in a chapter within Van der Linden and García's (2016) edited manuscript titled *On Coerced Labor: Work and Compulsion after Chattel Slavery*.

Sillar's work also examines the role of the international justice system in responding to modern slavery, which is also being examined by the United Nations University (UNU). In 2015, the UNU (submission 31) published a policy report in collaboration with the Freedom Fund and the Permanent Mission of Liechtenstein to the UN, entitled "Fighting Modern Slavery: What role for international criminal justice?" (Cockayne and Panaccione 2015). The report explores how international criminal justice (including the International Criminal Court) can establish jurisdiction over slavery-related crimes. The report puts forth ten recommendations to strengthen the role of international criminal justice systems and improve its enforcement. Drawing upon this project, in May 2016, UNU and the Freedom Fund published a Special Issue of the *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, entitled "Slavery and the Limits of International Criminal Justice" (Cockayne 2016), which outline challenges and opportunities for the international criminal justice system in prosecuting slavery-related crime.

Domestic law and policy research

There is a significant body of work examine the UK response to modern slavery, and related practices. This work includes reviews of legal frameworks for specific types of slavery, such as forced labour, or the legal protections available for those who are subject to these practices. The Modern Slavery Act (2015) has been the subject of much debate among academics, and two years since its introduction, and there is now an emerging body of work assessing its effectiveness (see for example Craig 2017). The Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group (ATMG) (submission 32) undertook research to review and compare key provisions in the UK Modern Slavery Act (2015) against comparable legislation in Northern Ireland and Scotland, as well as the extent to which this was demonstrative of the UK's implementation of the 2005 Council of Europe Trafficking Convention and the EU Trafficking Directive (Beddoe and Brotherton 2016). The research found that there were significant differences in several key areas across the three jurisdictions, where in many cases the legislation in Ireland and Scotland went further than the UK Modern Slavery Act. This was particularly in reference to the statutory support entitlements for adult victims and the non-criminalisation provisions. The research also identified areas for improvement around data collection and analysis on victims and perpetrators and the need for greater oversight and accountability for data security.

The research on how current legal frameworks function to support victims from groups, such as refugees and asylum seekers or migrant workers, has highlighted some significant gaps in the available protections. Cathryn Costello's recent chapter draws on empirical studies in the UK to argue that immigration law, the immigration process and labour market structures may interact to create vulnerability to forced labour (Costello 2015 – see also submission 33). While the chapter was completed as the Modern Slavery Bill was going through parliament, Costello argues that the UK broadly tends to obscure labour law concerns, highlighting that the criminal justice approach for example, focuses on the outcomes of forced labour, rather than understanding the law, practices and regulatory gaps that can make people vulnerable to forced labour in the first place. The chapter concludes by recommending three key elements in a labour law response, including the insulation of labour rights from migration status, the need to regulate labour intermediaries and the development of better collective and institutional protections for labour rights.

Research in this area has drawn attention to legal and policy practices that can exacerbate the risks of exploitation, particularly in relation to the UK migrant worker visa schemes, and the lack

of available labour rights for migrant domestic workers. Judy Fudge's current project examines the relationships between the UK government approach to defining and tackling labour exploitation and the desire to criminalise migrant workers who are employed without a valid work permit via the imposition of more restrictive immigration controls (Submission 35). Peter Dwyer's (submission 39) work complements Fudge's research, having published extensively on the relationship between immigration status and vulnerability to forced labour. Dwyer's recent paper argued that the UK immigration policy and the different socio-legal statuses it creates contribute to the conditions that allow severe exploitation and forced labour among asylum seekers and refugees in the UK (Dwyer et al. 2016). Dwyer co-authored a book chapter on similar issues in 2014, and released a report commissioned by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in 2011 that examined the link between forced labour and immigration status in the UK (Scullion et al. 2014; Dwyer, Lewis, Scullion & Waite 2011).

The issues associated with particular visa types was the topic of Virginia Mantouvalou's article in 2015, which examines the UK overseas domestic worker and diplomatic domestic worker visas that have been in place since 2012. Drawing on instances of exploitation of overseas domestic workers in the UK, the article argues that the provisions that tie workers to their employer by making it unlawful to leave conflicts with the prohibition of slavery, servitude, and forced labour detailed in Article 4 of the European Convention on Human Rights and the UK Modern Slavery Act (2015) (Mantouvalou 2015; see also Submission 36). The so-called 'tied visas' that were introduced in the UK in 2012 have received significant critique from scholars, not least as they arguably create an employment context in which exploitation of overseas domestic workers can occur (Demetriou 2015; Mantouvalou 2015; Mullally and Murphy 2014). The exploitation of migrant domestic workers has also been the focus of Thanos Maroukis's research (submission 41). In a recent article co-authored with Alexandra Ricard-Guay, Maroukis draws attention to the nature of exploitation in domestic work and the conditions that make those engaged in this sector at risk of such exploitation (Ricard-Guay and Maroukis 2017). They argue that there is a level of tolerance for sub-standard working conditions that contributes to the exploitation of domestic workers, which is then complicated by the fact that the exploitation occurs within the home. In a forthcoming article Maroukis (forthcoming) examines the intersection between social protection regulation and criminal justice policies, and how this supports the identification of victims, and the investigation and prosecution of offenders also in this sector.

The nature and extent of trafficking into the sex industry has long been a focus of research. The recent scholarship in the UK however, has typically been into the nature of, and response to forced labour outside the sex industry. There were three submissions that examined the regulation of the UK sex industry, one was a comparative study, and the others examined the much broader regulatory framework as opposed to those that specifically targeted trafficking and sexual exploitation. Research that looked specifically at the legislative response to human trafficking for sexual exploitation was conducted by Alicia Dannilsson at Abertay University. Her PhD research was a comparative study of prostitution laws in Germany, Sweden and the UK, and the role that the Stockholm programme and subsequent developments have played in combating organised crime and human trafficking (Submission 30). In relation to the much broader regulatory framework around the sex industry, Teela Sanders and Rosie Campbell are part of the team that produced 'Beyond the Gaze' (submission 42). This is a participatory action research project that seeks to understand how the internet has shaped the adult commercial sex industry in the UK, and the role that regulation has played. While not specifically about slavery, the data being gathered was around the policies and practices across the industry, and

will provide insight into the gaps in protections for sex workers. The data being collected looks at the use of online and digital technologies, working conditions, job satisfaction, safety, reporting crimes and views on how the UK laws could better protect sex workers. Findings from this research are due to be released in 2018. In 2010, the Crown Prosecution Services in Wales (submission 44) collaborated with the Cardiff Sex Worker Forum to highlight issues within the sex work industry. They recommended there be better use of outreach workers to represent sex workers as members of the community, proactive prosecution of violence against sex workers, the establishment of a reporting mechanism for sex workers to report violence and the need to continue to collect data on the issues facing those in the sex industry. This was just one of the projects, with other projects examining service provision gaps, understanding issues faced by sex workers from minority ethnic groups and an ongoing research agenda regarding the nature of, prevalence and issues associated with sex work in Wales. Beyond this, the CPS also supported the establishment of the Anti-Slavery Structure, which details the partnerships and working groups that implement the Delivery Plan Objectives (which include a training strategy, victim care pathway, and anti-slavery multi-agency risk assessment conferences)

Law enforcement policies and practices

The body of work that examines domestic legislation, policies and practices includes research that explores the nature of policies that guide police and other authority bodies in responding to slavery and trafficking. At the International Policing and Justice Institute at the University of Derby, David Walsh is supervising several doctoral studies relevant to the policing of modern slavery (submission 43). Laura Pajon Moreno is examining criminal investigations into modern slavery with the aim of developing a model of excellence. Lauren Wilson is looking at investigative interviews with victims of human trafficking, and explores how police investigators and interpreters conduct these interviews with victims or suspected perpetrators. Using data collected from self-administered questionnaires, the aim of the research is to provide guidance to police on how to achieve high-quality evidence during interpreter-assisted interviews. Satarupa Ghosh is also being supervised by Walsh, and is conducting research that will examine S54 statements to determine if they possess the robustness required to identify exploitation in supply chains. The final doctoral study will examine the various interactions that victims of modern slavery have with the criminal justice system to determine if personal encounters take into cultural differences, and whether such differences can act as a barrier to obtaining a testimony.

There is also research being conducted that directly supports police in responding to modern slavery. Ruth Van Dyke for example was engaged with the Metropolitan Police Service to undertake research in the human trafficking unit to explore the competencies required for police working on this issue, which included good practices and partnerships (submission 40). This research partnership has continued in relation to modern slavery in England and Wales, despite being unfunded. Van Dyke was later asked by the Shared Services Modern Slavery and Exploitation Operation Group (which covers the London Boroughs of Kensington & Chelsea, Westminster, and Hammersmith & Fulham) to collect and collate data on modern slavery from members of the group to inform reports on activities undertaken, types of exploitation and risks and the gaps in data in knowledge.

Outside policing policies and practices, there is a body of work examining law enforcement agencies outside the police force. This includes the role of the Gangmasters Licencing Authority (now the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority, or GLAA) and their effectiveness

in responding to and addressing forced labour in the UK as well as the UK Border Force. Alex Balch has conducted a number of research projects including the evaluation of key political strategies, processes and organisations involved in regulation, enforcement and victim care (submission 45). The first was an ESRC funded post-doctoral study on the challenges for police and immigration officials in dealing with trafficking, and an evaluation of the GLAA with Sam Scott at the University of Liverpool. The evaluation examined the factors that facilitate or mitigate the exploitation of workers and the extent to which the Authority was achieving its aims in reducing worker exploitation within the sectors that it has responsibility. The second strand of work began in 2010, starting with an evaluation of the policy system around forced labour in the UK. This work focused on the regulations and enforcement of rules and laws, as well as an analysis of major enforcement operations such as Pentameter I and II, and Operation Ruby.

Katerina Hadjimatheou and Jennifer K Lynch have been working in partnership taking an interdisciplinary approach to analysing anti-trafficking initiatives at the UK border, including carrying out empirical work with UK Border Force professionals (submission 46). Their current project examines the challenges in obtaining consent, and referring victims on for assistance. It describes border officer frustration with the consent constraints, which they view as unnecessarily limiting their ability to protect victims. Both Hadjimatheou and Lynch recently published an article for the British Society of Criminology on the humanitarian duties and professional tensions in safeguarding and anti-trafficking at the border. The article argues that there is an emergence of a distinct subculture among Safeguarding and Anti-Trafficking officers that is characterised by a sense of moral purpose and community and of doing difficult but meaningful work (Hadjimatheou and Lynch 2016). They also have a forthcoming article in the *Anti-Trafficking Review* that looks at the Safeguarding and Anti-Trafficking officers evidence and intelligence practices at the border. This article ends with proposals for how the border force and central government could improve these practices in ways that would translate into more coherent anti-trafficking policy and identification and support for victims.

Business and private sector responses to modern slavery

There has been a significant focus on the role that business can play in responding to modern slavery globally, and the UK has arguably been at the forefront of fostering private sector engagement with the introduction of the Modern Slavery Act in 2015. Beyond research that examined the nature of particular types of slavery in the UK, understanding the way in which slavery manifests in UK supply chains has been a significant focus across academic research. This includes research on implementation of supply chains regulations, Corporate Social Responsibility practices and examinations of the nature of exploitation in the supply chains in countries that trade with the UK.

Research on supply chain regulation from academics in the UK covers both domestic legislation in the Modern Slavery Act and its predecessors, but also international frameworks, such as the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. At the University of Exeter, Michael K. Addo (submission 47) has been developing guidance for the UN and its member states to promote and encourage the adoption of National Action Plans that would support the implementation of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. This is being conducted with financial support from the Governments of Switzerland and the Netherlands. In addition to this, Addo has recently published an article that examines the challenges presented for small and medium businesses in complying with human rights principles (Addo 2017), and the impact of human rights on an evolving business landscape (Addo 2015). Some of Addo's

earlier work examines the role of the UN working group on business and human rights (Addo 2015), and the reality of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (Addo 2014). Andreas Rühmkorf at the University of Sheffield has also examined the implementation of international frameworks, and is currently working on an article on the translation of the concept of human rights due diligence from international to domestic law, and whether existing forms of due diligence regulation is adequate (submission 52).

At the domestic level, there is a growing body of work examining UK businesses responses to exploitation in their own supply chains. Genevieve LeBaron is currently leading four projects, one of which is investigating and understanding the business models of forced labour within global agricultural supply chains led by UK-based companies, which is focused on case studies of tea and cocoa (submission 48). This project will shed light on the impact that the legislation was having on corporate behaviour. LeBaron has also recently published widely on slavery in supply chains, including two articles in 2017 that look at supply chain regulation (LeBaron and Rühmkorf 2017) and the role of ethical audit regimes (LeBaron, Lister and Dauvergne 2017). She also published on this issue throughout 2016, including a co-authored report for the International Labor Organisation on mapping and measuring the effectiveness of labour-related disclosure requirements (Phillips, LeBaron and Wallin 2016). The effectiveness of supply chain regulations has also been a focus of Andreas Rühmkorf's work (submission 49). In his recent book, *Corporate Social Responsibility, Private Law and Global Supply Chains*, Rühmkorf (2015) analyses how English private law already promotes CSR in supply chains and how it could be better if amendments to the law were made, noting that the book was written prior to the enactment of the UK Modern Slavery Act. In the book, Rühmkorf carried out an analysis on fifteen FTSE100 companies' supply chain documents, and look at how the issues of bribery, modern slavery and health and safety were incorporated legally into the supply chain contracts between western multi-national buyers and their overseas suppliers. The research found that companies could theoretically enforce contractual clauses that benefit them under Contract (Rights of Third Parties) Act 1998, but that these rights are common excluded by the parties to the contract. Also looking at responses to slavery and bribery in supply chains, a forthcoming article with Genevieve Lebaron contends that stringent forms of public government (i.e. corporate criminal liability for bribery) better steer the private responses of corporations. They argue that this is evidenced by the fact that in the documents analysed, bribery appears to have become a genuine compliance issue, where modern slavery is addressed in a more aspirational way (with little due diligence).

Also focused on supply chains in the UK, Steve New (submission 51) published an article in 2015 that examines modern slavery in supply chains, showing how the issue challenges conventional thinking and practice in CSR. Drawing on the example of forced labour in the UK agricultural industry, the article develops a critique of efforts to encourage supply chain transparency and CSR methods, and suggests that there needs to be less focus on the espoused policies of corporations and more on the enacted practice. It also highlights the potential differences between modern slavery and other CSR-related issues, as well as the paradox that firms' approaches to the issues may run in parallel with actions that foster the problem in the first place.

Another UK sector that has been the topic of research is the construction industry. Research by Alex Trautrimis at the University of Nottingham includes a focus on the construction sector (submission 53). There is space for more research that examines the impact of the Modern Slavery Act, and related initiatives in effectively removing slavery and other forms of

exploitation from UK supply chains. Gold, Trautrim and Trodd (2015) argue that due to the lack of indicators, new tools and indicator systems need to be developed that consider the specific social, cultural and geographical context of the supply chains to measure impact. Despite this gap, the article highlights that after detection of slavery however, multi-stakeholder partnerships, community centred approaches and supply development practices are effective. The authors suggest that new theoretical frameworks need to be developed to facilitate the understanding, avoidance and elimination of slavery in supply chains. Trautrim is also part of the team that was recently awarded a grant for research on management approaches to tackle slave labour in contemporary supply chains. There are two publications from this project to date: the first proposes the use of agent-based modelling to create a shadow account (a secondary account of business which is used to audit or verify the primary account). The article argues that such a model could be used to test the claims of industries and businesses (Chesney, Gold and Trautrim 2017). The second aims to draw attention to the challenges modern slavery poses to supply chain management (Gold, Trautrim and Trodd 2015).

While much of the research examined regulation and compliance with supply chain legislation and related international frameworks, there were several submissions that examined the nature of supply chains in specific sectors in the UK. For example, Siobhán McGrath's PhD research (submission 49) considered the issue of 'slave labour' in Brazil in the sugar cane and garments sectors. Her subsequent work expresses reservations and criticisms of the framing of (contemporary) 'slavery' and trafficking, the Modern Slavery Act, and the contradictions of championing anti-trafficking, forced labour and slavery, while simultaneously rolling back labour rights, labour standards, and social safety nets and imposing regressive migration policies (to which one might add a host of other policies such as those in the aid and trade arenas). Most recently, McGrath lead a work package examining initiatives which seek to address (or claim to address) trafficking, forced labour and slavery in relation to supply chains as part of an FP7 funded project. To understand the implications of these diverse initiatives, the research includes three case studies investigating how selected initiatives are playing out on the ground, including in the Malaysian electronics sector, the Qatar construction industry and agriculture in the US. The subsequent brief examines the question of responsibility in supply chains, the varying enforceability of initiatives, the prospects for worker participation and the role of public regulation in protecting workers and migrant rights and labour standards.

Allesandra Mezzadri (submission 50) is also examining exploitation in international supply chains, with a focus on the export-oriented garment industry in India. The first phase of this research mapped the global garment commodity chain in India and has focused on the ways in which the global production system shapes, but is also shaped by the multiple local forms of exploitation at work across the subcontinent. This phase of the research argued that there is a limitation in CSR measures as they are largely top-down solutions that do not address local power relations. The second phase focused on understanding the workings of global supply chains beyond the main industrial hubs, which meant following the garment chains from urban to rural areas, where many ancillary activities are relocated to further minimise labour and production costs. The third and final phase of the research examined the health and safety implications of working poverty in the garment industry via questionnaires with factory and non-factory workers in Delhi (Mezzadri, 2016D; 2017). This final part of the research has closed a cycle of over 10 years of observations of the Indian garment industry case. The findings from all this research has been published in the book *The Sweatshop Regime* (Mezzadri 2016e).

Service provision

The final section of the report explores research on the nature and effectiveness of victim service provision in the UK, and access to these services by victims. The Focus on Labour Exploitation (FLEX) program has undertaken several research projects on the nature of, and response to forced labour and human trafficking in the UK, much of which has examined the services for victims of labour trafficking. In 2016, FLEX released a series of papers on this issue (submission 52); the first identified the need for sustainable support and access to accommodation, the need for more proactive and victim-centred identification efforts and there needed to be an improvement in access to legal remedies for victims. The second and third papers examined issues associated with accessing compensation for victim, and indicates that there had been little progress in improving access to justice following the passage of the Modern Slavery Bill. Beyond this, FLEX undertook the Pro-Act Project, which included a report that details a series of recommendations that serve as the basis for a set of EU-wide strategies to improve the proactive identification and support of persons trafficked for labour exploitation. Patrick Burland (submission 54) has also examined the provision of support for trafficked adults across four regions in the UK. His research argued that the UK response did not meet the minimum requirements of the Council of Europe Trafficking Convention, in part due to the negative impact of the dominant victim discourse on the identification of trafficked persons in shaping the nature of the response to them in policy and practice. Burland is also examining the impact of section 45 of the Modern Slavery Act, which seeks to prevent trafficked persons from being punished for offences committed because of being trafficked. The research is ongoing, and to date has identified over 30 separate courts cases since 31st July 2015 in which potential victims of trafficking for cannabis cultivation have been prosecuted and convicted.

Among the many research projects submitted here, there are several that include partnerships between academics and service providers. Carole Murphy (submission 57) of St Mary's University has been contracted to evaluate a housing charity's services, one of which provided accommodation and support services to trafficking survivors post the 45-day reflection period. The research found that there were challenges for women who were seeking asylum, which has prompted an analysis of the intersection between trafficking, national identity, gender and immigration law (submission 53). In addition to this, Murphy is also conducting a comparative analysis of different first responder practices and a review of victim identification guidelines and interview processes and procedures to inform the development of best practice guidelines. Walsh is also working to improve service provision procedures and is collaborating with Carol Dando and Tom Ormerod to develop and evaluate a proactive, psychologically guided triage conversation (also referred to as a controlled vulnerability conversation) to support regulators and employers identify and address trafficking in the workplace. Building on this project is another with Faye Short and Tracie Lloyd that aims to increase NHS staff capacity in identifying and supporting victims of trafficking.

Research that aims to support identification and support of victims in the mainstream health system was the focus of the Provider Responses, Treatment and Care for Trafficked People (or the PROTECT) project, conducted by the academics at the Kings College London (submission 58). The project aimed to develop evidence to inform the NHS response to human trafficking through several studies on healthcare needs and experiences of trafficked adults and children, as well as NHS knowledge and experience in responding to trafficked people. The studies included an exploration of health needs and experiences of victims that have used the NHS, a

cohort study of trafficked people in contact with secondary mental health services, a cross-sectional survey of NHS professions to investigate prior contact with trafficked persons and their knowledge and confidence to be able to respond and a systematic review of health outcomes associated with trafficking; all of which resulted in guidance on caring for trafficked people in healthcare settings. The qualitative research indicates that a relatively small proportion of people encountered health services while in a trafficking situation, often because traffickers restricted their movement. The participants that had been trafficked also revealed that they would not seek support due to the risks associated with their irregular immigration status and lack of identification. The report found that one in eight (13 per cent) of NHS staff had contact with a patient they knew or suspected were trafficked. This rose to one in five among maternity services professionals. The report outlined a suite of recommendations across key government and law enforcement agencies to improve access to health services for victims of trafficking.

A report released by the ATGM also raised concerns about victims accessing health services, particularly those that were pregnant or had children. The report 'Time to Deliver: Considering pregnancy and parenthood in the UK's response to human trafficking' revealed that 25-50% of trafficking victims in the UK are pregnant or have children either with them in the UK or in their country of origin (Brotherton 2016). The report examines how victims are identified, and how there needs to be more effort to collect data to inform appropriate responses to this victim group and highlights the challenges and impact of that pregnancy and parenthood on victims' access to services and their recovery. It draws attention to the role of health and maternity care services, as well as the challenges associated with accessing accommodation services within the current 45-day time frame for support, the local authorities and the importance of child care services. The report concludes with two main recommendations, including the acknowledgement of pregnancy and the maternal and paternal status of victims of trafficking in the UK and the need to provide specialised assistance in line with international legal obligations.

Andrea Nicholson (submission 8) leads a research theme focused on survivor perspectives at the University of Nottingham's Rights Lab and is co-investigator on several projects co-designed with survivors. One explores survivors' journey's post-NRM. Another assesses the impact of slavery on the brains of survivors using a combination of narrative interviews and MRI scanning.

Finally, there is a body of research examining support services at the local level. Amy Rutland submitted a report that outlined the nature and the extent of slavery in Leicester, how professionals were identifying and supporting victims, as well as identifying the barriers for referral to the National Referral Mechanism (submission 59). The findings revealed that there was no lead organisation to deal with modern slavery in Leicester, which also meant it was difficult for professionals to know where to seek advice and training. While many of the professionals interviewed had not received training, more than half of those interviewed had come across a potential victim. Professionals indicated that they preferred to pass information to the police through individuals they already know and preferred to discuss their concerns first. The research also showed that an organisation would not necessarily refer a victim if they did not want the police involved, meaning that the information would also not be recorded. This also highlighted that there were barriers for professionals in passing information to the police, such as a perceived lack of knowledge about the situation, concerns about victim consent, uncertainty about the outcome of any referral, and how to pass on 'lower level' concerns. Alison

Gardner (Submission 56) is an academic and public policy professional with over fifteen years of experience working in and around local and central government. She has previously published academic work on austerity, devolution and institutional change, and now leads a programme called 'Slavery-Free Communities' at the University of Nottingham's Rights Lab, exploring how to create healthy and prosperous places which are resistant to modern slavery.

Methodological research

There is a body of work that examines the methodological aspects of conducting research on slavery, and slavery related practice, as well as the challenges in conducting research on the effectiveness of interventions. LeBaron for example is compiling an edited collection that has brought together an interdisciplinary group of experts (academics, representatives from the international Labour Organization, and NGOs) to reflect on the methodological challenges surrounding the study of forced labour in the contemporary global economy, and how social scientists can work together to create a stronger, more rigorous and ethical evidence base on forced labour.

There has been a significant effort to improve estimates of the number of people in slavery both globally (see International Labour Organisation and Walk Free Foundation 2017; UNODC 2016, Walk Free Foundation 2016; International Labour Organisation 2012), and in the UK. Efforts to measure the number of people in slavery are ongoing, with the Walk Free Foundation in partnership with the ILO and IOM this year estimating that 40.3 million people are in slavery globally. Kevin Bales has published extensively on the scale of modern slavery, and published the first global estimate of the prevalence of slavery, and in the same work demonstrated the collapse in the acquisition cost of slaves in parallel with the population explosion of the 20th century (Bales, 1999). Since then he placed the concept of the 'freedom dividend' and the 'slavery lens' into antislavery discourse (Bales, 2007). He is also currently engaged in work using satellites to identify the location of slavery crime and working with US federal and state governments to estimate the true extent of slavery in their borders (Datta & Bales, 2013, 2014; Bales, Hesketh & Silverman, 2015; Joudo Larsen, Datta & Bales 2015; Bales, 2017).

In 2015 Kevin Bales, Olivia Hesketh and Bernard Silverman used the multiple systems estimation (MSE) method to estimate the number of people in slavery in the UK; a method described as 'the generalisation of multiple lists of the classical mark-recapture for estimating a population size' (Bales, Hesketh and Silverman 2015, p. 19; see also Manrique-Vallier, Price, and Gohdes 2013). Based on this approach, the authors estimated that between 10,000 and 13,000 people were in slavery in the UK. In 2016, Peter van Heijden at the University of Southampton argued in a submission to the Victims of Modern Slavery Inquiry that the estimates generated by Bales, Hesketh and Silverman (2013) needed to be updated, and draw in more recent information. He also argued that the analysis should go further in capturing victim demographic data where possible, including gender, age, and country of birth. This is based on an article co-authored with Jan van Dijk on using MSE to estimate the number of victims in slavery around the world (Van Dijk and Can der Heijden 2016). The paper outlines how the authors used this method to estimate the number of people in slavery in the Netherlands, using the UNODC database on trafficking in persons. They suggest that there is scope to employ this methodology to design an international statistical system on detected and undetected victims of human trafficking.

Doreen Boyd (submission 3) at the University of Nottingham has sought to improve the detection of sites associated with slavery over large regions and increase the understanding of the impact of slavery on the environment. The component of her research that seeks to better understand the scale of the problem uses the increasing abundance of satellite data that provides a remotely sensed record of the earth surface. Various methods of interpreting are used, including citizen science/crowdsourcing and machine learning. These methods assist the rapid, automated and reliable estimation of the number of slaves over large areas (Boyd et al., 2018), which also supports the understanding of the impacts of slavery.

Todd Landman (submission 7), also at the University of Nottingham, has focused on modern slavery from a methodological perspective, and has new work on monitoring, evaluation and impact assessment (Landman, Abrusci and Walker 2018), and cross-national quantitative analysis of slavery prevalence (Landman 2018b).

Building the evidence base - directions for future research on modern slavery in the UK

The research outlined above illustrates the comprehensive nature of research on modern slavery in the UK, and countries in which the UK operates. This process has however, revealed several areas that require further attention in relation to both the nature and prevalence of modern slavery and related practices, but also the response to it.

Nature and prevalence of modern slavery and related practices

- Continue to improve estimates on the number of people in modern slavery
- Continue to conduct research that seeks to understand the risks and vulnerabilities to modern slavery in the UK
- Continue to understand the experience of modern slavery among different victim groups, including those from different social, cultural and economic backgrounds
- Continue to examine the differential impact of modern slavery on different groups demarcated by age, gender, ethnicity, national origin, religion or sexual orientation or practice
- Build on ongoing research efforts by the IASC on offenders

While there are continuing efforts to estimate the number of people in modern slavery in the UK, there is a need for this to be complemented by ongoing research into the experiences of specific groups, and how this occurs at the local level. In light of the increasing emphasis on the role that the private sector can play in addressing modern slavery, there is also a need to understand how different forms of exploitation occur in both local and international supply chains across sectors. The submissions here have covered agriculture, construction, domestic work, and the in part, the sex industry. The recent research by the IASC on Vietnamese victims drew attention to slavery and exploitation in illicit markets, highlighting the need for further research into industries such as cannabis cultivation, illegally operated massage and nail parlours.

The UNU submission highlights the need for research into slavery in conflict zones, particularly where the UK is involved. This in turn draws attention to the nature of exploitation during migration, and points of vulnerability during the journey to the UK. Both aspects need further research in regard to the nature of the victim experience, and effective or promising responses in these contexts.

Finally, there are several submissions that highlighted the need for more research on specific types of slavery and exploitation. This includes the practice of 'paper-orphaning' (van Dyke 2016), and questions about whether this should be viewed as a form of either trafficking or slavery. Issues around forced marriage and the best way to address also requires further research, as several submissions and related articles argue that there are limitations with current policy responses.

Finally, the focus on understanding victim experiences prompts the need to explore the innovative ways to capture survivor experiences of slavery, and liberation in the UK. This was highlighted in studies on forced marriage, where authors point to the need to engage with, and understand survivor agency.

Responses to modern slavery in the UK

- Continue to monitor and evaluate current responses to modern slavery, including within law enforcement, support services and reintegration
- Continue to examine and learn from international interventions that have been developed in victims' countries of origin
- Continue research into the mechanisms that facilitate the recruitment, trafficking and exploitation
- Continue to monitor and evaluate interventions and responses by businesses in their efforts to comply with the Modern Slavery Act

There is a growing body of research that examines the effectiveness of responses to modern slavery. However, as the understanding of slavery and slavery related practices continues to improve, it prompts the need for ongoing monitoring and evaluation of programs and other interventions. This includes victim support services, targeted awareness raising campaigns, and law enforcement activities, among others. Several submissions highlighted the importance of local level interventions, and there are ongoing efforts to implement programs that support increased identification and support of victims at this level.

Understanding the effectiveness and impact of responses by businesses that target slavery in their supply chains is increasingly important, however as businesses become more aware of how slavery manifests at different points in the supply chain, there is also arguably a need to adopt specific indicators and measures of effectiveness and impact. This is supported by Gold, Trautrim and Trodd (2015) who noted in their article that research was needed to develop tools and indicators that consider the specific social, cultural and geographical context of supply chain interventions. The cultural, social and geographical context also highlights the need for research at different stages of the supply chain; research that moves beyond the supply chain and looks at the post-intervention experiences of survivors to understand their impact.

Finally, there is an ongoing need to monitor the impact of the Modern Slavery Act, much of which will be linked to the actions and interventions of businesses.

Appendix 1 – Thematic codes

Primary code		Secondary codes	
Type of slavery/ slavery related practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern slavery • Human trafficking • Forced labour (& related practices) • Forced marriage • Forced sexual exploitation • Emerging exploitative practices 	Geographical focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UK • Southeast Asia • South Asia • Asia-pacific • Africa • South America • Eastern Europe • Europe • Middle East • Global
		Sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cocoa industry • Sex industry • Construction industry • Tea industry • Garment industry • Domestic/care work • Cannabis cultivation • Agricultural sector • Food industry • Hotel industry • Sugar industry
		Survivor group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men • Women • Children • Adolescents / youth • Specific ethnicity • Refugee/asylum seeker • Sex workers
		Vulnerability factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Climate change • Irregular migration • Labour migration • Homelessness • Transnational and organised crime • Conflict
		Research type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History of slavery • Mixed-methods • M&E • Collaborative research
		Theoretical concepts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unfreedom • Precariousness
		Type of intervention/ response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International law • Domestic law • Domestic policy • Law enforcement • Business/supply chains • Support services

Appendix 2 – Submissions to the anti-slavery research mapping project

Submissions are listed in alphabetical order, by the type of slavery/exploitation or the nature of the response being examined. In addition, each submission has been tagged with associated key words (outlined in body of chapter with reference to each submission). Please refer to the methodology section of this report for more information on how submissions have been tagged.

Type of exploitative practice

1. **Kevin Bales CMG, Professor of Contemporary Slavery, School of Politics and International Relations, and Research Director, the Rights Lab, University of Nottingham**

Key words: Modern slavery, domestic policy, supply chains, global, climate change, mixed methods research

Kevin Bales is a social scientist with a special interest in contemporary slavery. His research and publications rest upon a range of methods, from participatory and qualitative ethnography to the use of inferential quantitative methods to explore large-scale social and economic phenomena that have an impact on human rights. His best-known works are based on field research in areas of the developing world with a high level of slavery. He published the first global estimate of the prevalence of slavery, and in the same work demonstrated the collapse in the acquisition cost of slaves in parallel with the population explosion of the 20th century (Bales, 1999). Since then he placed the concept of the 'freedom dividend' and the 'slavery lens' into antislavery discourse (Bales, 2007). In 2016 he documented the causal relationship between slavery and environmental destruction and climate change, and the driving influence of global supply chains in exacerbating that relationship (Bales, 2016). He is now researching the links between conflict and slavery and between religion and slavery. For some years he has been developing the research agenda on child, early, and forced marriage (Bales & Sarich, 2012; Sarich, Olivier & Bales, 2016). He is currently Principal Investigator on the AHRC-funded project the Antislavery Usable Past, and the ESRC/AHRC project Modern Slavery: Meaning and Measurement. He is also currently engaged in work using satellites to identify the location of slavery crime, and working with US federal and state governments to estimate the true extent of slavery in their borders (Datta & Bales, 2013, 2014; Bales, Hesketh & Silverman, 2015; Joudo Larsen, Datta & Bales 2015; Bales, 2017).

2. **Katharine Brickell, Department of Geography, Royal Holloway, University of London**

Key words: modern slavery, climate change, construction industry, Southeast Asia

Katharine Brickell's current project seeks to understand the nexus between climate change and modern slavery in the Cambodian construction industry. The project is funded by the Development Frontiers Research Fund, with partner support from the Office of the Independent Anti-Slavery Commission and the INGO CARE in Cambodia. The project focuses on the Cambodian construction industry to examine how climate change facilitates trafficking into modern slavery and ongoing livelihoods within it. The term 'blood bricks' is used as a neologism to capture the overlapping and compounding vulnerabilities of environmental fragility and the precarious bodies and livelihoods of labourers in Cambodia's brick-kilns and construction sites. This is important as Cambodia's construction industry is now the second most important growth driver after the garment sector (World Bank 2014). Investigating the 'fleshy geopolitics' (Dixon 2014) of bricks means understanding their multi-scalar origins and outcomes, from the locally mediated effects of climate change, to the wider global economy in which Cambodia's

construction industry is fuelled. UK and Cambodian scholars will undertake research that combines qualitative interviews with construction industry informants and victims of modern slavery working in brick-kilns and construction sites; agro-ecological profiling, a quantitative household survey, and interviews in brick-kiln sender villages; and analysis of longitudinal secondary data (Cambodia Socio-Economic Study 2014). The central goal is to produce a methodological tool and evidence base for the targeting of policies and interventions for those found most vulnerable to climate-induced modern slavery.

3. Doreen S. Boyd, School of Geography, University of Nottingham

Key words: Remote Sensing, Citizen Science, Machine Learning, Environment, Nexus
Doreen Boyd's research aims to improve the detection of sites associated slavery over large regions and increase the understanding of the impacts of slavery on the environment. Boyd's work exploits the increasing abundance of satellite data that provides a remotely sensed record of features on the Earth's surface that can indicate slavery activity. Various methods of interpreting that record are used, including citizen science/crowdsourcing and machine learning. These methods assist the rapid, automated and reliable estimation of the number of slaves over large area (Boyd et al., 2018), which also supports the understanding of the impacts of slavery beyond the enslaved themselves. As such, Boyd is also examining the modern slavery, environmental destruction and climate change nexus. To-date Boyd's work on slavery has attracted funding from the Economic and Social (ESRC) and Engineering and Physical Sciences (EPSRC) Research Councils.

4. Centre for the study of Modern Slavery, St Mary's University, Twickenham London

Key words: modern slavery, human trafficking TOC, conflict, business/supply chains, collaboration, UK
The new Centre for the Study of Modern Slavery is working with government departments to identify gaps in research, generate empirical evidence to make the response more targeted, and generate better results for those subject to slavery and trafficking. In the coming year, the Centre has four priorities: the first is exploring modern slavery and human trafficking as organised crime. By focusing on key trafficking routes into the UK, the Centre will develop a typology of organised crime involvement and how this changes along trafficking routes into the UK. Initial case studies will include Nigeria, Vietnam, Albania, Romania and Poland. How organised crime groups operate in the UK will also be mapped. While this research will contribute to the identification of entry points for law enforcement, analysis will also consider the benefits and pitfalls of treating modern slavery and human trafficking as an organised crime problem, drawing lessons from responses to other forms of organised crime. The second priority seeks to understand how to address modern slavery and human trafficking 'upstream'. The recent allocation of £33 million to invest in upstream initiatives is a significant step, however there is limited knowledge about initiatives that are currently underway, and which ones are actually effective in preventing modern slavery and human trafficking. This raises the risk that funds will not be dispersed in the most strategic way. The Centre will map both upstream and UK based initiatives that fall into the 4P framework – pursue, prevent, prepare and protection, assessing which initiatives are the most effective.

The third priority is on conflict groups and slavery. The Centre will draw on historical case studies, such as the Comfort Women in World War II and from contemporary armed groups, such as Islamic State, Boko Haram and the Lord's Resistance Army to understand how these groups have used slavery and to what end, with the aim of identifying areas of vulnerability that can be addressed. The fourth and final priority looks at how 'modern' modern slavery actually

is. With the current interest in modern slavery driven by global economic trends, the lessons from the abolition of the historical slave trade are often lost. Many historical slavery trading posts are not being reused, particularly in northern Africa, which raises questions around the effectiveness of the abolition movement, and how dynamics of slavery have changes. The Centre will compare current and historical trends to draw out lessons to address modern slavery.

5. Gary Craig, Wilberforce Institute for Study of Slavery and Emancipation, University of Hull

Key words: modern slavery, human trafficking, business/supply chains, domestic law, children, evaluation, UK

Gary Craig has conducted research on slavery, trafficking, forced labour and marriage in the UK over the last ten years. One of the projects was commissioned by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation to explore the extent and nature of slavery in the UK (Craig, McQuade, Wilkinson, Skrivankova and Gaus 2007). Conducted in partnership with Anti-Slavery International, the project found that slavery was present in all its forms throughout the UK, including severe economic exploitation; the absence of a framework of human rights; and control of one person over another by the prospect or reality of violence. Women and children from African countries are trafficked into the UK for sexual or domestic work. Some children, particularly those from African countries, are trafficked through the UK to other countries. The report found that while child labour has existed for years, the practice is increasingly constrained by international conventions to protect the rights of children. While child labour is prohibited, there is a connection with the UK through the supply chains of clothing, tea or cocoa for example. Finally, the report recognises that the UK has tended to address trafficking as an issue of migration control rather than one of human rights. Most people that are trafficked enter the UK legally but become subject to forced labour through a mix of enforced debt, intimidation, the removal of documents and an inadequate understanding of their rights. In addition, Craig has worked across a range of issues relating to modern slavery in the UK. In 2009, he was involved in an evaluation of the GLA, which recommend that the GLA should be attached to another government department other than DEFRA (Wilkinson, Craig and Gaus 2009). He also has ongoing research into child slavery (see Craig forthcoming (a); forthcoming (b); 2009) and has previously conducted research on forced marriage and trafficking (Bkhari and Craig 2008). In addition, Craig led two major national studies of forced labour in the UK, under and funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation Forced Labour programme, which emerged from recommendations from his earlier report (Craig, McQuade, Wilkinson, Skrivankova and Gaus 2007). Craig co-authored several papers on forced labour, including a paper that drew on research on forced labour in the UK food industry (agriculture, food packing and processing, hospitality and catering), and another regarding the scope of forced labour within the UK, which included an examination of policy, political and legal context for this phenomenon (Geddes, Craig and Scott 2014; Scott, Craig and Geddes 2012). In 2012, Craig was commissioned by ECPAT to undertake research and an evaluation in relation to the extent of anti-trafficking legislation within the European Union, compared to that just being developed in the UK. Arising from an ESRC funded seminar, Craig is developing a strand of research on the issue of modern slavery within the social care sector. One of the sectors highlighted a possible priority for the GLA when it assumes its wider role in April 2017. This study is looking at the possibility of trafficking occurring in this sector, involving those providing care in the domiciliary and residential contexts (Craig and Clay forthcoming). Finally, he has also undertaken a range of evaluations consultancies, including an assessment of evaluation literature (Craig 2008), an evaluation on the structure and purpose of Redline/Hope for Justice in 2010, a review of EU

case law for labour exploitation in 2015/6 and an investigation of supply chains for manufacture of awards in 2016.

**6. Pietro Deandra, Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere e Culture Moderne
Università di Torino**

Key words: modern slavery, mixed method, UK

Pietro Deandra's work is concerned with the literature and the visual arts dealing with globalisation's slaveries in contemporary Britain. This research has been ongoing since 2007 and has recently been published by Manchester University Press as a critical monograph titled *New Slaveries in Contemporary British Literature and Visual Arts: the Ghost and the camp*. The book is a study of the literature and visual arts concerned with the many and diverse forms of slaveries produced by globalisation in Britain since the early 1990s. Starting from the sociological and political analyses on the issue, it develops critical paradigms in the field of cultural and literary studies in order to read the phenomenon of Britain's new slaves. In doing so, it originally combines post-colonial and Holocaust studies in a twin perspective that employs, as interpretive models, the recurrent tropes of the ghost and the concentration camp, whose manifold shapes populate the contemporary British landscape. The volume argues that approaching a topical issue such as new slaveries brings to the fore new, fertile directions for the future of both post-colonial and Holocaust studies, seen here as mutually enriching. The book focuses on a wide range of works. It moves from the early 1990s, with Ruth Rendell's pioneering crime novel *Simisola*, to the many authors who concentrated on Britain's new slaves in the first decade of the 21st century: novelists and crime writers (Chris Abani, Chris Cleave, Marina Lewycka, Ian Rankin), film directors (Nick Broomfield), photographers (Dana Popa), playwrights (Clare Bayley, Cora Bissett and Stef Smith, Abi Morgan, Lucy Kirkwood) and dystopian visions by artists such as Alfonso Cuarón, Kazuo Ishiguro, PD James and Salman Rushdie. The book is aimed at both students and scholars in English, postcolonial, Holocaust, globalisation and slavery studies: when applied to British new slaveries, all these fields are invested with new, contemporary significance (from the book's blurb).

**7. Todd Landman, School of Politics and International Relations, Pro Vice Chancellor,
Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Nottingham**

Key words: modern slavery, historical research, international law

Todd Landman is a comparative political methodologist whose research has focussed on quantitative and qualitative cross-national comparative analysis of problems in development, democracy and human rights. He has published widely on comparative methods, the analysis and measurement of human rights and more recently on the idea of 'rigorous morality.' His research monographs are on citizenship rights and social movements and the relationship between the international law of human rights and the protection of human rights in practice. He is now researching modern slavery from both methodological and substantive perspectives. He has new work on monitoring, evaluation, and impact assessment (Landman, Abrusci and Walker 2018), cross-national quantitative analysis of slavery prevalence (Landman 2018b), and a comparative historical analysis of abolitionism (Landman and Trodd, forthcoming). He has had numerous grants from the ESRC, Nuffield Foundation and Innovate UK, and has carried out a large number of international consultancies on various projects that apply the analysis and measurement of human rights.

**8. Andrea Nicholson, Nottingham Law School, Nottingham Trent University; Rights
Lab, University of Nottingham.**

Key words, modern slavery, international law, domestic law, survivors

Andrea Nicholson's research is interdisciplinary, drawing on cultures, history, literature and psychology to interpret the law and frameworks surrounding contemporary slavery from survivor perspectives and using qualitative methods. She uses adapted cognitive interviewing techniques to gather survivor testimony and employs a deep textual analysis to these and other contemporary slavery narratives to gain insights into the complexity of the challenges facing survivors of slavery and what this means for their recovery. She also analyses what survivors' experiences and perceptions mean for the development of legal definition, and the effectiveness of central support mechanisms and government policies/strategies, gathering vital information about risk factors, agency, gender, cultural identities, and the efficacy of community-specific antislavery solutions to identify new antislavery ideas and solutions. Andrea leads the Survivors' Solution research theme at the University of Nottingham Beacon of Excellence, the Rights Lab, and is co-investigator on several funded projects. She was a member of the UK fieldwork research team for the EU Fundamental Rights Agency project on Severe Labour Exploitation in the UK, which sought to establish survivor perspectives on the causes of their exploitation, identify vulnerability factors, explore experiences of working conditions and interventions, and identify the potential for prevention. Another project is funded by the ESRC 'Modern Slavery: Meaning and Measurement' which gathers the views and experience of survivors of slavery on their perspectives on the definition of slavery to offer new suggestions for consideration in the legal and social field. This is the first research to bring survivors' perspectives to the debate and following two years of analysis and interviews with survivors of slavery, it brings new measures for inclusion in the operation of definition. Other projects explore survivors' journeys post NRM and the impact of slavery on the brains of survivors. Future research projects concern survivors' perceptions of justice; gender and sexual slavery; the trauma of survivor activism; global recovery programmes; and a mapping of state commitment to international and regional antislavery treaties.

9. Amir Paz-Fuchs, University of Sussex

Key words: modern slavery, domestic law, UK

Amir Paz-Fuchs is a Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Sussex. Paz-Fuchs expertise lies in employment law, legal theory, privatisation and outsourcing, social rights and social justice and socio-legal studies. In 2016, Paz-Fuchs published an article that explores 'badges of slavery' (Paz-Fuchs 2016). The article suggests that reference to historical institutions reveals seven 'badges of slavery' that are helpful in identifying occurrences of modern slavery and forced labour. These are: humiliation, ownership of people, exploitation of the vulnerable, lack of consent, terms and condition of employment, limits on the power to end the employment relationship, and denial of rights outside the work relationship. The article contends that the 'advancement of the Modern Slavery Act is a good opportunity to reflect on the most precarious aspects of contemporary labour markets' (Paz-Fuchs 2016, p.784), and suggests that by identifying the constituent parts of modern slavery courts may be better placed to identify and analyse future cases. Further, Paz-Fuchs argues that it is important not to misuse the term slavery in the context of poor labour conditions, and suggest that awareness to the badges of slavery - that are often indicative of precarious work relations - should prompt the establishment of more protections with employment law instruments.

10. Benedetta Rossi, Department of African Studies and Anthropology, University of Birmingham

Key words: modern slavery, forced marriage, history of slavery, Africa

Benedetta Rossi's research focused on the twentieth century history and anthropology of slavery in Africa, and she is a specialist of Francophone West Africa having carried out extensive field-based research in the Republic of Niger. Rossi's publications have highlighted the experience of slavers and persons of slave descent, and she is currently a senior researcher in two international research project that focus on sexual slavery and forced marriage in contemporary African wars. Another project she is engaged in is an EU-RISE Network grant on historical and contemporary African Slavery. Beyond Africa, Rossi is interested in the connection between slavery and other unfree labour regimes across space and time, and on the compared consequences of historical abolitionism. She has worked on the connections between migration and emancipation, and more generally between spatial and social mobility (free and forced migration, and migrant labour). Rossi is one of the four general editors for a French Encyclopaedia of World Slavery, and at the time of writing had a book in preparation, titled *Slavery and Emancipation in Twentieth Century Africa* (Rossi Forthcoming).

11. Zoe Trodd, The Rights Lab, University of Nottingham

Key words: narratives, visual culture, anti-slavery movements.

Professor Zoe Trodd is the Director of the Rights Lab, a University of Nottingham Beacon of Excellence that focuses on research to help end modern slavery. She is also a member of the Yale University Gilder Lehrman Center Working Group on Modern Day Slavery, and a member of the board of Historians Against Slavery. She co-edits a book series for Cambridge University Press called *Slaveries Since Emancipation* and co-teaches a massive open online course (MOOC) called Ending Slavery. Her research background is in anti-slavery movements of the past 200 years, including anti-slavery visual culture, slave narratives, and activist memory. She is a Co-Investigator on the AHRC grant "The Antislavery Usable Past (£1.84 million, 2014-19), the ESRC grant "Modern Slavery: Meaning and Measurement" (£100,000, 2016-18) and the AHRC Network Plus Grant "The Antislavery Knowledge Network" (£2 million, 2017-21). Her work for all three grants includes the collection and analysis of contemporary slave narratives, community-based programmes with survivors and at-risk communities that utilise visual culture, and the creation of new anti-slavery knowledge platforms. She works closely with numerous NGOs on their strategies and programming. Her relevant publications include a collection of contemporary slave narratives (Bales and Trodd, 2008), an introduction to modern slavery (Bales, Trodd and Williamson, 2009), a research report for the European Parliament on modern slavery (Bales and Trodd, 2013), an article about contemporary anti-slavery visual culture (Trodd, 2013), an article about slavery and supply chains (Gold, Trautrim and Trodd, 2015), a book chapter about slavery in Europe (Trodd, 2016), a book chapter about the use of protest memory in contemporary antislavery (Trodd, 2018), and a comparative historical analysis of abolitionism that identifies anti-slavery techniques from the 18th century to today (Landman and Trodd, forthcoming). She is currently working on two new articles about contemporary slave narratives with Andrea Nicholson.

12. Abigail Ward, School of English, University of Nottingham

Key Words: modern slavery, history of slavery, UK

Abigail Ward is based in the School of English at the University of Nottingham, with an expertise in testimony and written representations of forms of slavery. Her background is in representations of transatlantic slavery and Indian indenture in the Caribbean – which has been the topic of several journal articles, book chapters and her monograph, titled *Caryl Phillips, Fred D'Aguiar and David Dabydeen: Representations of Slavery* (Ward 2011). Beyond this, Ward has also looked at trauma in relation to postcolonial writing and testimony and edited the collection, *Postcolonial Traumas: Memory, Narrative, Resistance* (Ward 2015). Ward's current

research explores the connections between transatlantic slavery and contemporary forms of enslavement in the UK, with a view to understanding both the ongoing legacies of transatlantic slavery, and how to better work to end modern slavery. A recent essay on this topic, “Servitude and Slave Narratives: Tracing “New Slavery” in Mende Nazer’s *Slave* and Zadie Smith’s “The Embassy of Cambodia””, was published in the journal *Wasafiri* (31:3, 2016). Ward is also a holder of a Leverhulme International Academic Fellowship (2017-2018), developing a multidisciplinary approach to the relationship between modern slavery and transatlantic slavery within Canadian contexts, with the project ‘In Dialogue with the Past: Legacies of the Transatlantic Trade in Canada’s modern-day slavery’.

Human trafficking

13. Kristofer Allerfeldt, Department of History, University of Exeter

Key words: human trafficking, international law, domestic law, history of slavery, UK
By placing the US 1910 White Slave (Mann) Act and the UK 2015 Modern Slavery Act in their historical context this project seeks to enhance knowledge of how policy has aimed to define, control and prosecute transnational crime in terms of human trafficking and the exploitation of vulnerable groups over the last century in the US and UK. Gathering together UK and US expertise and experience, this project will provide a comparative and collaborative backdrop for historical research and present-day policymaking. It will draw on expertise ranging from reporting the kidnapping and enslaving of the homeless and disabled in modern British cities, to coordinating and advising the current anti-trafficking efforts, as well as running a variety of charities dedicated to exposing those who are enslaving others, and protecting the victims of their crimes. This range of knowledge and experience will provide not only different dimensions, but also different frameworks for investigation. While very much a pilot project, this investigation has the potential to achieve a broad public impact by involving a deliberately wide range of participants and practitioners from outside academia who are grappling with similar and related questions. However, at present these scholars, policy makers, enforcers, commentators and advisors are speaking to different audiences on a subject which not only has huge scholarly interest, but is also exciting great public debate. It is the object of this study to create a variety of means by which the participants can not only discuss the issues at stake with each other, but also disseminate those ideas with a wider, more general, audience.

14. Anthony Dunkerley, (Police Officer), Dorset

Key words: human trafficking, law enforcement, support services, UK
Anthony Dunkerley is a Police Detective from Dorset. He is currently two years into a career break, where he oversees the training law enforcement and businesses on modern slavery. In addition, Dunkerley recently completed his dissertation in international criminal justice at the Institute of Criminal Justice Studies at the University of Portsmouth. The study explores a relatively unknown yet prevalent tool used by Nigerian human traffickers to psychologically trap their victims in sexual exploitation. Manipulating the victim’s belief in traditional religious practices, Nigerian women and children are first taken to shrines to swear an oath to the spirit world; promising not to escape or disclose their experiences to police. To reinforce the oath, the victim’s skin and hair is cut, blood is taken and they are locked in coffins. The fear of spiritual retribution through breaching their oath, as well as the resultant psychological trauma of sexual exploitation creates significant barriers for criminal investigators in terms of developing and maintaining victim cooperation. This is a very significant issue when considering official figures show Nigerians comprise the highest number of recorded non-EU nationals identified as victims

by EU member states, with the Nigerian National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons suggesting up to 90% of women and children undergo the oath. The study examines the phenomena through first-hand experiences of UK police, National Crime Agency, NGO, safe-house providers and anthropological experts in African religions. Combined with a review of the literature, the study identifies the barriers to victim cooperation and provides practical recommendations on how to overcome them. Despite previous research acknowledging the use of the oath in Nigerian networks, it has never been examined in terms of criminal justice response, which the study argues is vital in order to improve victim identification, safeguarding, evidence gathering and conviction rates. The study recommends that officers must empathise with the victim's fear of spiritual retribution, develop trust and rapport, take a joint-agency approach, provide access to psychological and spiritual counselling.

15. Patricia Hynes, Applied Social Studies, University of Bedfordshire

Key words: human trafficking, children, refugees/asylum seekers, support services, evaluation, UK

The University of Bedfordshire have carried out research on the trafficking of children for several years both within the *International Centre: Researching Child Sexual Exploitation, Violence and Trafficking* and across the broader Department of Applied Social Studies. This research has been carried out in conjunction with policy makers, charities, local and national governments. Much of Patricia Hynes' work has focused on asylum seekers, refugees and the risks and experiences associated with trafficking and exploitation. Her most recent work considers the experiences of women and children during displacement. It draws on research projects and practitioner experiences from across several projects, including research conducted in refugee camps in the UK, with support agencies on responses to the trafficking of children and young people, as well as a scoping study on the non-statutory understanding of trafficking (Hynes 2017). The study provides an insight in interpersonal and broader gender based violence in politicised context through the lived experience of displaced women and children in host countries and countries of asylum. Also related to the experience of asylum seekers, in 2015. Hynes published a chapter that looks at the association between going missing during the process of migration for adults seeking refuge from persecution - referred to in policy terms as 'asylum seekers' when awaiting the outcome of refugee status determination procedures - and adults who are 'trafficked' for exploitative purposes. The system of support and surveillance of asylum seekers throughout the process of seeking asylum are highlighted and contrasted to the clandestine character of trafficking into, within and out of the UK. (Hynes 2016) In 2015, a team of six researchers worked across 23 local authority areas in England for one year to evaluate a trial as part of the government's commitment to Clause 48 of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 that sets out provisions for an ICTA service. The key findings were that the specialist ICTA service had been successful providing several beneficial outcomes for trafficked children, including keeping them safely visible after they had been trafficked, established trust and credibility with children and key stakeholders, helped children navigate through complex circumstances, provided a voice in the context of advocating for children and maintain momentum through cases that ensured children needs were met. The ICTA also was also found to be successful in sharing and developing expertise in trafficking and case specific information in purposeful ways. Overall, the evidence in the evaluation suggested that advocates provided a service that was seen to be beneficial to children and many other stakeholders (Koli, et al, 2015). While no report was published, in 2012-13 Hynes conducting a scoping study that explored the gap in knowledge about trafficking within voluntary, non-statutory organisations in London working with minority ethnic populations. This lead to two

publications; the first (Hynes 2015) suggests that identifying trafficked children could be enhanced through the inclusion of a broader range of agencies in the process, particularly those working within community engagement frameworks. The second looked at community knowledge and understanding of child trafficking (Hynes 2013). Finally, between 2009 and 2011, Hynes was involved in research carried out by the University of Bedfordshire and the NCPPP to explore practitioners' responses to trafficking young people and children. Hynes published two articles on understanding the vulnerability of trafficking children and young people.

16. Benjamin N. Lawrance, Rochester Institute of Technology

Key words: human trafficking, forced labour, refugee/asylum seekers, mixed-methods, UK

Benjamin Lawrance is currently working on several trafficking-related projects. The first is a forthcoming article that explores the exit strategies employed by coerced labouring subjects, to shed light on some of the many 'varieties of unfreedom' in the global labour marketplace. The article argues that today, trafficking victims deploy 'unfreedom papers' as powerful evidentiary counterweights to resist securitised migration policies that would seek to reinstate their vulnerability and their potential for further trafficking, and in doing so obviate gradations of trafficking subject hood created by the politicization of asylum. In the absence of corroborating testimony, trafficking survivors and their advocates engage expert witnesses to gain humanitarian protection. 'Unfreedom papers' – documentation consisting of diverse records detailing the persistence of coercion and the failures of neo-abolitionist legislation interpreted with the authoritative voice of an expert witness – are not indispensable to trafficking survivors (Lawrance forthcoming (a)). Another forthcoming article (Lawrance, forthcoming (b)) examines anti-trafficking video media uploaded to the internet by individuals or organisations between 2007 and 2010 that reference slavery and metaphors of exploitation. The article looks at the video's style, format, content and placement of 'blood chocolate' vocabulary, and identifies several historical and contemporary modalities of shaming, spanning the eighteenth to twenty-first centuries, and speculate about the larger viral project within the context of a producer's motivations. In addition, Lawrance is working on an article that compares two alternative strategies of contemporary urban slave resistance in West Africa, namely asylum-seeking abroad and domestic legal recourse at home, to better understand the lived experience of urban slaves. Lawrance is also working on three books that explore different issues relating to slavery. The first is a monograph titled 'Nations Inside Out: An African Refugee Grammar' (Lawrance, forthcoming (c)). This monograph situates contemporary mobility and persecution at the core of historical inquiry to make sense of the present African asylum challenge. It focuses on a constituency of trafficking victims – men, women and children – seeking asylum outside their African homelands, and reconstructs a contemporary refugee grammar through personal narratives and stories told by others. The second book maps the new digital pathways emerging within the context of transnational migration generally, and refugee determination in particular, known as "Country of Origin Information" (COI) research. The book will have a focus on African trafficking cases in Europe and North America. COI has emerged as a specialised knowledge category that attempts to support refugee identification. By exploring the mechanisms of research collection and digital data management, this project focuses attention on the mutually constitutive nature of digitized knowledge production, storage, and access, residing at the core of the transnational refugee experience (Lawrance forthcoming (d)). Finally, Lawrance is the series editor (pending approval and contract) of a six-volume series that will take a global and cross-disciplinary approach to the history of slavery and human trafficking. This reference work will cover: definitions and ideologies of slavery; slavery and the law;

political cultures; coercive labouring economies; social organisation; culture and ritual; gender and enslavement; age and enslavement; anti-slavery, abolition and alternatives.

17. Omar Ali M Mirei

Key words: human trafficking, Saudi Arabia

Omar Ali M Mirei has recently been awarded his PhD, that looks at human trafficking for forced labour in domestic and international law. The study is a comparative legal study of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom.

18. Tomoya Obokata, School of Law, University of Keele

Key words: human trafficking, domestic law, transnational and organised crime, Ireland, Africa.

Tomoya Obokata's expertise lies in transnational organised crime generally and trafficking of human beings in particular. His most recent project examined the extent to which Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland were successful in implementing action against major crimes such as drug and human trafficking as well as cigarettes/fuel smuggling, with particular reference to cross-border co-operation. Obokata's recent work has focused on the implementation of international law on trafficking, and has examined the challenges in doing so within the context of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Africa. He has a forthcoming book chapter that looks at human trafficking in Africa that examines the opportunities and challenges for African Courts (Obokata forthcoming), and in 2016 published two chapters on trafficking in social work law (Obokata 2016a) and one that explores the existing international legal frameworks to establish if a 'comprehensive approach' (as promoted by the book) can address the trafficking of migrants by sea (Obokata 2016b). Also in 2016, Obokata published a chapter on the evolution of EU action against human trafficking (2016c). In 2015, he published an article on the implementation of international law on human trafficking, drawing on the UK and Ireland as examples (Obokata 2015). Finally, he published a broader examination of human trafficking in the Routledge Handbook on Transnational Criminal Law in 2014 (Obokata 2014b).

19. Amy M. Russell

Key words: human trafficking

Amy Russell's doctoral research focused on trafficking pathways from post-soviet countries to Israel. It involved collaboration with Israeli NGOs to obtain secondary data, testimonies written by women who had been trafficked and interviews with NGO support workers. Interviews were also conducted with anti-trafficking organisations in the UK. In addition, the research included a review of the way trafficking was represented by anti-trafficking campaigns in the UK. The results of this study are forthcoming. Amy has published three articles from this study, including one that examines the boundaries of belonging (Russell 2014a), the feminisation of poverty and migration within gendered narratives of trafficking (2014b) and an article that looks at trafficking for sexual exploitation (Russell 2013).

Forced labour (and related practices)

20. Amanda Berlan, Leicester Castle Business School

Key words: Forced labour, Cocoa industry, child labour, South Asia, West Africa, South America

Over the last 17 years, Amanda Berlan's work has focused on global cocoa production, focusing on labour issues in India, Ghana and the Dominican Republic. Research across these

three projects highlighted there were issues with accuracy and poor representation of slavery and related practices in the cocoa industry in the UK, and an enormous disparity between media accounts and the reality on the ground. The research in Ghana found no evidence of slavery at cocoa production sites, however there was evidence of the worst forms of child labour (Berlan 2013; 2009; 2006). This study also found that there was little understanding of the root causes of such practices. The research in the Dominican Republic also did not find evidence of slavery and/or forced labour, and where there was evidence of child labour it was mainly linked to the use of cutting tools in the family context. This research also found evidence of Haitian workers being smuggled across the border to work on cocoa plantations. There were numerous cases of the worst forms of child labour in poorer areas of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, but no evidence of slavery practices in Kerala, and labour conditions on the family farms were generally high. There remains a considerable amount of confusion in the public domain about key concepts relating to labour such as slavery, child trafficking, youth mobility, the worst form of child labour and child work. This is exacerbated by attempts to categorise and quantify rather than understand/contextualize the issues. However, there is a growing body of literature providing insightful context which may help address this (e.g. Howard, 2016).

21. Freedom Fund, London

Key words: forced labour, support services, South Asia

Based in the UK, The Freedom Fund's research directly supports their interventions across key hotspots, including Nepal, India, Myanmar, Thailand, Ethiopia and Brazil. Most recently, the Freedom Fund has released six studies that has informed ongoing interventions. In January 2017, a report by Kim Murray and Pashupati (2017) conducted a study to understand the psychosocial and mental health needs of bonded labourers in South-eastern Nepal. The report found that 61 per cent of the 90 respondents reported symptoms of clinic depression and 47 per cent reported some level of suicidal intentions. Also in January 2017, in Partnership with Partners in Change and the PRAXIS-Institute, the Freedom Fund released a feasibility study of an intervention to reduce the exploitation and trafficking of children in Rajasthan. There were four studies conducted in 2016, largely focused the trends in, and proposed interventions for slavery, bonded and child labour in India. This includes an evaluation of the MSEMVS community drive model to end slavery, which found that the Freedom Fund partner MSEMVS had a measurable impact on reducing exploitative work, lowering household debt, improving food security and increasing accessing to government services (Burns 2016a, 2016b, 2016c; Bhaba 2016). The Freedom Fund and their partners have an additional nine studies currently underway. These studies range from focusing on the prevalence and patterns of bonded labour in Nepal and India, exploring intervention options for children in commercial sexual exploitation in Nepal, and understanding different sectors and stakeholders and the role they can play in responding to various forms of modern slavery, including global banking system and impact investment opportunities. There are four studies also currently in the planning stage. The first is looking at the longitudinal study of individuals liberated from slavery, which looks at the common pathways for survivors of slavery, what proportion re-enter situations of slavery, what are the risk and protective factors and what liberation and reintegration models are most effective. Two others are assessing the relative effectiveness of economic support and rights-based interventions in combatting slavery and the economic benefits of eradicating slavery. Finally, a study is planned to identify what legal interventions are available in Freedom Fund Hot Spots, what forms of legal intervention are most effective in preventing slavery, and what forms are most effective or influential in protecting survivors and prosecuting perpetrators.

22. Social Change and Community Wellbeing Research Group, Manchester Metropolitan University

Key words: Forced Labour, support services, UK

The Critical and Community Psychology Group research areas include wellbeing, community engagement and critical approaches to study at the intersections of gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity and disability. This group engages in participative and collaborative approaches and is allied to the communities worked with and has done work with migrants on health, intergenerational conflict, and social inclusion. One of the projects was on Forced labour amongst the Chinese migrant community, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Kagan, Mok, Lawthorn, Sham, Greenword and Baines 2011). This study investigated experiences of forced labour among low-skilled Chinese migrant workers in the UK. It highlighted the extent of exploitation at work, examined what makes workers vulnerable to forced labour, and considered the complex relationships between migration, work and family. The study found widespread exploitation among Chinese workers, most of whom were working with irregular immigration status. Their understanding of the immigration system was poor, and made worse by misinformation and low levels of English. Despite this, their vulnerability and degree to which they could control their lives fluctuated over time. The study found that families were both source of support and of pressure in the need to keep earning money, which highlighted the role of the family in understanding workers' exploitative experiences. The economic and social conditions in China and the UK formed an important backdrop to the complex decisions workers made about their lives. They balanced bleak prospects at home with perceived opportunities in the UK to improve their families' lives, while at the same time meeting employer' demands for cheap, unskilled labour. The authors argued that government, business regulators, trade unions, Chinese businesses and community organisations could take inter-related actions to improve conditions for Chinese migrants' workers, including relevant international directives, enforcing business regulations, enhancing Chinese businesses' good employment practices, ensuring the accessibility of information on the UK immigration system and improving local support for migrant workers.

23. Precarious Lives Project, University of Leeds and University of Salford

Key words: forced labour, asylum seekers/refugees, UK

The Precarious Live Project was a two-year study and as far as the authors were aware at the time, it was the first study to focus on the experiences of forced labour among people who make a claim for asylum in the UK ('refugees and asylum seekers'). The Precarious Lives project continued into a knowledge exchange project on Tackling forced labour among refugees and asylum seekers, and produced a guide, posters and postcards (available here: www.forcedlabourasylum.org.uk). The original study draws on interviews with 30 asylum seekers about their experiences of forced labour (n=30) in England, which was supplemented by interviews with 23 practitioners and policy makers. The study found that forced labour was experienced by three groups of asylum seekers at different points in the UK asylum process: asylum seekers at entry into the UK, trafficked migrants and undocumented migrants (Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite 2013). Most interviewees had moved between various types of precarious worker, and found themselves on the margins of the labour market or in transactional exchange in jobs in the hospitality, care, domestic work, food processing, cleaning, manufacturing, retail, construction, and security, among others. The report highlights that the interviewee's employment lasted from days to months to years, with "most involving one or more of the ILO's 11 indicators of forced labour" (Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite 2013, p. 2). These indicators varied from employers and/or intermediaries abusing workers because of their socio-legal status (namely, right to welfare, work and residence) to withhold

wages, enforced excessive overtime and poor work conditions. The study revealed that asylum seekers and refugees that participated had little opportunity to negotiate their conditions of employment, yet most passively refused worsening conditions. Most interviewees left their situation at the time of the interview. The report suggests that the UK asylum process contributes to an environment that can make those in it susceptible to conditions of forced labour in that it favours employers and penalises workers. It recommends ending the enforced destitution by restoring those in the system with the right to work, to ensure that workers are protected from forced labour regardless of their immigration status, stop criminalising asylum seekers who work to meet their basic survival needs and allow refugees to exercise their rights to family reunion without the pressure to take up exploitative work. The team involved in this project have published on these issues extensively in various forms. This includes two books; the most recent was a book titled *Vulnerability, exploitation and migrant. Insecure work in a globalised economy* (Waite, Lewis and Skrivankova 2015), the second explored the issues raised in the project report, and was titled *Precarious lives: forced labour, exploitation and asylum* (2014). There have also been a series of journal articles. The most recent draws on the interviews from the Precarious Lives Project, and argues that immigration policy and the associated differentiated socio-legal status helps create conditions where extreme forms of exploitation can flourish among refugees and asylum seekers (Dwyer, Hodkinson, Lewis and Waite 2016). The authors of this article published another article in 2015 that explores similar issues relating to the precarious status involved in migrant work in the global north (Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite 2015). From the project team, Lew and Waite have a forthcoming book chapter that looks at what they refer to as a 'hostile' UK immigration policy for asylum seekers and refugees in relation to their susceptibility to forced labour (forthcoming). There were also two reports for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation Forced Labour Programme (Scullion, Lewis, Dwyer, Waite 2014; Dwyer, Lewis Scullion and Waite 2011).

24. Ben Richardson, University of Warwick

Key words: forced labour, sugar, agriculture, South America, Africa, UK

Ben Richardson's research is based in the discipline of international political economy and examines the contemporary governance of sugar supply-chains (Richardson 2015). This research draws on interviews with industry stakeholders in the countries that produce and trade sugar – including Brazil, Dominican Republic, Swaziland, the UK and the US – as well as analysis of civil society reports, academic studies and legal databases concerning the conditions of work in the industry. This approach is useful in exploring the contradictions of global capitalism, which both encourages forced labour and militates against it. Sugarcane agriculture is tied to the UK economy in two ways. First, the UK imports large amounts of sugar from developing countries, mostly via the Tate & Lyle sugar refinery in London. Data from the UN COMTRADE database states that in 2015 the biggest exporters of sugar to the UK were Guyana (\$61m), Belize (\$57m), Mauritius (\$47m), Fiji (\$38), Jamaica (\$13m), Guatemala (\$11m), Brazil (\$11m), Malawi (\$9) and Colombia (\$2m). While Richardson's research has not identified allegations that any of this sugar is tainted by forced labour, there could be some of the exporters could be considered 'at risk'. Second, there are British-based multi-national companies that act as major purchasers that act as major purchasers of sugarcane and its derivatives in third countries. These include Associated British Foods which owns the biggest sugar milling company in Africa, Shell and BP which provide and/or buy sugarcane ethanol, Diageo which buys sugar and molasses, and Unilever which buys sugar. Some connections have been drawn here. There are three aspects of the way that work is organised in sugarcane agriculture (its labour regime) which are especially conducive to exploitative employment, and, potentially focused labour as well. This includes piece-rate payment, migrant labour, and

outsourcing. Research indicates that forced labour has declined in the sugarcane industry, arguably as a result of the exposure to international norms of human rights that have percolated the global sugar industry and the mechanisation of agriculture which has significantly reduced employment. Two strategies that stand out in the effort to eradicate forced labour include strengthening national labour law and transnational supply chain mapping. Richardson has also looked at what happens after emancipation (Richardson et al 2009). Research conducted in Brazil found that out of desperation for money, some individuals liberated from forced labour returned to work for another. In the Dominican Republic, research highlights the issues with citizenship as contributing to gain access to welfare and formal employment (Bracken 2015). The long-term issues were related to the structural effects on employment practices, such as the reconstitution of gendered and spatial strategies to disempower labour in the Mozambican sugar industry that have drawn on the historical use of forced labour by British Sugar planters (Lazzarini 2016), and questions of reparations for slavery.

25. Sam Scott, Environmental Dynamics and Governance, University of Gloucestershire

Key words: forced labour, food industry, UK

Sam Scott specialises in international migration, labour markets and workplace regulation. Scott's most recent publications focus on the issues of forced labour in the UK. In 2017, he published a book on labour exploitation and work based harm (Scott 2017a). The book is the first look at labour exploitation from a social harm perspective, arguing that, as a global social problem, it should be located within the broader study of work based harm. The book aims to shift power from employees to workers to reduce levels of labour exploitation and work-based harm. Also in 2017, Scott published a paper that examines what informalisation looks like in practice in the UK context (Scott 2017b). Drawing on the experience of 62 low-wage migrant workers employed in the UK food industry, the paper identified five facets of informalisation, which include job security, work intensification, worker expendability, worker subordination and employment intermediation. The UK case study reveals that this type of work experience is not confined to the margins, it is also evident in the mainstream work force. Prior to this, Scott co-authored a report on the scope of forced labour in the UK (Geddes, Craig and Scott 2013). The report found that forced labour in the UK is a significant issue, and there was a lot more the UK needed to do to respond effectively. The available evidence at that point suggested that the number of people in forced labour may run into the thousands. The nature of forced labour was primarily non-UK citizens in low-skills manual and low-paid work, temporary agency work in in specific sectors. The report also found that the definition and scope of forced labour was poorly understood, and that a consensus was needed on the indicators of forced labour for accessing the scope and scale in the UK, particularly to support legal proceedings as very little case law existed. In 2012, Scott also co-authored a paper for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation on the experience of forced labouring in the UK food industry (Scott, Craig and Geddes 2012).

Forced sexual exploitation

26. Ella Cockbain and Kate Bowers, Department of Security and Crime Science, University College London

Key words: human trafficking, sexual exploitation, forced labour, mixed-methods, UK

Ella Cockbain has worked extensively on the nature and extent of sexual and labour exploitation in the UK. Her four-year integrated PhD (2009-2013) was a multi-method situational analysis of trafficking of British minors within the UK for sexual exploitation. It focused on six major investigations (including those in Derby, Rochdale and Telford), and incorporated

qualitative and quantitative data from investigative case files, court records and interviews with investigators, prosecutors and offenders. Currently, Cockbain holds an ESRC Future Research Leaders fellowship to conduct an innovative study into human trafficking for labour exploitation (2013-2018). The work is on-going under the mentorship of Kate Bowers (UCL), and involves close collaboration with end-users from the point of research design to its execution and application. Sources include comprehensive victim referral data from the National Referral Mechanism Database (n=6,858) and detailed case files for confirmed labour trafficking victims (n=453, EEA cases only). The research aims to build on the national understanding of labour trafficking, and in doing so, inform crime-reduction policies and practices, including measures to pursue offenders, protect victims, and predict the risk of trafficking.

Emerging exploitative practices

Paper orphaning

27. Lumos Foundation, London

Key words: human trafficking, children, global

Lumos is an international NGO committed to ending the institutionalisation of children worldwide. We work in partnership with governments, professionals, communities, families and children, to transform systems of institutionalisation that are harmful to children and drive families apart. Globally, an estimated eight million children live in institutions because they are poor, have a disability, or belong to a marginalised group. More than 80 percent are not orphans. Over 80 years of research from across the world has demonstrated the significant harm caused to children in institutions who are deprived of loving parental care and who may consequently suffer life-long physical and psychological harm (Berens and Nelson 2015). This submission focuses on the evidence base that demonstrates how children are being trafficked in and out of institutions, such as so call 'orphanages'. There is a strong, but largely unrecognised connection between institutionalisation and trafficking. Institutionalised children are at a higher risk of becoming victim of trafficking compared with those raised in families (Kane 2005) and, children recovered from traffickers are often placed (back) in institutions by the authorities, reinforcing the trauma they suffer (European Commission 2016). This creates a vicious circle for trafficked children and additional risks to their peers in institutions. Children are one of the most vulnerable groups targeted for the range of issues included in the UK government's definition of Modern Slavery. This is because they can be more easily trafficked in groups, are relatively discreetly and cheaply maintained and can be quickly replaced. Research demonstrates that traffickers understand and capitalise on the desperation of the communities that they operate in and, by promising a better quality of life and education for children, are able to deceive parents into placing them in institutions. For example, both Next Generation Nepal (2014) and Lumos (2016) have published evidence from Nepal and Haiti demonstrating the routine use of a 'child finder' to recruit children into orphanages; van Doore (2016) argues that children who are victim to this process have been trafficked. Other research highlights that traffickers target these institutions to access vulnerable children that can easily be trafficked, largely as a result of the poor, or lack of formal registration systems (Europol 2014). Research also suggests that trafficking from orphanages is more prolific in countries where there is a significant tourist industry, with orphanages generally being set up in main tourist areas (Next Generation Nepal 2014). It is important to recognise that current volunteering approaches and funding from the UK is encouraging trafficking overseas. It is essential to demonstrate the relationship between voluntourism and trafficking in modern slavery terminology and legislation. Inaction to do so, means that the UK is vicariously

proliferating this damaging cycle of supply and demand, and is failing to address a vital global governance gap. The UK is also a source, transit and destination country for children who are subjected to modern slavery in a variety of forms, and illustrates the vulnerability of those living in residential care settings. In 2007, ECPAT research (2013) found that 30% of all UK child trafficking victims, and 13% of unaccompanied children, disappeared from care services. This phenomenon is becoming increasingly recognised in global research into modern slavery, but now must be reflected in national and international legislation. The direct implications for the UK include:

- Ensuring that UK aid does not support institutional systems, but prioritises the transition to community-based services;
- UK businesses and NGOs should not support institutional systems in developing countries and recognise the implications of their supply chains and activities and the impact on trafficking;
- Citizens from the UK should be encouraged not to volunteer in orphanages, creating the *demand* for children to be trafficked;
- Law enforcement should support international peers to recognise and prosecute cases of trafficking and ensure that when children have been rescued, they are not placed back in institutions, but caring family environments.

28. Kathryn E. van Doore, Griffith Law School, Australia.

Key words: human trafficking, voluntourism, children, global

Kathryn E. van Doore is an international children's right law and academic at the Griffith Law School in Australia. Her recent research has focused on the recognition of 'paper orphaning' as a form of human trafficking, including as the topic of her doctoral research, which is due to be submitted in the coming months. This issue is of relevance to the UK Anti-Slavery Commissions as one of the drivers of paper orphaning is orphanage tourism, whereby tourists with good intentions visit and volunteer in orphanages as part of their travel plans (Cheney and Rotabi 2015). The demand for orphanage tourism results in the active recruitment of children into orphanages. The nature of the subsequent exploitation is twofold: as the continued maintenance of the child as an orphan without contact with their birth family, and the second is through the commodification of paper orphanhood through the related tourism industry. Paper orphaning refers to the active recruitment of children into orphanages or residential care institutions in developing nations for ongoing exploitation through orphanage tourism (van Doore 2016). It begins with the active recruitment of children from biological families into orphanages predicated on fraudulent promises made to the child's family concerning entering the child into formal education. The child is then taken to an orphanage and has new identity documents forged (including birth certificate and death certificates of the parents) formalising their status as an orphan. The child is maintained as an orphan and made available for orphanage tourism. Some orphanage operators have deliberately withheld food and proper living environments to keep paper orphans looking malnourished to attract more sympathy and therefore more money via donations. Others are made to perform traditional dance shows for tourists to garner donations or sent begging in the evenings (UNICEF 2011). The constant rotation of volunteer caregivers contributes to attachment disorders in children, and those participating in the volunteering rarely have the appropriate credentials to work with vulnerable children. The practice of paper orphaning has been identified in Nepal, Cambodia, Ghana, Uganda, Guatemala, Haiti, Kenya and many other countries (Lumos 2015). While not considered as trafficking under international law due to the interpretation of the element of exploitation (detailed in the Trafficking Protocol), it has been recognised as such in domestic law in some countries (i.e. Nepal and Haiti). Kathryn's research on this issue articulates the

legal argument for why paper orphans meet the criteria for ongoing exploitation and should be regarded as victims of human trafficking at international law, and therefore modern slavery (van Doore 2016).

Type of response

International law

29. Jean Allain, Faculty of Law, Monash University

Key words: International law, domestic law, forced labour, history of slavery

Jean Allain is a generalist of international law and a leading legal scholar on issues of slavery and human exploitation. While Allain's current research focus is on the international legal and associated historical context, he has partnered with several prominent UK academics and organisations and his research is relevant for ongoing legal and policy developments in the UK. Allain's current projects include the development of a data set of States to assess their international obligations and domestic implementation, he is on the Working Group at Monash University developing the model legislation for Anti-Slavery International and is drafting a monograph on Human Trafficking in International Law. Broadly, Allain's research and recent publications have focused on the understanding and application of international law, and the conceptualisation of human trafficking and modern slavery in the legal context. In 2017, he published on contemporary slavery and its definition in law and published an article titled 'White Slave Traffic in International Law' (Allain 2017), which examines the historical lessons from the pre-League of Nations negotiations on the abolition and suppression of White Slave Traffic for understanding contemporary forms of sexual exploitation. Forthcoming chapters cover topics including the identification of a case of modern slavery, a practical guide on forced labour for humanities and the social sciences and two other chapters' regarding the conceptualisation human trafficking, slavery and exploitation more broadly.

30. Nicole Siller, Faculty of Business and Law, Deakin University, Australia

Key words: international law, modern slavery, domestic law

Nicole Siller is a lecturer at Deakin University in Australia. Her research interests are in trafficking in persons, human exploitation, criminal law and procedure (international and domestic) and transnational and organised crime. More specifically, Siller's research has primarily focused on two areas of the law: (1) understanding the international legal definition of 'trafficking in persons' as codified in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol); and, (2) determining what role international criminal justice can play in trafficking prosecutions. Her research aims to understand the prosecutorial deficiency in trafficking in persons' cases, in which she argues is a result of the codification of the crime in both international and domestic law. Siller's thesis (Siller 2017) started to do this, and provides a thorough, elemental and critical understanding of the international definition of trafficking in persons. Her doctoral research also inquired whether the international crime against humanity of enslavement has, in fact, incorporated the crime of trafficking in persons within its legal framework. Portions of her doctoral research has been explored in the *Journal of International Criminal Justice* and the *European Journal of Comparative Law and Governance*. This scholarship examines the legal relationship between the laws of enslavement, slavery and human trafficking: (1) as codified in their respective international instruments; (2) within statutes of international judicial institutions (focusing on the ICC) and; (3) via an examination of enslavement and sexual slavery jurisprudence from international and hybrid criminal courts and tribunals. Sillar argues that the lack of conceptual clarity concerning the definition of 'trafficking in persons' is further compounded by rhetoric

used in and outside of the law. For example, the concept 'modern slavery' is not presently a legal term of art under international law. That fact, however, has not inhibited academics, practitioners or institutions from its usage. In an attempt to understand the impact resulting from the use of terms like 'modern slavery', Sillar also examined the introduction of UK's Modern Slavery Act in a chapter within M. van der Linden and M. Rodríguez García's (2016) edited manuscript titled *On Coerced Labor: Work and Compulsion after Chattel Slavery*. Finally, Sillar is also the creator and executive editor of the Journal of Trafficking and Human Exploitation – a forthcoming journal that will serve as a forum to discuss and debate the legal and policy issues involving prevention, intervention, investigations, prosecutions, individual, state and corporate responsibility and the actual codified offenses, their application in practice, subsequent judicial interpretation and any ramifications from emanating therefrom.

31. United Nations University, New York

Key words: international law, modern slavery, criminal justice system

The United Nations University have been working on a range of issues relating to slavery since 2015. The first is the role of international criminal justice systems. In December 2015, UNU published a policy report, in collaboration with the Freedom Fund and the Permanent Mission of Liechtenstein to the UN, entitled "Fighting Modern Slavery: What role for international criminal justice?" (Cockayne and Panaccione 2015). The report explores how international criminal justice (including the International Criminal Court) can establish jurisdiction over slavery-related crimes. The report puts forth ten recommendations to strengthen the role of international criminal justice systems and improve its enforcement. Drawing upon this project, in May 2016, UNU and the Freedom Fund published a Special Issue of the *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, entitled "Slavery and the Limits of International Criminal Justice" (Cockayne 2016), which outline challenges and opportunities for the international criminal justice system in prosecuting slavery-related crime. The second focus has been the role of the United Nations. In July 2016, UNU, in collaboration with the Permanent Missions of Liechtenstein and the UK, organized a 2-day workshop, entitled "Fighting Human Trafficking in Conflict." The workshop culminated in the publication of a report in September 2016, which put forth 10 ideas for action by the UN Security Council in tackling human trafficking in conflict (Cockayne and Walker 2016). In May 2017, UNU will organize a 1.5-day workshop with the Permanent Mission of Liechtenstein, entitled "Reaching SDG 8.7 in Conflict and Humanitarian Settings." The workshop will (1) follow up on UNSCR 2331 so as to identify priority areas for research and action for various UN and non-UN entities that are either directly or indirectly implicated in the Resolution and (2) identify research priorities and develop a roadmap for the Alliance 8.7 Action Group on Conflict and Humanitarian Settings. A report on the workshop's findings and outcome will be published in November 2017. The third focus has been on the role of financial institutions, and the fourth looks at the role of sustainable development. The focus on financial institutions culminated in a two-day workshop that brought together over 90 leaders from the financial sector and anti-slavery organisations with the aim of generating fresh thinking on how to strengthen the role of the financial sector. A report on this workshop will be released in the coming months. Finally, the role of sustainable development has been the focus on a report that put forth 10 recommendations for UN Member States and the Secretary-General to improve coordination and effectiveness across the multi-lateral system to achieve SDG 8.7 (Cockayne 2015). UNU has also recently been announced as a recipient of funding from the UK Modern Slavery Innovation Fund to develop an Alliance 8.7 Knowledge Platform. Working with international, state, non-governmental, business and research partners, we aim to accelerate and scale up the global scientific knowledge conversation about how to tackle slavery, and to get that knowledge where it needs to be, in the forms it needs to be in, to drive

effective policy and practice. The project includes the development of both online and offline research and learning resources and forums. Finally, the Migrant Technology group at the UNU Institute on Computing and Society (UNU-CS) is conducting research on the use of technology by migrant workers. The group considers how migrant workers can use technology to enhance their critical agency and change their overall condition.

Domestic law

32. Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group

Key words: domestic legislation, collaboration, UK

The Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group (ATMG) was founded in 2009 to monitor the UK's implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (2005) which came into effect in the UK on 1 April 2009. The ATMG now also monitors the implementation of the EU Directive on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims 2011/36. There are 13 organisations in the group, including AFRUCA, Amnesty International UK, Anti-Slavery International, Ashiana Sheffield, Bawso, ECPAT UK, FLEX, Helen Bamber Foundation, Kalayaan, Law Centre, Snowdrop Project, the TARA Service and UNICEF UK. The ATMG undertook research to review and compare the key provisions in the Modern Slavery Act, the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Criminal Justice and Support for Victims) Act (Northern Ireland), and the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland), to assess the extent to which they contribute to the UK's implementation of the 2005 Council of Europe Trafficking Convention and EU Trafficking Directive, and the extent of their implementation to date. The ATMG found that there are significant differences in several key areas across the three jurisdictions of the UK, for instance in both the statutory support entitlements for adult victims and in the non-criminalisation provisions. In the majority of cases where differences occur, it is the Modern Slavery Act that falls short of its counterparts in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Furthermore, there is an absence of a robust monitoring framework in place to oversee the implementation and impact of the Acts, and calibrate their success. This research highlights continuing weaknesses in data collection and the lack of a central, statutory body with the responsibility to collate and analyse data on both victims and perpetrators and to assess the interface between the various data streams across the UK. It also highlights the need for greater oversight and accountability in regard to data security. The report outlines five recommendations, including the publication of a proposed timetable and monitoring framework for the implementation of the respective Acts; the implementation of a UK-wide data strategy (with a focus on perpetrator data) in collaboration with IASC and devolved administrations; the provision of the necessary mandate, resources and independence to conduct research and report on modern slavery; ensure that the statutory guidance and regulation on victim identification and assistance issued by Secretary of State for the Home Department include support entitlements equivalent to those in the Scotland and Northern Ireland Acts to ensure parity of care across UK jurisdictions; and undertake an impact assessment of the Acts within five years of their commencement.

33. Cathryn Costello, Faculty of Law, University of Oxford

Key words: domestic law, international law, forced labour, unfreedom, UK

Cathryn Costello's recent chapter draws on empirical studies in the UK to argue that immigration law, the immigration process and labour market structures may interact to create vulnerability to forced labour (Costello 2015). The chapter begins with a reflection on labour law's autonomy. Section III seeks to clarify 'forced labour', and in turn looks at the binary

between 'free' and 'unfree' labour in political economy, and the notion of a continuum from free labour to the ultimate form of unfreedom, slavery. While both the binary and continuum approaches are illuminating, neither approach entirely befits the legal task of identifying the human rights violation that is forced labour. The distinct legal labels of 'slavery', 'servitude' and 'forced labour' are legal concepts embodying distinctive institutional forms of work relation. This part also explores how prohibitions on trafficking, in contrast, introduce a distinctive, potentially distortive focus on migration control and criminalization into this field. In light of the preceding discussion, Section IV examines how the migration process and immigration law create fertile conditions for forced labour. Some features of immigration law, such as precarious and irregular migration status are liable to increase dependency in work relations, which can induce domination. However, this part also considers how those with secure migration status, namely EU citizens in the UK, are also vulnerable to forced labour. In light of this analysis, Section V then critiques the current legal responses to forced labour. These responses should be of concern to labour lawyers, as they obscure general labour rights concerns, and the regulatory conditions that are fertile for forced labour. The UK exemplifies the tendency to obscure labour law concerns. At the time of writing, the UK Modern Slavery Bill was going through Parliament, which proposes life sentences for those convicted of human trafficking, slavery, forced labour and domestic servitude. The criminal approach focuses on the outcome (the forced labour itself), rather than understanding the laws, practices and regulatory gaps that set up the vulnerability to forced labour. Accordingly, this criminal law approach is contrasted with the labour law approach, taking into account the 2014 Protocol to the ILO Convention on Forced Labour. A third approach focuses on human rights law. As currently interpreted, the human rights approach is parasitic on the criminal law approach. The chapter argues that a more progressive (ie orthodox labour law) interpretation of human rights law on forced labour is appropriate and necessary. A labour law approach should ideally entail three main elements, which are briefly sketched here. First, it should insulate labour rights from migration status. Secondly, it should regulate labour intermediaries. Thirdly, it should develop better collective and institutional protections for labour rights. Evidently this is not labour law as we find it in the UK today. However, the evidence of extreme labour exploitation and forced labour demands an urgent revisitation of the norms and institutions of labour law.

34. Alicia Danielsson, Abertay University

Key words: domestic law, human trafficking, EU, UK

Alicia Danniilsson's PhD study is titled 'Prostitution in a diverse EU common market', and is a comparative study of prostitution laws in Germany, Sweden and the UK. This study is in light of the efforts of the Stockholm Programme and the developments thereafter to combat organised crime and human trafficking.

35. Judy Fudge, FRSC, Kent Law School, University of Kent

Key words: forced labour, domestic law, theory of slavery, unfreedom, UK

Judy Fudge adopts a socio-legal account of the legal characterisation of contemporary forms of labour unfreedom to explore the effect of using different legal tools to tackle forms of labour unfreedom such as trafficking for labour exploitation, forced labour, domestic servitude and other forms of modern slavery. This account emphasises the generative nature of legal characterisation, explaining how the different legal jurisdictions – criminal, human rights, immigration and labour – gain different impetus for tackling unfree labour. Traditional positive law and normative analysis seeks to identify the appropriate legal category to characterise ontological of forms labour unfreedom. Instead, Fudge offers an account of legal characterisation that stress the economic and political context that shapes the conception,

enumeration and governance of labour exploitation and labour unfreedom. This approach is a social and legal constructivist account that enables questions about whether some of the effects of a criminal law approach to labour unfreedom are the normalisation of labour market deregulation and the strengthening of immigration controls.

Fudge's current project on labour exploitation and migrant workers examines the relationship between the UK government's approach to defining and tackling labour exploitation and its desire to criminalize migrant workers who are employed without a valid work permit and impose more restrictive immigration controls. It does so by providing a qualitative case study of the establishment and operation of the UK Director of Labour Market Enforcement, which was established late in 2016, based on documentary analysis and key informant interviews.

36. Virginia Mantouvalou, UCL Institute for Human Rights

Key words: domestic law, domestic workers, UK

Virginia Mantouvalou is a Reader in Human Rights and Labour Law and Co-Director of the Institute for Human Rights. Her research interests are in human rights and labour law, and European law. She works on theoretical and legal aspects of social and labour rights, the right to work, workers' exploitation, domination, global labour justice, privacy, the rights of undocumented migrants, domestic labour, modern slavery, and the interplay between human rights and labour law. In 2015, Mantouvalou published an article that examines the UK overseas domestic worker and diplomatic domestic worker visas in place since 2012 (Mantouvalou 2015). She argues that these visas tie workers to an employer by making it unlawful for them to change employer, even when seriously exploited or abused. The article outlines findings from a study of overseas domestic workers. The workers reported instances of exploitation by their employers after arriving in the UK, and then being trapped in a cycle of exploitation after becoming undocumented when they left their employer. In light of this, the article questions whether this visa is contrary to the prohibition of slavery, servitude, forced and compulsory labour in article 4 of the European Convention on human Rights and the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015. The report draws attention to a need for reform of the laws that affect overseas domestic workers, including the implementation of further safeguards.

[Domestic policy](#)

37. Ana Beduschi, University of Exeter

Key words: domestic policy, children, refugee/asylum seeker, UK

Ana Beduschi is a Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Exeter and is also a Barrister in São Paulo, Brazil (since 2001). She serves as an external expert for the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) and for the European Commission- Asylum Migration and Integration Fund. Beduschi's research focuses on the protection of migrants' human rights, and she has published on several areas of international migration, migrants' social rights, undocumented migrants' rights and immigration detention (Beduschi 2016; Beduschi 2015a; Beduschi 2015; Beduschi 2014). She is currently working on a project on the protection of migrant children's rights, which provides training and capacity building to frontline workers in Greece and in the UK. The training also includes a toolkit to help social workers and immigration offices understand the law and assess a child's vulnerability. Another aspect of the research relates to the use of digital attributes and big data for the management of migration crisis and how this impacts the protection of migrants' rights. Both projects are funded by the ESCR. Beduschi is also carrying out research on unaccompanied migrant children in international human rights law. The aim of this research is to reassess the protection of unaccompanied migrant children

in international human rights law against deterrence strategies underlying contemporary migration policies in Europe and in the Americas. The main goal of this research project is to use practitioners as a source for understanding their perceptions of unaccompanied migrant children's rights. The long-term aim of the project is to develop this project further by mapping practitioners' knowledge, strategies and skills in the field, and proposing practical solutions to make the law accessible to all.

38. DemandAT

Key words: domestic policies, domestic law, human trafficking, collaboration, UK

The DemandAT project brings together a multidisciplinary team of researchers with expertise across fields including migration, labour and regulatory studies to undertake research on demand in the context of trafficking in human beings. Running over 42 months, the research takes a comprehensive approach to investigating demand and demand-side policies by examining demand for different forms of trafficking. The research includes a strong theoretical and conceptual component through an examination of the concept of demand in trafficking from a historical and economic perspective. Regulatory approaches in policy areas that address demand in illicit markets are studied to develop a better understanding of the impact that different regulatory approaches can have on demand. Debates on demand in different forms of trafficking as well as countries' policies are examined to provide a better understanding of policy options and policy impacts. Finally, the research also involves in-depth cases on fields in which trafficking occurs (domestic work, prostitution, globalised production of goods) and case studies of particular policy approaches (law enforcement and campaigns). Developing a better understanding of demand for trafficking in all its forms and the ways in which policy interventions may structure that demand will enable a better-informed assessment of the potential for demand-side policies and efforts to assist in task of tackling trafficking in human beings. The project aims to understand the role of demand in trafficking of human beings and assess the impact and potential of demand-side measures to reduce trafficking. The research examines the concept of demand in trafficking, the policy measures that steer demand for trafficking and the value of a demand/supply analysis of trafficking.

39. Peter Dwyer, Social Policy and Social Work, University of York

Key words: domestic policy, forced labour, refugees, UK

Peter Dwyer's research on contemporary slavery relates to issues of forced labour, and the risks associated with the labour and immigration status of refugees, asylum seekers and migrant workers in the UK. In his most recent publication, Dwyer explores the socio-legal status and experiences of forced labour among refugees and asylum seekers in the UK (Dwyer et al. 2016). This paper argues that the immigration policy and the different socio-legal statuses it creates contribute to the creation of conditions that allow severe exploitation and forced labour among asylum seekers and refugees in the UK. Dwyer co-authored a book chapter on similar issues in 2014, that examined the link between forced labour and immigration status in the UK (Scullion et al. 2014). In 2015, Dwyer's work focused on the notion of precariousness in relation to migrants in the labour force. Authors of the article 'Hyper-precarious lives: Migrants, work and forced labour in the Global North' (Lewis et al. 2015) suggests that many migrants routinely experience precarity as result of the ongoing interplay of deregulated labour markets and highly restrictive immigration and asylum policies. They contend that migrants that 'fall foul of the complex interaction of labour law and restrictive migration and welfare policy' engage in the 'unfree' labour as a means of survival. Further, in 2011 Dwyer produced a report commissioned by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation as part of its programme on Forced Labour. The report investigated the link between immigration status and migrants' vulnerability to forced labour,

and reviewed the UK policy to assess how it could contribute or facilitate the use of forced labour (Dwyer, Lewis, Scullion & Waite 2011).

40. Ruth van Dyke, Department of Social Sciences, London South Bank University

Key words: domestic policy, human trafficking, law enforcement, M&E, UK

Ruth van Dyke is a senior lecturer in social policy at London South Bank University. van Dyke's research on human trafficking evolved from her time as a volunteer in Peru with an NGO working on human trafficking that was monitoring and commenting on government policy, developing a computer system to ensure police recorded incidents of human trafficking, training of police officers, undertaking preventative work and supporting victims. While here, van Dyke was asked to investigate trafficking from the Andean community to Europe (Van Dyke 2009). By 2013, van Dyke was engaged with the Metropolitan Police Service to undertake research in the human trafficking unit to explore the competencies required for police working on this issue, including good practices and partnerships. Reports were produced for the Metropolitan Police and were sent to the college of policing with the intention of forming part of the evidence-based policing. This research partnership has continued in relation to modern slavery in England and Wales, despite being unfunded. In addition, van Dyke has undertaken research regarding the trafficking of Eritreans, which was part of a conference on Eritreans at London South Bank University in 2016. Van Dyke was also asked to Shared Services Modern Slavery and Exploitation Operation Group (which covers the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, Westminster and Hammersmith and Fulham) to collect and collate data on modern slavery from the members of the group. Two reports have been produced regarding the types of exploitation and risks, and gaps in the data and knowledge. This research has led to the production of a tool to help organisations monitor and evaluate anti-slavery initiatives. This has been shared with the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner's Office, the Human Trafficking Foundation and various other modern slavery partnerships. Finally, van Dyke is part of the team that recently submitted an ESRC bid on modern slavery and Brexit, which aims to look at possible policy responses in relation to law enforcement borders, and support and legal advice for victims post-Brexit. This was pending at the time of submission of this response.

41. Thanos Maroukis, Department of Social & Policy Sciences, University of Bath

Key words: domestic policy, labour migration, domestic workers

Thano Maroukis is a Marie Curie Research Office at the Department of Social and Policy Sciences working on migration and temporary agency work in the EU. Maroukis' research interests are in the social regulation of labour markets, the labour process and the informal economy; the sociology of migration, migrant socioeconomic and geographical mobility; migration policy, the labour market and social policy in the EU. Maroukis has four recent articles examining domestic workers and related policy, and issues relating to temporary work. In a forthcoming article regarding British public policy responses to the trafficking of domestic workers, Maroukis analyses how the current regulatory environment of social protection intersects with the criminal justice policy apparatus that has been developed in order to recognise, investigate and prosecute offences of trafficking and force labour which arise in the domestic work sector (Maroukis forthcoming (a)). In particular, it addresses key challenges in tackling THB in domestic work, including the identification and detection of cases, victims' assistance and support, and legal proceedings during criminal investigations and prosecutions. The evidence examined draws on relevant publications, national and international legislation, legal guidance and case law as well as primary research material collected from interviews with key stakeholders. Another forthcoming article is an editorial that looks at human trafficking in the domestic work sector in the EU (Maroukis forthcoming (b)). The special issue introduction

provides a comparative European overview of the occurrence of THB in the domestic work sector. It introduces the multifaceted complexity of the phenomenon, discussing the core dimensions that are raised and analysed in the articles. Beyond the distinctive features of each national context, there are some commonalities and processes that need to be put forward to contribute to a better understanding of the issue. The introduction also engages in a conceptual and analytical debate to clarify the framework of analysis of this special issue. It clearly situates THB in domestic work within the broader anti-trafficking field and sheds light on the potential contributions of deepening the study of this specific form of THB. In 2016, Maroukis published an article titled 'Temporary Agency Work Migration and the Crisis in Greece: labour market segmentation intensified' (Maroukis 2016). The article focuses on the under-researched temporary agency employment in Greece. It shows that the development of the temporary employment agency sector has gone hand in hand with the flow of undocumented and exploitable migrant labour in Greece over the past 25 years, reflecting the segmentation of the Greek labour market along ethnic lines. It highlights the precarious or even illicit nature of agency employment in a context in which labour outsourcing and flexible employment are promoted by policy makers. It also suggests that the segmented landscape of the Greek labour market has become more complex during the economic crisis, with more and more Greeks drawn to agency-mediated precarious employment. Finally, in 2015 Maroukis published on temporary agency work in the UK.

42. Teela Sanders and Rosie Campbell, University of Leicester

Key words: domestic policy, sex industry, UK

Teela Sanders and Rosie Campbell are part of the team that produced *Beyond the Gaze*, which is a participatory action research project being carried out by a team of research at Leicester and Strathclyde Universities. The overarching research question for *Beyond the Gaze* is how the internet shaped the 21st Century adult commercial sex industry in the UK and what was the role of regulation. While the research was not directly about modern slavery within online aspects of the commercial sex industry, aspects of the research and some of the data being gathered were relevant to policies and practices regarding modern slavery. The research included an online survey of projects delivering support services that explored their work with internet sex workers, an online survey of internet based sex workers, with 641 workers responding making it the largest survey of online sex workers in the UK. The survey collected new data on sex workers' use of online and digital technologies, working conditions, job satisfaction, safety, reporting crimes and views on how the UK laws could better protect sex workers and in depth interviews with 65 sex workers. It also included interviews with key stakeholders and a qualitative mapping of online sex work spaces. The project is a three-year project, with findings released in 2018.

43. David Walsh, International Policing and Justice Institute, University of Derby

Key words: domestic policy, support services, human trafficking, UK

David Walsh is a University Reader in Criminal Investigation, and the Departmental Research Lead and Deputy Director of the International Policing and Justice Institute. Currently, Walsh is supervising several relevant doctoral research projects. The first project is being undertaken by Laura Pajon Moreno, and looks at criminal investigations of human trafficking and modern slavery. This project is focused on developing a model of excellence in criminal investigations. The project will draw on empirical evidence, including from previous cases of human trafficking, trafficked victims, and government and non-governmental organisations. Another doctoral project is being undertaken by Lauren Wilson. This project looks at investigative interviews with victims of human trafficking. The project aims to expand on the current knowledge base to

explore how police investigators and interpreters conduct investigative interviews with victims or suspects of human trafficking through self-administered questionnaires and to better guide the police forces within the U.K on how to achieve the best evidence during interpreter-assisted interviews. Satarupa Ghosh is also being supervised by Walsh, and is conducting research that will examine S54 statements to determine if they possess robustness to identify exploitation in supply chains. The data from this will also be used to examine whether practices outlined in statements are being carried out. The final doctoral study will examine the various interactions that victims of modern slavery have with the criminal justice system to determine if personal encounters take into cultural differences, and whether such differences can act as a barrier to obtaining a testimony. Walsh is also conducting research in collaboration with several other academics. The first project being conducted in collaboration with Coral Dando at the University of Westminster. It examines community survey data from 682 residents from the Midlands of England concerning their understanding of nonphysical coercion and human trafficking. The data revealed a mismatch between theoretical frameworks and understanding of psychological coercion, and misconceptions concerning the nature of human trafficking. The findings suggest the need for strategically targeted public knowledge exchange concerning this crime. In collaboration with Carol Dando and Tom Ormerod, Walsh is proposing research that will develop and evaluate a proactive, psychologically guided triage conversations (a Controlled Vulnerability Conversation – CVC) to support regulators and employers address trafficking and slavery in the workplace. Building on this is a project with Fay Short and Tracie Lloyd that to build the capacity of NHS staff who are likely to encounter victims, and enable to the quickly engage with people where suspicions are raised. Finally, the last project will examine whether their current assumptions about the nature of victimhood and offender’s motivations hold true.

44. Kim Ann Williamson, Crown Prosecution Service – Wales.

Key words: domestic policy, support services, forced sexual exploitation

The Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) in Wales have completed several projects in relation to modern slavery. In 2016, the CPS released a *Code of Conduct on Ethical Employment in Supply Chains* to “support the development of more ethical supply chains to deliver contracts for the Welsh public sector and third sector organisations in receipt of public funds” (Welsh Government 2016, p. 4). The Code includes 12 commitments, and includes a range of tools and advice for implementing them. In May 2017, the CPS released a YouTube video and university booklet in collaboration with the University of South Wales (University of South Wales 2017). This formed part of a presentation to the Albanian and Welsh Governments and the CPS regarding the activities undertaken in relation to slavery in the MSc in Global Governance. In collaboration Celtic Manor Resort and the GLA, the CPS also released a booklet on addressing modern slavery for hoteliers. The guide provides a resource for those in the industry that may come into contact with a victim of slavery or trafficking. In 2010, the CPS supported a series of engagement events with street based sex workers. Conducted in collaboration with Cardiff Sex Worker Forum, there were several recommendations drawn from interviews with sex workers. These included (among others), the use of outreach workers to represent sex workers as members of the community, proactively prosecute violence against sex workers, support the establishment of reporting mechanisms for sex workers to report violence and continue to collect data on the issues faced by sex workers. This was just one of the projects, with others addressing issues of service provision gaps, understanding the issues associated with sex workers from ethnic minority groups, and an ongoing research agenda regarding the nature of, prevalence and issues associated with sex work in Wales. The issue of trafficking for sexual exploitation cut through many of these projects. Finally, the CPS supported the establishment of the Anti-Slavery Structure, which details the partnerships and working groups that implement

the Delivery Plan Objectives (which include a training strategy, victim care pathway, and anti-slavery multi-agency risk assessment conferences)

Law enforcement

45. Alex Balch, University of Liverpool

Key words: law enforcement, forced labour, support services, evaluation, UK

Alex Balch is the Co-Director of the Centre for the Study of International Slavery (CSIS), which supports a range of interdisciplinary research projects on contemporary and historical legacies of slavery. Balch has conducted a number research projects including the evaluation of key political strategies, processes and organisations involved in regulation and enforcement and victim care. Within this body of work, there are three key projects: The first was an ESCR funded post-doctoral study on the challenges for police and immigration officials in dealing with trafficking, and an evaluation of the Gangmasters Licencing Authority (GLA) with Sam Scott at the University of Liverpool. The evaluation examined the factors that facilitate or mitigate the exploitation of workers and the extent to which the GLA was achieving its aims in reducing worker exploitation within the sectors that is has responsibility. The second strand of work began in 2010, starting with an evaluation of the policy system around forced labour in the UK. This work focused on the regulations and enforcement of rules and laws, as well as an analysis of major enforcement operations such as Pentameter I and II, and Operation Ruby. This work, along with other research from the Forced Labour Programme, contributed to the establishment the Forced Labour Monitoring Group. The third strand of research is being conducted with Conny Rijken at Tilburg University in the Netherlands, and focuses of corporate governance and outcomes for survivors. This began in December 2012 with a multi-country project that seeks to develop sector-based corporate governance practices to address human trafficking and forced labour. The most recent part of this work was published in partnership with City Hearts in March 2017, which examines long-term outcomes for survivors of modern slavery. The next major output will be a nation-wide programme to scale up the project initiated by City Hearts, which encourages their suppliers to offer paid placement opportunities for survivors.

46. Katerina Hadjimatheou, Interdisciplinary Ethics Research Group, University of Warwick, and Jennifer K Lynch, School of Health and Social Work, University of Hertfordshire.

Key words: law enforcement, domestic policy, human trafficking, support services, UK

Over the past couple of years Katerina Hadjimatheou and Jennifer K Lynch have been working in partnership taking an interdisciplinary approach to analysing anti-trafficking initiatives at the UK border, including carrying out empirical work with UK Border Force professionals. Katerina Hadjimatheou is a Research Fellow with the Interdisciplinary Ethics Research Group, Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick, UK. She publishes philosophical and criminological articles in the ethics of policing, security technologies, border control, trafficking and surveillance. Jennifer K. Lynch is a Research Fellow with the Centre for Research in Primary and Community Care at the University of Hertfordshire, UK. She has a background in interdisciplinary research across the fields of health, social policy, and human trafficking. Their current work examines the difficulties in obtaining consent from potential victims of trafficking to refer them on for assistance. The paper explores the reasons behind this, and describes the border officer frustration with the consent constraints, which they view as unnecessarily limiting their ability to protect victims. In light of this, the paper questions whether the information and autonomy conditions necessary to make

consent meaningful can ever be reliably satisfied at the border and offer alternatives to consent. The aim is to extend this work to examine the perspectives and approach of other practitioners, and then look at the notion of consent from an applied philosophy approach, and its role in securing respect for autonomy in difficult circumstances, such as trafficking. Further, a team including Sasha Jespersen, Ruth Van Dyke, and Clara Connolly, Katarina Hadjimatheou have submitted an ESRC Brexit Priority Grant application, to examine the impact of Brexit on the UK's Modern Slavery Agenda. If funded, the project would focus on 3 key areas of policy change: immigration and border policy; law enforcement cooperation and intelligence sharing; human rights and equalities law. Finally, both Hadjimatheou and Lynch recently published an article for the British Society of Criminology on the humanitarian duties and professional tensions in safeguarding and anti-trafficking at the border. The article argues that there is an emergence of a distinct subculture among Safeguarding and Anti-Trafficking officers that is characterised by a sense of moral purpose and community and of doing difficult but meaningful work (Hadjimatheou and Lynch 2016). They also have a forthcoming article in the *Anti-Trafficking Review* that looks at the Safeguarding and Anti-trafficking officers evidence and intelligence practices at the border. This article ends with proposals for how the border force and central government could improve these practices in ways that would translate into more coherent anti-trafficking policy and identification and support for victims.

Business/supply chains

47. Michael K Addo, Law School, University of Exeter

Key words: business/supply chains, international law

Michael K. Addo researches and teaches international human rights law with an interest in the broad area of evidence-based human rights law. His recent work has focused on the legal nature of international human rights law, and human rights and transnational corporations. He is continuing with this line of enquiry along other themes such as cultural diversity and transnational corporations. Of particular relevance to the UK is Addo's engagement in research to develop guidance for the United Nations and its member States to promote the development of National Action Plans for the Implementation of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. This is being conducted with financial support from the Governments of Switzerland and the Netherlands. Addo has also successfully supervised doctoral research on a variety of international human rights themes including transnational corporations, international trade, privacy, crimes against humanity and reproductive choice. His recent publication cover the 'Protect, Respect and Remedy Framework' and the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (Addo forthcoming), the challenges presented for small and medium businesses in relation to human rights (Addo 2017), and the impact of human rights on an evolving business landscape (Addo 2015). Some of Addo's earlier work examines the role of the UN working group on business and human rights (Addo 2015), and the reality of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (Addo 2014). In 2011, Addo was appointed by the United Nations Human Rights Council to join its Working Group on Business and Human Rights to advise and promote the implementation of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. He now chairs the Co-ordination Committee of United Nations Human Rights Special Procedure Mandate Holders. Addo has acted as consultant or resource person for a variety of institutions including the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the International Commission of Jurist. He has also lectured at leading institutions including the International Institute of Human Rights (Strasbourg), Universities of Milan, Padova, Zurich, Connecticut and Paris XI.

48. Genevieve Le Baron, Department of Politics, University of Sheffield

Key words: business/supply chain, forced labour, tea industry, cocoa industry, methodology, UK

Genevieve LeBaron is a political scientist that uses both qualitative and quantitative methods to understand the business of forced labour in supply chains, and is currently leading four projects. The first is funded by an ESRC Future Research Leaders grant entitled 'Understanding and Governing the Global Business of Forced Labour'. This project investigates and compares the business the models of forced labour within global agricultural supply chains led by UK-based companies, focusing on case studies of tea and cocoa. The second project is funded by a British Academy Rising Star Engagement Award and is entitled 'Challenges in Researching the Shadow Economy'. This project has brought together an interdisciplinary group of experts (academics, representatives from the international Labour Organization, and NGOs) to reflect on the methodological challenges surrounding the study of forced labour in the contemporary global economy, and how social scientists can work together to create a stronger, more rigorous and ethical evidence base on forced labour. The third project examines the effectiveness of the recent wave of anti-slavery legislation (including the UK Modern Slavery Act) in combatting the business of forced labour in global supply chains. It involves collaboration with Nicola Phillips (Politics, University of Sheffield) and Andreas Rühmkorf (Commercial Law, the University of Sheffield). The project has mapped and analysed 55 pieces of national legislation that impose requirements with regards to labour issues in the company supply chains. It also analysed codes of conduct, annual CSR reports, and supplier terms and conditions for FTSE 100 companies to shed light into the impact of the legislation on corporate behaviour. The final project is an editorial partnership called 'Beyond Trafficking and Slavery' with Open Democracy. The project publishes original cutting edge academic research on forced labour in the form of a journalistic article. This is an important source of information, analysis and advocacy concerning contemporary slavery. LeBaron has also recently published widely on slavery in supply chains, including two articles in 2017 that look at supply chain regulation (LeBaron and Rühmkorf 2017) and the role of ethical audit regimes (LeBaron, Lister and Dauvergne 2017). She also published on this issue throughout 2016, including a co-authored report for the International Labor Organisation on mapping and measuring the effectiveness of labour-related disclosure requirements (Phillips, LeBaron and Wallin 2016).

49. Siobhán McGrath, Department of Geography, Durham University

Key words: business/supply chains, forced labour, unfreedom, South America

Siobhán McGrath is a lecturer in Human Geography, and works within labour geography as well as development geography from a broadly political economy perspective. Her research interests are in work, labour and employment, particularly forced labour, degrading conditions of employment, precarious work and unregulated work characterised by workplace violations as well as labour within Global Production Networks. McGrath is also interested in Brazil's role as a rising superpower as it relates to South-South globalisation and development. McGrath's PhD research considered the issue of 'slave labour' in Brazil in sugar cane and garments. Fieldwork was conducted in 2008. This study led to several publications on 'unfreedom in labour relations' and on trafficking, forced labour and slavery (referred to as TFLS as an area of policy interest – despite differences in legal definitions). Some of this work expresses important reservations and criticisms of: the framing of (contemporary) 'slavery' and trafficking, the Modern Slavery Act, and the contradictions of championing anti-TFLS while simultaneously rolling back labour rights, labour standards, and social safety nets and imposing regressive migration policies (to which one might add a host of other policies such as those in the aid and

trade arenas). Most recently, McGrath lead a work-package examining initiatives which seek to address (or claim to address) TFLS in relation to supply chains as part of an FP7 funded project, DemandAT (see <http://demandat.eu>). All data collection was carried out by Post-Doctoral Research Associate, Fabiola Mieres. The policy brief is forthcoming, and outlines the data collection and some of the preliminary analysis. The research has sought to identify initiatives (policies, programs and other actions) which address TFLS in and through supply chains. Only initiatives which include a substantive focus on both TFLS and supply chains have been included in the data collection and analysis. The following typically reference Core Labour Standards, including freedom from forced labour: International Framework Agreements (IFAs) negotiated between Global Union Federations (GUFs) and Transnational Corporations (TNCs); bilateral and multilateral trade agreements; and individual company codes of conduct. In addition to these, our research has identified 97 further initiatives at the TFLS-supply chain nexus. The initiatives are diverse: a range of actors (companies, NGOs, governments, multilateral bodies, etc.) are involved in these initiatives, they are being developed and applied in various industries, they operate at different scales and in different locations, and they take many forms. To understand this diversity, the initiatives have been classified using these factors. To further consider the implications of these diverse initiatives, the research includes three case studies investigating how selected initiatives are playing out on the ground. Each case study has involved a period of fieldwork: electronics in Malaysia; construction in Qatar; and agriculture in the US. The Policy Brief then considers 1) the question of responsibility in supply chains; 2) varying enforceability of initiatives; 3) prospects for worker participation; and 4) the role of public regulation to protect workers' and migrants' rights and labour standards.

50. Allesandra Mezzadri, Department of Development Studies, SOAS

Key words: business/supply chains, forced labour, garment industry, South Asia, India

Allесandra Mezzadri is a political economist of global production systems and labouring poverty, with a geographical area of expertise in India and the export-oriented garment industry. His research can be subdivided into three main research sub-phases: the first phase has focused on mapping the ways in which the global garment commodity chain 'lands' in India, and how it interplays with domestic social structures of oppression and inequalities, such as gender, caste, age or geographical provenance. The mapping involved extensive fieldwork at the main export-oriented garment hubs of India, including namely Delhi, Jaipur (Rajasthan), Ludhiana (Punjab), Kolkata, Mumbai, Bangalore (Karnataka), Chennai and Tiruppur (Tamil Nadu). In short, the early stages of this research on the global garment industry in India has focused on the ways in which the global production system shapes, but is also shaped by the multiple *local forms of exploitation* at work across the subcontinent. The findings gathered during this first phase of research are relevant for debates over the nature of global supply chain capitalism and the limitation of global labour standards. They highlight the limitations of Corporate Social responsibility (CSR) measures, as top-down technicistic solutions, which do not address local power relations. Moreover, the findings also speak more directly to debates on labour 'unfreedom', as they analyse the relationship between dispossession and distinct forms of wage relations (Mezzadri, 2008). The second phase of Mezzadri's research has focused on understanding the workings of global commodity chains beyond the main urban industrial hubs, which is informed by field work undertaken in 2010, 2012, and 2013. In practice, this has meant following the garment chains from urban to rural areas, where many ancillary activities are relocated to further minimise production and labour costs. The third and final phase of the research, which lasted three years (2013-2016) involved collecting data – in the form of questionnaires as well as interviews and field trips – on factory and non-factory workers in Delhi. This phase was crucial to highlight the health and safety implications of working poverty

in the garment industry, to make sense of the many sweatshop scandals and disasters who have hit the garment industry across time, and to discuss the implication of working poverty for workers' bodies, which are systematically depleted by garment work (Mezzadri, 2016D; 2017). Discussion over modern slavery should take in greater consideration these processes, as they impact a far larger share of the working poor than 'spectacular' disasters. Yet, this low-intensity epidemic is subtle and on-going across all producing areas. This final part of the research has closed a cycle of over 10 years of observations of the Indian garment industry case. The findings from all this research has been published in the book *The Sweatshop Regime* (Mezzadri 2016e).

51. Steve New, Saïd Business School, University of Oxford

Key words: business/supply chains

Steve New is a Fellow and Tutor in Management at Hertford College, at the University of Oxford. New's research interests lie in developing a more rigorous appreciation of how individuals and organisation construct and interpret their environment and the systems in which they operate. This includes taking a multi-faceted approach to analysing the meaning and interpretation of supply chain partnerships and exploring the way in which ethical and environmental issues are reflected in the chain. In 2015, New published an article on slavery in supply chains (New 2015). The article examines modern slavery in the supply chains, showing how the issue challenges conventional thinking and practice in corporate social responsibility. It also considers the differences between modern slavery and other concerns within CSR, and examines legal attempts to encourage supply chain transparency and the use of corporate CSR methods. The article draws on forced labour in the UK agricultural industry to develop a critique of the approaches and examines the challenges facing research in this important area. It shows that the distinctive characteristics of modern slavery may make conventional supply chain CSR practices relatively ineffective, and a more holistic perspective may be needed for future research. The article suggests that there needs to be less focus on the espoused policies of corporations and more on the enacted practice. This article highlight's the potential differences between modern slavery and other CSR-related issues and to highlight the paradox that firms' approaches to the issue may run in parallel with actions that foster the problem in the first place.

52. Andreas Rühmkorf, School of Law, University of Sheffield

Key words: business supply chains, methods, modern slavery

Andreas Rühmkorf's research interests focus on the legal aspects of CSR, particularly in the context of global supply chains. In this regard, Rühmkorf has developed a particular interest in how home states of transnational corporations steer through public governance, and the way transnational corporations promote CSR issues in their private relations with their suppliers. Currently, he is working on an article on the translation of the concept of human rights due diligence from international to domestic law, and whether existing forms of due diligence regulation is adequate. The second piece focuses on the enforcement of hybrid regulator approaches to CRS. In his recent book, *Corporate Social Responsibility, Private Law and Global Supply Chains*, Rühmkorf (2015) analyses how English private law already promotes CSR in supply chains and how it could be better is amendments to the law were made, noting that the book was written prior to the enactment of the UK Modern Slavery Act. In the book, Rühmkorf carried out an analysis on 15 FTSE100 companies' supply chain documents, and look at how the issues of bribery, modern slavery and health and safety were incorporated legally into the supply chain contracts between Western multi-national buyers and their

overseas suppliers. The research found that companies could theoretically enforce contractual clauses that benefit them under Contract (Rights of Third Parties) Act 1998, but that these rights are common excluded by the parties to the contract. In the forthcoming Global Policy article with Genevieve LeBaron, Rühmkorf looks at supplier codes of conducts, corporate CSR/sustainability reports terms and conditions of purchase to compare how companies address the issues of modern slavery and bribery in their supply chain relations, which is then linked to the debate about the interaction of public and private governance (LeBaron and Rühmkorf forthcoming (a)). The article contends that stringent forms of public government (i.e. corporate criminal liability for bribery) better steer the private responses of corporations. This is evidenced by the fact that in the documents analysed, bribery appears to have become a genuine compliance issues where as modern slavery is addressed in a more aspirational way (with little due diligence). In another article, Rühmkorf (forthcoming (b)) analyses different forms of home state regulations and argues that the exhibit variant forms of stringency. In the chapter for the book on modern slavery research methods (edited by Genevieve LeBaron – forthcoming (c)), Rühmkorf discusses the challenges that private commercial documents constitute for research and how publicly available company documents can still be useful for socio-legal research.

53. Alex Trautrim, Business School, University of Nottingham

Key words: business/supply chains, UK

Alex Trautrim's research focuses on managerial decision making in supply chains, particularly in sourcing and development. Currently, Trautrim's work falls within with the Detection, Supply Chain Design, and Diffusion agenda at the University of Nottingham, and he is working on a project with the UK construction sector via actions sustainability. Trautrim is also part of the team that was recently awarded a British Academy/Leverhulme Small Grant for research on management approaches to tackle slave labour in contemporary supply chains. There are two publications from this project to date: the first proposes the use of agent-based modelling to create a shadow account (a secondary account of business which is used to audit or verify the primary account). The article argues that such a model could be used to test the claims of industries and businesses (Chesney, Gold and Trautrim 2017). The second aims to draw attention to the challenges modern slavery poses to supply chain management (Gold, Trautrim and Trodd 2015). The article indicates that due to the lack of indicators, new tools and indicators systems need to be developed that consider the specific social, cultural and geographical context of supply chains. After the detection of slavery however, multi-stakeholder partnerships, community centred approaches and supply development practices were effective. The article concludes by suggesting that new theory development is urgently needed to facilitate the understanding, avoidance and elimination of slavery in supply chains, and offers a starting point for the development of practices and tools for identifying and removing slave labour from supply chains.

Support services

54. Patrick Burland, Research Consultant

Key words: support services, human trafficking, domestic law, UK

Patrick Burland's doctoral research examined the provision of support and assistance for trafficked adults across four regions in the United Kingdom. The doctoral research sought to understand three key issues: First, was whether the UK provisions of support and assistance were consistent with the 2005 Council of Europe Convention Against Trafficking in Human

Beings (CoE Trafficking Convention). Second, it sought to examine the tensions and overlaps between the current law enforcement approach to trafficking and the human rights approach model, and how this occurred particularly victim interactions with law enforcement officers. Finally, it critically examined differences in service provision offered to adult men and women in the UK. The research undertook qualitative in-depth interviews with fifty stakeholders responding to, and providing services to trafficked persons in the UK. This included support workers, politicians, solicitors and law enforcement. The research argues that the response to trafficked adults in the UK do not uphold a genuine human rights approach and did not meet the minimum requirements of the CoE Trafficking Convention. This was due in part to the negative impact of the dominant victim discourse on the identification of trafficked persons in shaping the nature of the responses to them in policy and practice. The latter finding was drawn from an additional analysis of the nature of victim discourse and the way that victims had been conceptualised by charities, NGOs, the media and politicians in the UK. Finally, the research found that there was a gap in the provision of support and assistance for trafficked men throughout the four regions examined in the study for men, both during and after being trafficked. Burland is also working on two additional projects. The first examines the impact of section 45 of the Modern Slavery Act, which seeks to prevent trafficked persons from being punished for offences committed because of being trafficked. To date, the research has identified over 30 separate courts cases since 31st July 2015 in which potential victims of trafficking for cannabis cultivation have been prosecuted and convicted. The second examines the imprisonment, detention and deportation of trafficked persons in the UK.

55. FLEX (Focus on labour Exploitation)

Key words: support services, domestic policy, forced labour, human trafficking, UK

FLEX have undertaken a series of research projects examining the nature of, and response to forced labour and human trafficking in the UK. The most recent papers were produced in 2016, and address issues with responses to, and services for victims of labour trafficking, including identification, support and compensation. The first of these papers identifies the need for sustainable support and access to accommodation, the need for more proactive and victim centred identification efforts and improve access to legal remedies for victims of trafficking. The second paper then examines the issue around accessing compensation and identifies four key barriers to victims' access in the UK. In July the same year, FLEX released another paper on accessing compensation for victims of human trafficking, which indicated that little had changed for victims seeking justice following the passage of the Modern Slavery Bill. In August 2016, the Labour Exploitation Advisory Group (of which FLEX is secretariat) released a paper that explores the links between labour abuses and exploitation, and provides recommendations for measures to address abuse across the spectrum to prevent the development of exploitation. A two-year EU/ISEC funded project – the Pro-Act project – released a report on the identification and support of victims of labour trafficking in the UK, the Netherlands and Romania. The report provides a series of recommendations that serve as the basis for a set of EU-wide strategies to improve the pro-active identification and support of persons trafficked for labour exploitation. In 2015, FLEX released two working papers on access to justice and the prevention of trafficking for labour exploitation. The first working paper sets out a road map for the prevention of trafficking for labour exploitation in the UK, which includes improved labour standard monitoring. FLEX also compiles and maintains the Labour Exploitation Accountability Hub. The Hub is a publicly accessible online database that provides resources for frontline professions on national laws and regulations relating to corporate accountability for their supply chains. This includes countries summaries that outline the nature and scope of labour exploitation in those countries.

56. Alison Gardner, School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Nottingham

Key words: modern slavery, support services, domestic policy

Dr. Alison Gardner is an academic and public policy professional with over fifteen years of experience working in and around local and central government. She has previously published academic work on austerity, devolution and institutional change, and now leads a programme called 'Slavery-Free communities' at the University of Nottingham, exploring how we create healthy and prosperous places which are resistant to modern slavery. Action research and appreciative inquiry methods underpin her collaborative research with communities, civil society organisations and public services. In 2017 she worked with the Office of the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner to map UK multi-agency anti-slavery partnerships, and was lead author for the research report '*Collaborating for Freedom*'. She is currently working alongside the Church of England's 'Clewer Initiative' to evaluate their anti-slavery work with communities, in a project that runs until spring 2019. She holds a collaborative research grant awarded by the University of Birmingham and the University of Nottingham which uses action-research to understand how we might improve the evidence base for local anti-slavery action. She is principal investigator on grant project (pending), which will focus on the physical, emotional and temporal journeys of UK survivors of slavery after their support from the national referral mechanism ceases. She also represents the University of Nottingham on the Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Modern Slavery Partnership.

57. Carole Murphy, School of Arts and Humanities, St Mary's University Twickenham London

Key words: support services, human trafficking, UK

Carole Murphy is the Deputy Director at the Centre for the Study of Modern Slavery at St Mary's University. Her research is mainly concerned with mapping the 'journey' of a victim/survivor from identification, throughout the 45-day reflection and recovery period and evaluating the support available from day 46. This research involves a comparative analysis of different first responders' practices, including police, NGOs and others, as well as a review of available victim identification guidelines, a review of training and awareness for those who may encounter potential victims, and a review of interview processes and procedures based on an analysis of interview transcripts (access still being negotiated). The research will provide a proposal to develop best practice guidelines. In addition, Murphy has been contracted to evaluate a housing charity's services, one of which provides accommodation and support services to trafficking survivors post day-45. In addition to analysing data about clients and surveying refers, interviews were conducted with service users. The research found that there were challenges for women who were also seeking asylum. The intersection of trafficking, national identity, gender and immigration law will be the next stage in this research project. Other support organisations in the London area will be surveyed to establish the breadth of services on offer. Access to data held by these organisations will be negotiated for the purposes again of identifying best practice in diverse types of services. And finally, Murphy is also conducting an analysis of media representations of migration, smuggling and trafficking. A chapter on this, *Rivers of Blood, Sea of Bodies: An analysis of recent media coverage of migration and trafficking on the High Seas*, is due to be published later this year in *Beasts of the Deep*, John Libbey Publishing.

58. PROTECT Project, Kings College London

Key words: support services, human trafficking, UK

PROTECT (Provider Responses, Treatment and Care for Trafficked People) aimed to develop evidence to inform the NHS response to human trafficking. It provides evidence about the healthcare needs and experiences of trafficked adults and children and documents NHS knowledge and experience of responding to the health needs of trafficked people. The programme comprised several studies, including a cross-sectional survey and qualitative research with trafficked people in contact with support service in England to explore health needs and experiences of using NHS care; a cohort study of trafficked people in contact with secondary mental health services; a cross-sectional survey of NHS professionals to investigate prior contact with trafficked people and knowledge and confidence to respond; qualitative research with NHS and other professionals to investigate experiences of responding to the health needs of trafficked people; systematic review of health outcomes associated with trafficking and of evidence on guidance on caring for trafficked people in healthcare settings. The research found that trafficked people have a high exposure to violence, with 66 per cent of trafficked women that participated in the study reporting forced sex during trafficking, including 95 per cent of those trafficked for sexual exploitation and 54 per cent of those trafficked for domestic servitude. Thirty-one per cent of women had experience sexual violence prior to being trafficked. The final report delivered to the Department of Health Policy Research Programme also found that 40 per cent of men had experienced physical violence during trafficking (PROTECT 2015, p. 10). The report also revealed that almost two-thirds of participants in the cross-sectional survey had symptoms of serious psychological distress, including almost half with PTSD symptoms and some reporting suicidal ideation (PROTECT 2015, p. 10). The qualitative research indicates that a relatively small proportion of people came into contact with health services while in the trafficking situation, often because traffickers restricted their movement. The participants that had been trafficked also revealed that they would seek support due to the risks associated with their irregular immigration status and lack of identification. It also highlights that individual might have used services if they had a better understanding of their rights. Finally, the report found that one in eight (13 per cent) of NHS staff had contact with a patient they knew or suspected were trafficked. This rose to one in five among maternity services professionals. There are however limitations in healthcare providers' knowledge of safe and appropriate approaches to identify and care for people that had been trafficked, citing both knowledge gaps and practical barriers to assisting people (PROTECT 2015, p. 12). The report concludes with a suite of recommendations across key government and law enforcement agencies to improve access to health services for victims of trafficking.

59. Amy Rutland

Key words: support services, UK

Amy Rutland submitted a report that summarises the findings from twenty interviews with professionals on their knowledge of modern slavery in Leicester. The aim of the report is to provide evidence regarding the context and extent of slavery in Leicester and offer a detailed understanding of the way professional identify and deal with victims and identify barriers for referral to the National Referral Mechanism (NRM). The findings revealed that there was no lead organisation to deal with modern slavery in Leicester, which also meant it was difficult for professionals to know where to seek advice and training. While many of the professionals interviewed had not received training, more than half of those interviewed had come across a potential victim. The organisations were more likely to identify victims if they facilitate one-on-one contact with service users and are therefore able to develop a relationship overtime. Professional indicated that they preferred to pass information to the police through individuals they already know, and preferred to discuss their concerns first. The research also showed that an organisation would not necessarily refer a victim if they did not want the police involved,

meaning that the information would also not be recorded. This also highlighted that there were barriers for professionals in passing information to the police, such as a perceived lack of knowledge about the situation, concerns about victim consent, uncertainty about the outcome of any referral, and how to pass on 'lower level' concerns. The report recommended increased engagement with the community through drop in sessions and public talks to develop rapport with service-users, the distribution of flyers, posters and pre-printed information cards and the building of rapport between neighbourhood officers and wider range of NGOs. It also recommended to establish a single point of contact for slavery in Leicester that should be easily accessible, resources to provide training, and be able to collate information from NGOs to share with the police.

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