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Faculty of Social Sciences

School of Economic, Social, and Political Sciences

Preventing modern slavery: Using a socio-political lens to explore the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences and critically analyse the potential for primary prevention measures.

by

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Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Faculty of Social Sciences

School of Economic, Social, and Political Sciences

Doctor of Philosophy

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Despite the UK Government's commitment to respond to modern slavery, in the UK the number of identified victims/survivors of modern slavery has increased each year from 552 in 2009 to 12,727 in 2021, and prosecutions have remained comparatively low (Home Office, 2014; 2020; 2021c; 2022b; MSOIC, 2022; NCA, 2018; 2019). To prevent the harms of modern slavery, scholars have identified the push/pull factors for victimisation and sought to develop prevention measures such as awareness-raising campaigns (Home Office, 2017; IASC and University of Nottingham Rights Lab, 2017). The continued increase of identified victims/survivors of modern slavery, however, suggests these measures are not going far enough to prevent modern slavery. Although those engaging in these offences play an integral role in modern slavery, as it is they who create the victim, there are currently no specifically identified push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. Understanding what contributes to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences allows us to understand more about those engaging, which can facilitate the design and development of primary prevention measures. Such measures will prevent the harms and abuses from being caused in the first place. This interdisciplinary thesis applies the public health model of prevention by focusing on primary prevention, which prevent harm from happening in the first instance.

Drawing on the 91 modern slavery cases discussed by 18 anti-slavery professionals, the thesis explores whether primary prevention measures could address the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences in England and Wales. The research found that individuals who engage in modern slavery offences represent one of three narratives. These are 1) those who go straight to engaging, 2) those who were victims first and then engaged, and 3) those that alternate between victim and engaging. The third narrative contributes to the existing research and portrays the nuances and complexities of the modern slavery reality. The research found specific push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences and coined them the 'five instabilities' (economic, family/early life, polity, environmental, and emotional). The research offers a contextual understanding of the five instabilities by applying Messner and Rosenfeld's Institutional Anomie Theory (2013). The research demonstrates that, in theory, primary prevention measures would be able to address the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. However, in practice, it would require systems change to achieve a whole-systems approach to implementing primary prevention measures. The thesis argues that modern slavery is, first and foremost, a political problem caused by political decisions, and it is these policies and inaccurate immigration rhetoric which, if left unchanged, will allow modern slavery to thrive.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: SOPHIE EMMA WILKINSON

Title of thesis: Preventing modern slavery: Using a socio-political lens to explore the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences and critically analyse the potential for primary prevention measures.

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signature: Date:.....07.09.23

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Definitions and Abbreviations

ATMG	Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group. Formed under the NGO Anti-Slavery International, the group consists of organisations which monitor UK anti-slavery laws and responses
BASNET.....	UK BME Anti-Slavery Network
CATW.....	Coalition Against Trafficking in Women
CJS	Criminal Justice System
CJS_1 and CJS_2	Participants working in the criminal justice system focusing on prosecutions
CLE_1.....	CEO of consultancy firm specialising in county lines and retired senior law enforcement officer
COE.....	Council of Europe
COE Convention	Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings
County lines (CL)	Form of criminal exploitation. Offence under the Modern Slavery Act 2015. Transportation of illegal drugs from one county to another, often using a specific phone line. Children and vulnerable people are exploited to transport the drugs
EU	European Union
EU Directive.....	EU Directive on trafficking in human beings
GAATW.....	Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women
GLAA.....	Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority
GRETA.....	Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings
HMPPS.....	Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service
IASC	Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner. Role established in the Modern Slavery Act 2015 to evaluate and encourage good practice in any response to anti-slavery. At time of writing there is currently no newly appointed IASC since the previous IASC, Sara Thornton, left in April 2022

Definitions and Abbreviations

IAT.....	Institutional Anomie Theory
IO	Ideal Offender
JITs	Joint Investigation Teams
JRF.....	Joseph Rowntree Foundation
LENGO_1.....	Employee at a charity which strategically responds to modern slavery, and retired specialist law enforcement officer
MASH.....	Multi-agency Safeguarding Hub
MSOIC.....	Modern Slavery and Organised Immigration Crime
MSPT.....	Modern Slavery Police Transformation
MSVCC	Modern Slavery Victim Care Contract
NCA	National Crime Agency
NDPB_1 and NDPB_2.....	Specialists working for different non-departmental public bodies
NGO_1	CEO of NGO which is targeted by individuals engaging in modern slavery offences
NGO_2, NGO_3, NGO_4, NGO_5	CEOs of different support organisations including those which directly work with those engaged in or at risk of engaging in, modern slavery offences
NRM.....	National Referral Mechanism. Home Office framework for identifying and supporting victims/survivors of modern slavery offences. Only applicable in England and Wales
OASys.....	Offender Assessment Systems
OCG.....	Organised Crime Group
RCT.....	Rational Choice Theory
SA_1.....	Specialist academic and retired civil servant working in a department which dealt closely with labour exploitation
SA_2.....	Specialist academic and consultant, previously a local authority employee
SCLLE_1 and SCLLE_2.....	Specialist county lines law enforcement officers
SLE_1 and SLE_2	Specialist modern slavery law enforcement officers

START	Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism
STPO	Slavery and Trafficking Prevention Orders
STRO	Slavery and Trafficking Risk Orders
SLA_1	Specialist modern slavery local authority employee and retired specialist law enforcement officer
TRACE	Trafficking as a Criminal Enterprise
UN Trafficking Protocol	Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons especially Women and Children
UN	United Nations
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

Chapter 1 Introduction

‘The first legislation of its kind in Europe, this act [Modern Slavery Act 2015] has delivered tough new penalties to put slave masters behind bars where they belong, with life sentences for the worst offenders. It has created a vital policing tool to stop anyone convicted of trafficking from travelling to a country where they are known to have exploited vulnerable people in the past. It has delivered enhanced protection and support for victims and a world-leading transparency requirement on businesses to show that modern slavery is not taking place in their companies or their supply chains.’
(May, 2016)

The Modern Slavery Act 2015 was introduced by the UK Conservative Government and consolidated pre-existing legislation against various forms of trafficking and exploitation¹. The whole of the Act applies to England and Wales with some sections also applying to Scotland and Northern Ireland (*Modern Slavery Act 2015*)². The promises made in the statement above by the then Prime Minister, Theresa May, have failed to materialise, with increasing numbers of identified (potential)³ victims/survivors⁴ and low conviction rates (Home Office, 2014; 2020; 2021c; 2022b; MSOIC, 2022; NCA, 2018; 2019). This research aims to explore whether primary prevention measures could address the contributing factors for engaging in modern slavery offences, thus preventing the associated abuses and harms from being experienced by the victims/survivors in the first place.

¹ Prior to the Modern Slavery Act 2015, the Sexual Offences Act 2003 included legislation against the trafficking of humans for sexual exploitation, which covered entering, exiting and internal within, England, Wales and Northern Ireland (*Sexual Offences Act 2003*). Scotland also legislated against this crime within their Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003 (*Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003*). The Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants etc.) Act 2004 included legislation against the trafficking of humans for all forms of exploitation which covered entering, exiting and internal within, England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland (*Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants etc.) Act 2004*). The Coroners and Justice Act 2009 legislated against slavery, servitude and forced labour within England, Wales and Northern Ireland (*Coroners and Justice Act 2009*).

² In some cases, Scotland and Northern Ireland have their own Acts which legislate against human trafficking and exploitation. (*Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Act 2015*; *Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Criminal Justice and Support for Victims) Act (Northern Ireland) 2015*).

³ The term potential is used and is bracketed as at this stage of the individual’s referral they are yet to be confirmed as a victim/survivor of modern slavery by the Home Office. These statistics were chosen as the decisions made by the Home Office which confirm or deny that an individual is a survivor of modern slavery offences has been criticised. For example, for being too immigration focused (McQuade, 2019). This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

⁴ I offer a detailed account of how I use terms like ‘victim/survivor’ later in this chapter.

Chapter 1

This chapter provides the background and context of the research, the research problem, and the research aims, objectives, and questions. The chapter concludes by outlining the significance of the research along with a discussion on the terminology used throughout the thesis.

Prior to the Modern Slavery Act 2015, the number of identified victims/survivors of modern slavery had increased yearly since records began in 2009, and has continued to rise post 2015, from 552 in 2009 to 12,727 in 2021⁵ (Home Office, 2014; 2020; 2021c; 2022b; NCA, 2018; 2019). Additionally, prosecutions remain comparatively low compared to the number of victim/survivor referrals (Broad and Muraszkiwicz, 2020; Home Office, 2022b; MSOIC, 2022). In the year 2021-2022 there were just under 110 convictions for modern slavery offences compared to 2,866 individuals who were recognised by the UK Government as survivors of modern slavery (MSOIC, 2022).

The research was prompted by the increasing number of (potential) victims/survivors. In 2016, I worked for a service provider in England which receives referrals from the Salvation Army to support (potential) victims of modern slavery. During my time there, the number of referrals we received increased each week and each month. Although the increase in victim referrals may be due to better identification (Turner, 2015), these statistics also indicate that modern slavery is not being prevented. Each modern slavery experience is different. However, the psychological and physical impact can have a deleterious effect on the victim/survivor. This outcome led me to query whether there was an opportunity to prevent modern slavery from happening in the first place by focusing on those that engage in the offence, meaning no other individual would have to experience these abuses and harms. My first-hand experience with (potential) victims in the service provision, and the continued increase in the referrals in England directed my attention to position the research in England and Wales.

Despite the failed promises of Theresa May, the UK Government has continued to undertake its commitment to 'tackle slavery, exploitation, and trafficking' (HM Government, 2020, p. 1). However, its commitment is often synonymous with developing tighter immigration policies. A recent speech on illegal migration by the current UK Prime Minister Rishi Sunak⁶ seamlessly links modern slavery and immigration. Complimenting the government's own 'generosity' through the Modern Slavery Act 2015 to 'those most in need', he insinuates the individuals [referring specifically to Albanian nationals] benefiting from such 'generosity' are in fact exploiting the modern slavery system and should be removed from the country (Sunak, 2022). This claim has

⁵ There was a reduction in referrals by three in 2020 thought to be due to COVID-19 restrictions which meant identification was more difficult (Home Office, 2020).

⁶ At the time of writing in February 2023.

been condemned by the UN as unfounded (OHCHR, 2022). Furthermore, the available statistics on modern slavery suggest the conflation of modern slavery and immigration is unsubstantiated. Since 2017, the available statistics have demonstrated that UK nationals have been the most referred nationality into the National Referral Mechanism (NRM)⁷ (Home Office, 2020; 2021c; 2022b; NCA, 2018; 2019). Furthermore, since 2017 Albanian and Vietnamese nationals have consistently been the second and third most referred (See Table 1) (Home Office, 2020; 2021c; 2022b; NCA, 2018; 2019). It is acknowledged these statistics are only representative of those identified and are not a definitive picture. Nevertheless, the statistics illustrate that conflating modern slavery with immigration is an inaccurate depiction of modern slavery in the UK.

	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
UK nationals	819	1,625	2,836	3,560	3,952
Albanian nationals	777	947	1,705	1,638	2,511
Vietnamese nationals	737	702	887	653	991

Table 1. Referral numbers by top three nationalities into the NRM since 2017 (Home Office, 2020; 2021c; 2022b; NCA, 2018; 2019)

Another problem with conflating modern slavery with immigration is that it generates the idea that modern slavery is a ‘them’ problem. A problem that is *outside* the UK. Where the UK is merely an innocent bystander. A victim of the foreign nationals ‘who trade in human misery’ (Sunak, 2022). A problem that is placed *upon* the UK rather than a problem that the UK is complicit in. The UK Government is placed within an environment conducive to exploitation such as reduced ‘human rights and social protections, de-fund[ed] labour inspectorates, roll[ed] back hard-won laws and legal victories made by unions, champion[ed] stricter immigration laws, and give[n] ever-greater power to businesses who perpetrate forced labour with virtual impunity’ (LeBaron and Pliley, 2021, p. 29). Conflating modern slavery with immigration deflects from the UK Government’s contribution to, and responsibility for the problem (Kenway, 2021). Conflating modern slavery with immigration ignores the reality that UK nationals are the highest referred nationality and that the UK Government is complicit in producing an exploitative environment.

⁷ Home Office framework for identifying and supporting victims/survivors of modern slavery offences. Only applicable in England and Wales.

Chapter 1

This ignorance challenges the success of any policy response as it is built on a false narrative. This false narrative extends to what Broad and Gadd (2023) and Gadd and Broad (2022) refer to as the 'folk devil'. The individual who engages in modern slavery offences about which very little is known or referred to in Government documents. By perpetuating the false narrative that modern slavery and immigration are intrinsically linked, policy efforts are rendered futile which offers an understanding as to why the victim referral numbers are continuing to increase. This increase indicates that modern slavery continues to thrive in the UK and the harms and abuses experienced continue to be unprevented.

In addition to and prior to the Modern Slavery Act 2015, the UK developed their Modern Slavery Strategy in 2014, which is still being used today⁸. The Strategy adopts the UN Trafficking Protocol and the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings' (COE Convention) 4 Ps Framework: prevention, protection, prosecution, and partnership (COE, 2005; UNODC, 2008; UNODC, 2009b). Although it replaces the fourth P, 'partnership' with 'prepare' (HM Government, 2014). The 'prepare' section of the Modern Slavery Strategy (HM Government, 2014) reinforces the support and protections set out in the 'protect' section. The UK adopted their counter terrorism strategy to guide their own 4 P framework (HM Government, 2018). This has meant the UK's modern slavery prevention strategy refers to those at risk of engaging as well as the victims of modern slavery.

The 2021 UK Government's annual report on modern slavery questions its commitment to prevention and even more so its commitment to preventing those at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. The 2021 UK Government's 48-page annual report on modern slavery assigns two-and-a-half pages to prevention compared to seven pages respectively to prosecutions and victim support (HM Government et al, 2021). Only one paragraph comes close to discussing the prevention of individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences when the Home Office funded initiative, the 'Responsible Car Wash Scheme' is introduced (HM Government et al, 2021). This initiative offers car wash owners an opportunity to register, which the Scheme believes indicates the owner's awareness of, and compliance with, labour regulations and workers' statutory rights, thus reducing exploitative practices (RCWS, 2023). However, neither the Scheme nor the Annual Report address the need to also respond to the exploitative environment in which the car washes operate.

⁸ In March 2021 the then Home Secretary Priti Patel called for the 2014 Modern Slavery Strategy to be reviewed and was set to be published in Spring 2022 (HM Government et al, 2021; Home Office, 2021d; Parliament. House of Commons, 2022). At the time of writing, February 2023, the review has yet to be published.

Section 54 of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 refers to Transparency in Supply Chains (*Modern Slavery Act 2015*) and carries a similar intent to that of the Responsible Car Wash Scheme as a prevention measure. The first of its kind in Europe, this provision requires private sector businesses which supply goods and services with an annual turnover of £36 million, to produce a modern slavery statement. The statement is meant to indicate their efforts to eradicate slavery in their supply chain. The concept of the provision was positively received by NGOs and anti-slavery professionals as it raised awareness of modern slavery within supply chains which may have otherwise been unknown or unchecked, while also protecting the human rights of those working in the supply chain (English, 2019; Stevenson and Cole, 2018; Wen, 2016).

However, the delivery of the provision was not as successful as hoped. Despite much of the Act being placed within a criminal justice response, there are no consequences to a business which fails to produce a statement, thus resulting in a delay or non-delivery of the statement (Field, Miller and Butler-Sloss, 2019; Mantouvalou, 2018; Voss et al, 2019). Recognising the lack of delivery, the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner (IASC) Strategic Plan 2019 – 2021 highlighted the need for change. However, this is written with limited conviction, merely continuing to encourage compliance (IASC, 2019). Although the IASC does concede ‘at some point there will need to be a tougher approach to enforcement’ (IASC, 2019, p. 18). In the last few years, there has been a concentrated effort to hold businesses accountable for their supply chain. This has been witnessed in the UK media with stories such as the exploitation in the Boohoo factory in Leicester (Duncan, 2020), and there has been increased focus in Parliament and academia (Benstead, Hendry and Stevenson, 2020; Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy Committee, 2020; Hess, 2021; Hsin et al, 2021). However, criticisms continue, such as the level of due diligence applied when assessing a supply chain, for example, where businesses have used in-house auditing which can lead to biases (Benstead, Hendry and Stevenson, 2020; Islam and Van Staden, 2021). At Stop the Traffik’s Analysis Hub Intelligence Community Conference (2021) it was noted that businesses can have multiple tiers within their supply chain, which in practical terms means it is difficult for a business to trace activity lower than tier two (tier one being the supplier of the final product). If modern slavery statements were produced by private and public sector⁹ businesses using a high level of due diligence this may create an environment which would stop exploitation happening in the first place, which could be upheld as an example of primary prevention.

⁹ The UK Government produced their statement in 2020 and has since distributed the responsibility to each ministerial department.

Chapter 1

Returning to the 2021 UK annual report on modern slavery, the majority of the two-and-a-half pages on prevention discusses victim-focused prevention such as awareness raising and education. Such and colleagues (Such et al, 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021; 2022; and McCoig, Campos-Matos and Such, 2022) advocate for a public health approach to preventing modern slavery and a pragmatic, whole-systems approach to responding to modern slavery. Victim-focused prevention measures address the identified factors that contribute to an individual's vulnerability to victimisation which are often referred to as the push/pull factors (Bales, 2007). The UK Government and other anti-slavery stakeholders have implemented victim-focused prevention measures such as accessing education and employment opportunities (Such et al, 2022). However, the increase in victim/survivor referral numbers questions whether these prevention measures are going far enough. There has yet to be any research that has identified specific push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. This means there is a lack of contextual understanding for why individuals engage in modern slavery offences and thus there are currently no primary prevention measures which address such factors. Scholars have identified that capitalism and deregulated labour markets create an environment conducive to exploitation (Mantouvalou, 2020; Winterdyk, 2020), however, such insight has yet to be discussed in the context of how such environments contribute to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences. This lack of knowledge is problematic as it does not allow for a complete understanding of modern slavery, or how to prevent it from happening in the first place, as it is the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences that create the victim.

To better respond to modern slavery, Broad and Gadd (2023) advocate for more knowledge on the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences, to understand 'what decisions they might or might not be considered responsible for, we can also more clearly demarcate the circumstances that were not within their control, including those that are the products of global inequality, market imperatives, social policies and law and border enforcement' (Broad and Gadd, 2023, p. 157). Understanding the circumstances which led an individual to engage in modern slavery would facilitate primary prevention measures to stop modern slavery from happening which would prevent the victim from experiencing the harms and abuses in the first place.

The evidenced increasing number of victim/survivor referrals, the failings of the Modern Slavery Act 2015, the UK's limited response to preventing the individual from engaging in modern slavery offences, and the contradictions in NRM statistics and the UK Government immigration rhetoric, illustrate the need for an alternative approach to responding to modern slavery.

Considering the lack of research on who are, and what contributes to, the individuals engaging in modern slavery and how they might be prevented from doing so in the first place, this research,

positioned in England and Wales, aims to articulate who is engaging in modern slavery offences and specify and contextualise their push/pull factors. With this evidence, this research then aims to explore whether primary prevention measures could address such factors. To achieve this the research needs to understand:

- 1) Who is engaging in modern slavery offences and what are their push/pull factors for engaging in such offences?
- 2) Could primary prevention measures address the identified push/pull factors?
- 3) What might challenge the implementation of primary prevention measures?

This research contributes to the existing knowledge in the anti-slavery research domain and the wider anti-slavery stakeholders and the UK Government. Understanding who is and what contributes to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences allows us to understand the individual's reality, which can then inform the design, development, and implementation of primary prevention measures. Without this knowledge and subsequent primary prevention measures, modern slavery will continue to thrive.

It is not my intention to disregard the longer historical context of imperial-colonial slavery or its enduring legacies and afterlives (Elkins, 2022), however, the thesis is solely focused on contemporary push/pull factors which contribute to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences and the current UK Government's pledges through their Modern Slavery Act 2015 and subsequent responses to modern slavery. Therefore, the timeframe covered by the thesis starts at the international response to modern slavery¹⁰ from 2000 onwards when the United Nations Trafficking Protocol (UN Trafficking Protocol) influenced the most recent responses to modern slavery in England and Wales.

The following chapter, the literature review, begins with the international response to modern slavery and demonstrates how this has influenced the UK's response. Recognising the importance of preventing modern slavery, the chapter focuses on prevention and highlights the UK Government's reluctance to adhere to its own prevention policies by failing to include the individuals engaging in, or at risk of engaging in, modern slavery offences. The public health approach is discussed as a useful model for prevention (Such, Jaipaul and Salway, 2018). Adopting primary prevention measures requires knowledge of push/pull factors¹¹. The section on push/pull factors within the literature review is considerably smaller than the other sections, demonstrating

¹⁰ Internationally more commonly known or referred to as human trafficking.

¹¹ The phrase 'push/pull factors' is used to articulate certain factors which are 'pushing' an individual away from their current situation and 'pulling' an individual toward a particular situation.

Chapter 1

how little is known about the push/pull factors of those engaging in modern slavery offences. To facilitate further knowledge on these individuals the chapter identifies what is known about those individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. The literature review chapter concludes with a discussion on the applied integrated theoretical framework: Institutional Anomie Theory and the Ideal Offender.

The methodology chapter follows the literature review. The research design uses a constructivist approach. Despite efforts to gain access to individuals who have engaged in modern slavery offences, the research conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with 18 anti-slavery professionals. Seventeen of the participants had direct experience with an individual(s) who had engaged in modern slavery offences. The data was analysed using thematic data analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2022; Clark et al, 2021). As evidenced above, the delivery and compliance of Section 54 remains problematic. With such problems in mind, the research chose not to include Section 54 as a discussion point. Furthermore, with businesses not knowing their supply chains, trying to identify each tier in a PhD thesis would be unfeasible. Moreover, no participant mentioned high turnover businesses which seems to support the limited number of prosecutions for such businesses.

Following the methodology chapter are the findings and discussion chapters. The first of these chapters (chapter 4) introduces the three narratives to answer the question of who is engaging in modern slavery offences. These are: 1) those who go straight to engaging, 2) those who were victimised first and then engage, and 3) those who alternate between victimisation and engaging. The third narrative contributes to the existing research and portrays the nuances and complexities of the modern slavery reality. The push/pull factors identified are introduced as the five instabilities. These are: economic, family/early life, environmental, polity, and emotional. The five instabilities identify specific push/pull factors and provide a contextual understanding of what contributes to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences. Chapter 5 indicates that primary prevention measures could address the five instabilities and that the infrastructure already exists. However, the chapter highlights the need for systems change within the professional working environment and culture of the relevant bodies, and the UK political system. The final findings and discussion chapter (chapter 6) recognises the potential challenges to implementing primary prevention measures. Adopting a public health approach to the research meant ensuring the research findings were pragmatic. The term pragmatic is used in this context to mean for the research to be practical in its exploration of primary prevention measures in the hope the research can be useful to all systems involved in anti-slavery work. The professional working environment and culture as well as the current UK political system suggests there would be resistance or challenges to acceptance and implementation.

The thesis concludes by identifying the contributions made to the wider research and anti-slavery community. The research brings the individual engaging in modern slavery offences to the centre of the modern slavery prevention discussion. The third narrative and five instabilities suggest in theory primary prevention measures would be able to address the five instabilities for engaging in modern slavery offences. However, in practice, there is a need for systems change within the anti-slavery sector and UK political systems to implement such measures. The third narrative urging us to understand the reality of the situation as a continuum, not as a binary as 'victim' and the individual engaging in modern slavery offences can alternate 'roles' and experience similar push/pull factors. The five instabilities contest modern slavery is an immigration issue as they were created within the British society. The thesis argues that modern slavery is, first and foremost, a political problem caused by political decisions, and it is these policies and inaccurate immigration rhetoric which, if left unchanged, will allow modern slavery to thrive. Recommendations for the anti-slavery sector and future research are provided.

1.1 A discussion on terminology

Before proceeding to the literature review it is important to clarify the terms used throughout the thesis. The terms 'modern slavery' and 'human trafficking' are often used interchangeably within the relevant literature, however, there is a continuous debate regarding these terms that is worth noting. Globally, it is most common to find the term 'human trafficking' used over the term 'modern slavery'. This might be as a result of the domestic laws within countries. The UK, among other countries such as Australia, have introduced Modern Slavery Acts. In the UK, the Act refers to modern slavery as an overarching term that incorporates human trafficking and slavery as well as other forms of exploitation such as forced labour. The issues around conflating trafficking, other forms of exploitation, and slavery have been discussed by Chuang (2014) who refers to it as an 'exploitation creep'. This conflation places the imagery of slavery that is indicative of the transatlantic slave trade with trafficking or other forms of exploitation. This 'exploitation creep' then dilutes the responses to trafficking and defers the responsibilities of a country as they only see the most extreme cases of trafficking within the imagery/context of slavery. Furthermore, the term 'modern slavery' is challenged in reference to the lack of the 'modern' in modern slavery when consulting historic slavery and slavery-like conditions (Craig et al, 2019).

As this research is positioned in the UK, it is deemed appropriate to use the term 'modern slavery' over 'human trafficking' as the research is focused on individuals who have engaged in any of the forms of exploitation which are covered under the umbrella term 'modern slavery' and under the UK's Modern Slavery Act 2015. The literature on modern slavery/human trafficking uses these terms interchangeably. Therefore, when referring to other literature the term used by the author

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will be adopted. When modern slavery or human trafficking are used, they are referring to all forms of exploitation identified in the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015.

There are three offences categorised under the UK's Modern Slavery Act 2015. These are: slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour (Section 1), human trafficking (Section 2), and committing an offence with intent to commit an offence under section 2 (Section 4) (*Modern Slavery Act 2015*). Four 'types' of modern slavery most identified in the UK are: sexual exploitation, labour exploitation, criminal exploitation, and domestic servitude (Cooper et al, 2017). Recognising the broadness of the four 'types', Cooper and colleagues (2017, p. 11) expanded each 'type' and identified 17 'types' of modern slavery. They, and others, note that within one modern slavery case more than one 'type' can occur (Cooper et al, 2017; Lightowlers, Broad and Gadd, 2020; Home Office, 2021c). For example, child criminal exploitation such as county lines¹² can often include sexual exploitation (Harding, 2021; Robinson, McLean and Densley, 2019; Stone, 2018). It can therefore be assumed individual(s) are engaging in multiple types of modern slavery and are not representative of just one 'type'.

To reflect the reality of modern slavery cases including multiple 'types', it was deemed appropriate for the research to be non-type specific. There is limited knowledge on the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences, so having unnecessary restrictions on the data collected facilitates an in-depth understanding through rich data. The research explores the possibility of primary prevention measures addressing the push/pull factors for engagement in modern slavery. Relying on a specific 'type' would not reflect the reality and messiness of modern slavery cases and thus would be unhelpful in exploring how primary prevention could be applied, as the push/pull factors identified would be restricted to just one 'type'. Moreover, in this research primary prevention is taken from the public health model of prevention. With this, the prevention response would be universal so it was deemed appropriate to open the data to collect on all types to see if there were any commonalities which could be addressed with universal primary prevention measures.

The term anti-slavery professionals is used throughout the thesis, which refers to any professional that works exclusively and non-exclusively within anti-slavery. For example, modern slavery specialist law enforcement professionals work exclusively within anti-slavery, whereas youth workers or criminal justice professionals work non-exclusively. However, all these professionals are part of the system responding to modern slavery.

¹² Transportation of illegal drugs from one county to another, often using a specific phone line. Children and vulnerable people are exploited to transport the drugs.

Smuggling versus modern slavery

Smuggling and modern slavery are often conflated by the UK media and Government (for example, Milmo and Duggan, 2022; Sunak, 2022). Yet they are distinctly different. Winterdyk, Perrin, and Reichel (2012, p. 5) give a clear distinction between the two terms when they state, 'human trafficking is a violation of individual human rights whereas migrant smuggling is a violation of state sovereignty'. Irrespective of the distinction from Winterdyk, Perrin, and Reichel, there is valuable discussion to be had that highlights the difficulty of being able to clearly distinguish between the two as, in reality, these phenomena can often overlap (Elliott, 2015). For example, upon arrival into a country that an individual has paid to be smuggled in to, there can be demands from the smuggler for them to pay a larger debt, which they cannot afford, thus forcing them into debt bondage and an exploitative situation (Jones et al, 2007; Lee, 2005). Despite this, however, the difference in protection, support, and treatment within these terms makes it very important to understand each term and the discourse around them if we are to fully comprehend the position of the victim of modern slavery. This thesis only refers to modern slavery and not migrant smuggling.

Victim/survivor

The terms 'victim' and 'survivor' are also debated within anti-slavery research. Some academics argue the term 'survivor' depicts the strength of the person during their exploitation and thus is an empowering term (Stoklosa, MacGibbon and Stoklosa, 2017; Sherman, 2012). It has been suggested the use of the term 'victim' is dependent on the context of when the term is used and for what purpose (Meredith, 2009). In the context of human trafficking, the term 'victim' is often used when trying to depict an individual who needs rescuing, protecting, and support in order for policymakers to react to the need of those who have suffered from exploitation and trafficking (O'Brien, 2013). Srikantiah's (2007) article which investigates the disparities of U.S. immigration relief among the 'deserved' and 'undeserved' victims of human trafficking, uses the term 'victim' when the person is still in exploitation and 'survivor' is used when the person has exited and 'survived' their exploitation. This thesis adopts Srikantiah's use of these terms.

Engaging

The research uses phrases such as 'the individual who engages in' or 'the individual(s) engaging in modern slavery offences'. The use of 'engage' was consciously chosen instead of using terms such as perpetrating or committing. Additionally, the thesis never refers to the individual who is engaging in modern slavery offences as perpetrator, offender, exploiter, or trafficker unless the material being referred to has used these terms. Using the verb 'engage' only describes the

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actions of the individual rather than any connotation to criminal or deviant activity. Adopting labels of deviance automatically depicts the individual in a particular way which is not the purpose of the research. The research aim is to demonstrate that the individual engaging in modern slavery offences is a human being, someone who has lived experiences that contributed to their engagement in modern slavery offences. As Broad and Gadd (2023) challenge the 'evil' folk devil image to demonstrate the reality of those engaging, this research too challenges this, beginning with the labelling of such individuals.

Occasionally the thesis refers to individuals as at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. The author makes no distinction between the use of at risk in this context, and when other literature refers to individuals as being at risk of victimisation or exploitation. The data derives the understanding of what factors contribute to an individual being at risk of engaging or victimisation. In this research, identifying the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences is not to facilitate a criminal justice response, it is an opportunity to develop a public health approach for prevention in the UK.

Lastly, before continuing to the literature review, where possible, labels have not been used even if it would have allowed for more succinct models or figures. It is the view of the author that it is not for them to reduce an individual to a label even if a model or figure would be more aesthetically pleasing. The reality of the research is that it comes with nuances and difficulties. If reduced to simplification, the author is only repeating the same issues produced by the UK Government's response; a false narrative.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

The United Nations Trafficking Protocol (UN Trafficking Protocol) (UNODC, 2004) and the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (COE Convention) (COE, 2005) influenced the most recent responses to modern slavery in England and Wales. This chapter begins by discussing the relevant literature on the UN Trafficking Protocol and COE Convention before critically analysing the response to modern slavery in England and Wales. The analysis advocates for prevention strategies to be better considered in the response to modern slavery.

The prevention section is the largest section in this chapter due partly to the importance of such a response in this thesis and partly due to the breadth of data available and the application of a public health approach to prevention. To facilitate prevention measures, the section highlights the need to understand the push/pull factors for modern slavery. The following section on the push/pull factors is limited in length due to the lack of data on the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. To rectify this, the succeeding section draws on the available literature on the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. Two narratives are identified in the data on who is engaging in modern slavery offences, yet limited specificity is offered for their push/pull factors.

An integrated theoretical framework is introduced to facilitate the discussion. The available literature suggests the individuals who are engaging in modern slavery offences have experienced socioeconomic inequalities, need economic gain, and are often depicted as 'evil' and 'foreign-born'. Therefore, Messner and Rosenfeld's (2013) Institutional Anomie Theory (IAT) and Christie's (1986) Ideal Offender concept form the integrated framework.

The chapter concludes by identifying how this research contributes to the existing literature and reiterates the aims of the research to understand whether primary prevention measures can address the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences in England and Wales.

2.1 International to national response to modern slavery (2000 – present)

In 2000, an open-ended intergovernmental Ad-Hoc committee developed the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (UN Convention) (UNODC, 2004). Three Protocols supplement the UN Convention which target three areas of organised crime: Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons especially Women and Children (UN

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Trafficking Protocol), Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air and the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, their Parts and Components and Ammunition (UNODC, 2004). It is posited that the UN Convention was a reaction from the international community to mass migration resulting from the Cold War and an increase in organised crime such as the death of Italian judge Giovanni Falcone, who prosecuted hundreds of mafia members and is thought to have been murdered by the mafia (Broad and Turnbull, 2019; Quirk, 2011). The thesis only discusses the UN Trafficking Protocol from the UN Convention, as per the research interest.

The UN Trafficking Protocol incorporated a victim-focused approach by protecting and supporting victims of human trafficking while simultaneously applying a criminal justice approach to prosecute those engaging in the offences (UNODC, 2004). However, the nexus of migration, organised crime, and trafficking in persons has remained prominent in the international and national responses to modern slavery. The placement of the UN Trafficking Protocol under the UN Convention which focuses on transnational organised crime allowed countries to respond to human trafficking as an illegal migration issue (Desyllas, 2007). The vast scope of the definition meant that each member state was able to create migration policies which suited their country's migration agenda (Desyllas, 2007). The UN Trafficking Protocol failed to offer guidance for member states on how to identify human trafficking victims and used non-committal language when discussing how to support victims, in comparison to the strict language used for a prosecution response (Jordan, 2002). The lack of precise language and vast scope of the definition means the majority of member states can treat the victim as an illegal migrant, thus protecting state sovereignty by sending them back to their own country as opposed to protecting their human rights by offering support (Gallagher, 2001).

However, in the last decade stricter language has been used to protect and correctly identify persons not as illegal migrants but as trafficked persons. For example, in 2009, the UNODC formed a working group which formulated recommendations to each member state in how to administer the 'non-punishment and non-prosecution' principle of victims of human trafficking (UNODC, 2009a). The principle states that a human trafficking victim is not to be punished or prosecuted for their involvement in any criminal activity which was conducted during their exploitation unless there fails to be a close nexus between the criminal activity and their exploitation, or if by national law the crime is deemed too serious. This indicated a shift toward protecting the human rights of the victims as opposed to criminalising their illegal activity, such as their illegal migration (Piotrowicz and Sorrentino, 2016). However, as Quirk (2011) notes, despite this shift, the international and national response to human trafficking/modern slavery continues

to favour an anti-immigration stance which restricts the support and protection offered to victims and ignores the true picture of modern slavery which includes internal trafficking.

The UN Trafficking Protocol introduced the first definition for trafficking in persons under international law (Quirk, 2011). As highlighted in chapter 1, the thesis will need to use the terms 'modern slavery' and 'human trafficking' interchangeably as internationally the term 'human trafficking' is most used compared with the UK which most often uses the term 'modern slavery'. Although this can create confusion, it is noted in this section that these terms are to be understood as the same. The UN Trafficking Protocol definition for human trafficking can be deconstructed into three elements; the act, the means, and the purpose (UNODC, 2019a). There needs to be the act from the trafficker toward the victim such as the recruitment or transport of the victim, then, the means by which the trafficker takes the victim, such as using force, coercion, deception or paying to control the victim for the purposes of exploitation through labour, including sexual exploitation, slavery and organ removal (UNODC, 2019a). For an adult to qualify as a victim of human trafficking each element needs to be present. A child does not require the 'means' element to qualify as a victim of human trafficking as a child is considered unable to consent. The UN Trafficking Protocol's definition of human trafficking has continued to be used in other international responses to modern slavery/human trafficking. Such as the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (COE Convention) established in 2005 and the EU Directive on Trafficking in Human Beings (EU Directive) formed in 2011 (COE Convention, 2005; EU Directive, 2011).

The COE Convention was praised for establishing the Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA) which monitors and reports on its member states' efforts to implement the measures set by the COE Convention (Craig et al, 2019). Unlike the UN Trafficking Protocol and the EU Directive, the COE Convention forces a set of entitlements that a potential victim of human trafficking is entitled to receive from the member state. These entitlements include financial support, medical care, safe accommodation, access to legal aid and counselling and support in accessing training or education (COE, 2005a). The UK became signatory of the COE Convention in 2007. In adherence to their signatory and thus to provide the entitlements to potential victims, in 2009 the UK established the National Referral Mechanism (NRM). The NRM is a framework for identifying and supporting victims/survivors of modern slavery offences and is now placed under the Home Office¹³ (Home Office, 2022a). The individual referred into the

¹³ When the NRM was first established it was placed under the National Crime Agency. Until 2019 when it was relocated to the Home Office.

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NRM¹⁴ is subject to two decision stages. The first stage is referred to as reasonable grounds. A reasonable grounds (RG) decision (either negative¹⁵ or positive¹⁶) should be made within five working days of the NRM referral. The decision is made by one of the two competent authorities. Either the Single Competent Authority or the Immigration Enforcement Competent Authority both of which are located in the Home Office. If the individual received a negative RG they are not entitled to NRM support. If a positive RG is received the individual is entitled to a minimum of 30 days¹⁷ rest and recovery under the Modern Slavery Victim Care Contract (MSVCC). During these 30 days the individual receives their COE Convention entitlements from an MSVCC support provider and/or local services. After 30 days the individual is supposed to receive their final decision stage: a conclusive grounds (CG) decision. A negative CG means the individual is deemed to have not been a victim of modern slavery and is no longer entitled to support through the MSVCC. If a positive CG is received the individual has been recognised by the Home Office as a victim¹⁸ of modern slavery and can if appropriate request further support through the Recovery Needs Assessment.

Since 2009, the NRM has received many criticisms. These have included the lack of support and protection received by (potential) victims during and post NRM support (Broad and Turnbull, 2019; Roberts, 2018; Schwarz and Williams-Woods, 2022), and that one of the two Competent Authorities are immigration focused¹⁹. The latter criticism is due to concerns of responding to modern slavery as a national security and immigration issue. The low rate of non-UK and non-EU nationals receiving positive CGs provides evidence for this criticism (McQuade, 2019). The former criticism saw some progress in 2019 with the introduction of the Recovery Needs Assessment which offers further support to confirmed survivors post NRM (Home Office, 2022d). However, there continues to be evidence that the NRM is failing to support and protect (potential) victims of modern slavery (Murphy et al, 2022).

The UK has since established the Modern Slavery Act 2015 (*Modern Slavery Act 2015*). The Act adheres to the obligations under UN Trafficking Protocol, COE Convention, and at the time the EU Directive. Since leaving the EU the UK no longer is required to adhere to the EU Directive. However, in 2020 Baroness Williams of Trafford offered reassurances to Lord McColl²⁰ that the

¹⁴ Consent to be referred into the NRM is required for adults but not children.

¹⁵ Meaning there is no reasonable grounds to suspect the individual is a victim of modern slavery.

¹⁶ Meaning the individual might be a victim of modern slavery.

¹⁷ Originally the rest and recovery period was 45 days but was updated in December 2022 to 30 days.

¹⁸ Now survivor.

¹⁹ This is a long running criticism dating back to when the NRM was under the National Crime Agency and decisions were being made by Border Force.

²⁰ Lord McColl of Dulwich is an advocate against modern slavery.

obligations in the EU Directive were already set in UK law in the Modern Slavery Act 2015 and so leaving the EU will make little impact in this context (Williams, 2020).

The Conservative Government coined the Modern Slavery Act 2015 'world-leading', despite other countries such as the Netherlands adhering to and implementing Palermo Protocol provisions earlier than the UK (Craig et al, 2019; May, 2016; *Modern Slavery Act 2015*). The Act itself was distinctive in how it was compounded and consolidated and introduced new provisions which other countries had yet to address such as Section 54 which refers to the transparency in supply chains (Craig et al, 2019). Additionally, other countries such as Australia and Norway have looked to the UK Modern Slavery Act for guidance with their own modern slavery legislation, although this has been to know 'what to do, and what not to do' (Garza, 2020; Parliament of Australia, 2017). Furthermore, in 2016, the then Prime Minister Theresa May, who had pioneered the Act in her previous role as Home Secretary, stated that modern slavery was to be a priority for UK policing (May, 2016). There are now specialist modern slavery units in many UK police forces as well as an overarching specialist unit in the National Crime Agency. At the time of writing, this priority remains to be the case, as demonstrated in the Modern Slavery Police Transformation Annual Report 2019 (NPCC, 2019). Moreover, the UK's inter-departmental ministerial group on modern slavery suggest that the UK is leading in the use of Joint Investigation Teams (JITs) to combat trafficking when compared with other EU countries (HM Government et al, 2016).

Conversely, the Modern Slavery Act 2015 has received criticisms ever since it was debated as a bill. The then Home Secretary, Theresa May, formed an evidence review made up of NGOs, law enforcement, criminal justice advocates and international experts to help identify issues with the bill. One of the criticisms of the bill while it went through the parliamentary process was the emphasis on law enforcement and the limited focus on victim support (Van Dyke, 2019). This criticism has continued since the establishment of the Modern Slavery Act 2015²¹ and will be discussed below.

As mentioned previously, the purpose of the international and national responses to modern slavery was to protect and support the (potential) victims through a victim-focused approach while applying a criminal justice approach to those who are engaged in the offences. However, the UN's and UK's 4 Ps framework illustrates the difficulty of balancing such opposing responses. This difficulty is prominent under the 3 Ps used in both international and national responses: prevention, protection, and prosecution themes, and will now be discussed.

²¹ An independent review of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 highlights the challenges of applying a victim-focused approach with a criminal justice approach (Home Office, 2019).

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To prevent human trafficking, the UN Trafficking Protocol suggests addressing the root causes for victimisation and strengthening borders. Evidence has illustrated that strengthening borders will fail to prevent human trafficking as this is of little deterrent to the trafficker and instead increases the victim's vulnerabilities (Goodey, 2003). Strengthening of borders increases vulnerabilities as the victim could be misidentified and criminalised as an illegal migrant with the possibility of being detained, which is discouraged for victims of human trafficking. They could also be extradited back to their country of origin with the potential of being re-trafficked, or receive retribution from the trafficker (COE, 2005; Haynes, 2004; Malloch, 2016). Furthermore, the push/pull factors which make someone want or need to search for better opportunities do not disappear with stricter borders, meaning that making the borders tighter will only make the potential victims more vulnerable to being targeted by individuals who will exploit them. Therefore, stricter immigration policies and border controls actually play into the hands of the trafficker (Turner, 2016). For example, living in poverty with very little in the way of employment or education opportunities, perhaps due to globalisation, results in those people wanting or needing to find better opportunities across borders. Countries, such as the UK, which make it increasingly harder to enter legally, give a trafficker the opportunity to offer transport and illegal entry into a country while being able to threaten the victim with deportation (McQuade, 2019). With little choice for the potential victim to enter the country legally, due to strict immigration policies and tight border controls, the trafficker's proposition is the only choice for the potential victim to survive (Jana et al, 2002; Meshkovska et al, 2015). As evidenced, strengthening borders demonstrates a different perspective to that of protecting the human rights of the victim and maintaining a victim-focused approach. The recommendation to strengthen border controls questions the ability to remain victim-focused.

The themes protection and prosecution can be assessed together when understanding the difficulties in combining a victim-focused approach and a criminal justice approach. Article 6 of the UN Trafficking Protocol is reminiscent of a victim-focused approach as it outlines the type of protection and assistance victims should be afforded by member states. These include providing victims with 'physical, psychological and social recovery' (UNODC, 2004, p. 44). Countries have differed in their implementation of a victim-focused approach. This is demonstrated in Munro's (2006) comparative study on the implementation of the UN Palermo Protocol within five different countries: the United Kingdom, Australia, Holland, Sweden and Italy. She concluded that Australia's implementation focused on protecting the country with a strong focus on law enforcement, border controls and immigration policies whereas Italy responded with a more victim-focused approach (Munro, 2006). Furthermore, despite the international responsibility to humanitarian protection and non-refoulement, victims of human trafficking have often been

treated as illegal migrants (Gallagher, 2001). This means they are not receiving the assistance and support set out in Article 6 of the UN Trafficking Protocol and instead are being criminalised within the criminal justice approach.

The prosecution of victims of modern slavery for their 'involvement' in a criminal offence is further evidence of how the protection and prosecution themes counteract each other when applying the opposing victim-focused and criminal justice approaches. The earlier mentioned non-punishment and non-prosecution principle of the UN Trafficking Protocol offers an example of these approaches contradicting each other. On one hand, the principle is victim-focused in that it stipulates that no victim of human trafficking should be prosecuted for criminal offences committed during their exploitation²². The UK adopted this principle into their domestic law under the Modern Slavery Act 2015 Section 45 'Defence for slavery or trafficking victims who commit an offence' (*Modern Slavery Act 2015*). However, on the other hand, the principle states that if the criminal offence committed by the victim is deemed serious by national law, the victim will not be exempt from punishment or prosecution. Thus, applying a criminal justice approach.

In the UK a crime which would be deemed as too serious is illustrated within the Serious Crime Act 2015 where such crimes include drug trafficking, modern slavery/human trafficking, and organised illegal immigration (*Serious Crime Act 2015*). Cases such as county lines and cannabis cultivation have witnessed the victim being prosecuted for their 'involvement' in the criminal offence (See Burland, 2019; Ofer, 2019; R v Brecani, 2021). These 'types' of modern slavery inherently include the victim being forced or coerced into engaging in drug trafficking offences and in some instances engaging in modern slavery/human trafficking offences too. Thus arguably, the victims involved in these offences will always be exempt from the non-punishment and non-prosecution principle because they have had the misfortune of being exploited within that particular 'type' of modern slavery. In these circumstances neither protection nor prosecution are being effectively achieved, as the interpretation of the principle is failing to protect the victim and instead prosecutes them rather than the person who is exploiting them.

The prosecution provision with a criminal justice approach has had limited success even without taking the victim-focused approach into account. High prosecution rates are thought to act as a deterrent for engaging in criminal activity (Mantouvalou, 2018). There has continually been a low rate of prosecutions for those committing modern slavery offences both internationally and nationally (Broad and Muraszkievicz, 2020). Cho (2015) evaluates that although there is a high

²² For this principle to be used as a valid defence there needs to be a clear nexus between the offence committed and their exploitation.

proportion of countries implementing human trafficking legislation within their domestic setting, it is with prosecutions, convictions, and investigations that countries have made limited commitment, with low-level punishments such as fines. Cho categorised the UK as having full commitment to prosecution (Cho, 2015). This evaluation would have been conducted prior to the Modern Slavery Act 2015 so it is questionable as to why the UK scored so highly in the prosecution provision, as at that time trafficking offences were embedded within other offences which carried low-level punishment. Despite this, the introduction of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 does indicate a full commitment to prosecution by making the maximum punishment up to life in prison (*Modern Slavery Act 2015*). However, in practice, prosecutions in the UK remain low. Investigating modern slavery requires more time and resources than other criminal offences due to the complexity and clandestine nature of the offence (Broad and Muraszekiewicz, 2020; Van Dyke, 2019). The impact of austerity has meant law enforcement have been unable to respond for lack of time and resources (McQuade, 2019). Additionally, there has been recognition that other criminal justice actors such as solicitors, lawyers, and judges require training and awareness of the complexities of modern slavery such as coercion and the non-punishment principle to facilitate higher prosecution rates (Murphy et al, 2022). However, Todres (2011, p. 453) notes that although prosecution and criminal justice response are important, they are ‘no longer the primary tool for preventing harm’. However, the challenges of investigating modern slavery cases as well as securing prosecutions and convictions suggest an additional form of deterrent is required to respond to modern slavery.

This section has briefly discussed the introduction of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 and the influences of the international UN Trafficking Protocol and COE Convention on the Act itself and the subsequent 4 Ps framework. It has been demonstrated that combining a victim-focused approach with a criminal justice approach is conflicting and problematic, with outcomes such as the criminalisation of victims and a continued immigration focus. Despite efforts to respond to modern slavery, year-on-year increasing numbers of (potential) victims are identified²³ while prosecutions remain low. This suggests preventing modern slavery should be better considered.

2.2 Prevention

‘With too few traffickers prosecuted and too few victims protected, more robust efforts to prevent trafficking are clearly necessary.’ (Chuang, 2021, p. 179)

²³ This could be due to better identification and awareness and/or an increase in the prevalence of modern slavery (Broad and Gadd, 2023). However, it does still mean the individual has experienced harm.

The chapter has briefly discussed the literature associated with prevention, however, this section will present a deeper discussion. From the 4 Ps, prevention is the most 'neglected prong' (Chuang, 2021, p. 179). Both the UN Trafficking Protocol and the COE Convention include prevention provisions.

Article 9 of the UN Trafficking Protocol states:

'1. States Parties shall establish comprehensive policies, programmes and other measures:

(a) To prevent and combat trafficking in persons; and

(b) To protect victims of trafficking in persons, especially women and children, from revictimization.

2. States Parties shall endeavour to undertake measures such as research, information and mass media campaigns and social and economic initiatives to prevent and combat trafficking in persons.

3. Policies, programmes and other measures established in accordance with this article shall, as appropriate, include cooperation with non-governmental organizations, other relevant organizations and other elements of civil society.

4. States Parties shall take or strengthen measures, including through bilateral or multilateral cooperation, to alleviate the factors that make persons, especially women and children, vulnerable to trafficking, such as poverty, under development and lack of equal opportunity.

5. States Parties shall adopt or strengthen legislative or other measures, such as educational, social or cultural measures, including through bilateral and multilateral cooperation, to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking.' (UNODC, 2004).

And Article 5 of the COE Convention states:

'1. Each Party shall take measures to establish or strengthen national co-ordination between the various bodies responsible for preventing and combating trafficking in human beings.

2. Each Party shall establish and/or strengthen effective policies and programmes to prevent trafficking in human beings, by such means as: research, information,

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awareness raising and education campaigns, social and economic initiatives and training programmes, in particular for persons vulnerable to trafficking and for professionals concerned with trafficking in human beings.

3. Each Party shall promote a Human Rights-based approach and shall use gender mainstreaming and a child-sensitive approach in the development, implementation and assessment of all the policies and programmes referred to in paragraph 2.

4. Each Party shall take appropriate measures, as may be necessary, to enable migration to take place legally, in particular through dissemination of accurate information by relevant offices, on the conditions enabling the legal entry in and stay on its territory.

5. Each Party shall take specific measures to reduce children's vulnerability to trafficking, notably by creating a protective environment for them.

6. Measures established in accordance with this article shall involve, where appropriate, nongovernmental organisations, other relevant organisations and other elements of civil society committed to the prevention of trafficking in human beings and victim protection or assistance.' (COE, 2005)

The Oxford English Dictionary definition for 'prevent' is 'keep (something) from happening' and 'stop (someone) from doing something'. Both provisions are victim-focused by advocating for member states to address the root causes of victimisation and reducing the demand for supply. Applying a victim-focused approach to prevention is thought to be the 'easy' option over preventing the actual crime (Goodey, 2008, p. 431). On review of the points there is no specific indication that preventing trafficking in persons also refers to preventing the individuals engaging in or at risk of engaging in trafficking in persons offences. It could be argued by both provisions using the term 'prevent' that it should be assumed they are referring to preventing those that engage in the offence. However, there is very limited evidence that any state party is implementing prevention measures which include such individuals.

Article 6 of the COE Convention refers to the 'measures to discourage the demand'. The Article states:

'To discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking, each Party shall adopt or strengthen legislative, administrative, educational, social, cultural or other measures' (COE, 2005).

The Article sets out four actions in which each member state can achieve this. The fourth action states:

‘Preventive measures, including educational programmes for boys and girls during their schooling, which stress the unacceptable nature of discrimination based on sex, and its disastrous consequences, the importance of gender equality and the dignity and integrity of every human being’ (COE, 2005).

Although Article 6 is primarily victim-focused, this fourth action could be applied to those vulnerable to engaging in modern slavery offence. Research into traffickers conducted in four European countries highlighted that some of the traffickers had committed these crimes as a result of the norms in their community (TRACE, 2015). The report specified that within the Roma community the ‘done thing’ was to force others to beg (TRACE, 2015, p. 56). Human trafficking research specifically centred on the Roma community illustrates this further (Poucki and Bryan, 2014). Analysing victim interviews, Poucki and Bryan’s (2014) research indicates that exploiting Roma children for forced begging has been normalised within the Roma community, although it does go on to suggest this may be a result of their social exclusion. Thus, Article 6 could help administer educational programmes which teach about or challenge social and cultural beliefs that the person may have become accustomed to which influence their engagement in modern slavery offences.

The UK’s adherence to the UN Trafficking Protocol and the COE Convention has meant prevention measures have included awareness raising programmes and training for anti-slavery professionals to aid better and quicker identification of victims (IASC, 2022). While also providing educational and again awareness raising programmes aimed at potential victims (IASC, 2022; McCoig, Campos-Matos and Such, 2022). The suggestion that victim-focused education awareness programmes will help prevent human trafficking has elements of victim blaming. Victim blaming refers to the suggestion that someone’s own behaviour has caused them to be victimised (Moriarty, 2015), with the extrapolation being that because the victim has not been educated on the perils of trafficking and those who engage in it, this leads to their victimisation. This ignores the strength of the control, coercion, and abuse of power over the victim which can be evident even at the recruitment stage of exploitation. Hopper and Hidalgo (2006) identify three stages where coercive control is evidenced within human trafficking: in the recruitment, initiation, and indoctrination stages. They suggest in the recruitment stage the trafficker will exploit the power dynamic between themselves and the potential victim by offering fake opportunities which address their vulnerability such as poverty, lack of employment and education opportunities, and socio-economic and political stability (Hopper and Hidalgo, 2006). Furthermore, Raphael, Reichert and Power’s (2010) research, which interviewed sex trafficking victims in America, highlighted that coercion was present at the recruitment stage of their exploitation by which the traffickers took their money, were verbally abusive and threatened them with physical abuse. Furthermore,

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if an individual uses means such as force, threats, or abduction (as per the UN Trafficking Protocol definition) the potential victim's education on awareness will be of little comfort or deterrent to them being victimised. Education awareness programmes can only go so far. They need to be accompanied with other prevention programmes to support the potential victim, such as reducing the push/pull factors by ensuring the state is implementing social and economic initiatives to combat the vulnerabilities of this at risk group.

Alternatively, to move away from victim-blaming, a prevention approach should include those that engage in the offence. Recent initiatives in responding to domestic abuse and sexual assault can offer guidance for such prevention measures. Research has highlighted the similarities of victim experience and victim-to-perpetrator dynamic in domestic abuse, sexual assault (including rape), and sex trafficking (Cooper et al, 2017; Roe-Sepowitz et al, 2014). Coercive control can be implemented in both domestic abuse and modern slavery cases (See Anderson et al, 2003; Busch, Fong and Williamson, 2004; Gjermeni et al, 2008; Hodge and Lietz, 2007; Pascual-Leone, Kim and Morrison, 2017; Pocock et al, 2016; Raymond, Hughes and Gomez, 2010; Repetskaia, 2005; Silverman et al, 2011; Zimmerman et al, 2003). In the UK, prevention measures for domestic abuse and sexual assault have been criticised for blaming the victims as they have tended to focus on changing the victim's behaviour (Stern, 2010; Thapar-Björkert and Morgan, 2010). There has recently been an addition to these victim-focused measures with the introduction of a 'perpetrator' strategy to respond to violence against women which focuses on the (potential) 'perpetrator' and their behaviour (Local Government Association, 2021a). Drive, a UK organisation responding to domestic abuse, has shifted their focus away from victim-blaming and toward those committing domestic abuse (Drive, 2022). Drive conducted a three-year pilot study which introduced a rehabilitation programme for high-risk, high-harm perpetrators. Their study indicated a change in the participant's behaviour with a reduction in abusive and harmful behaviours toward current victim-survivors and their children (Hester et al, 2019). Drive's pilot study suggests a prevention approach which addresses those engaging in or at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences would have a positive outcome for reducing modern slavery offences.

The international response to preventing human trafficking differs to that of the UK's response to preventing modern slavery, as it includes those that engage in or are potentially going to engage in these offences. The Prevent chapter of the first and continuingly used Modern Slavery Strategy states: 'preventing people from engaging in modern slavery' (HM Government, 2014, p. 45). In the most recently available UK Annual Report on Modern Slavery 2021, the prevention chapter states:

‘Prevention activity aims to stop people from becoming victims of modern slavery or committing modern slavery crimes in the first place’ (HM Government, Ministry of Justice, The Scottish Government and Llywodraeth Cymru Welsh Government, 2021, p. 23)

Despite the UK’s modern slavery response identifying the need to prevent engagement in modern slavery in the first place, there is limited evidence that such strategies exist. Firstly, both documents suggest the UK Government will implement what is known as primary prevention measures, which refers to stopping something from happening in the first place (see Figure 1). However, the only prevention measures currently under the Modern Slavery Act 2015 are Slavery and Trafficking Prevention Orders (STPO) and the Slavery and Trafficking Risk Orders (STRO) (*Modern Slavery Act 2015*). These orders apply restrictions to individuals that law enforcement have been unable to obtain sufficient evidence to prosecute and thus pose a risk to the community (STRO), or restrictions on individuals that have been convicted (STPO). Neither order is an example of primary prevention measures. Instead, the STRO is an example of secondary prevention as it’s an early response to an already occurring situation to prevent it from developing into modern slavery. A STPO would be classified as tertiary prevention as modern slavery has already taken place and thus prevention measures would stop it from continuing.

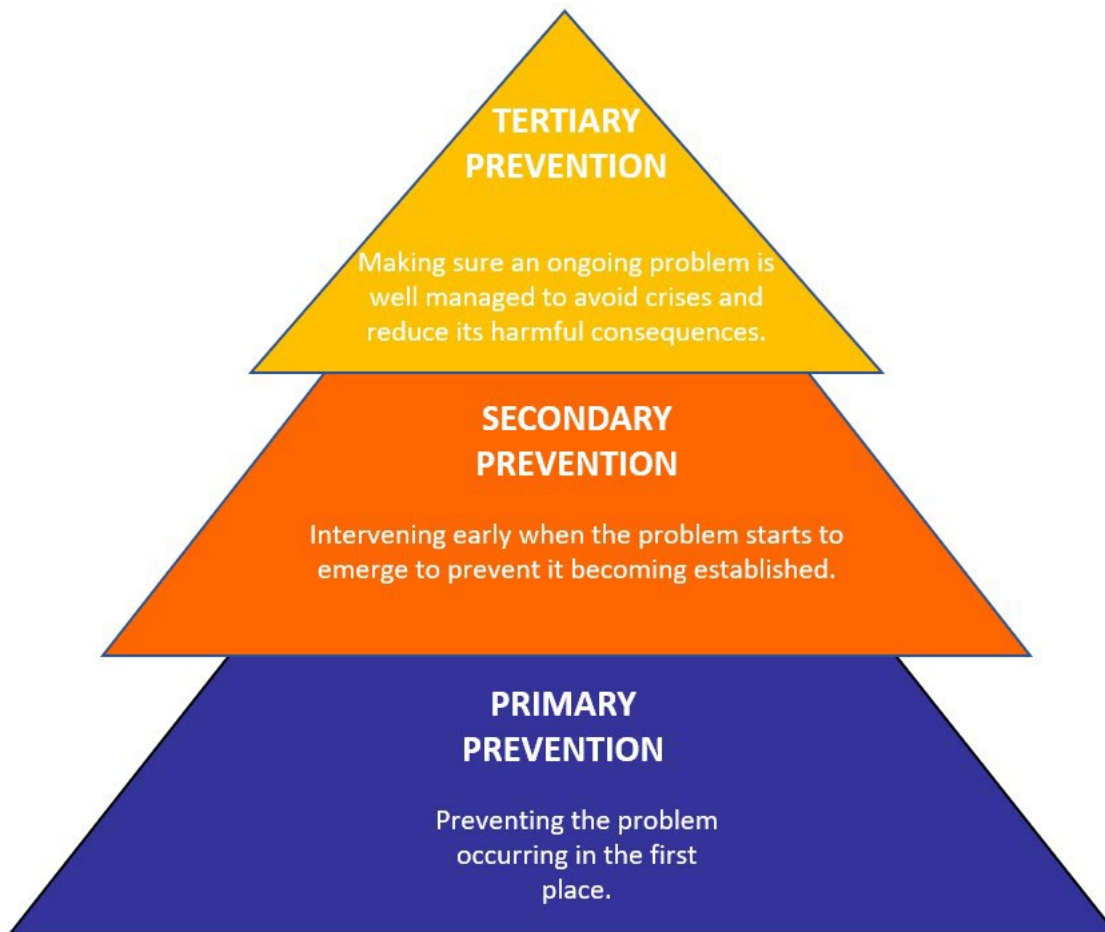


Figure 1. Public Health Model of Prevention (Christmas and Srivastava, 2019)

Secondly, the UK's modern slavery efforts have favoured a victim-focused approach. A recent research report looked at what does or could work in preventing sexual and labour exploitation (Such et al, 2022). The report's evaluation of 25 existing types of UK-based non-policy interventions to prevent modern slavery demonstrates the lack of existing interventions aimed at people who may be at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences and highlights the predominant focus on preventing (re)victimisation.

Furthermore, the Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group (ATMG, 2018) report 'Before the harm is done' offers a comprehensive illustration of the prevention work conducted in the UK (including Scotland and Northern Ireland). They note since their last report in 2012 that prevention strategies have increased, including research on the root causes of trafficking. However, the root causes are victim-focused. From their analysis, it is evident that at that time, there were no primary prevention measures which sought to include those at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. Conversely, the UK's Serious Violence Strategy 2018 includes primary intervention measures to prevent engagement in county lines offences (Home Office, 2018). These measures

include addressing risk factors²⁴ such as family neglect and school absences, and offers protection programmes such as employment opportunities and family support to individuals vulnerable to engaging in county lines offences (Home Office, 2018). Despite county lines being categorised under criminal exploitation and thus a form of modern slavery, these primary intervention measures have yet to feature in any official UK prevention response to modern slavery. It is argued that the lack of primary prevention strategies in modern slavery documents, and including offences other than county lines, is challenging the UK's efforts in their strategy and commitment to prevent modern slavery.

A reason for the disconnect of county lines being party to primary prevention measures and not any other modern slavery offence might be due to modern slavery continuing to be thought of and responded to as an immigration issue. In UK official documentation county lines is understood to be taking place within the UK with no international influence or connections (Home Office, 2018). The UK's 2019 Annual Report on Modern Slavery reasoned the increase in UK child referrals was due to the increase in county lines referrals into the NRM (HM Government et al, 2019). Thus, it can be assumed county lines is understood to be disassociated with immigration. Comparatively, as briefly touched on earlier in the chapter, all other modern slavery offences have been conflated with immigration issues. The below discussion illustrates this within the context of the UK's primary prevention response to modern slavery.

The UK's primary prevention response to modern slavery suggests there is a strong nexus between modern slavery and immigration. In 2008 the UK Government's action plan on combating human trafficking states they invest in 'fragile states' to help their infrastructure thus reducing the root causes for victimisation. The report notes 'fragile state' governments must use the money to 'tackle poverty, uphold human rights, and keep a tight grip on finances' (Home Office and The Scottish Government, 2008, p. 8). This action plan suggests human trafficking is the fault and problem of 'others' (Sharapov, 2017). Fourteen years later, this nexus continues. This is evidenced by the current Home Secretary Suella Braverman's²⁵ decision in October 2022 to remove modern slavery as a responsibility of the Minister for Safeguarding and place it under the sole responsibility of the Minister for Immigration (UK Government 2022a and b). A decision met with criticism for the very reason it conflated modern slavery with immigration which fails to represent the reality (Dugan, 2022). Possibly as a response to such criticism in December 2022

²⁴ The term 'risk factors' is not defined in the UK's Serious Violence Strategy 2018. Due to the context of how the term is used in the Strategy, the thesis understands the term 'risk factors' to mean conditions/experiences that increase the risk of engaging in county lines.

²⁵ In position at the time of writing February 2023.

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Suella Braverman²⁶ reinstated modern slavery within the responsibility of the Minister for Safeguarding albeit only in terms of 'wider policy and safeguarding' and re-named the responsibility of the Minister for Immigration as 'abuse of the modern slavery system' (UK Government, 2022c). The UK Government's rhetoric of modern slavery being an immigration issue is challenged by the county lines offences. Thus, placing prevention strategies for county lines in official documents not titled modern slavery perpetuates the image that modern slavery is an immigration issue and not a domestic issue.

Conversely, consultation of data from modern slavery investigations illustrates the top three nationalities for potential victims identified in the NRM and those suspected of engaging in modern slavery offences²⁷ include UK nationals (Home Office, 2022b; MSOIC, 2022). Yet the UK has failed to reduce the root causes for victimisation within its own country. Deregulation of the labour market and years of austerity, among other factors, have increased the number of people living in poverty within the UK (Bailey, 2018; Pantazis, 2016). The purpose of the welfare system was to reduce social exclusion and poverty by offering protection to the population and equal opportunities to achieve success. It has been suggested austerity has resulted in the welfare state failing, impacting those most in need, with reports of people being unable to access food, housing, and education, with an impact on health, unstable employment opportunities and failings in social services, which can all contribute to poverty and an increased risk in exploitation (Centre for Social Justice, 2020; O'Hara, 2015; Pantazis, 2016; Stuckler et al, 2017). The inaction of the UK government to tackle poverty challenges their genuine efforts to prevent county lines through addressing risk factors²⁸ and offering protection programmes.

The UK's reluctance to adhere to their own primary prevention measures, whether they are placed within modern slavery documents or serious violence strategies, could be due to the UK adopting a neoliberal political model. The term neoliberal is used here in relation to the ideology which has been dominant within the political systems of the UK and the US since Thatcher and Reagan (Beckert, 2020). Neoliberalism encourages economic growth and promotes competition, individual responsibility, privatisation, deregulation, free-market and reduced government expenditure (Watts and Hodgson, 2019). The role of the state has been scaled back where individual responsibility plays into the development of 'community', 'prevention' and 'partnership' (Crawford, 1999; Garland, 2001). Placing the responsibility of prevention onto the individual removes the state's responsibility and thus there is little need for adherence to their

²⁶ Who still holds office as Home Secretary.

²⁷ It is recognised that the status of a suspect does not mean they were prosecuted or convicted however this is the only data available on the nationality of those who commit modern slavery offences.

²⁸ See footnote 24 for an understanding of what is meant by 'risk factors'.

own policies. Additionally, the neoliberal culture is punitive in design to offer an appearance of social control by being 'tough on crime' (Bell, 2011). Within this culture, 'offenders' are viewed as undeserving and have reduced rights, and victims and public safety are of paramount importance (Garland, 2001). This viewpoint of 'offenders' includes those engaging in modern slavery offences and thus can offer an explanation as to why the UK government is reluctant to adhere to their own primary prevention measures.

Furthermore, two of the features of the neoliberal model mentioned above, privatisation and reduced government expenditure, play important roles in the UK's reluctance to adhere to primary prevention measures. After witnessing the 'success' of the privatisation of prisons in the US, the UK adopted a similar strategy in the 1990s and have continued to do so. Privatisation is thought to generate a strong economy (Marcelin and Mathur, 2015). Therefore, it could be suggested that through a lack of primary prevention measures the prisons will be more populated and thus generate financial growth. However, in the UK, individuals convicted and prosecuted of serious crimes (such as modern slavery) are placed in high category prisons. These prisons are still owned by the UK Government which challenges this suggestion. However, the prosecution rate under the Modern Slavery Act 2015 remains low and in some cases an individual is charged and prosecuted for a lower offence (IASC, 2021). This would mean the individual would be placed in a private prison. Additionally, primary prevention measures are usually universal and thus rely on government expenditure. This contradicts the neoliberal model's feature of reduced Government expenditure and offers another example for the UK's reluctance in adhering to their own primary prevention measures.

Another contradictory feature of the neoliberal model when wanting to prevent modern slavery is the competition in, and deregulation of, the labour market. Those in favour of deregulating the labour market believe that markets which are independent of any control from the Government generate wealth with high productivity and high wages (Esping-Andersen and Regini, 2000). However, evidence has demonstrated that deregulation actually generates inequality, low wages for workers due to market competition, and a rise in flexible workers who have very little statutory protection (Peters, 2008; Rubery and Piasna, 2017; Turnbull, 1991). The deregulation of the labour market has generated an environment whereby people are more easily exploited. Deregulation of the labour market has created competition which has resulted in companies lowering labour costs and has given rise to flexible employment whereby workers receive limited or no employment benefits or protections (Peters, 2008). Consequently, deregulation leaves workers unprotected which carries a higher risk of exploitation, and competition incentivises the 'employers' to use trafficked labour (Peksen, Blanton and Blanton, 2017; Wheaton, Schauer and

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Galli, 2010). Implementing any primary prevention measures to respond to those engaging in modern slavery offences would need to challenge these neoliberal features.

The UK Government has tried to respond with secondary and tertiary prevention to labour exploitations with the now expanded Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority (GLAA). The GLAA's role is to investigate possible labour abuses to protect workers from exploitation (GLAA, 2020). Despite the duties of this department, they are grossly under-resourced which again indicates the level of commitment from the UK Government in protecting workers in the UK (Craig et al, 2019). Additionally, low wages and unstable employment are contributing to poverty within the labour force which is viewed as a push/pull factor for victimisation within modern slavery (Bales, 2007). Therefore, the UK Government's focus on economic growth by promoting the deregulation of the labour market, and ignoring or doing very little to protect the treatment of the workers, suggests the neoliberal model is complicit in modern slavery.

Conversely, in 2021 the then Home Secretary Priti Patel indicated the UK Government's commitment to prevention within the context of modern slavery when she wrote in response to the then Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner, 'Prevention must and will continue to be a key element of our approach to tackling modern slavery' (IASC and Home Office, 2021). The Home Secretary's response was to the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner's request that the Home Office consider applying a 'public health approach to prevent modern slavery' in the review of the Modern Slavery Strategy (IASC and Home Office, 2021, p. 1). The review was scheduled to be published in Spring 2022 and has yet to materialise. This delay further questions the UK Government's commitment to prevent modern slavery.

The letter refers to work conducted in collaboration with the IASC Office, Public Health England and the University of Sheffield (Such et al, 2021). The work referred to is a prevention-led framework which is divided into four components to aid prevention 'policy, strategy, and practice' development, design, and delivery for a whole-systems response (see Figure 2) (Such et al, 2021, p. 13). The framework (Figure 2) was refined from Such and colleagues (2020) earlier work within the same topic area.

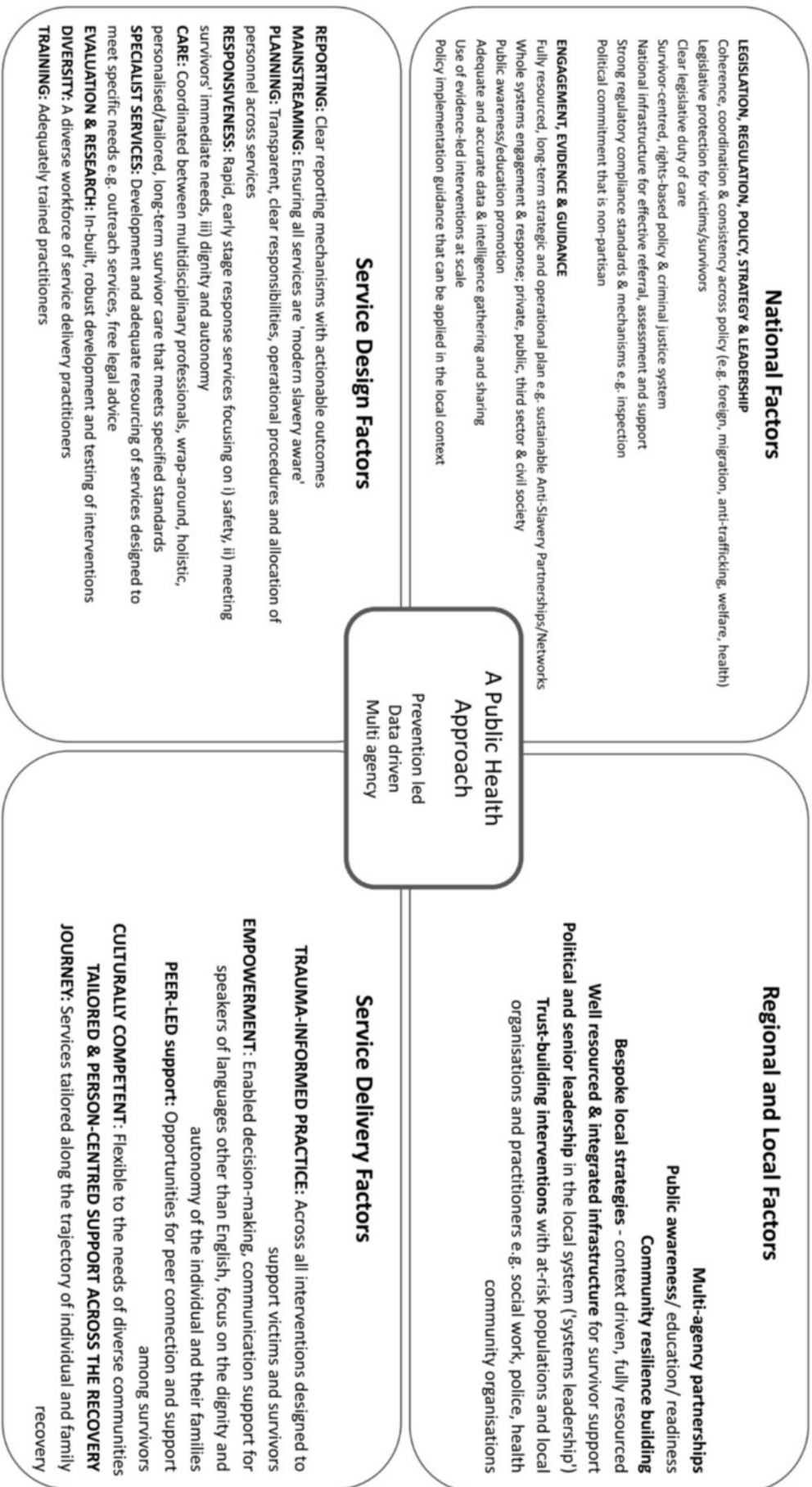


Figure 2. A public health approach to modern slavery and its components (Such et al, 2021)

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Dr Elizabeth Such along with various collaborators has advocated for a public health response to prevent modern slavery since 2017 (Such et al, 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021; 2022; and McCoig, Campos-Matos and Such, 2022). Such and colleagues (2018, p. 218) state public health can bring a 'preventative focus to modern slavery by drawing attention to any local conditions under which exploitation may flourish and how local policy and development can be designed to be slavery-resistant'.

Such and colleagues (2021) recognise that modern slavery/human trafficking is a non-linear process which means without effective prevention measures the occurrence of modern slavery will continue. This sentiment is evidenced in their definition for prevention:

'Prevention is an on-going process of avoiding and minimising exploitation and harm. This can be achieved by intervening before exploitation and harm occurs, by intervening early and by treating harms. It also includes action to prevent re-exploitation/-trafficking. Prevention includes enabling people to exercise choice, control over their lives and to thrive' (Such et al, 2022, p. 8)

In addition to the framework (see Figure 2) and adopting the public health model of prevention (see Figure 1), Such and colleagues (2021) introduced 'the cycle of exploitation and harm and where prevention activity can intervene' and have since refined it in their 2022 work, 'The BETR prevention cycle' (see Figure 3) (Such et al, 2022).

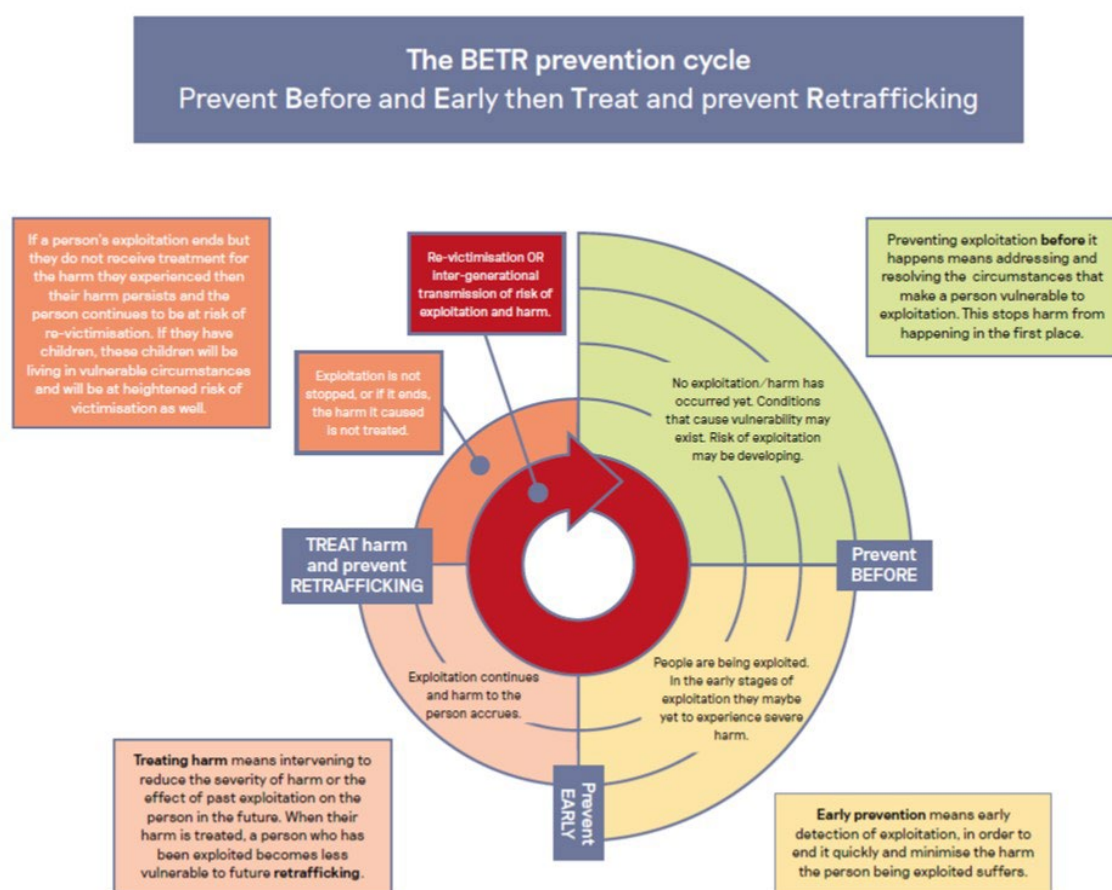


Figure 3. The BETR prevention cycle (Such et al, 2022)

Such and colleague's work has remained victim-focused, centring on the primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention of victimisation, risk of exploitation, and re-trafficking (Such et al, 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021; 2022; and McCoig, Campos-Matos and Such, 2022). Despite efforts of victim-focused prevention, the number of identified (potential) victims is increasing (HM Government et al, 2021). This could, as suggested earlier, be due to better identification of (potential) victims (Broad and Gadd, 2023; Turner, 2015). However, it also indicates that individuals are still being exploited and experiencing harm and thus their exploitation is not prevented in the first place. Referring again to the UK's prevent response in the Modern Slavery Strategy 2014 and the UK Annual Report on Modern Slavery 2021, both documents call to prevent exploitation happening in the first place, including those that engage in the offences, and yet this is not happening. Taking influence from Such and colleagues' work, primary prevention within the public health approach for prevention could be applied to stop individuals from engaging in modern slavery offences in the first place. Primary prevention can be categorised into short-term (awareness raising) or long-term (social economic initiatives) (Aronowitz, 2017). Each requires an understanding of what is causing the problem (Aronowitz, 2017; McCoig, Campos-Matos and Such, 2022). In the modern slavery literature these have been categorised as push/pull factors and have primarily been victim-focused.

2.3 Push/pull factors

The phrase 'push/pull factors' is used to articulate certain factors which are 'pushing' an individual away from their current situation and 'pulling' an individual toward a particular situation. Despite modern slavery literature often using the generic term 'push/pull factors of human trafficking/modern slavery' they have predominantly been victim-focused while those engaging in modern slavery offences have only sporadically been mentioned.

Push/pull factors have been identified and used to understand what factors contribute to an individual's vulnerability to victimisation. The identified push factors include but are not limited to wars, conflict, corruption, natural disasters, poverty, unequal economic growth, gender inequality, and lack of education opportunities (Bales, 2007; Jordan, 2002; Winterdyk, 2020). It is important to note that although there is evidence that victims are sometimes uneducated, research has demonstrated educated people can also be vulnerable to victimisation through the pull factor of better employment opportunities (Heinrich, 2010). Pull factors are often a response to the push factors. For example, an (un)founded perception that another country or area has strong economic growth and can offer 'better' employment opportunities helped by the demand generated by globalisation (Bales, 2007; Jordan, 2002).

International and national prevention measures have focused on addressing the identified push/pull factors for victimisation. This has been demonstrated clearly in Such and colleague's (2022) evaluation of the prevention programmes and initiatives in the UK which include support with accessing education, employment, and welfare support. Additionally, anti-slavery organisations which work internationally have implemented the knowledge of these push/pull factors to direct their operational response. For example, using the knowledge that war and conflict is a push factor for victimisation, A21, a global anti-slavery organisation, are supporting Ukrainian refugees at the border of Ukraine and training front line professionals to protect anyone from victimisation (A21, n.d.). However, programmes, initiatives and non-governmental organisations are limited in their success of addressing the push/pull factor for victimisation when placed within an environment which itself creates the push/pull factors that are conducive to exploitation.

The social structure within neoliberal capitalist societies, of which the UK is one, create exploitative environments (Banerjee, 2021; Winterdyk, 2020). The 'phase of neoliberal capitalism' is thought to have begun in the late twentieth century as state intervention reduced, leaving a free-market ideology that saw private individuals control country's trade and industry to generate profit (Kotz, 2017; McGuigan, 2014, p. 224). Supporters of neoliberal capitalism suggest the economic and political system reduces inequalities and encourages individuals to thrive in terms

of monetary success and material gains without government control (Friedman, 2002). However, critics contradict these claims and suggest the wealth gap has widened (Piketty, 2014). Evidence suggests a disparity of opportunities between the wealthy elite and those who are poor, such as access to better education, and private ownership of land and other investable commodities which increase the wealth of the already wealthy (Ayres, 2020; Lazzarato, 2009).

Specifically referring to modern slavery, the value placed on maximising profits results in an exploitative environment where organisations or businesses lower their costs of production, including humans, to achieve higher profit (Banerjee, 2021; Lebaron and Ayers, 2013; Peksen, Blanton and Blanton, 2017; Sharapov, 2017; Winterdyk, 2020). Additionally, referring to the victim's push/pull factors mentioned earlier in this section, the disparity in gaining opportunities such as better education means an individual is vulnerable to exploitation. Furthermore, the deregulated labour market within a neoliberal capitalist society creates a precarious environment where labour exploitation can thrive. What Chuang (2021, p. 180) refers to as 'structural contributors to trafficking' when discussing the unsafe labour migration routes which leave individuals vulnerable to exploitation

Features of the neoliberal capitalist society such as the deregulation of the labour market and years of austerity, among other factors, have increased the number of people living in poverty within the UK (Bailey, 2018; Pantazis, 2016). As evidenced earlier, austerity has negatively impacted the functioning of the welfare state which can all contribute to poverty and an increased risk of exploitation (Centre for Social Justice, 2020; O'Hara, 2015; Pantazis, 2016; Stuckler et al, 2017). Recognising that social harms such as poverty and inequality contribute to victimisation, Boukli and colleagues (2020, p. 222) advocate for 'advancing structural changes against harm'. Furthermore, McQuade (2011, p. 33) identified the UK's 'slavery political economy' as being 'state-muddled'. He notes that the lack of resources in the UK's criminal justice system to respond to modern slavery has allowed exploitation to continue. His analysis of the UK being 'state-muddled' continues when he recognises the UK identifies victims from the European Union more favourably than outside the EU and suggests the immigration policies such as 'illegal working' can be used to coerce and deceive (potential) victims (McQuade, 2019, p. 34). Mantouvalou (2020, p. 62) supports McQuade's analysis of the UK's political economy creating an exploitative environment when she refers to UK political systems as having 'state-mediated structural injustice'. Mantouvalou (2020) discusses how restrictions on work visas, work within prisons and immigration detention centres, and Universal Credit sanctions can be classified as forced labour under the European Court on Human Rights. The UK's neoliberal capitalist model and immigration policies are contributing to the push/pull factors of victimisation in modern slavery.

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One option to address the push/pull factors that are generated through a particular environment would be to implement a resilience framework (Gardner, Northall and Brewster, 2020).

Recognising the role that social and community networks play in not only creating a conducive environment but also in preventing one, Gardner and colleagues (2020) developed a resilience framework (see Figure 4). Their research adopted a public health approach through the identification of social determinants of resilience to modern slavery. These are placed within a resilience cycle which is sectioned into four stages. These are prevention, discovery, respite and recovery, and sustainable resilience (Gardner, Northall and Brewster, 2020). The social determinants and stages are categorised into four factors. These are structural, legal and regulatory, culture and locality, and personal (Gardner, Northall and Brewster, 2020). The resilience framework demonstrates the fluidity of each factor and the possibility of multiple actors responding to each determinant to build a resilient slavery-free environment. Although their paper offers a victim case study to demonstrate the implementation of the framework, their research is neither victim-focused nor focused on those engaging in modern slavery offences. Instead, they advocate that the 'simplistic binary victim/perpetrator narratives' are unhelpful in responding to push/pull factors for modern slavery (Gardner, Northall and Brewster, 2020, p.2).

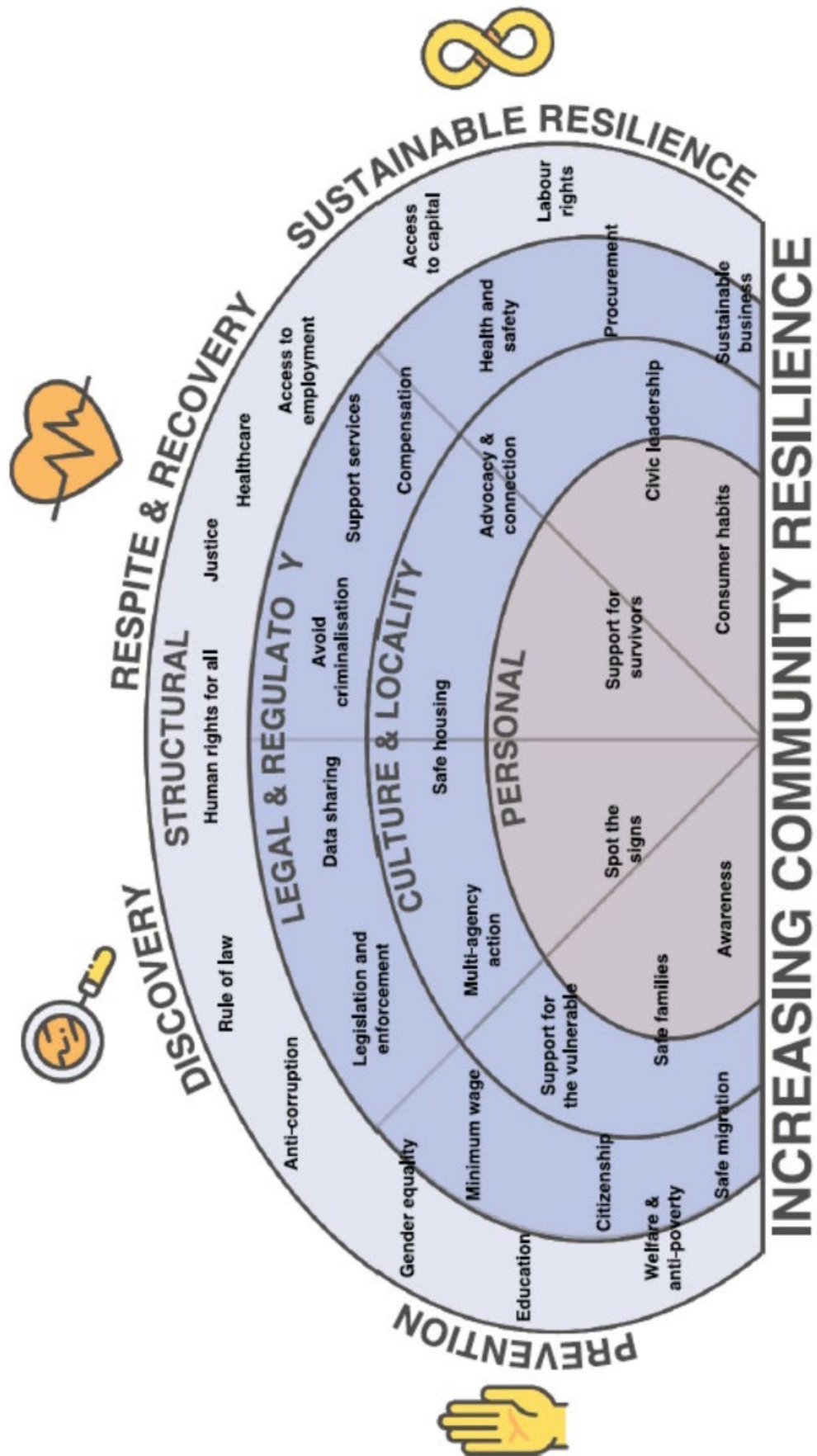


Figure 4. Social Determinants of Resilience to Contemporary Slavery (Gardner, Northall and Brewster, 2020)

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Gardner and colleagues are some of few scholars who discuss modern slavery without a victim-focus. As mentioned earlier, when push/pull factors for modern slavery are discussed the default focus is on victimisation. This has resulted in there being few examples of push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. Despite McQuade (2019, p. 30) stating their chapter will 'set[ting] out the root causes of slavery' there is no mention of root causes within the context of those that engage in it. The only reference to those engaging in exploitation is when their actions are described: 'when demands for cheap labour and reduced costs are introduced into these situations by unscrupulous employers, they act as a catalyst to create slavery and exploitation' (McQuade, 2019, p. 30). The sentence suggests the 'unscrupulous employers' have somehow created slavery and exploitation on their own without the aid of the external structural factors that have created the demand for cheap labour and reduced costs – those of a neoliberal capitalist society. It also suggests they are immune to the push/pull factors such as poverty and a lack of employment opportunities. Furthermore, in Bales' (2007) early introduction of the push/pull factors for human trafficking, his brief gesture to the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences is simplistic compared to the other 11 pages of victim-focused push/pull factors.

'Criminal groups choose to traffic in persons, in part, because it is high-profit and often low-risk, because unlike other "commodities," people can be used repeatedly, and because trafficking in persons does not require a large capital investment' (Bales, 2007, p. 269)

Although there is currently no literature identifying specific push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences, there is an opportunity to derive some information from existing discussions which have focused on victimisation. Quirk (2011) identifies that one reason bonded labour continues in India is due to norms of social hierarchy and caste discrimination. This simultaneously suggests that individuals are victimised due to their lower caste status while those engaging in bonded labour are doing so through a lack of challenge or even unconsciousness to their norms. Norms within the upper caste denote they will have 'workers' through bonded labour (Quirk, 2011). This is echoed in Choi-Fitzpatrick's (2017) research on agricultural slaveholders in India. His research and others will now be discussed in detail to identify what is known about the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences and specifically what their push/pull factors might be.

2.4 What is known about the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences?

'... where perhaps too little attention is paid at present is with respect to knowledge concerning traffickers themselves; who they are and how they operate. While researchers, the international community and NGOs have built up a wealth of data on victims' experiences of trafficking, there is a real paucity of data and detailed information concerning traffickers.' (Goodey, 2008, p. 438)

Fifteen years on from Goodey's observation of the lack of knowledge of 'traffickers', there has been some progress in this area, although compared to the knowledge base of victims it remains limited in scope. This section briefly highlights the challenges in accessing knowledge on individuals that engage in modern slavery offences. Each of Goodey's identified areas of a knowledge gap will then be discussed, beginning with 'who they are' and followed by a brief understanding of 'how they operate'. This latter knowledge gap is no less important in the response to modern slavery, however the thesis is interested in primary prevention and therefore how they operate *is* of less importance to the topic area. The remaining discussion will focus on what can be derived from existing literature to help articulate their push/pull factors to begin to understand how primary prevention measures might respond to such factors.

Accessing primary and secondary data to conduct research with or on individuals who engage in modern slavery offences comes with its challenges. In 2003, Troshynski and Blank (2008) interviewed individuals engaged in sexual exploitation in England. Although they have never produced the results of their interviews, their research paper indicates the challenges they experienced in accessing their participants. They highlight the challenges of relying on a single gatekeeper which led to interview arrangements being lost as a result of miscommunication between the researchers, the participant and the gatekeeper. Their ethical implications indicated how they respected the well-being and personal data of the research participant. However, they fail to mention the ethical challenges of interviewing active 'traffickers' as by legal definition the participants are breaking the law so it could be argued this is an ethical issue that should have been discussed. Furthermore, it has been noted that access to primary and secondary data with/on individuals who engage in modern slavery offences is difficult due to their refusal to talk or institutional restrictions (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2016; Shen, 2016; Weitzer, 2014). Choi-Fitzpatrick (2016) suggests there is a normative and logistical oversight which has resulted in the lack of knowledge and data on 'human trafficking offenders'. He suggests the normative behaviour within anti-slavery work focused on protecting the victim and criminalising the individual engaging in modern slavery offences, which resulted in a lack of understanding of the individuals

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engaging in such offences (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2016). These challenges and behaviours offer an understanding as to the limited amount of research on those that engage in modern slavery offences. However, the research that does exist can offer a knowledge base of what is known about them.

2.4.1 Who they are

There are two, often gendered, narratives in the academic and non-academic literature to articulate *who they are*. These are: the individuals that go straight into engaging (usually depicted as men) and those that have been victimised first and then engage in the offences (usually depicted as women or girls).

The first narrative depicts the person as a distant being, conceptualised as being 'evil', 'inhumane', often foreign-born and male (Doezema, 2010; Gadd and Broad, 2018). International responses to modern slavery can facilitate an explanation as to why this first narrative is often synonymous with males. For over 30 years the international responses to modern slavery have tended to focus on protecting women and girls against human trafficking (CATW, 2020; COE Convention, 2005; EU Directive, 2011; GAATW, 2020; UNODC, 2004). Anti-trafficking campaigns exacerbate this notion when illustrating a visibly vulnerable young woman exploited in the sex industry (O'Brien, 2016). Such campaigns and international responses have led Governments to respond to this narrative whereby the male is seen as the one engaging in the offence and the female is the victim (O'Brien, 2016). The focus on women and girls being the victims has not only frequently ignored male victims but has offered an assumption that those engaging in modern slavery offences must therefore be men (Denton, 2010; Breuil et al, 2011). Perpetuating this image is problematic, as any response is in danger of missing females who engage and males who are victims (McCarthy, 2019). However, the image is only problematic if the reality is different, as any response based on an inaccurate narrative would be ineffective. The discussion on the second narrative will demonstrate the reality is different, with females engaging in modern slavery offences too.

Literature that uses labels to refer to individuals engaged in modern slavery offences represents this first narrative. The labels commonly used to refer to those engaging in modern slavery offences include 'exploiters', 'recruiters', 'employers', 'traffickers', 'facilitators' and 'perpetrators' (Barlow et al, 2021; Broad, 2018; Craig, 2017; Quirk, 2011; Surtees, 2008). Such uses in the literature create a 'master-status' (Becker, 1968, p. 33). The 'master-status' is the dominant trait, either negative or positive, which society perceives in someone. Thus, these labels solidify the role of the individual and suggest, without question, that they embody and 'are' the role. This is

problematic as it ignores any conceptual understanding of how that individual comes to engage in these offences. This omission portrays the individual within this first narrative as one who has gone straight to engaging and has always engaged in modern slavery offences.

The first narrative is also evident where authors have used labels *and* have included a contextual understanding for engagement (such as Aronowitz, 2017; Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2017). One such way authors have offered a contextual understanding is by applying Rational Choice Theory (RCT). When placed within the context of criminal behaviour, Rational Choice Theory articulates that the individual who is committing the crime is a rational being and has conducted a cost/benefit calculation to thus make a 'rational choice' of whether to commit a criminal act (Becker, 1968). Having introduced situational crime prevention, Cornish and Clarke (1987), with their focus on crime prevention discussed the useful application of RCT to assist with crime prevention. When RCT has been applied to comprehend the individuals engaged in modern slavery offences the rationale is that they engage due to a 'need for economic gain' which outweighs the likelihood of arrest and prosecution (Aronowitz, 2017, p. 102). The global low prosecution rate for these offences seems to support this rationale. However, in Aronowitz's (2017) work they do not expand on why the individual has a 'need for economic gain'. Without explanation, only assumptions, speculations, and reader interpretations can be formed. This impacts on gaining an accurate understanding which, if used to develop prevention policies, would create a weak foundation for effective policies. For example, the reader could speculate the 'need' is due to the individual being in poverty and needing economic gain to survive. Another reader however might assume the individual is living in a neoliberal capitalist society where monetary success and material gain is held in high esteem and thus their 'need' is a perceived need based on the type of society they inhabit. Likewise, both interpretations might be the reality however, without the explanation it is unknown. Each interpretation of the 'need' would require a different prevention response. Thus, offering a limited or incomplete picture of the 'need' would affect the effectiveness of any prevention policies.

Another example of the literature discussing those engaging in modern slavery offences as going straight into engaging while using labels and offering contextual understanding is Choi-Fitzpatrick's (2017) comprehensive research in India. He refers to those engaged in bonded labour as 'slaveholders', 'employers', 'farmers', and 'landlords' (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2017). Having interviewed 'slaveholders' he notes their rationale is that they are helping people and characterised their role as paternalistic. Choi-Fitzpatrick (2017) discusses, in great depth, the society structures which create the environment for 'slaveholders' to operate. He identifies that cultural norms within the caste system helped create an exploitative environment where, for a

long time, such privileges were rarely challenged²⁹. Offering an in-depth contextual understanding of individuals who engage in modern slavery offences humanises them. Choi-Fitzpatrick (2017, p. 176) asks an important question in his concluding remarks ‘if rights violators³⁰ are men and women, rather than monsters, then we must ask new sets of questions about our own selves, our own involvement in systems of exploitation and discrimination’. Offering a comprehensive contextual understanding of the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences can facilitate a comprehensive, effective prevention policy. However, as highlighted by Choi-Fitzpatrick (2017) this would require challenging our own positions and cooperations within systems such as neoliberalist capitalist societies and our own potentially unchallenged privileges which can make for uncomfortable discussions.

Further examples of research that reflects the first narrative are discussions which centre on the ‘network’ which is engaging in modern slavery offences. As mentioned earlier the UN Trafficking Protocol is placed within the Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (UNODC, 2004). This placement insinuates that those engaging in these offences were therefore always part of organised crime, however, that is not always the reality (Breuil et al, 2011). In some instances, those engaging in these offences are individuals unaffiliated with any organised crime, a group of individuals who are unorganised, or family, friends, and relatives (Broad, 2018; Cockbain, 2018; Denton, 2016; Breuil et al, 2011; Shelley, 2010; Viuhko, 2018). Despite the nuances of the different existing networks the literature discusses those engaging in modern slavery offences as still moving straight to engagement.

The second narrative is centred on literature which discusses those engaging in modern slavery offences having previously been victimised and so engaging is their exit strategy for survival. This narrative is also gendered in the literature which tends to favour discussing females over males (Iacono, 2014; Hughes, 2000). Here the victimisation can be through previous exploitation as well as victimisation from gendered socioeconomic inequalities.

An example of the second narrative is what some modern slavery scholars refer to as the ‘victim-offender overlap’ (See Aronowitz and Chmaitilly, 2020; Baxter, 2019; Cockbain and Olver, 2019; Finn, Muftić and Marsh, 2015). Within such research the victim-offender overlap can refer to two different scenarios. The first is where the individual is being exploited and, as a result of this exploitation, engages in criminal offences (excluding modern slavery offences). The second scenario is where the individual through their exploitation engages in modern slavery offences.

²⁹ To an extent, such norms and systems are starting to be challenged which Choi-Fitzpatrick discusses in his book (2017).

³⁰ By which he is referring to ‘slaveholders’.

For the purposes of this section only the latter scenario will be discussed here as it relates to individuals engaging in modern slavery offences.

Projects from Siegal and de Blank (2010) and Broad (2015) are examples of the victim-offender overlap. Both projects categorised the female pathway into engaging in modern slavery offences where previous exploitation featured. Siegal and de Blank (2010) used 89 Dutch court files to identify three categories: supporters, partners-in-crime and madams. Those in the supportive category exploited other victims while also being exploited by the male in the situation who they would be emotionally attached to. The second category, partners-in-crime, had a more voluntary involvement in human trafficking. Partnerships could be 'intimate' to 'symbolic' or 'businesslike' (Siegal and de Blank, 2010, p. 442). Those in the madam category are the leaders of the network, holding a 'key position in international human trafficking networks' (Siegal and de Blank, 2010, p. 436). Broad's (2015) research was conducted in the UK and identified three pathways. These are: menial roles within the network resulting in exposure, history of exploitation, and emotional relationship with male counterpart (Broad, 2015). The menial roles and history of exploitation were similar to Siegal and de Blank's (2010) supporter category whereby the female had previously been exploited, or at least that their role in the dynamic was lower to that of the male exploiting them and others³¹. Broad's final pathway is also similar to partners-in-crime from Siegal and de Blank's research. Both projects offer an example of this second narrative as each claimed that the women engaged in modern slavery offences due to experiencing prior exploitation and/or socioeconomic inequalities. The second narrative is echoed in Shen's (2016) research in China which identified that the majority of the ten female 'child traffickers' interviewed had experienced impoverished backgrounds with little to no formal education. Limited life choices and opportunities to earn money influenced their engagement in modern slavery offences (Shen, 2016).

Additionally, Broad (2015) advocates that the judgements made on females who have engaged in modern slavery should consider the structural and historical factors that influence their pathway into the crime. Baxter (2019) echoes this sentiment in her analysis of six Australian modern slavery cases which included three previously exploited females who were on trial for their engagement in modern slavery offences. She notes the judge's understanding was that by having been through similar experiences, the defendants 'should have known' what harm they were causing to their victims (Baxter, 2019, p. 7). Baxter (2019) concludes that their previous victimisation is lost within the Australian court system which has no grey areas for dealing with previously victimised people who have resorted to engaging in the same crime type.

³¹ This can be described as a victim-offender overlap and will be discussed in the forthcoming paragraph.

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All four studies above represent the second narrative where women's engagement in modern slavery offences is explained by referring to socioeconomic inequalities predominantly experienced by women. Although the studies offer a welcomed perspective of females who engage in modern slavery offences, it is argued that these studies are perpetuating the gendered perspective of those engaging in these offences. The females in these studies are still being depicted as victims albeit victims of societal inequalities as well as, for some, historical/current exploitation.

However, it could be argued that socioeconomic inequalities are a factor for why men become involved too, albeit perhaps differently presented ones and for different reasons. Mai's (2010) work which, uniquely for this second narrative, only focused on males, demonstrated that socioeconomic inequalities were also influencing factors for their engagement. His research which was focused on Albanian and Romanian international sex work agents found their engagement was due to a lack of opportunities, a weakened state, and 'socio-economic and cultural uncertainties' (Mai, 2010, p. 49). Broad (2018), Keo and colleagues (2014), and TRACE (2015) found similar in their research which included data on males and females where migration, a lack of opportunities, poverty, and cultural norms were identified as influencing factors for engagement.

The TRACE project (2015) conducted one of the biggest data collections on those that engage in modern slavery offences. The research team conducted interviews with anti-slavery professionals and individuals incarcerated for their engagement in modern slavery offences, and analysed court and police files which gathered information on 334 modern slavery cases. Data was gathered from six countries (the Netherlands, Romania, Bulgaria, Cyprus, England, and Poland). The interviews with the incarcerated individuals were conducted in the Netherlands, Romania, and Bulgaria. They have produced multiple reports from this project, the most relevant for this section is their report on the features and incentives of traffickers (TRACE, 2015). The report notes a key incentive for engagement in modern slavery offences is the financial gain, whereby the money received is 'easier and faster to earn' in relation to other crimes (TRACE, 2015, p. 54). However, the report also identifies that the status that came with the financial gain was also an influencing factor. Supported by Viuhko's later (2018) research, the TRACE report highlighted that the individual's network (friends, family, peer group, school) played an important influencing factor. For example, whether the person's family was already involved in modern slavery offences, or whether the area they lived in was susceptible to modern slavery practices. TRACE's report is an important contribution to this research as it is one of very few research projects that has specifically identified and listed a number of contributing factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. However, the TRACE report offers little in the way of any contextual understanding of the

contributing factors, such as why a key incentive is financial gain. Financial gain could be due to greed and wanting to achieve high profit, however, it could also be due to poverty. Furthermore, the TRACE report suggests prevention is required to address the contributing factors, however, again provides no indications of what type or who would be implementing these prevention measures. Knowing why financial gain is a contributing factor would then help to develop prevention measures.

To summarise before proceeding to the next section. Within the literature, those engaging in modern slavery offences are represented within two narratives, individuals that, 1) go straight to engaging, or 2) that are victims first. The first narrative depicts the individual as 'evil', who embodies the negative labels such as 'trafficker', 'exploiter', 'perpetrator'. The second narrative illustrates the individual as initially being a 'victim' either through exploitation or victim to socioeconomic inequalities. The second narrative is often reserved for females engaged in modern slavery offences. Both narratives discuss engaging in modern slavery offences as the individual's 'final destination'.

2.4.2 How do they operate

Prior to Goodey's (2008) comment, mentioned at the beginning of this section, Salt and Stein (1997) produced a three-stage model illustrating how traffickers operate within the migration context starting from mobilisation and recruitment through to integration of the migrant into the labour market at destination. Salt and Stein (1997) suggest that due to the complexities of each stage the traffickers adopt specific roles which require a centralised management system, to plan, organise and respond to any changes that may present. Conversely, Campana's (2016) research into a Nigerian trafficking network challenges Salt and Stein's theory of a centralised management system within trafficking operations as they found that each stage predominantly consisted of individual people albeit still with specifically allocated roles. Campana's (2016) findings indicate the vast complexities of this crime type and the need for research to be conducted within the different types, sizes, and nationalities of the human traffickers and their operations.

Advancements in technology have facilitated communication on a global scale. The internet, social media, mobile phones, and other digital platforms have changed the way in which societies communicate, transfer knowledge and trade in goods and services (Grace et al, 2004). The ease of communication has not gone unnoticed or unused by individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. Digital communication is used at every stage, from recruitment such as websites falsely advertising employment, chatrooms, transfers and transport, to organising and controlling the

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movements of the victims and ‘marketing’ the victims, as well as to move the profits (Antonopoulos et al, 2019; Byrne and Kimball, 2017; Hughes, 2014; Shelley, 2010; Yu, 2015).

Anti-slavery organisations and the UK Government have implemented awareness raising programmes and specialist centres in response to technology being used at every stage of modern slavery. Anti-slavery organisation, Stop the Traffik, conduct awareness training with financial institutions so they are equipped to identify potential modern slavery networks (Stop the Traffik, 2022a). Additionally, the UK Government has established centres such as the Child Exploitation and Online Protection centre (CEOP) which work to reduce online grooming and exploitation, and work in partnership with law enforcement to investigate suspects (Home Office, 2010). On behalf of the National Crime Agency (NCA), Neil Sheldon QC’s (2019) final comments to the independent public inquiry into child sexual abuse condemned the lack of preventative strategies in place on the open web and highlighted the need for companies to take responsibly for their users’ activity and content. His statement may have influenced a currently debated amendment in the UK Government’s proposed *Online Safety Bill* (2022). The amendment would allow Ofcom to have ‘extra tools to ensure technology companies take action to prevent, identify and remove harmful child sexual abuse and exploitation content’ (Home Office, 2022c, p. 1). In theory, this would mean companies would be held to account for their responsibilities in responding to modern slavery cases.

Understanding how those that engage in modern slavery offences operate is important as it allows reactionary procedures to be implemented, which can prevent any more harms from being experienced. In these instances, the exploitation has already occurred to one or more individuals, so there is potential that the prevention orders embedded in the Modern Slavery Act 2015 would be applied to prevent the exploitation from continuing. However, what this does not do is address the push/pull factors that influence their engagement in the first place. Acknowledging and addressing the push/pull factors for engagement can prevent any harms from happening in the first place instead of waiting for the harm to happen to one or more individuals.

This section on what is known about those that engage in modern slavery offences has identified push/pull factors from the evidenced research. The research drawn on was conducted in different countries with different nationalities and included different ‘types’ of modern slavery. This suggests the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences are unaffected by ‘type’ or nationality, suggesting these are universally experienced. Additionally, the push/pull factors are not dissimilar to those identified in the push/pull factors for victimisation, as was also identified in Broad’s (2018) research. Academic and non-academic literature has noted that the victim and the individual exploiting the victim are often of the same nationality (Arhin, 2016; Denton, 2016;

Preble, 2019; Viuhko, 2018; UNODC, 2020). It has been speculated this is so those engaging can build trust quickly with the potential victim, so coercion is more effective (Denton, 2016). It is suggested the similarities in push/pull factors and nationality of the (potential) victim and the individual engaging in these offences challenges the first narrative and suggests all those engaging in modern slavery offences represent the second narrative, having experienced some form of victimisation.

This section has sought to articulate what is known about the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. It has been suggested the literature depicts these individuals under two distinct narratives; those that go straight to engaging, and those that are victimised and then engage. Both narratives represent the individual as being in their 'final destination', that of engaging. Additionally, it has been evidenced that socioeconomic inequalities contribute to their engagement.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

'... theoretical integration [of micro- and macro-level theories] may represent a new line of explanation that might better capture the complexity and diversity of human trafficking' (Winterdyk, 2020, p. 1271)

This thesis takes heed from Winterdyk's advocacy by applying an integrated theoretical framework of Messner and Rosenfeld's Institutional Anomie Theory (IAT) (a macro-level theory) and Christie's Ideal Victim/Ideal Offender concept (a micro-level theory), to facilitate comprehension of the push/pull factors for engagement, and to explore the possibility of primary prevention measures to address such factors. Each will be discussed in turn by first introducing the theory and then applying it to the modern slavery literature.

2.5.1 Messner and Rosenfeld's (2013) Institutional Anomie Theory

Institutional anomie theory (IAT) was developed and introduced by Steven Messner and Richard Rosenfeld in their 1994 book 'Crime and the American Dream' (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013). Messner and Rosenfeld state their theory was developed from Merton's standpoint of anomie in his work 'Social Structure and Anomie' which combined two theories, strain and anomie (Merton, 1938; Messner and Rosenfeld, 2008). Merton's anomie theory was adapted from Durkheim's anomie theory (1893). A brief discussion on Durkheim's and Merton's different anomie theories will position IAT within the wider criminological understandings.

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French classical social theorist, Émile Durkheim developed anomie theory in 1893 in his writings in 'The Division of Labour in Society' and mentions it again in his work on suicide (Durkheim, 1893; Durkheim, 1952). Positioned within macro-level sociology, after comparing societies at various stages of modernising and industrialisation, Durkheim theorised that industrialisation was fracturing the normative within society resulting in normlessness, which led to social deregulation. For Durkheim this social deregulation, described as 'anomie', is a reaction to the shift within modernising societies from being regulated by institutions such as governments and religion to the unregulated economic market. Durkheim highlighted that the higher the level of anomie within a society, the higher the level of deviance and crime in that society (Durkheim, 1893). However, Durkheim makes no direct causation that anomie is the only influencer of the existence of crime and is somewhat vague about the causes of crime (DiCristina, 2016). Despite this, Durkheim's anomie theory has influenced sociologists and criminologists including Robert Merton.

Robert K. Merton developed and adapted Durkheim's anomie theory in his work 'Social Structure and Anomie' (Merton, 1938). Merton was an American sociologist and attendee at the Chicago School of Sociology, which at the time was at the forefront of sociological and criminological thinking and research (Bulmer, 1984). Merton's 1938 work redefined Durkheim's anomie and introduced 'strain' which together represent two different elements of his theoretical understanding of deviance (Featherstone and Deflem, 2003). The relevant literature has regularly conflated the two terms where both are positioned under the umbrella term 'anomie' or 'strain' (Featherstone and Deflem, 2003). For the reader's ease this section will also conflate the two terms using the term 'anomie theory' to incorporate both anomie and strain, however, it will be noted where anomie and strain are being referred to in the section.

Merton's anomie theory is based on macro-level sociology, focusing on social organisation, culture, and social structure within American society (Merton, 1938; Messner and Rosenfeld, 2008). His theory is less about criminal behaviour, rather it focuses on deviance which, for Merton, meant behaviour outside the accepted norms (means) to achieve the sought-after goals categorised within American society (Williams III and McShane, 2010). Merton's theory states that deregulated societies bring a limitlessness in achieving culturally accepted goals such as money and success (anomie). However, this brought an inequality within society (strain) where some individuals are unable to achieve those goals using institutionalised legitimate means and thus revert to using illegitimate means (Merton, 1938; Messner and Rosenfeld, 2008; Williams III and McShane, 2010).

Two key criticisms of Merton's anomie theory suggest his theory is 1) class biased and 2) ignores other influencing factors. The theory insinuates crime and deviance is only perpetrated by the lower classes who have fewer legitimate means to achieve financial goals and offers no explanation for crimes committed by middle-upper classes or suggests no crimes are committed by middle-upper classes (Anderson, 2017). However, it could be argued that rather than Merton's theory having class bias it was the opposite. Merton highlighting that the 'culturally-accepted' goals, which have been set by the middle-upper class, are by legitimate means unattainable for the lower-working classes demonstrates the impact that this inequality can have on crime and deviance within a society (Cohen, 1955). Furthermore, Messner, Rosenfeld, and Hövermann (2019, p. 164) discuss the rationale for Messner and Rosenfeld's institutional anomie theory which develops Merton's anomie theory and note Merton rather 'exclusively' suggests anomie is developed from social stratification while ignoring any other influencing factors within society or social control theories that may affect anomie. They note it was this observation which led Messner and Rosenfeld to develop institutional anomie theory (IAT) in 1994.

Messner and Rosenfeld's institutional anomie theory (IAT) was introduced in their book 'Crime and the American Dream'. Although it was Chamlin and Cochran (1995) who gave the theory the name 'institutional anomie theory' (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2008). IAT continues with the macro-level sociology that was used by Durkheim's and Merton's respective anomie theory(s) (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2008). IAT theorises that a society's culture (in this case the American Dream) and the social structure where economic institutions dominate over non-economic institutions results in high levels of crime. Contrary to the criticism of Merton's anomie theory being class biased, IAT sought to explain financial crimes committed by white-collar workers as well as house burglaries. Messner and Rosenfeld illustrated their theory using an analytical model of macrosocial organisation and crime (See Figure 5).

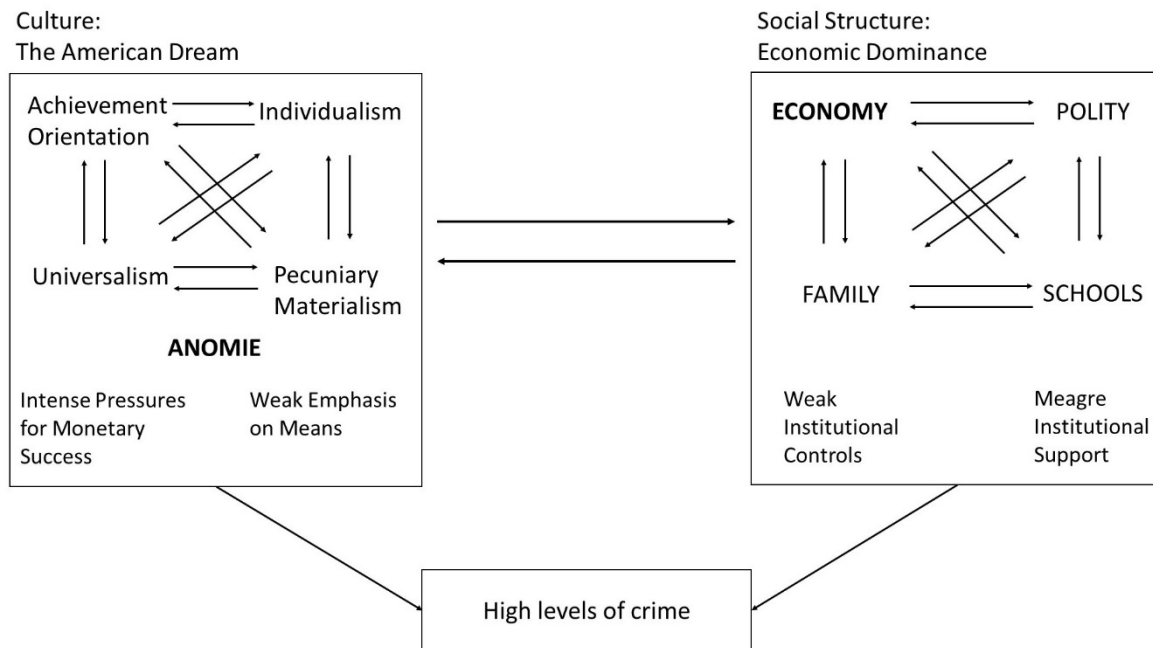


Figure 5. Messner and Rosenfeld’s Analytical Model of Macrosocial Organisation and Crime
(Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013)

By focusing on the cultural ethos of the American Dream, IAT is aligned with Merton’s theory on culture, which notes that the means used to achieve the financial goal are immaterial (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013). Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) identify four values attributed to the American Dream which contribute to anomie. These are: achievement, individualism, universalism and fetishism of money (materialism) (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013). Achievement is centred on self-worth linked to the contributions one makes to their society and the pressures placed upon oneself to achieve this. Individualism refers to the competition which is present within this society to succeed on your own. Universalism promotes ‘a belief in a common entitlement [of monetary success] for everyone in society’ (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013, p. 9) which feeds competition and drives economic inequality as well as the universally understood fear of failure. Materialism, which Messner and Rosenfeld refer to as the ‘fetishism of money’, relates to the way in which American culture places importance on money to determine the level of success (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013, p. 73). Like Merton’s understanding of anomie, the four values create anomie as individuals strive to achieve financial success by any means necessary. Thus, if the individual does not have legitimate means to achieve such success, they will use illegitimate means.

IAT shifts away from the restricted view that social stratification is the explanation for crime and instead focuses on four key social institutions which are relied upon for ‘individual and collective

survival' (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013, p. 75). The four institutions are: economy, polity³², family, and education. Economic institutions produce and deliver services and goods which generate a system where people are able to have their basic needs met, such as food and shelter. Polity 'mobilises and distributes power to attain collective goals' (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013, p. 75). This includes responses to criminal behaviour through the criminal justice system. The family institution is responsible for regulating sexual activity to maintain cultural norms, providing care for children and 'the socialisation of children into the cultural norms, values and beliefs of the dominant culture', as well as care and support of the elderly (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013, p. 75). The education institutions also teach children the dominant cultures, norms and values. The dominance of the economic institutions and the American Dream culture means people strive to enter the labour market. To enter the labour market education certificates are required. The education institutions facilitate this by prioritising the core subjects (English, Maths, and Sciences) which prepare the student for employment. Messner and Rosenfeld (2013) posit the American institutional balance of power is weighted more in the economic institutions which they believe devalues the norms and values of non-economic institutions, leading to individuals using illegitimate means (criminal behaviour) to gain monetary success.

The interconnectedness of the American Dream culture and the economic dominant social structure is important in IAT as it 'results in widespread anomie, weak social controls, diminished social support, and, ultimately, high levels of crime' (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013, p. 70). To offer an example of the interconnectedness of the culture and economic dominant institution, a family of two parents and a child will now be illustrated. Two parents living in a culture that has a universal understanding that monetary success (which is unlimited in amount) is sought after and illustrated to only be valued when achieved through individual merit which contributes to the society's economy means both parents need to work to achieve this monetary success. Both parents at work leaves the child unable to benefit from socialisation within the family institution. The family may then rely on the education institution. However, overcrowding in the school due to the same pressures on other families and a weak polity institution, results in the child failing to receive the norms and values which impose social controls and deter behaviours such as criminal behaviour (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013).

Messner and Rosenfeld suggest that to reduce high levels of crime, social institutions, by which they mean the family, education, and polity, need to be strengthened through reform. They include policies which ensure one parent is able to minimise their work commitments, so time is spent with their child(ren), which offers the opportunity to socialise them within the acceptable

³² Understood by Messner and Rosenfeld as the political system (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013).

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norms and values of the culture. Reforms in the education institutions would witness a reduced reliance on producing and prioritising a universal education system which consists of the core subjects (English, Maths, and Sciences). Messner and Rosenfeld advocate for polity institution reforms to move to community sentencing and rehabilitation to balance the economic institutions within the criminal justice system by moving away from privatised prisons. They also support increases in social participation and support away from the criminal justice system by suggesting volunteering programmes help to generate collective norms and values (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013).

Messner and Rosenfeld highlight the challenges in testing IAT due to the volume of data required for empirical testing (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2008). Nonetheless, Chamlin and Cockran (1995, p. 415) research tested IAT on the hypothesis that '[they] expect an improvement in economic conditions to result in a reduction of instrumental crime only when there is a simultaneous strengthening of noneconomic institutions'. The results conclude that noneconomic institutions can lower anomie and crime rates in the US, in particular poverty and property crime. Further research which tested the theory on economic inequality, the welfare state and homicide rates also supports IAT (Savolainen, 2000).

IAT can be applied to contextualise the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery. Firstly, in Messner and Rosenfeld's conceptualisation of IAT they focused on financial crime. As already evidenced, the literature frequently refers to modern slavery as a financial crime. Additionally, Williamson's (2017b) research conducted in five post-Soviet countries supports IAT where the transition to a capitalist economy weakened noneconomic (social) institutions, which increased inequalities, particularly among the women, resulting in migration and opportunities for exploitation and human trafficking. Secondly, the literature identified that socioeconomic inequalities were contributing to women's, and to a lesser extent men's, engagement in modern slavery offences. IAT identifies that individuals will use illegitimate means to achieve monetary success. Taking heed from Merton's anomie theory, it can be assumed the individuals needing to use illegitimate means will be disadvantaged and experience economic inequalities. Additionally, weakened non-economic, social institutions also create social inequalities. Therefore, this research applies IAT to facilitate a contextual understanding for engaging in modern slavery offences.

Furthermore, the research is placed within England and Wales. The chapter has already demonstrated how the UK political economy resembles a neoliberal capitalist model, a model which also is used in America. Therefore, the assumption would be that UK culture is also representative of the 'American Dream' and the social structure is dominated by the economic

institutions. The two tables below help to justify the application of IAT to a study positioned in UK society. The first table (Table 2) demonstrates that the values of the American Dream are also present within the neoliberal capitalist model. The second table (Table 3) offers examples of each of the four institutions within the UK context to support the notion that the UK's social structure is also dominated by economic institutions.

American Dream	Neoliberal capitalism
Achievement Orientation	Reduced government expenditure and focus on monetary success results in productivity and competition to achieve monetary success.
Individualism	Reduced government expenditure. Individual responsibility to achieve monetary success.
Universalism	All entitled to monetary success however drives economic inequality due to competition and lack of equity within society.
Pecuniary Materialism	Strong value on monetary success. Economic growth.

Table 2. Evidencing the values of the American Dream culture and the Neoliberal Capitalist culture

IAT social structure: Economic dominance	Examples of UK social structure: Economic dominance
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UK childcare policies favour both parents to work by incentivising return to work over supporting family institution (Esping-Andersen, 1990). • Accessing public-funded childcare is restricted to 30 hours and age of dependent often meaning, if able to, opting for the alternative, private, childcare which is costly (Bates, 2022; HM Government, n.d.). • Cost of living and low wages are not sufficient to allow lone parent or one caregiver to remain at home (Jack and Gill, 2010).
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of academies operated by private companies and funded by central Government and donors (West and Bailey, 2013). • Schools out-sourcing for in-school services, such as catering and cleaning (Walford, 2016). • Marketisation of University – global competition for staff recruitment and retainment, needing to provide a service to students (consumers) (Molesworth, Scullion and Nixon, 2011). • Core subjects (Maths, English, and Sciences) are prioritised over other subjects – readying the student to contribute to the economy (Ball, 2017).
Polity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduced public expenditure leading to austerity. • Privatisation of education (see above) and criminal justice system (Chambers, 2014). • To enter UK politics an individual must have a substantial amount of wealth (Murray, 2021). • Political party donors treated with favouritism and include big corporations (McMenamin, 2020; Radford, Mell and Thevoz, 2020).

Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points raised above demonstrative of the dominant economic institutions. • Neoliberal political economy focused on economic growth (Watts and Hodgson, 2019). • Free-market economy promoted to be financially better than single market in Brexit debate (Cornelissen, 2021).
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Table 3. Examples of each of the four institutions within the UK context

Modern slavery has often been understood as a financially driven crime. IAT sought to comprehend the high levels of financial crime in America by recognising the anomie created by the American Dream culture and the economic dominant social structure. IAT was developed in America. However, as this section has evidenced, the values of the American Dream resemble the neoliberal capitalist model present in England, and the economic dominant social structure is also representative of the English social structure. Additionally, IAT, like Merton, suggests inequalities within society result in individuals using illegitimate means to achieve the sought-after monetary goal. This chapter has evidenced that those engaging in modern slavery have experienced socioeconomic inequalities prior to their engagement. In the UK, Boris Johnson when Mayor of London, arguably supports inequality in society to achieve economic growth when he states, 'some measure of inequality is essential for the spirit of envy and keeping up with the Joneses that is, like greed, a valuable spur to economic activity' (Centre for Policy Studies, 2013). Thus, IAT can be applied to help understand engagement in modern slavery in England.

2.5.2 Christie's (1986) Ideal Victim/Ideal Offender

The concept of the socially constructed 'ideal victim' and 'ideal offender' was introduced by Norwegian criminologist Nils Christie in his 1986 essay 'The Ideal Victim' (Christie, 1986). In this micro-level conceptualisation, he states the ideal victim is 'a person or a category of individuals who – when hit by crime – most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim' with attributes such as level of vulnerability (health or age), and if the act was committed within respectable and 'acceptable hours' such as daytime (Christie, 1986, p. 18-19). In comparison, the 'ideal offender' is labelled as being 'big and bad', a stranger to the victim, 'a dangerous man coming from far away', 'a distant being...the more foreign, the better', 'a non-person, who creates anxiety' (Christie, 1986, p. 26 and 28). The concept of the ideal victim is interdependent with the concept of the ideal offender, in other words if there is no ideal victim there will be no ideal offender (Christie, 1986).

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Three key points from Christie's Ideal Offender concept will be extracted and discussed in relation to how the evidence drawn on so far challenges and supports the concept of the ideal offender when referring to individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. The three extracted points are: 1) that the ideal offender is 'the more foreign, the better', 2) that the ideal offender is 'a distant being' and 'a dangerous man coming from far away', and 3) the interdependence of the Ideal Victim and the Ideal Offender (Christie, 1986).

Firstly, the UK Government depicts the individual that engages in modern slavery offences as the Ideal Offender. The UK Government's continued conflation of modern slavery being an immigration issue sits well within the concept of the ideal offender where 'the more foreign, the better'. This is despite the NRM statistics and evidence of UK nationals engaging in modern slavery offences being evidenced within the UK Government's own document on serious violence (Home Office, 2018; Home Office, 2021c). The earlier mentioned decision³³ of the current Home Secretary Suella Braverman to place modern slavery under the responsibility of the immigration minister and away from the safeguarding minister insinuates that all those involved, including the individuals engaging in the offences, are foreign (Dugan, 2022). Perpetually illustrating that the individuals engaged embody the ideal offender not only removes the UK Government's responsibility for creating an exploitative environment, but it also means any response to modern slavery, including preventative responses, will be built on an incomplete narrative and thus be ineffective.

Secondly, anti-slavery organisations invariably use the term 'they' when referring to the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences, without any other identifiable characteristics or offering an understanding of who 'they' are and how 'they' came to being involved in these offences (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2016). This lack of information provided by anti-slavery organisations on those engaged, cements the individual as a distant being and thus as an ideal offender (O'Brien, 2016). Conversely, modern slavery research, using network analysis, has identified that the individual engaged can be family, a friend, or a relative, and has illustrated that women also engage in modern slavery offences, which challenges the notion that those engaged are an ideal offender by contracting they are 'a distant being...and a dangerous man coming from far away' (Broad, 2015; Cockbain, 2018; Denton, 2016; Keo et al, 2014; Shen, 2016; Viuhko, 2018). Additionally, as evidenced in the discussions on the second narrative, women are also engaging in modern slavery offences which debunks the concept that one who engages is 'a dangerous man coming from far away' (Christie, 1986, p. 26).

³³ The Minister of Safeguarding's responsibilities now include modern slavery: wider policy and safeguarding (UK Government, 2022c).

The distant being of those engaged in these offences is further solidified through the lack of advocacy and promotion to involve their lived experience to influence prevention programmes and policies. NGOs, activists, and researchers rightly place a high value on gaining the lived experience of survivors, most recently through co-production research, to facilitate effective prevention, protection, identification programmes and policies (Asquith, Kiconco and Balch, 2022; Human Trafficking Foundation, n.d.; McCoig, Campos-Matos and Such, 2022). However, notwithstanding the research community's call to action such as Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2017; Broad and Gadd, 2023, and Goodey, 2003, the anti-slavery organisations and activists have remained silent on gaining the lived experience of *all* those involved in modern slavery offences to influence effective prevent and protection programmes and policies.

Thirdly, according to Christie (1986), for an ideal offender to exist there needs to be an ideal victim. Christie's (1986) concept of the ideal victim is that they are female, sick, old or a young virgin, and weak (Christie, 1986, p. 19). Consultation of modern slavery campaigns and Government documentation portrays the victims/survivors as an 'ideal victim' with images and language representing the 'victim' as young, White, female, weak, vulnerable, blameless, and visibly illustrated as trapped behind bars (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2016; Hoyle, Bosworth and Dempsey, 2011; O'Brien, 2013; O'Brien, 2016). Guides have been produced by researchers, anti-slavery organisations and activists that challenge the imagery and language associated with the 'ideal victim' as it results in some victims/survivors being missed in identification, support, prevention, and protection as they do not 'fit' the 'ideal victim' narrative (Liberty Asia, Freedom Collaborative, Chab Dai, 2016; Polaris Project, 2021; University of Nottingham Rights Lab, 2019). Despite these guides, the ideal victim continues to be used in language and imagery which solidifies the assumption that those engaging in modern slavery offences represent the ideal offender.

The evidence drawn upon suggests there is a disparity in the articulation and presentation of the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences. Some of the literature prescribes the individual to the ideal offender concept, rendering them and the victim as mutually exclusive (Garland, 2001, p. 181). Whereas other literature recognises the individual's prior victimisation. Thus, the image of the ideal offender is discarding their possible victimisation (O'Brien, 2013). The former literature has tended to be witnessed in material produced by front line professionals and Government officials. Such professions are likely to be the ones carrying out any primary prevention strategies. Thus, applying the ideal offender concept to this research can facilitate a comprehensive understanding of whether the individual engaging in these offences represents the ideal offender and can offer critical evaluation of the impact such a held concept might have on implementing primary prevention measures.

To summarise, when researching modern slavery, Winterdyk (2020) advocates applying an integrated theoretical framework which includes both macro- and micro-level theories to capture the complexities which occur within modern slavery. The literature reviewed in this chapter evidenced the impact that social, economic, and political systems have on victimisation and, to a lesser extent (due to the limitation of data) engagement. Thus, evidencing modern slavery does not happen in a vacuum. It involves individuals (victims and those engaging) and collective systems (social, economic, and political systems). Thus, the research benefits from applying an integrated theoretical framework consisting of Messner and Rosenfeld's Institutional Anomie theory (macro-level) and Christie's Ideal Offender concept (micro-level). Integrating both theories to understand the findings will not only help us to understand who is engaging in modern slavery offences (Ideal Offender) and what their push/pull factors are (IAT), but it will also facilitate discussion on whether primary prevention measures would be able to address such factors (IAT) and what might challenge the implementation of such measures (IAT and Ideal Offender).

2.6 Conclusion

To conclude, the UK, as a signatory, is required to adhere to the UN Trafficking Protocol and COE convention which applied a victim-focused and criminal justice approach to respond to modern slavery³⁴. The UK responded with the NRM, the Modern Slavery Strategy, and their own Modern Slavery Act 2015. The Modern Slavery Strategy incorporated the 4 Ps framework which was adapted from the protocol, convention, and their own counter terrorism work. The 3 Ps which focus on those involved in modern slavery (victim and the individual engaging), prevent, prosecute, and protect, are fraught with problems when applying conflicting approaches of victim-focused and criminal justice. Despite efforts to respond to modern slavery, year-on-year increasing numbers of (potential) victims are identified and therefore are being exploited while prosecutions remain low. This suggests preventing modern slavery should be better considered.

Despite the UK's official response to modern slavery advocating the prevention of people engaging³⁴ in modern slavery in the first place. Prevention has been victim-focused. Awareness raising campaigns and education programmes have been implemented to prevent victimisation. While discussing the victim-blaming element of these prevention programmes, the research took influence from domestic abuse research which focused on preventing the individual from engaging in the offence as opposed to placing the responsibility on the victim. Although the Modern Slavery Act 2015 includes the STPO and the STRO these are examples of preventing

³⁴ Then known as human trafficking.

something which has already happened rather than preventing it from happening in the first place. A public health approach can be applied when looking to prevent modern slavery. Primary prevention under the public health approach for prevention addresses factors which contribute to something happening. Thus, applying primary prevention to the modern slavery response will focus on stopping it from happening in the first place.

Specifying and contextualising the factors for engagement will facilitate social and economic reforms (Surtees, 2008) such as primary prevention measures, and prevent individuals from engaging in modern slavery offences in the first place. There is currently no identified 'list' or amalgamation of the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery. The chapter sought to derive these factors from the existing research on what is known about the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. Research identified that socioeconomic inequalities and need for economic gain were experienced prior to the individual engaging in modern slavery. This research will build on the existing literature to specify the socioeconomic inequalities and contextualise the 'need' for economic gain.

The evidence drawn upon is predominantly conducted outside England and with non-UK nationals. At the final stages of this thesis Broad and Gadd (2023) published their research which included interviews with 30 UK nationals who were incarcerated for modern slavery offences in England. Their research found the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences had experienced unaddressed needs prior to their engagement and advocate for more research to facilitate the primary prevention of modern slavery. Their work is a positive addition to the literature which contextualises the experiences of the individuals engaging in these offences.

Applying an integrated theoretical framework, IAT and the Ideal Offender, the research explores whether primary prevention measures could address the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences in England and Wales. As evidenced in this chapter, there is limited data on who is engaging in modern slavery offences and even less data on their specific push/pull factors. The first aim of the research sought to answer these questions. Using this data, the research can understand whether primary prevention measures could be implemented to address the identified push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. The discussion on the UK Government's reluctance to apply prevention measures influenced the question of what might challenge the implementation of such measures.

Chapter 3 Methodology

The research explores the possibility of primary prevention measures³⁵ to address the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. The research aims to identify who is engaging in modern slavery offences and what their push/pull factors are, while also critically interrogating whether primary prevention measures could address the identified push/pull factors, and what might challenge the implementation of such measures. The way in which research is designed influences the way data is collected, and how it is analysed and interpreted. This can impact on the replicability of the research. It is therefore important to take the research question and aims into consideration and select appropriate research method(s) and underlying philosophy in order to produce robust, credible, and valid data.

This chapter presents the research design, the methods chosen for the research and introduces the recruitment stages and data collection process. Data analysis will be discussed, including how the data was analysed and what techniques were used to gain and sharpen a rich dataset. The penultimate section discusses any limitations of the method and challenges in accessing data. The final chapter of the thesis will discuss the research limitations.

3.1 Research Design

For this research, a constructivist approach was chosen as its ontological and epistemological position supports the research question type and aims. Constructivist ontology refers to how people experience the same physical world differently to one another, revealing that there can be multiple realities constructing the same experience and environment (Patton, 2002).

Constructivist epistemology maintains that knowledge is subjective. The belief is that there is no knowledge yet to be discovered, on the contrary, knowledge is constructed by the person/people's experiences (Kara, 2017).

Modern slavery is frequently referred to as being complex (Landman, 2020; Salt and Stein, 1997; Winterdyk, 2020). Applying a constructivist approach can help simplify the complexity by gathering multiple perspectives on the same experiences and environments which can identify the push/pull factors for engagement. Additionally, modern slavery cases can involve multiple stakeholders spanning different public and private sectors which invariably hold different agendas and values. For example, the agenda for law enforcement might be to charge someone, whereas

³⁵ Primary prevention is discussed in chapter 2, section 2.

for a support service it might be to find out why the person is engaging in such activity. Therefore, the philosophical methodological approach to the research required an ontological and epistemological position which reflects the multiple stakeholders, their perspectives, and unique experiences of those engaged in modern slavery cases. Furthermore, given that my previous involvement in the anti-slavery sector could potentially result in me co-constructing the data, findings, and discussions with participants, a constructivist approach which accounts for and encourages reflexivity was important.

Qualitative research offers the participant the opportunity to openly discuss the topic of interest and for the interviewer to gain an in-depth understanding of said participant (Patton, 2002).

When researching modern slavery, Tyldum (2010) advocates using qualitative methods to gain insight into the lived experiences of those involved. Quantitative research methods could have been used to identify whether there was a causal relationship between certain push/pull factors (cause) and those engaging in modern slavery offences (effect). However, there are three main reasons why quantitative research methods were not chosen for this research. Firstly, the earlier justification for selecting a constructivist philosophy is somewhat at odds with quantitative research methods. For example, to answer the research question on an individual level it was important to conduct research that would give the opportunity for the professional's 'voice', experiences, and knowledge of those engaging in modern slavery offences to be disseminated. As shown in the literature review there is still limited, albeit very important, research on those who engage in modern slavery offences, and as such their experiences are still relatively unknown compared to other aspects of modern slavery research, such as victim/survivor-focused research. Quantitative research is less likely to be able to offer an individual 'voice' and experience, as it predominately values analysis about populations that fails to suit the research question or aims for this thesis (Goertz and Mahoney, 2012). Secondly, the research strives to comprehend the individuals that engage in modern slavery offences. Qualitative research methods allow for in-depth understanding and knowledge of the participants, by using probes and prompts, whereas quantitative research methods would be unable to achieve the level of depth that qualitative research methods can offer. Surveys or questionnaires can offer to some extent an understanding of an individual experience, but they remove the possibility of using probes and prompts, which develop a deeper understanding of the participant's experience. Lastly, to determine a causal relationship requires a large dataset. The availability of, and access to, data is often challenging when researching modern slavery (Goździak, 2015). Consequently, at the time of writing, there are currently no large datasets on the backgrounds of those engaging in modern slavery.

The research followed an empirical research approach to understand the phenomenon of modern slavery from the viewpoint and experiences of the participants. When this approach is used with

qualitative methods it focuses on the participant's words either through interviews or observations to develop an understanding of a phenomenon (Soss, 2014). Geertz (1973) advocates for observations as he suggests they offer a 'thick description', which achieves an accurate interpretation of the data. Participant observations focus on environment, behaviours, and interactions (Foster, 2006). These factors can facilitate an understanding of the push/pull factors, however the research sought to specifically identify them rather than observe them. Thus, observations were deemed inappropriate.

I originally intended to conduct biographical narrative interviews with individuals who were incarcerated for engaging in modern slavery offences and semi-structured in-depth interviews with anti-slavery professionals³⁶. Biographical narrative interviews were optimal as the technique allows the participant to speak of their own narrative and to construct a dialogue based on their own experiences, providing a deeper understanding of any contributing factors (Siouti, 2017). Unfortunately, access to incarcerated individuals was denied, so this interview technique was not utilised. When Broad (2018) was denied access to incarcerated individuals who had engaged in modern slavery offences, she conducted semi-structured interviews with anti-slavery professionals and secondary data analysis on confidential prison documents pertaining to those incarcerated. This yielded in-depth insights into the experiences of the 'convicted traffickers'³⁷ in connection with their migration journey. This research set out to adopt Broad's approach. Unfortunately, access to confidential prison documents was denied. However, the primary data collected and analysed offered sufficient data to answer the research question and subsequent aims, so no secondary data analysis was required for this research.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were deemed an appropriate qualitative research method for this research. Semi-structured interviews predominantly include open-ended questions or probes to facilitate open discussion and are concerned with the interviewee's experiences and understandings of their own reality (Brinkmann, 2020). The attributes of semi-structured interviewing are like that of in-depth interviewing in that the focus is on the interviewee, to understand their reality, and to some extent, allows for the interviewee to direct the interview (Seidman, 2006). Seidman (2006) developed a specific three-interview series to conduct in-depth interviewing. The series involves three separate interviews conducted with the same participant over a set period. Each of the three interviews focuses on a specific area. These are: focused life history, the details of experience, and reflection on the meaning (Seidman, 2006). This research

³⁶ Referring to any professional that works exclusively and non-exclusively within anti-slavery. Defined in the introduction.

³⁷ A term used by Broad (2015).

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was unable to replicate the three-interview series due to time constraints, however it did incorporate the three topics into the topic guide structure to achieve an in-depth interview. Topic guides are used to guide the interview using questions or areas that the interviewer wants to cover, while also allowing the interview to deviate from these areas if the data being collected is deemed important for the research aims (Edwards and Holland, 2013) The semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted using personalised topic guides which achieved a rich data collection. Although the topic guides were personalised, they did, in fact, start and end the same and the title of each sub-section was the same. The topic guide included the aims of the research and was divided into six sub-sections (See Appendix 1). The topic guide is used as guidance during the interview rather than asking set pre-prepared questions. This was deemed an appropriate technique to use, as it supports the constructivist approach by facilitating the participants to tell their reality that the interviewer may not be aware of when the topic guide is produced.

Each topic guide was personalised for the participants which took their profession and expertise into account, creating the space to collect multiple realities and subjectivity. This reduced the risk of the participants feeling alienated and disengaging with the interview by ensuring the questions being asked and topics being discussed were based on their expertise (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Additionally, personalising the topic guides illustrated my knowledge in the area which built trust and created rich data as it allowed the participant to talk with more depth, knowing there was a competency within the topic area (Harvey, 2011). Interviewing participants on well-researched topics or on familiar topics can reveal that the participant has developed 'blind spots' where assumptions and use of language have become normal (Soss, 2014, p. 171). This can also happen within an interview, where the interviewer develops similar blind spots, meaning they fail to pick up on words or nuances that are of importance (Soss, 2014, p. 171). Having had previous experience in the anti-slavery sector I was mindful of being aware of developing any blind spots and challenging such blind spots during the interviews as well as data analysis. Being aware of these blind spots meant the data analysis identified the assumptions and normative language used by the participants when referring to the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences. This is a key challenge when investigating whether there would be challenges in implementing primary prevention measures³⁸.

In summary, the research question, and subsequent aims explore the possibility of primary prevention measures addressing the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. To address the research question and aims, it was determined that a diverse range of anti-slavery professionals were required to offer their realities and subjectivity on this research topic. The

³⁸ This is evidenced in chapter 6.

research was designed with a constructivist approach, which translated to conducting qualitative, semi-structured in-depth interviews with the additional use of topic guides. The following section demonstrates how the data collection was conducted.

3.2 Data Collection

This section will discuss the research decisions made throughout the data collection phase. Although it is perhaps unorthodox, this section begins by briefly discussing what was not achieved as the decisions for data collection were made in light of denied access to those engaging in modern slavery offences. This section will then conclude with the recruitment and data collection process.

Anti-slavery stakeholders advocate for people with lived experience of modern slavery offences to be involved in modern slavery research among other areas which were discussed in the literature review. As discussed previously, those with lived experience generally refers to the victims/survivors of modern slavery as opposed to those who engage in modern slavery offences. This research set out to include those with lived experience of engaging in these offences by collecting primary data from interviews with them, and then using this data to inform the interviews with anti-slavery professionals. Triangulating the data in this way could offer context to the lived experience interviews and highlight any disparities between these and the professional perspectives of anti-slavery professionals. After receiving ethical approval³⁹ from the University of Southampton, I applied to Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) for ethical approval to interview people who were under the care of the prison or probation service and who had been prosecuted for modern slavery offences. To mitigate any potential distress caused by the research I produced a distress protocol⁴⁰. It highlighted the steps that all those involved in the interviewing process, including myself, the participant, prison/probation officers, and the mental health practitioners needed to take if certain situations arose. After long delays to my application and having received no confirmation of either approval or denial, the COVID-19 pandemic started. With this, HMPPS postponed all primary data collection. However, they were still accepting applications to analyse secondary data. By this point in the data collection process, I had begun to interview anti-slavery professionals. Although these interviews were gathering rich data, I continued to adopt Broad's (2018) research approach which included accessing and conducting secondary data analysis on confidential prison documents pertaining to those incarcerated. This was to potentially offer more reference points when building a picture of the push/pull factors.

³⁹ Research ethics number: 48391 (University of Southampton).

⁴⁰ See Appendix 2.

I, like Broad (2018), applied to access Offender Assessment Systems (OASys) and pre-sentence reports. Both confidential documents are completed by prison and probation officers. Each report offers the opportunity for the form completer to detail an incarcerated person's background/circumstances prior to an offence being committed. Although, a review carried out on pre-sentence reports indicated the reports rarely include written information, where oral reports are favoured, so there was a possibility these documents would fail to offer any relevant information (Robinson, 2022). It was still deemed appropriate to apply to access such data. Unfortunately, after a two-month delay, my HMPPS application was rejected on the grounds it would be too difficult to access pre-sentence reports and made no mention of accessing OASys. The denial to access primary and secondary data from HMPPS is not detrimental to the research findings. There is no doubt primary data would have achieved a rich dataset, however, so has the primary data collected with anti-slavery professionals. The secondary data was never guaranteed to have added to the representation of the person's background, so this was not a loss to the research.

The denied access to those with lived experience was unfortunate although it is frequently experienced by people conducting modern slavery research (Cockbain, Bowers and Vernon, 2020; Tyldum, 2010). The denied access influenced the targeted anti-slavery professionals for this research. It was important to recruit a diverse range of anti-slavery professionals working in different sectors, as this would offer an opportunity to gain different professional experiences allowing for critical analysis of the data (Wroblewski and Leitner, 2009). I targeted professions which worked with or supported individuals who had engaged in these offences or professionals who had previous experience of being in a gang where there are similar experiences or cultures.

3.2.1 Recruitment

Participants were recruited through stratified purposeful sampling. Stratified purposeful sampling is a strategy in which participants are recruited due to their ability to offer the greatest amount of information and experience based on the research objectives (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013; Patton, 2002). The strata in this example were a specific group that had direct or indirect experience of modern slavery cases and of those engaging in these offences, as well as specialist knowledge of modern slavery. This sampling technique was deemed appropriate as this stratum would give the best possible opportunity for the research questions to be answered.

Eighteen anti-slavery professionals were interviewed from a diverse range of anti-slavery professions. A breakdown of the professions is shown below (see Table 4). This diversity allowed the research to collect different perspectives and facilitated a clearer representation of what

factors contribute to someone engaging in modern slavery offences. All participants were UK based and referred to UK cases which involved UK and non-UK nationals engaging in modern slavery offences.

Participant professions (including previous profession if relevant)	Anonymised title	Total
CEO of consultancy firm specialising in county lines and retired senior law enforcement officer	CLE_1	1
CEO of support organisations including those which directly work with those engaged in, at risk of engaging in, modern slavery offences	NGO_2, NGO_3, NGO_4, NGO_5	4
Criminal Justice System focusing on prosecutions	CJS_1, CJS_2	2
Employee at a charity which strategically responds to modern slavery, and retired senior specialist law enforcement officer	LENGO_1	1
NGO which is targeted by individuals engaging in modern slavery offences	NGO_1	1
Specialist academic and consultant, previously a local authority employee	SA_2	1
Specialist academic and retired civil servant working in a department which dealt closely with labour exploitation	SA_1	1
Specialist county lines law enforcement officer	SCLLE_1, SCLLE_2	2
Specialist modern slavery law enforcement officer	SLE_1, SLE_2	2
Specialist modern slavery local authority employee and retired senior specialist law enforcement officer	SLA_1	1
Specialist non-departmental public body	NDPB_1, NDPB_2	2
		18

Table 4. Breakdown of participant professions

The primary data collection was conducted in three stages spanning October 2019 to November 2020 (including delays due to the impact of COVID-19). The three stages of recruitment are illustrated below and offer a brief overview of the participants recruited in each stage (see Figure 6). Figure 7 demonstrates at which stage each anonymised participant was recruited.

Recruitment letters (see Appendix 3) were sent to potential participant after receiving ethical approval⁴¹ from the University of Southampton. The recruitment letter includes a brief overview of the research, the ethical approval number, the length of time being requested for the interview (60 minutes), and a statement about confidentiality, anonymisation and their right to withdraw at any time. The letter also included a paragraph that explained why they had personally been chosen to consider taking part in the research. Participant information sheets (PIS) and consent forms were also sent to each potential participant. The PIS gave in-depth information about the research to inform the participant. The consent form required the participant to have read the PIS and asked for their consent to participate in the research and notified them of their right to withdraw, confidentiality and anonymisation, and how their data will be stored. All participants signed the consent form prior to their interview (See Appendix 4 for PIS and Appendix 5 for the consent form).

To help keep track of potential participants I kept a recruitment schedule. This document was password protected and detailed the potential participant's name, contact information, the date I sent the first and second recruitment email, and the date and location of the interview if it had been confirmed. Using the recruitment schedule meant I stayed organised within the project as I knew where each potential participant was in their recruitment. This presented a professionalism to the potential participant which facilitated the initial stages of building trust in the interviewer/interviewee dynamic.

As mentioned earlier, the original plan was to recruit those who had engaged in modern slavery offences and professionals at different stages so the lived experience interviews could inform the questions for the professionals. Despite not having access to people with lived experience, the technique to recruit and interview in stages was upheld. This decision was made after the discussions in the first few interviews indicated other appropriate professionals to recruit for the research which maintained the opportunity to validate the data by collecting diverse perspectives. The second and the third stages of recruitment were informed by their preceding stage. This was achieved by reflecting on the previous stage and producing preliminary data analysis which facilitated the direction of the research, informed the next topic guides, helped identify the most

⁴¹ Research ethics number: 48391 (University of Southampton).

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appropriate professions to recruit in the next stages, and identified potential participants. Before discussing the interview process the following section will detail the steps taken to identify and recruit potential participants.

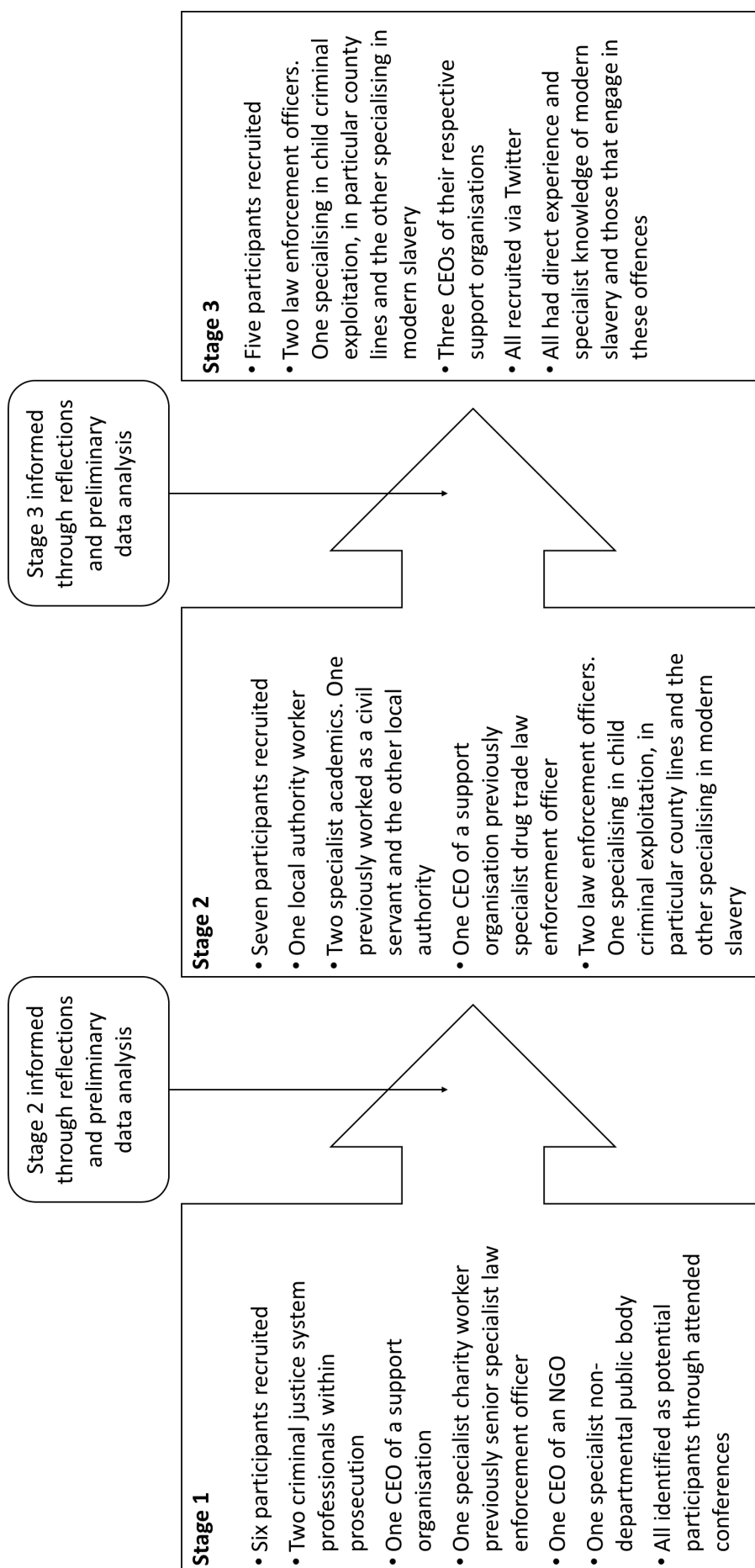


Figure 6. Three stages of recruitment

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
CJS_1	SLA_1	SCLLE_2
CJS_2	SA_1	SLE_2
NGO_5	SA_2	NGO_2
LENGO_1	CLE_1	NGO_3
NGO_1	SCLLE_1	NGO_4
NDPB_1	SLE_1	
	NDPB_2	

Figure 7. Anonymised titles of participants recruited and interviewed in each stage

3.2.1.1 The first stage of recruitment

The first stage of recruitment yielded six participants (see Figure 6 and Figure 7). Two participants worked in the criminal justice system focusing on prosecutions although in different roles (CJS_1 and CJS_2). CJS_1 had direct experience with people who had engaged in modern slavery offences whereas CJS_2 had indirect experience, meaning their knowledge base was formed through secondary data or via someone who had direct experience. NGO_5 was CEO of a support organisation which supports people who are at risk of engaging with gangs, including those engaged in modern slavery activities. NGO_5 also had previous experience of being involved in a gang. LENGO_1 worked for a charity which specialises in strategic responses to modern slavery. They also had previously worked as a senior specialist law enforcement officer, gaining direct experience with those engaging in modern slavery offences. NGO_1 was CEO of an NGO targeted by individuals engaged in modern slavery offences to recruit the organisation's service users. NGO_1 had direct experience with an individual engaging in modern slavery offences. The final participant worked for a non-governmental public body (NDPB_1) which specialises in modern slavery. NDPB_1 was head of the prevention team at the organisation and developed prevention strategies as a response to modern slavery. They had previous direct experience with modern slavery cases while working in law enforcement. See Appendix 6 for further participant details.

All six participants were identified as potential participants during modern slavery conferences I had attended. I used the conferences as an opening in my recruitment letter which helped unify us and demonstrated I had already invested my time into hearing them speak. Meeting in an informal setting such as a conference built rapport and trust so when the interviews were conducted these were already partially established, which allowed for more time to concentrate on the research questions.

Through the first stage of recruitment, I sent out a recruitment email to ten charities that work to rehabilitate previously incarcerated people. This recruitment email was targeted at the workers as well as their clients. These charities were not specifically supporting those engaged in modern slavery and my email did stipulate that they had to have some experience with or knowledge of this client group. This recruitment failed to produce any interviews. Four of the ten gave no response. Three of the ten declined the offer due to no resources and/or working on another research project. Three of the ten stated having no relevant knowledge or experience to enable them to participate in the research. This result is in stark contrast to the response from the conferences which was 100% successful. This suggests building rapport and trust prior to recruitment is beneficial and allows for a rapid assessment of an individual's suitability to participate in a research project.

At the end of the first stage of recruitment I conducted preliminary data analysis and reflected on the interviews and participants. I used my previous employment in the anti-slavery sector to gather rich data. In the first stage of recruitment, I had not shared my previous experience in the anti-slavery sector with the participants. This meant the initial stages of the interview were covering the fundamentals of modern slavery. Upon reflection, I felt this was hindering the potential for generating rich data, for example participants were spending time describing the development of the National Referral Mechanism (NRM). Once I told them of my previous employment the conversation moved away from the fundamentals of modern slavery and toward the focus of the research. Sharing my previous employment generated rapport, trust, and a mutual understanding. Although I was mindful of my own 'blind spots' in any shared understanding or norms within the anti-slavery sector. When recruiting for the second and third stage I mentioned my previous employment in my recruitment communications, so the interviews started at a competency level that was warranted. Additionally, the preliminary data analysis and reflection highlighted key areas of interest for the research to pursue, such as the inclusion of professionals responding to and supporting individuals engaged in or at risk of engaging in child criminal exploitation, and in particular county lines. Furthermore, the data at this stage was suggesting there was little language for and in-depth understanding of those engaging in modern slavery offences. This informed the second stage of recruitment.

3.2.1.2 Second stage of recruitment

The second stage of recruitment addressed insights gained from the preliminary data analysis and reflections. This stage targeted people who worked directly with people who engage in modern slavery offences including people specialising in child criminal exploitation and law enforcement. Although this could potentially offer a single lens understanding of the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences, it was an important step to take to address the research aims by understanding their prior experiences and backgrounds. It also allowed me to test whether the limited knowledge accumulated from the first stage participants was a common occurrence among different professionals in the anti-slavery sector.

Seven participants were interviewed for the second stage of recruitment (see Figure 6 and Figure 7). Using an existing contact from my previous employment in the anti-slavery sector I recruited a local authority employee (SLA_1) who specialises in the anti-slavery sector and was previously in a senior specialist role in law enforcement and had expert knowledge on vulnerable children. In both their roles they had had direct experience with people who engage in modern slavery offences. CJS_1 from the first stage of recruitment acted as a gatekeeper which led to SA_2 agreeing to be interviewed. SA_2 is a specialist academic in modern slavery, independent consultant and was previously employed by the local authority. They have also had direct contact with people who engage in modern slavery offences.

I targeted four potential participants through Twitter. I chose Twitter to recruit participants for two reasons. Firstly, COVID-19 had begun prior to this stage of recruitment, which meant restrictions were in place making it impossible to recruit via face-to-face networking such as at conferences. Secondly, I had built my professional Twitter profile since my master's and had over 300 contacts in the anti-slavery sector. This meant I had direct access to potential participants who I could direct message. The four potential participants were selected for their involvement in modern slavery within law enforcement. After sending a direct message to them over Twitter, which briefly explained the research, three agreed to find out more. With their agreement, I sent the recruitment email with the consent form and PIS attached. This resulted in interviewing all three. CLE_1 had previously held a senior role in law enforcement specialising in the UK drug trade before establishing their own private consultancy firm advising public stakeholders on child criminal exploitation and in particular county lines. They had direct experience with cases which would now be categorised as exploitation. SCLLE_1 held a specialist role in law enforcement advising on child criminal exploitation. Although they had no direct experience with those engaging in modern slavery their role collated anecdotal data and secondary data on those engaging in these offences. The third participant was SLE_1. They also held a senior role in law

enforcement specialising in modern slavery offences and had direct experience with people engaging in modern slavery offences.

Continuing with stratified purposeful sampling I submitted my recruitment email to a modern slavery mailing list, which circulates information to anti-slavery professionals. Two participants were recruited through this process. The first participant was another specialist academic (SA_1) who had prior experience working as a civil servant to reduce labour exploitation. SA_1 had direct and indirect experience of those engaging in modern slavery offences. The second participant was NDPB_2, who worked in the protection department of a specialist non-departmental public body and had indirect experience with people who engage in modern slavery offences. NDPB_2 had been instructed by their manager to be involved with the research, however, NDPB_2 had extensive knowledge of victims but lacked knowledge of those engaged in modern slavery offences.

At this point in the data collection, 11 of the 13 participants (85%) were either currently working, or had previously worked, in public bodies which answer directly or non-directly to the state. I therefore wanted to gain the perspective of non-public bodies which do not answer to the state and have practical experience of the relevant policies and their impact on the community. After the first two stages of recruitment, it was clear that children are at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. With this in mind, I felt it was important to try again to speak to those that support individuals who engage in modern slavery offences and charities that support the families of the at risk children.

3.2.1.3 Third stage of recruitment

The targeted participants at this stage were those working with families affected by exploitation through their child being the victim of and/or engaging in modern slavery offences, those working with children to deter them from gang culture, and those working with individuals previously incarcerated. I also targeted the larger anti-slavery organisations as so far there had been limited information from specific anti-slavery organisations aside from LENGO_1. Drawing on the literature and my own experience in the area, I was aware that these organisations would not be able to answer the research aims as their focus was limited to victims and survivors. However, I felt it was important to the research findings to challenge this evidence from the literature and my assumptions by targeting them in the hope this may offer more data. Unfortunately, my recruitment of anti-slavery organisations was unsuccessful (See Appendix 7 for list of declines and reasons given).

The third and final stage of recruitment and interviews consisted of five participants (see Figure 6 and Figure 7). I used Twitter to recruit all these participants. I chose Twitter again as a recruitment tool due to the success in the second stage of recruitment and the continuation of COVID-19 restrictions. Using a snowballing technique, I recruited SCLLE_2 who worked on prevention in county lines law enforcement and had been identified as a potential participant by SCLLE_1. This was an important contact as they could offer more information and front line experience of the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences. SLE_2, who was a specialist modern slavery law enforcement officer, had been identified as a potential participant through their communication on Twitter. They often indicated strong opinions and of most importance to this recruitment stage, a different perspective to others I had interviewed. Three participants were CEOs of their respective support organisations (NGO_2, NGO_3, and NGO_4). Each organisation supported young people, including those who have engaged in, or are at risk of engaging in, modern slavery offences. All three organisations aimed to reduce gang engagement and offer positive experiences. NGO_4 had previous experience of being involved in a gang which was greatly beneficial to the research aims. All five of the participants in this final stage had direct experience with people who engaged in modern slavery offences.

The data collected from SLA_1 in stage two produced a unique insight into the lives of those engaging in modern slavery offences. To capitalise on this and triangulate the data to help me understand whether other local authorities have the same insight or whether it could be due to other factors, I targeted those working in local authorities. Unfortunately, after initial interest the potential participant failed to respond. I have highlighted the most noteworthy of rejections in the research, however, in total the research received 27 rejections (see Appendix 7).

3.2.2 Collecting the interviews

After recruiting each participant, a consent form was sent via email which was kept in a password protected document. Once the consent form had been returned, I assigned an anonymised title to each participant. I kept a password protected document that held the titles and the participants' initials. Once the titles were assigned all documents relating to the participants used only their anonymised title. This anonymisation process ensured I was adhering to ethical procedures by protecting the identity of the participants. I also kept an interview schedule to ensure I remained professional and organised⁴². This document included important dates and agreements to ensure the data collection process was managed responsibly.

⁴² The interview schedule has not been included in the appendices as the redacted information, to ensure no identifiable data was present, meant the document would not add value to the thesis.

All the interviews took place in England, were audio-recorded and conducted using remote means. I used two devices to record the interviews, my smartphone, and a voice recorder. Having two devices gave a level of reassurance in case one failed to work. I transcribed the interviews within 14 days of the original interview and deleted the recordings as per the consent form and ethical approval. After each interview, I sent the participant an email the next day thanking them for their time and reiterating their valuable contribution to the research. A copy of the interview transcript was not offered to the participants. This was to ensure the research collected raw and unpolished data which represented the realities of multiple anti-slavery professionals. Each participant was informed they could withdraw from the study, meaning if any information was unethically offered, they had the opportunity to retract their data being used in the study. Only CJS_2 was sent their interview transcript as a condition of their participation in the study. I received their edited interview to analyse. CJS_2's edits clarified a programme's name, removed filler words, and constructed sentences in a written tone rather than the rawness of speech. Although this was not the design of the research, CJS_2 made no redactions to the content, so the interview was still deemed valuable and credible.

The participants in the first stage of recruitment suggested their interviews took place using either video conferencing or telephone. The second and third stages of recruitment were conducted during COVID-19, so all interviews were conducted using remote means. I re-applied to the University of Southampton's ethics committee to ensure my procedures were ethical and that I was conducting the interviews using ethically approved software. For example, I ensured all interviews using Zoom were password protected and that the recording was stored on my local disk. I experienced no issues with intruders or data breaches in any of the interviews. Four interviews were conducted by telephone and 14 interviews used video conferencing such as Microsoft Teams, FaceTime, Zoom, and Skype.

Using remote means to conduct the interviews presented advantages and disadvantages. Some of the advantages of using remote means are that it is cost effective (travel), offers a wider geographical reach to access participants, and provides a safe and comfortable environment for both interviewer and participant (Jenner and Myers, 2019). A disadvantage of using remote means can be the quality of the signal/broadband connection which can impact the flow of the interview and data quality (Weller, 2017). Four of the 18 interviews were affected by poor signal, although I was able to communicate this with the participant which meant at times they had to repeat what they said. This could potentially challenge the natural flow of a face-to-face conversation and possibly impact on data collection, with verbal and non-verbal communication being missed, although this is not something I experienced. Johnson, Scheitle, and Ecklund (2019) suggest that face-to-face interviews are better than using remote means as they facilitate a better

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conversation. The conversations in the interviews and the data collected did not imply it would have been better if the interview had been face-to-face. Most of the interviews were conducted during COVID-19 which meant communication using remote means had become the norm for the participants' work environment communications. It is possible this contributed to some of the second stage interviews exceeding the allotted 60 minutes as participants were comfortable in this new environment. One of the participants interviewed during COVID-19 mentioned that it was nice to be able to speak with someone.

The personalised topic guides mentioned earlier were used for each interview and consisted of six sub-sections (See Appendix 1). As covered earlier and as a reminder here, the introduction, background, and end sections were the same for all participants. The introduction covered the research topic and included confidentiality, anonymisation and the right to withdraw at any time. The end section concluded the interview, reminding the participant of confidentiality and thanking them for their time.

The motive behind the background section was to build trust and rapport with the participant. This section focused on the participant's current and previous employment, giving the participant the opportunity to talk freely and openly about themselves and their expertise, and to get more comfortable in the role of interviewee. Building rapport early meant I was able to ask specific and perhaps challenging questions throughout the interview which allowed for a deeper discussion and richer data (Bray, 2008). Additionally, this section was beneficial when I was unfamiliar with the participant as it helped me get to know more about their past and their knowledge of modern slavery, which guided the direction of the interview. This was demonstrated when I interviewed SA_1. They responded to the recruitment using the mailing list and I was unable to find information about them that related to modern slavery other than they researched the area. During the background section of the interview, they mentioned their previous profession had links with the topic area which helped the direction of the interview as it became more focused on their previous employment than their current profession.

The middle three sections of the topic guide asked questions about the participant's experience with individuals who had engaged in modern slavery offences, the backgrounds and experiences of individuals who engage in modern slavery offences, and anti-slavery programmes. These were tailored specifically to the participant. In some interviews where the participant had more experience in prevention and protection programmes, the programme section dominated the time within the interview compared to the other sections.

During the interviews I used active listening, this skill helps the participant feel listened to which aids their trust and deepens rapport within the interview and allows for a more in-depth

discussion when used in conjunction with probes (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). For example, when the participants were answering a question, I would pick up on terms or information that I thought might be worth exploring and would often come back to it using probes, which helped develop a deeper discussion and understanding of what was meant. As suggested earlier, professionals may have blind spots in their professional norms, the ability to use probes and prompts helped in exploring these potential blind spots with the participants. Active listening and probes meant participants were challenged in their assumptions and contradictions of the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences. However, when interviewing one participant, I was aware they were cautious in their responses. On reflection this made me uncomfortable to challenge them, which potentially impacted on the data collected. All other participants were less cautious, and I was more comfortable to challenge them and used probes successfully.

The recruitment letter and consent form asked for 60 minutes of the participant's time. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and one hour 50 minutes. At the beginning of each interview, participants were asked to confirm the time they had available for the interview. NGO_5 and SCLLE_1 had other commitments which shortened the interview from 60 minutes to 45 and 50 minutes, respectively. At the penultimate interview question, all participants were asked if they had time for another question. This resulted in different responses and is reflected in the differing lengths of the interviews. Seven interviews finished at 60 minutes. Nine interviews went over the 60 minutes ranging from a further five to 50 minutes. Considering the nature of the interviews in requiring the participant to reflect on their experiences it is suggested by Seidman (2006) that this takes time and advocates for interviews to last between 90 to 120 minutes. Although some of the interviews exceeded the time requested, these participants explicitly consented to the time extension, which allowed them time to reflect on a topic they may not often think about, which helped generate rich data (See Appendix 6 for detailed minutes taken). At the end of the longest interview (110 minutes) the participant, SLA_1, used the interview to reflect on their own work.

‘It's interesting because it provokes thought because actually we need to ... we are introducing into our multi-agency team a prevent role ... actually a lot of what you're doing links nicely into that anyway so I do need to have some good thought on it’
(SLA_1, 2020)

Interviewing under the constructivist approach is subjective and so reflections are essential. The reflections after the interview facilitated mindfulness within my research. I reflected on each interview upon its completion. My reflections evaluated how the interview went, any notable non-verbal communications, areas for development in terms of what I could work on as an

interviewer, and any emerging themes which could be of interest to the research⁴³. The key themes were useful to note in an 'ongoing analysis' document which helped develop the preliminary data analysis. As mentioned earlier, the reflections were also used to guide the direction and questions of the next interviews and identify potential participants. The reflections also noted how questions were being received. On occasion, a question would be misunderstood or needed more clarity in the way it was posed, with these reflections I was able to note these and change them for the next interview.

3.3 Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed. Transcribed interviews offer a detailed portrayal of the participant's words which allows the researcher to find patterns or themes which are, to some extent, unaffected by preconceived ideas (Gibbs, 2007). Furthermore, interview transcripts allow for a more accurate interpretation of the data as they can be referred back to and aid continued exploration of the data within different themes (Gibbs, 2007). However, relying on transcriptions to analyse data through interpretation can be problematic. The written word is unable to portray non-verbal communication cues such as the tone or tempo of the participant's voice (Gibbs, 2007). Tone or tempo can portray the emotion the participant is experiencing in recalling their narrative which could be useful to the analysis. Additionally, the interviewer reading the transcript to analyse the data will be influenced by their own bias and current emotion when reading the text which may skew the accuracy of the data.

I took four steps to try to mitigate potential problems with text transcriptions. Firstly, the interview reflections noted any non-verbal communications which helped remind me how the interview felt. Secondly, while transcribing I noted where a tone differed, or a reaction seemed potentially significant to the research such as when a participant took longer to respond to a question compared with their other responses. Thirdly, conducting the transcriptions myself within the 14-day period post-interview, offered a better opportunity to remember the tone of the interview. And finally, conducting the interviews in three stages meant interviews were transcribed and initial analysis was produced to capture the most accurate interpretations of the data.

Data analysis began while transcribing. I transcribed the interviews using a transcription software called *Transcribe*. The interviews were transcribed verbatim with dialect as this offered the most

⁴³ My reflections are not included in the appendices as the redacted information, to ensure no identifiable data was present, meant the document would not add value to the thesis.

accurate interpretation of the participant's world, which was the research aim. Each transcribed interview was transferred from the software into a word document where it was saved under the participant's anonymised title. The process of manually transcribing the interviews is a useful one as it provides the opportunity to get to know the data and begin analysing while transcribing. As I transcribed the interviews, I had an open Word document where I noted any reoccurring themes, topics, or points of interest which could help answer the research question. The preliminary data analysis produced after stages one and two of recruitment and interviews was conducted using this method of analysing while transcribing. I used the preliminary data analysis to produce a mind map for each stage and compared them, which highlighted any contradictions or similarities in the experiences of the participants. This was a useful process as it allowed me to note any initial analysis and thoughts which I could refer to in the findings and discussion stages.

Once the interviews were transcribed, I deleted the audio-recording and uploaded the word documents of each transcribed interview into a data analysis programme called NVivo (version R1). I kept the word documents as a back-up file. I cleaned the data prior to analysing the data in NVivo. I cleaned the data by reading the transcripts in full and removing any identifiable data that could possibly be linked to the participants. It was important to clean the data before I started on analysis to ensure I was upholding confidentiality and anonymity.

Thematic data analysis was chosen as the analysis method. Thematic data analysis is 'interest[ed] in patterns of meaning' (Braun and Clarke, 2022, p. 4) and is commonly used when interviews are the data source. Thematic data analysis complements the aims of this research. To recap, the first aim is to identify who engages in modern slavery offences and what their push/pull factors are, the second aim is to understand whether primary prevention measures could address these push/pull factors, and the third aim is to identify any challenges in implementing such measures. Therefore, it would be beneficial in answering the aims to identify any reoccurring patterns in the data.

The research was influenced by Clark and colleagues' (2021) six steps of thematic analysis (see Table 5). They note that the process of thematic analysis is not linear where each step can be revisited upon reflections from the researcher.

Step 1	Read through at least a sample of the materials to be analysed.
Step 2	Begin coding the materials.
Step 3	Elaborate codes into themes.
Step 4	Evaluate the higher-order codes or themes.
Step 4a	Give names or labels to the themes and their sub-themes (if there are any).
Step 5	Examine possible links and connections between concepts and/or how the concepts vary in terms of features of the cases.
Step 6	Write up the insights from the previous stages to provide a compelling narrative about the data.

Table 5. Six steps of thematic analysis (Clark et al, 2021, p. 538)

The thematic analysis for this research began while transcribing the interviews where steps 1 and 2 took place. After uploading and removing identifiable information, I repeated steps 1 and 2. I produced three different types of codes: descriptive, analytical, and theoretical. The descriptive codes used the same word the participants used such as 'money' or 'greed'. The analytical codes referred to a word or a short phrase which could be attributed to the data although was not explicitly spoken by the participants such as 'reactive/proactive'. The theoretical codes were based on the theoretical framework, so included 'institutional anomie theory' and 'ideal offender'. The theoretical codes relate to step 5 where concepts were being applied to the data. After creating the codes and being mindful of the research questions, I undertook steps 3 and 4 to generate themes and hierarchies which related to each research question. I further analysed the data (step 5) using text search, text frequency, and matrix coding query. I used these techniques to challenge assumptions I had of the data or the participants. Applying these data analysis techniques benefited the research as the findings have been derived from in-depth processes and testing of the dataset. The codes were generated on an abduction basis. I developed deductive themes after completing the literature review and using the preliminary data analysis. On completion of the transcripts and when beginning to generate codes I generated inductive codes too. I continued to add codes and adjust the deductive codes once they no longer offered an accurate representation of the data.

3.4 Limitations of the Method and Challenges in Accessing Data

For research focused on the primary prevention measures to address the push/pull factors contributing to engaging in modern slavery, the experiences of those engaging in modern slavery should take centre stage. The denial of access to this group means the data is not representative of the experiences of individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. Thus, it is requested the thesis is read with this in mind. This is a common occurrence when collecting primary data in this sector and especially with those that engage in modern slavery offences, often due to ethical considerations (Broad, 2018; Cockbain, Bowers and Vernon, 2020; Tyldum, 2010). However, the recruited participants have offered a unique perspective on this subject matter in two distinct ways. Firstly, from the interviews, it has been possible to extract commonalities in the backgrounds of the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences, which has meant the first two research aims have been addressed. Secondly, and unexpectedly, participants were able to offer an understanding of their working environments and their perspectives of the individuals who engage in these offences, which addressed the final research aim. Having a diverse range of anti-slavery professionals with specialist expertise can ensure validity and reliability especially when thematic codes can be generated from multiple interviews. The research claims are representative of the specific participants' interviews and so there is no claim of generalisability in this research.

It is recognised the research has a limited sample size; however, the stratified purposeful sampling technique ensured the selected participants were a good, 'information-rich' sample. When targeting potential participants for this research it became apparent that many anti-slavery professionals did not have any knowledge of the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences, nor did they want to discuss them. This is supported by Choi-Fitzpatrick's (2016) and O'Brien's (2016) work which highlights the absence of such individuals in anti-slavery campaigns and NGOs where they discuss modern slavery. The research received 27 rejections for participation. Although it is understood these rejections could be for various reasons, such as lack of resources, own ethical and moral standpoint, or already involved in research. They could also have been due to a lack of knowledge and willingness to discuss the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. The reluctance to discuss and lack of knowledge on the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences was a contributing factor to the limited sample size. Despite the limited sample size, the 18 participants discussed 91 modern slavery cases which the findings were derived. However, it is important to note the majority of the cases discussed were sexual exploitation, labour exploitation, and county lines and thus does not make any generalisable claims as per the constructivist approach.

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Applying for ethical approval for this research was problematic and demonstrates the challenges in accessing the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences, which hinders progression in knowledge of this crime type. From my research I was aware accessing this group would be challenging, so I applied for ethical approval at the University of Southampton five months into my PhD. This was to give myself enough time for any delays or complications. To mitigate any possible challenges, I had planned for four possible outcomes, this research finalised on plan C without the need for secondary data collection (see Figure 8).

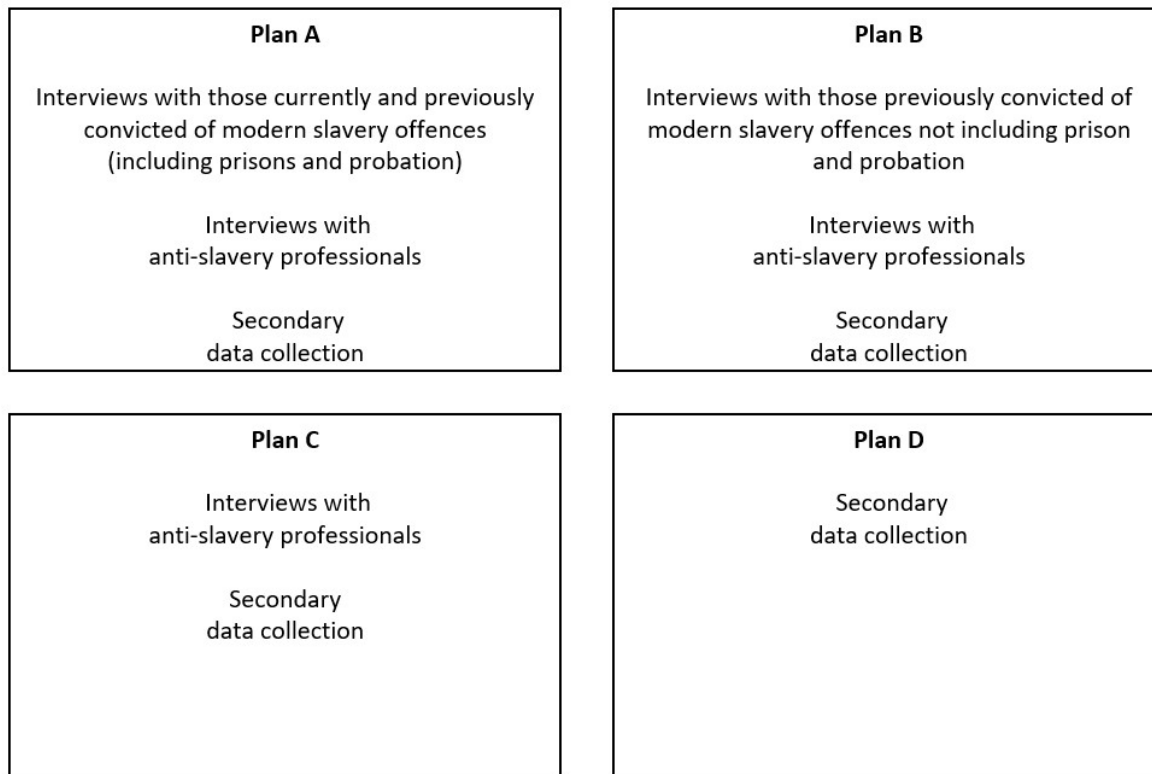


Figure 8. Plans for data collection

To conduct the research two ethical applications were necessary, one with the University of Southampton and the other with HMPPS. The ethical approval process including each of these, took 21 months which spanned from March 2019 to December 2020. Each of my applications to both institutions was delayed due to organisational failure rather than any issues with the ethics application. Although it is understood some of this was due to COVID-19 the first 12 months were not impacted by COVID-19 and I experienced the same delays during both non-COVID-19 and COVID-19 periods. Therefore, it is difficult to place the delayed response just on COVID-19 related matters. The system to apply for ethical approval with HMPPS is difficult to use and relies heavily on prior knowledge of their systems and working practices. It is suggested the availability to conduct research with the HMPPS is designed to display transparency and a willingness to allow for research. However, by making it very difficult and time-consuming it fails to achieve this, which is problematic and demonstrative of systemic barriers. It is important to note that the final

response from HMPPS in December 2020 offered to assist me with my application. However, this offer was received after a two-month delay from the HMPPS and a month after the data collection completion date, which was included in the application form, so their help was not accepted.

I informed participants either before or during their interview of my previous employment in the anti-slavery sector. This was to ensure the allocated time for the interview was used effectively to gather data on the research focus, that of the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences rather than the victims and the victim-focused policies. However, sharing this information might have prevented the participants' intrinsic response and orchestrated the interview in a certain direction. Despite this possibility, the research still captured the participants' default response to discuss victims over the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences, which is a finding in and of itself. This insight cemented the direction of the third aim and highlights the need to investigate how the anti-slavery sector responds to all those involved in modern slavery and how that might impact on policy implementation.

As a reflexive researcher, I bring my personal experiences, beliefs, and privileges – or lack thereof – into any research (Miled, 2019). My experiences, beliefs, assumptions, and privileges as someone who is racialised as White, nationalised as British, and socialised⁴⁴ as middle class were brought into the research design and data collection. Capitalising the socially constructed terms White, Black, and Brown was consciously considered as it distinguishes between colour (using a lowercase 'w', 'b') and racialised groups (Kanigel, 2019). My research design did not ask for socially constructed indicators of the participants such as race, nationality, or class. Three participants self-identified in their interviews as Black (no specifics were offered) and one participant self-identified as mixed race and Brown. When interviewing a participant in stage one of recruitment and interviews who referred to themselves as Black, we had an interesting discussion about the use of language within the anti-slavery sector which had historical links and is unrelatable to young Black males.

'If a police officer came up to me and said "Right, you know, we are going to do you for rape or sexual exploitation", the first thing we would have said ... "Black people don't rape, White people do", so again we have to look at why would a Black person say it? I'll tell you why, because when we came to this country all we heard on the news were how boys and people were being kidnapped and everybody who was found or the person

⁴⁴ Race, nationality, and class carry ideologies, assumptions, stereotypes, and biases with links to colonial history and are placed with or without agreement upon an individual (Lee, 2014; Lukate, 2022). The terms racialised, nationalised, and socialised are used here to acknowledge the social construction.

who was arrested for it was White. There was no Black person arrested for these crimes so you've got to understand from a very long period we've associated sexual exploitation, rape with White people or White men, sorry I should say White men sorry, White middle-aged men. For us that don't make sense when you come and start, especially now, when you say to a kid about trafficking, they'll be like "well the Albanians do the trafficking, and they are White." (NGO_5, 2019)

I had not considered that young Black people would view slavery as something only White people were involved in. In addition to this, the research highlighted the systemic barriers that are present within UK society which may be contributing to pathways into modern slavery. From the data (discussed further in chapter 4), it was evidenced that those from marginalised communities are experiencing these systemic inequalities more than the communities of which I am representative. It is important to be mindful of my status and position as a White, British, middle-class person, as my experience of British society may be different to those that this research is interested in or addressed to.

With that in mind, a limitation of the methods could be my lack of reflexivity at the beginning of the research process. Reflecting on reflexivity however, meant my research approach adapted. Meaning after the interview with NGO_5 I began being mindful of what questions I was asking, and what, if anything, I was choosing to see and not see as this could impact on the data, leading to a misrepresentation. Using active listening, reflexivity, and educating myself about what others in society experience mitigated these potential limitations. If the research was to be repeated or in any future research I engage with, the research will be consciously designed to take into consideration what I, as a White, British, middle-class person, may bring into the research and how then the data may be constructed. I would seek opportunities to collaborate with other researchers, practitioners, and individuals with lived experience (if appropriate for the research) which could offer a different perspective to my own. Additionally, my recruitment technique would differ by ensuring people from different racialised, nationalised, and socialised backgrounds are represented in the data.

3.5 Ethical considerations

The ethical considerations of the research have been discussed throughout the thesis so far. This section consolidates these ethical considerations and any additional which have yet to be discussed.

As a reflexive researcher, I challenged my own assumptions and impact on the data/research throughout the research journey. I acknowledged that I impact on, and am part of, the whole

research and thus the interpretation of data and conclusion are subjective. As mentioned earlier, this was one reason why constructivist approach was the appropriate methodology as it inherently accounts the interpretation of data and conclusion is subjective. To test my own assumptions, I challenged the data during data analysis by using NVivo integration techniques such as text frequency, and matrix coding query.

Additionally, when access was denied to people incarcerated for modern slavery offences, the constructivist approach further assisted with the research. The denial meant the data, findings, and conclusion would be limited to the anti-slavery professionals who could offer 'information rich' experiences, attitudes, and knowledge of individuals who had engaged in modern slavery offences. Thus, the inherent subjectivity, lack of claims and generalisability in the constructivist approach caveats the findings and conclusion throughout the thesis.

There were several ethical considerations during the data collection stage. Using stratified purposeful sampling can generate bias and inaccurate data. As a reminder, stratified purposeful sampling is a strategy in which participants are recruited due to their ability to offer the greatest amount of information and experience based on the research objectives (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013; Patton, 2002). Recruiting using stratified purposeful sampling could result in bias as the selected participants are based on my subjective judgement (Palinkas et al, 2015). For this research, the technique could also give a false impression of commonality or data saturation if the chosen anti-slavery professionals had similar opinions. To mitigate these ethical considerations, I purposely sought to recruitment different professions in recruitment stage two and three and those who had publicly offered a different opinion to the participants in the first stage.

Another ethical consideration was to ensure the participants' identity was protected to maintain confidentiality and anonymisation and they were informed of their right to withdraw from the research at any time. This is to make sure the participants' privacy is protected and their rights are upheld (Wiles, 2013). Additionally, it can also help the participant feel more comfortable which can facilitate more honest conversations thus produced information-rich data (Wiles, 2013). The consent form and PIS were sent and signed by all participants which asked for their consent to participate in the research and notified them of their right to withdraw, confidentiality and anonymisation. These ethical considerations were then put into place by storing the participants' identifiable data in a password protected document, and supplying all their related documents with an anonymised titles as soon as I received their signed consent form. All data management adhered to Data Protection Act and the University policies.

The actual interviewing of participants required ethical considerations too. All the interviews were conducted online or on the telephone. The first stage of interviews were conducted pre-COVID

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and were sufficiently covered by the University's ethics policies. However, the second and third stage of interviews were conducted during COVID. The University had amended their ethics policies to account for online interviewing and so I resubmitted my ethics application to adhere to the new ethics policies. To ensure confidentiality and anonymisation, I conducted the interviews in my private home and used headphones so participant responses could not be heard. To facilitate confidentiality and anonymity during internet interviewing it is advocated ethical considerations are made in relation to the interview environment such as if it is a public or private space (James and Busher, 2012). I did not however request the participants to be alone or in a private, non-public, space, if comfortable to do so, during the interview again to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. Although no participant did have company during the interview, I will take this learning forward to any other research I conduct in the future.

A further ethical consideration to be made during the interview process was the potential psychological impact on the participants and myself. The subject topic can be inherently sensitive and could have caused psychological harm. To mitigate this potential ethical issue researchers can design topic guides to 'sandwich' the sensitive topics in the middle of the interview with the start and end acting as a buffer and offering a positive conclusion to the interview (Dempsey et al, 2016). Researchers can include support information in the PIS and in subsequent communications post the interview (Wiles, 2013). For this research, the structure of the topic guide helped mitigate any potential distress, as it purposely started and ended with less sensitive content to facilitate the protection of any potential harm caused in the middle sections of the topic guide. Although there were no obvious (verbal and/or non-verbal) signs of distress from the participants, this does not mean to say they did not. In any future research I will extent these mitigations by including support information in email and verbal communications pre- and post-interviews and in the PIS. My written reflections from each interview helped mitigate my own potential distress.

Throughout the research I was conscious of potential wider considerations. In particular I questioned whether 1) it would benefit the public, and 2) there was a potential impact on sub-groups from the findings and conclusion. Reviewing the existing literature and the lack of reduction of modern slavery offences in the UK, identified the research would benefit the public. The output of the research offers a deeper understanding of what the push/pull factors are for engaging in modern slavery offences and whether primary prevention measures could address such factors. Thus offers an initial conversation and alternative approach to try to address modern slavery offences in the UK which is only going to benefit the public in particular the vulnerable population who are more likely to be potentially victimised within this crime type (Cooper et al, 2017). The research is trying to find the push/pull factors based on the current literature it was possible the findings and conclusion of the research could focus and impact on sub-groups. The

thesis makes it very clear that it uses a constructivist approach and thus is making no claims to universal law nor is it generalising in its findings and conclusions. Therefore, if certain sub-groups or commonalities appear in the data, the findings and conclusion will indicate that. Not through prejudice or stereotyping but through the data collection. I will ensure that the findings are a true representation of the data, and I will be critical of the collected data to ensure, as much as possible, the collected data are a true representation of the participants' experience, perceptions and attitudes on such sub-groups.

3.6 Conclusion

To summarise, the research was designed using a constructivist approach as this supports the research question type and aims. Qualitative research methods in the form of semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted online to allow for participants to share, explore, and reflect on their perspectives and experiences. This approach facilitated the data collection and analysis to address the research aims. Eighteen anti-slavery professionals from diverse professional backgrounds were recruited and interviewed using topic guides in three stages. After each stage preliminary data analysis was conducted to influence the next steps of the research, whether that was questioning or identifying potential participants. After transcription, the data was imported into NVivo. Thematic data analysis was used to construct patterns and themes which facilitated the research aims. The limitations of the methods and research design have been identified.

Chapter 4 Who is engaging and what are their push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences?

Assessing whether primary prevention measures could be implemented to address the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences requires an initial understanding of 1) who is engaging in modern slavery offences and 2) what their push/pull factors are for engaging in modern slavery offences. The first section provides the responses to the first question, the second section addresses the push/pull factors identified through the interviews.

The literature review presented the two narratives used to articulate who is engaging in modern slavery offences. The first half of this chapter introduces a major finding by identifying a third narrative. The third narrative presents the individual(s) who engage in modern slavery offences as alternating between victim and engaging. This finding challenges the 'final destination' rhetoric currently used in modern slavery literature which focuses on the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences.

The latter half of the chapter introduces what I have termed the five instabilities (economic, family/early life, environmental, polity, and emotional) as the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. The individual engaging in modern slavery offences, as this research demonstrates, has experienced one or more of the five instabilities. The term instability was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, the term instability offers the notion of something being unstable. The level of stability within the five factors is influenced and impacted by the decisions of powerful institutions (Such as central Government or local Government). The decisions are made for society rather than with it and, depending on where the current Government is on the political spectrum, will impact more negatively on the richer (if left wing) or poorer (if right wing) population. The individuals who have engaged in modern slavery offences who were discussed by the anti-slavery professionals were predominantly representative of the poorer population, meaning these individuals are impacted by decisions which create these instabilities. Secondly, the term vulnerability was considered instead of instability. The term vulnerability within the field of modern slavery, whether that is research, organisations, or Governments, is often associated with the victims or survivors of modern slavery (For example, Anti-Slavery International, 2023; Bales, 2007; *Modern Slavery Act 2015*; UNODC, 2004). Due to the findings of the research, it was

deemed appropriate for the terminology to distance the research from associations with the 'victim' label and thus instabilities was chosen over vulnerabilities.

The research was deliberately designed to have no restrictions on nationality or 'type' of modern slavery offences (as discussed in chapter 1). Therefore, it was important to capture how many and which nationalities/communities and 'types' of modern slavery were discussed to offer contextual background to the research. The interviews captured 91 modern slavery cases where nationality/community and 'type' of modern slavery offence were explicitly linked (Appendix 8 presents this data). In total, 22 nationality/communities were identified. The top three nationalities/communities were UK nationals (mentioned 32 times), people from the Roma community (10), and Romanian nationals (7). Ten 'types' of modern slavery offences were mentioned in total. The top three 'types' were labour exploitation (mentioned 24 times), sexual exploitation (21), and county lines (17). To offer context of where the research data sits within the wider UK modern slavery picture, the NRM referral statistics from 2020⁴⁵ indicate criminal, labour, and sexual exploitation as the top three 'types' with county lines separately flagged. The most referred nationality into the NRM was UK nationals, with the other top two being Albanians and Vietnamese.

4.1 Who is engaging in modern slavery offences?

4.1.1 Three narratives

The existing literature identifies two narratives when referring to those that engage in modern slavery offences. The first narrative depicts the person as a distant being, one that goes straight to engaging in modern slavery offences and is conceptualised as being 'evil', 'inhumane', often foreign-born and male (Gadd and Broad, 2018; Doezema, 2010). This first narrative surfaced in the data. Eight participants by default referred to those engaging in modern slavery offences as being non-UK nationals and one participant described those engaging as 'immoral' (SA_1,2020). Fifteen participants referred to males as the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. Still, ten participants also mentioned women and girls engaging in these offences. However, this first narrative was most often implied when males were referred to where the individual had gone straight to engaging whereas when women and girls were referred to, the second narrative⁴⁶ was more evident. Christie's (1986, p. 28) concept of the 'ideal offender' can be

⁴⁵ The majority of the interviews were conducted in 2020. It was thus thought appropriate to compare the research data to the most relevant NRM statistics from 2020.

⁴⁶ Where an individual is a victim first then engages.

applied here which describes them as being ‘foreign born ... the less humane ... the better’ and genders the victim as female and the offender as male. Christie’s ideal offender is distinctly separate from a victim. Applying the ‘ideal offender’ concept to this first narrative suggests the person engaging in modern slavery offences has never been a victim and has gone straight to engaging in modern slavery offences.

The second narrative, highlighted in chapter 2, which discusses those engaging in modern slavery offences as once being a victim through exploitation or socioeconomic inequalities was also echoed in this research. Of the participants asked in this research (16/18), all 16 knew of at least one case where a victim of modern slavery had started to engage in modern slavery offences. The move to engaging was described as

‘I think is [sic] do or die, literally. Some of it is Stockholm Syndrome. Some of it is survival, which is the do or die.’ (CJS_1, 2019)

and

‘If I[they] don’t, if I[they] don’t do it to someone then someone will probably do that to me [them].’ (LENGO_1, 2019)

The types of exploitation mentioned in the interviews were centred on sexual exploitation, county lines, and forced labour. This second narrative features in an ongoing debate on whether people engaging in county lines offences are victims or ‘perpetrators’ having previously been groomed or forced into engaging in the offence (Stone, 2018). This debate was evidenced in this research too. NDPB_2 (2020) discussed a county lines case involving two teenagers in which the prosecuted person had previously been a victim of modern slavery.

NDPB_2 (2020) questions:

‘... at which point ... has he, is he a victim or a perpetrator?’

SCLLE_2 (2020) was adamant that if a young person engages in a modern slavery offence, they are an ‘offender’ despite any previous experiences of ‘force’.

‘... by saying “well it's forced choice and these exploiters” ... no-one ever talks about the exploiters either do they? We talk about the victims of it so who are the exploiters? I can tell you who the exploiters are Sophie they are other children, but we don't want to talk about that because then, because ... how do we talk about, how do we have a conversation where the victim is 16 yet the offender is 17? “Oh, but hang on a second they are both children, they've both been forced into it” well hang on a sec, ones just

put a knife in the other, so we don't want to talk about it do we because it doesn't fit the narrative of, they're all victims.' (SCLLE_2, 2020)

As highlighted by SCLLE_2 (2020), this second narrative rejects the image that the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences are the 'ideal offender'. Christie suggests 'offenders that merge with the victims make for bad offenders' and 'the ideal offender differs from the victim' (1986, p. 25). This is important, as the way the person is labelled will determine how they are treated and supported in the criminal justice system. For example, whether they are entitled to raise a Section 45 defence under the Modern Slavery Act 2015⁴⁷ or whether they can lawfully be convicted of a modern slavery offence. This debate appeared in this research too.

Another 'type' of modern slavery offence which can include the second narrative is in sexual exploitation cases where a person who has initially been victimised, starts to engage in these offences. SLE_1 (2020) theorised this scenario as being natural.

'If we are being raped and we are being beaten on a daily basis ... it's natural if that's going to stop if you help somebody else being in control that's natural Also, often ... they'll be given a little bit of money compared to what they are used to, so that's natural again.' (SLE_1, 2020).

The first and second narrative suggests a linear process where the individual engaging in modern slavery offences has come to their 'final destination', that of engaging. Aronowitz and Chmaitilly (2020) write about the victim-offender overlap and highlight various studies which illustrate the victim's journey to engaging in modern slavery offences. These are written in the context that their victimhood had disappeared when their engagement commenced. The UK Government response to modern slavery has tended to rely on a binary narrative when it comes to those involved in modern slavery, where the person is either a 'victim' or 'perpetrator' (Gardner, Northall and Brewster, 2020). The use of these labels can be understood by Garland who suggests that neo-liberal society views the 'victim' and the 'perpetrator' as 'mutually exclusive' (2001, p. 181). Reliance on these restricted binary labels then insinuates there is a linear process whereby once the victim engages in modern slavery offences they are at their 'final destination' and will remain in the 'role' of 'perpetrator'.

The research however found a third narrative which is understood to be someone who alternates between victim and engaging (See Figure 9 for each narrative).

⁴⁷ Discussed in chapter 2, section 1.

'I think, well because county lines not only creates victims and perpetrators that manifest in the same place it also creates victims who are also offending, and people who offend who go on to be victims. So I think the important thing is that you look at the work that I'm doing we look at it as one it's really not possible to say let's just focus on one or the other.' (CLE_1, 2020)

'... perhaps they're [the individual engaging in modern slavery offences] illegally here so they have to access money in a different way and they'll do it and that's often why they'll perhaps get a UK gang member involved so they can set up the legal systems through somebody. And sometimes actually they become greedy, and that UK perpetrator will actually be an exploited person themselves.' (SLA_1, 2020)

'I think we can't define in isolation what a perpetrator or a victim looks like because everybody is vulnerable in their own right ... when it comes to exploitation so the balance is very difficult because Monday you're victim, Tuesday you're perpetrator. So yeah we have but I think we have supported those young people [individuals who are engaging in modern slavery offences] but I think it's not as black and white as that all the time.' (NGO_2, 2020)

The third narrative challenges the 'final destination' rhetoric by identifying the non-linear process of alternating between victim and engaging. The non-linear nature of this narrative offers an undetermined starting point as it suggests the individual's experience might have started with their victimisation or their engagement. This undetermined starting point sets this third narrative apart from the 'alpha victim'⁴⁸. The 'alpha victim' is understood to be someone who started as a victim then through force or grooming begin to exploit others while remaining a victim (MSPT, 2018). The 'alpha victim' is viewed first and foremost as a victim (as evidenced below by SLE_1, 2020) and therefore is fundamentally different from the third narrative presented in this research which does not determine the starting point of the individual.

'I dealt with a ... job where there were six ladies, three of them had turned to alpha females ... they just said no comment in their interviews and all we had was, that they were beating, taking the money, helping control these three other ladies. So, at the time they were dealt with as perpetrators, they went to prison ... thankfully when it came to the court case, they eventually said they were [victims].' (SLE_1, 2020)

⁴⁸ It is acknowledged this is a disputed term as 'alpha' insinuates the victim was complicit in engaging in modern slavery offences (anonymous private communication with anti-slavery organisation, 2021).

Additionally, the third narrative challenges the idea that ‘victim’ and ‘perpetrator’ are mutually exclusive and illustrates the fragility of an individual being depicted as either a victim or a ‘perpetrator’ and how such depiction is time dependent. If an individual is alternating between victim and engaging in modern slavery offences, on any given day/hour/minute the way in which the individual is depicted and responded to would be dependent on when (timing) and who (construction) identified them. This is problematic as the person encompasses both labels. The labelling approach suggests that deviant behaviour is constructed by society as opposed to the act itself (Becker, 1973). This research is not suggesting modern slavery offences are acceptable. However, the data demonstrates that in some cases the person is being constructed as a ‘victim’ or ‘perpetrator’ by society rather than accounting for the complexity of the third narrative. The binary labels are problematic when those involved in modern slavery offences do not ‘fit’ into these distinct labels, as they fail to view the person within their own reality rather than a reality that is constructed by someone else.

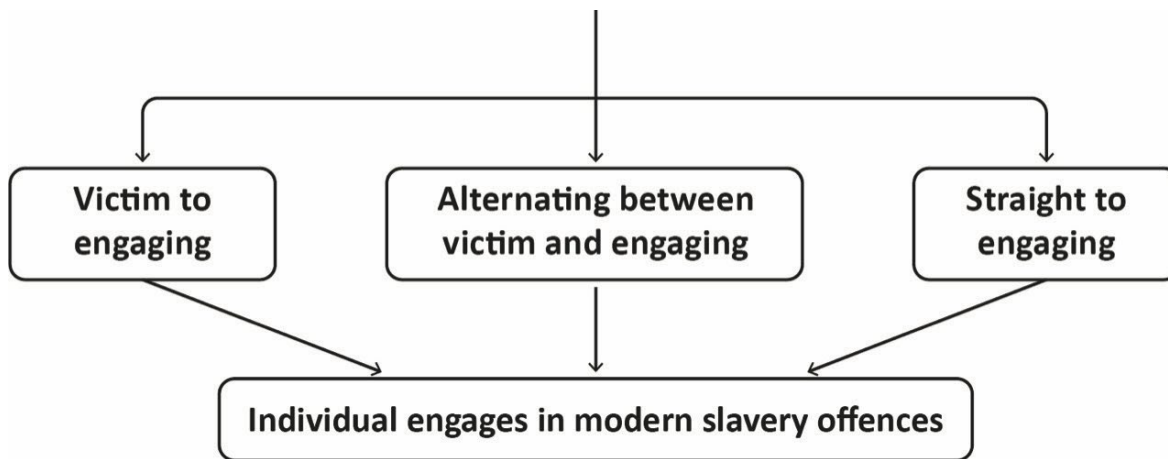


Figure 9. The three narratives

4.1.2 Nationality

Modern slavery research has frequently recognised that the nationality of those engaging in modern slavery offences is the same as their victims. Research from Arhin (2016), Broad (2018), Denton (2016) and Preble (2019) indicates the ‘perpetrator’ and ‘victim’ often share the same nationality, ethnicity, and racial background. Such similarities were discussed in this research too. Ten participants referred to non-UK nationals engaging in modern slavery offences exploiting their own nationality. Participants suggest this is a recruitment technique where people ‘tend to trust your own tribe’ (LENGO_1, 2019), and ‘[knowing] ... what is the weakness that can be exploited’ (CJS_1, 2019). NDPB_2 (2020) describes this as a ‘bit of a trend’ although does concede this is not exclusive. Speaking on agricultural labour exploitation, NGO_1 (2019) shares their experience:

‘Lithuanians very often will exploit Lithuanians they won't tend to cross cultural boundaries ... Now there's possibly one exception to that which is ... Russian based gangs that were moving, exploiting people, and they wouldn't care they just exploited whoever they could but our other experience is that they tend to be people from their community who have found that this is a way of earning money, gaining an advantage.’
(NGO_1, 2019)

The data supports the Modern Slavery and Organised Immigration Programme annual report 2020-2021 which indicates the top three nationalities for suspects and victims are UK nationals, Romanian, and Chinese (MSOIC, 2021). Although the report is unable to explicitly show that the recorded suspect and victim nationalities were from the same modern slavery cases, the report does mention that county lines predominantly involve British victims and offenders (MSOIC, 2021, p. 23). Additionally, these nationalities were most cited in this research with the inclusion of the Roma community as the next most cited.

In summary, the data illustrates the complexity of detailing who is engaging in modern slavery offences. The research and its analysis introduced a third narrative of those engaging in modern slavery offences which aids discussion on the appropriateness of having binary labels. Identifying who is engaging in these offences can begin to develop an accurate prevention response to modern slavery. Understanding the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery can extend this development.

4.2 Push and pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences

The data identified five push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences which have been coined here as the five instabilities. These are:

- economic instabilities
- family/early life instabilities
- environmental instabilities
- polity instabilities
- emotional instabilities.

Each instability offers a contextual understanding for engagement in modern slavery offences. The instabilities are standalone, but each instability can overlap. In other words, not all instabilities were present in a single case. For example, NGO_2 (2020) discussed a county lines case where the family of the young person engaging in modern slavery offences had financial security (economic stability) but had experienced family/early life instability due to parental

absence. The diagram below (see Figure 10) offers a visual representation of the five instabilities and how, if present, they interact with each other. The five instabilities are discussed separately.

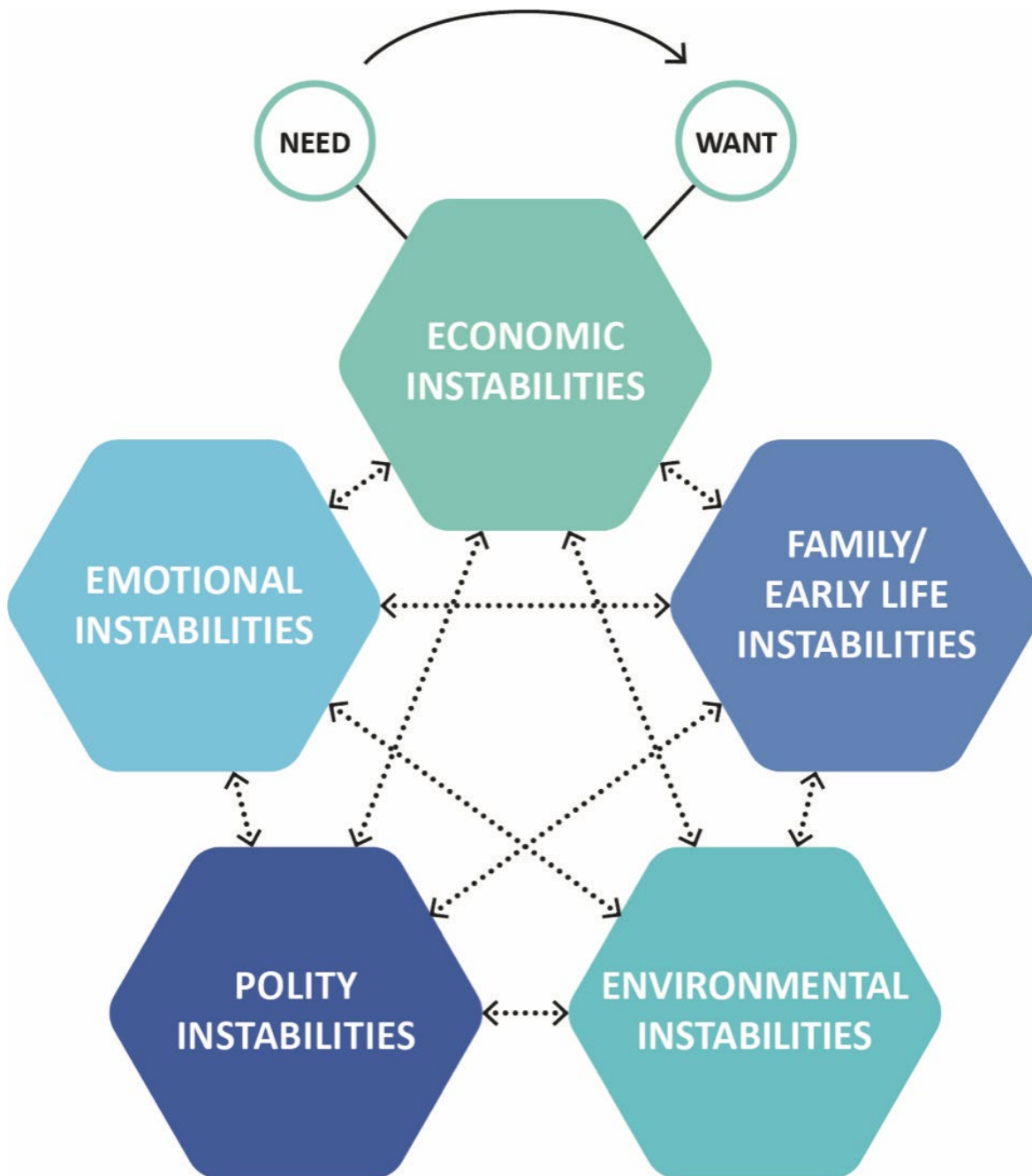


Figure 10. The five instabilities

4.2.1 Economic instabilities

The notion that those engaging in modern slavery offences are ‘driven’ and ‘motivated’ by money and that modern slavery is a financial crime is not new (Aronowitz, 2017; TRACE, 2015; Wheaton, Schauer and Galli, 2010). Therefore, it was of no surprise that all 18 participants mentioned money as a contributing factor to why people engage in modern slavery offences. However, the research wanted to gain a contextual understanding of the role money played in the lives of the

individuals that engage in modern slavery offences. Two categories were constructed from the data which helped contextualise how money was a contributing factor. These were, those wanting more money, and those needing money. Both categories were due to, and generated, economic instability. Each category will now be discussed and be followed with a discussion of how the two categories can sometimes link.

4.2.1.1 Want

Fifteen participants mentioned greed and high profit when discussing what contributed to people engaging in modern slavery offences. Ten of those also discussed factors such as for purposes of survival⁴⁹. Greed and high profit are deemed here to be the same. Monetary success, material goods, and an unregulated labour market where exploitation can thrive were identified as sub-themes which indicated the want for more money.

Thirteen participants talked about a financial 'driver' where there was a potential to earn huge profits. One participant described the victim as a 'money making tool' for the individual engaging in modern slavery offences (NDPB_1, 2019). There was no agreed upon definitive 'type' or nationality linked with engaging in modern slavery for financial gain, as responses included UK nationals, Eastern Europeans, and Roma in terms of ethnicity, and 'types' including county lines, sexual exploitation, and labour exploitation. Seven of the 13 participants mentioned UK nationals in their discussions on the financial drivers and five of these seven mentioned county lines. However, it would be incorrect to assume UK nationals and county lines are exclusively linked to engaging in modern slavery offences for financial gain, as six of the seven participants specialise in county lines. Therefore, it could be suggested they were drawing from their professional experience rather than making universal claims.

'... we dealt with Eastern Europeans being recruited to work for a parcel delivery company because they [the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences] had become greedy, trying to save money make more profit.' (SLA_1, 2020)

'... there's some kids that get involved with county lines they are not impoverished, they've got families that care for them, they've got a good peer group around them, they are good at sport, they are popular, they make money, they don't need the money that county lines offers them but they are attracted by wealth that county lines offers them.' (CLE_1, 2020)

⁴⁹ This is discussed in the following section under the sub-theme 'need'.

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Eight participants linked the financial 'driver' to the acquisition of material goods as a contributing factor. The individuals engaging in modern slavery offences displayed their wealth through high-end property and luxury cars which invited a form of 'respect' from others. This was represented when labour exploitation, and child criminal exploitation cases were referred to and included multiple nationalities.

'... the perpetrators are getting £200 a week for doing nothing and they are doing that with 300 people per week. Think of the money - what are they doing? Sending it abroad, splashing it out on a Bentley, jewellery, designer clothes its greed. And unfortunately greed is what drives, greed and passion, drive criminality but in this greed drives criminality.' (CJS_1, 2019)

'... some people make significant amounts of money, there are higher members within those Roma communities of building those horrendous looking mansions on the back of the rest of the community suffering.' (LENGO_1, 2019)

'... a lot of peer exploitation that I've been talking about is about having the latest trainers, all that type of stuff, all the latest gear ... the biggest TV.' (SLA_1, 2020)

'... they had the flash car, they'd live in the communities but they'd have the ones with the CCTV on the house clearly opulence [sic] within the house the most successful of them. So while, their house from the outside there was obvious material gains come, which would make the others respect them.' (SA_1, 2020)

The unregulated labour market is conducive to people engaging in modern slavery offences as well as creating an exploitative environment for victimisation. NGO_1 (2019) and SA_1 (2020) spoke extensively about the conditions in the labour market with reference to gangmasters and the gang leaders. NGO_1 (2019) suggests the gang leader is chosen by the gangmaster based on their ability to speak English and makes no mention of their proven ability to manage people. The power and control given to gang leaders offer opportunities for exploitation.

'... the gangmaster system is very useful and [for] local farmers it's an essential part of their work but what can then happen is or what has happened to us is a gangmaster might recruit a gang of people so what they would have is say 250 or maybe even 500 people on their books they need on any given day anywhere between 50 and say 500 people to actually carry out the work that's needed to be done so they effectively then contact all the people get them to come in and distribute them into groups called gangs but there will always be a gang leader Now what happened or what can happen is that the gang leader although he is not directly employing the people and even without

the agreement of the gangmaster might well then start to exploit the people in his gang so, what we've seen there is that people would have to pay the gang leader, a payment to be asked to re-join that gang again in the future and they have to start paying a commission now this is totally illegal.' (NGO_1, 2019)

SA_1 (2020) shares their experience of the gangmasters exploiting the labour force to generate higher profit.

'... what the gangmasters realise is that no matter how much they could rip off these people from [a UK county] they could, what they could get from Eastern Europe was more reliable, they would turn up every day, somebody wanted a team of 12 people we'd provide it, they are more hard workers so the[y] work more hours, so they are reliable, more hard working and less moaning, they just do it, most of course are even cheaper ... the gangmasters would still be charging the pack houses, the farms, the field owners, all the same amount of money per head but of course their profit would be even more so because they'd only pay, a pound an hour to these Eastern European.'

(SA_1, 2020)

This research supports Winterdyk (2020) in reference to labour exploitation. The link between modern slavery and the deregulated labour markets within a neoliberal capitalist society has been recognised and discussed by many researchers (For example Balch, 2015; Lewis et al, 2015; Shepherd and Wilkinson, 2021; Strauss, 2012; Such and Salway, 2017; Such et al, 2020). However, the framing of these discussions is rarely on the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences. In fact, those engaging in such activity are infrequently mentioned, with the focus largely on the environment being exploitative which leads to victimisation. This research is framing this discussion in terms of push/pull factors for engagement and argues that these exploitative environments contribute to a person engaging in modern slavery offences. Additionally, Institutional Anomie Theory (IAT) would place monetary success and material goods as the goals one wants to achieve using any means offered by the unregulated labour market.

Bales (2007, p. 129) refers to 'the greed of criminals' as one of the 'root causes of trafficking in people' before he goes on to focus on the social and economic factors that lead to victimisation. This framing has been identified in awareness campaigns by O'Brien (2016) and Choi-Fitzpatrick (2016). The participants in this research who spoke about greed vilified the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences for being greedy. The Christian connotations of the word 'greed', which

denotes a sin, thus frame the individual engaging in such offences as 'evil'⁵⁰. This vilification is problematic. If, as the participants suggest, the person prior to engaging is pulled in by greed, it suggests that greed is a unique characteristic to them rather than a characteristic of many in legitimate and illegitimate employment. The rise in the super-rich helps illustrate the commonality of this characteristic among those in (il)legitimate employment⁵¹. The reference of greed toward the individual who is engaging in modern slavery offences forms an image and narrative of the person as already being 'sinful' for succumbing to greed.

The economic instability is illustrated here through the anomie that is generated within the British culture that strives for monetary success using any means necessary. It is argued that greed is a by-product of a neoliberal capitalist society, with its culture of competitive individualism, 'unrestrained pursuit of self-interest (money)', and the evolution of the desired identity of material goods and monetary success (Starkey and Cooper, 2009, p. 66). The individuals engaging in modern slavery offences are not immune to the influences of the neoliberal capitalist society.

4.2.1.2 Need

The need for money generated an economically unstable environment. This need to make money was related to survival, which was often due to experiencing poverty and the effects of austerity. To offer some context of the poverty rate in the UK, 14.5 million people in 2019/2020 experienced poverty (Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF)⁵², 2022). The demographic groups with the highest rate of poverty are lone parents (45%) and their children (49%) (JRF, 2022, p. 11). Additionally, the report demonstrates that Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities have the highest rate of in work poverty, 53% and 48% respectively, compared to White communities with 19% (JRF, 2022, p. 52). Twelve participants mention survival, 11 participants mention poverty and nine participants mention both survival and poverty as contributing factors for engagement in modern slavery offences. The term survival is in relation to the need for money to survive. No

⁵⁰ For a broader discussion of the individual engaging in modern slavery being framed as 'evil' see Broad and Gadd, 2023; Doezema, 2010; Gadd and Broad, 2022.

⁵¹ For an in-depth discussion about the rise in the super-rich see Haseler and Meyer, 2009.

⁵² Data used from the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) and illustrated in the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) report demonstrates the poverty rate in the UK has remained at 22% between 2015/16 and 2019/20, which in 2019/20 represented 14.5 million people (JRF, 2022). In the JRF report the term poverty refers to a relative poverty rate after housing costs. This rate was calculated when a household's income is 60% below the median household income and is relative to differing circumstances. The report breaks down the data into a number of different categories including family types, ethnicity, disability, working, and benefit receivers. For the purposes of this research, data from the family types and ethnicity will be illustrated as they are most relevant to the findings in chapter 4 and the discussed modern slavery cases.

participant defined their definition of poverty nor were they asked to, as the purpose of the research was not to measure poverty.

Seventeen participants discussed the lack of employment opportunities and financial state support available to the person, irrespective of nationality, as contributing to them engaging in modern slavery offences.

‘They [the individual engaging in modern slavery offences] are not necessarily making lots of money out of it at all but they're using that as a way of making money to put food on the table and stuff.’ (SLA_1, 2020)

‘Their [the individual engaging in modern slavery offences] challenges on a day-to-day basis are completely different and it might be around a beef or an issue with a postcode that starts way back it might be that they don't have enough food to put on the table during the day it might be that they're in a single parent family or low income and this [engaging in modern slavery offences] is a way out of that.’ (SLE_2, 2020)

SLE_1 (2020) discussing Romanian nationals states:

‘... the prospects are so appalling and it's the same for victims and offenders, the prospects are that bad the chances of getting a job in a legitimate job and earning decent enough money is not there and it's so easy to becoming a perpetrator and an offender in this [modern slavery].’ (SLE_1, 2020)

Conversely, CJS_1 (2019) suggests that although the ‘socio-economic background certainly is pivotal in the process [of engaging in modern slavery]’, they concede that ‘there are people who choose to go down the illegitimate route because it's easier, quicker, more lucrative’. UK nationals, Vietnamese nationals, and Eastern European nationals were mentioned with respect to engaging due to a need for money to survive. Within modern slavery research a lack of employment opportunities is often depicted as the victim's vulnerability. Recent research has begun to recognise that those who engage in modern slavery offences have also experienced a lack of financial support and employment opportunities (Broad, 2018; Shen, 2016; TRACE, 2015) which this research suggests is valid.

Membership of marginalised communities also resulted in economic instability. Five participants spoke extensively about the challenges faced by those claiming asylum or those without immigration status in the UK. These included the lack of support to gain employment and sufficient financial support. It was suggested the restrictions placed on this community meant that alternative ways of earning money to survive were sought after. Broad (2018) and Gadd and

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Broad (2018) previously discussed this marginalisation in relation to people migrating to the UK and recognised the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences were victims of their circumstances. This research supports Broad's (2018) research.

'... doesn't give them [those claiming asylum] sufficient very often to live on so if they've got family or they've got other needs or they just want to make life better for themselves they'll seek out other opportunities to earn and those opportunities are very often exploitative or involve ... being involved in crime themselves and then they become perpetrators.' SLE_2 (2020)

'... some of them [the individuals engaging in modern slavery] are illegally here so they can't access, they are illegal themselves so they can't access a legal system to support them so they'll make that money in different ways.' (SLA_1, 2020)

Four participants noted that the stereotyping of marginalised communities impacts on the survival and poverty of those communities. LENGO_1 (2019) states the Roma community are 'looked down on' by the 'controlling element of that country' and this has resulted in the Roma community needing to find alternative ways to make money to survive. In a discussion about the criminal justice system, the drugs trade, county lines, and UK nationals engaging in such activities, CLE_1 states:

'... it [the criminal justice system] doesn't solve people's motivations to get involved and I think that goes back to community and goes to society, to the imbalance between people's beliefs that one day they will have all the goods and trappings and the wealth by legitimate means because they feel disadvantaged because they can see barriers in the way that are insurmountable because they are, they are victims of stereotype, because they just don't see themselves as what society will want to give jobs to or give opportunity to and unfortunately the drugs trade doesn't work that way. The drugs trade doesn't stereotype individuals because different commodities are supplied to different consumer groups which means ultimately everyone can fit in somewhere.'
(CLE_1, 2020)

NGO_3 (2020) and NGO_5 (2019) discuss the need to see people from the Black community, Asian community, and the working class White community as experiencing similar marginalisation, such as a lack of opportunities and low expectations of success. Although this is a low number of participants, the depth of discussion and the explicit link they made to these marginalised communities was important to note in the findings as it offers a contextual understanding of the

complexities of the Roma community and the necessity to include working class White communities with Black and Asian communities in this context.

Economic instabilities were also created from labour market pressures. SA_1 (2020), who had extensive knowledge and expertise in monitoring labour markets, shared their experience of how labour market pressures contributed to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences.

‘The farmers themselves they are under pressure from the great contract with [big supermarket name] because they’re probably good payers ... the next time there's a hot spell you're going to get a phone call you can predict your business based on that you can predict, you can make a lot of sound business decisions and expanding business which would grow your business based on the fact that you've got a good contract you don't want to spoil it. The pressure is of course if you don't deliver because [big supermarket name] will, these buyers as they call them from supermarkets they are culturally in a fairly cut throat business in supermarkets and there is they will put a lot of pressure they will squeeze the suppliers and inevitably that squeeze [sic] ... so farmers tend to give a blind eye at times the reality is “do I get my contract or do I care who is on my field at any one time?”’ (SA_1, 2020)

‘... you'd get some gangmasters who were trying to do the right job but knew that they were being shafted, being undercut by other people which sometimes kind of compromised their morals some of them.’ (SA_1, 2020)

SA_1's (2020) suggestion that farmers turn ‘a blind eye’ to who is in their supply chain so they win a lucrative contract offers an explanation to why big corporations are seemingly unaware of their supply chains below tier two as highlighted in chapter 2.

The pressure of meeting a demand in an unregulated competitive environment was also highlighted by NDPB_2 (2020). They queried whether the then rapid demand for personal protective equipment (PPE) due to COVID-19 would lead to some businesses and sectors failing to do their due diligence in recruitment as a result of trying to meet that demand. Additionally, CLE_1 (2020) questions how different the exploitative nature of current UK society is in comparison to the exploitation which occurs in county lines.

This research demonstrates how a precarious labour market creates an economic instability for engaging in modern slavery offences. Current modern slavery research has discussed labour market pressure (such as Aronowitz, 2017; Quirk, 2011). However, this was in connection with victim vulnerabilities, with no mention of this market type being a contributing factor for individuals engaging in modern slavery offences. The competitive nature of the UK's labour

market again is well placed within the framework of a neoliberal capitalist society, as is the increase in demand for goods, and the multi-tiered supply chains which meet those demands by outsourcing.

There was a bridging of the two categories from those that need money which eventually turned to those that want more money. Referencing non-UK and UK nationals, five participants discussed the initial reasons for someone to engage in modern slavery offences which centred around survival (needing money to live and prior victim survival), poverty, and immigration status which:

‘... at a certain level that [need for money to buy food] ceases to be there and it then becomes more about sort of status or money or acquisition of property’ (SLE_2, 2020)

‘... this kind of notion of “I’m doing it to make money to get out of poverty” and then they get into this kind of, they get sucked into this vacuum where then it becomes no longer about getting out of poverty then it’s all about narcissistic behaviours and that’s kind something that I’m wrangling with is that you have your people say “yeah I’m only doing this because I want to get out the hood, I want to get out the ends”, “OK cool” but four years later your mum is still in the council house, nothing doesn’t seem advanced from when you started doing it other than you’ve got a nice watch, you’ve got a nice car, you’ve got all the latest designer clothes but your family are still in the same environment ...’ (NGO_3, 2020)

The bridging seemed to be dependent on an indeterminate length of time the person had been engaged in modern slavery offences.

4.2.2 Family/early life instabilities

The norms, expectations, traditions, need for acceptance, and criminality within a familial environment were identified by the data as family/early life instabilities which could contribute to someone engaging in modern slavery offences. Fourteen participants highlighted that in some modern slavery cases a whole family or several family members are involved. This could be in a single family unit or within a community (such as the Roma community) where many family members would be involved. Different nationalities and ‘types’ were given as examples. Cases included UK nationals, the Roma community, Hungarian nationals, and Pakistani nationals, and county lines, domestic servitude, and labour exploitation (not an exhaustive list). SA_2 (2020) suggests that if a family member is already engaging in these offences ‘that influences your development within that environment’.

'If my older cousin sees that I'm struggling and he's doing something he's not supposed to be doing and says "(NGO_3's name) what, there's an opportunity for you to make a couple of hundred quid" I'm not looking at that as like you are using me to do that, I'm looking at that like what you've actually called me to actually put me on something that's actually going to benefit me and you at the same time...' (NGO_3, 2020)

The familial environment and social networks, including friends, has previously been recognised within modern slavery literature (see Viuhko, 2018).

Contrary to the data indicating how family members contribute to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences, the data also indicated that a parental deficit influenced engagement. This theme was only discussed in relation to UK nationals. Eleven participants highlighted that UK nationals engaging in modern slavery offences have often come from a challenging familial background in which the parents/guardians are not present in the child's life, either due to parental work commitments or being a lone parent, or because they are unable to access foster accommodation due to their previous behaviour, such as being involved in knife crime.

'[Local Authority] that govern the foster care environment explained to me that when children get involved with weapons and the violence and the other exploitative activity of county lines while there are foster families who are adept at taking those children in and giving them the care they need, the risk assessment vetos that because when they've got other children in foster care with them in their families the risk assessment says we can't afford to allow you to expose this child to the two or three others that you are caring for and it ... so what county lines is doing in itself is creating people who are deemed so high risk that if someone ... so if they take them in they could create a recruitment and grooming opportunity for the county line, that they've been a part, for the children that are already in care.' (CLE_1, 2020)

Participants noted the deficit meant young people were often lacking in moral teachings and lacked a sense of belonging. Six participants highlighted that the void created by the lack of a positive role model is filled by the gangs who exploit others.

'... this issue [referring to individuals who engage in modern slavery offences] is violent, unparented, lack of moral guidance, selfish, narcissists who just want to make money ... gangs offer family, gangs offer you [to] feel part of it ...' (SCLLE_2, 2020)

It was noted that although a young person may not need the money earned from engaging in these offences, their parental deficit acted as a family/early life instability.

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'... the young men that are coming from a stable environment doesn't mean they are not vulnerable because mum or dad or both could be working full time and so you might not have a financial need or financial vulnerability but you could have a potential lack of familial interaction you could have a lack of parental presence ...' (NGO_2, 2020)

Another example of family/early life instability was when a parent was present, but their economic instability resulted in a protection/guidance deficit.

'... in terms of your vulnerable groups there's definitely increased poverty and as a consequence of that we [have] certainly got an increased amount of perpetration, as a consequence of that, a lot of communities are now seeing they can make some money by supplying drugs, even some parents are turning a blind eye to their 15-year-old child being involved in local drug supply or being involved in a county line as a consequence on that because they're bringing back £100 a day. And that £100 is significantly contributing to the household.' (SLA_1, 2020)

IAT would agree with this as the theory suggests parental working commitments devalue the family institution which impacts on the young person as they experience a lack of moral and value teachings which often leads to criminality. This research contributes to modern slavery research by indicating how parental/guardian deficit and guidance/protection deficit are a contributing factor for UK nationals to engage in modern slavery offences.

Criminological research has long identified the existence of adverse childhood experiences⁵³ (ACEs) in child and adult offenders (Baglivio and Epps, 2016; Craig et al, 2017; Reavis et al, 2013). Therefore, it was no surprise that seven participants mentioned ACEs occurring in the person's life prior to them engaging in modern slavery offences. For example, domestic abuse (emotional or physical), separation/divorce, parent in prison, drug and alcohol abuse, and bereavement of a significant other. Six of the seven participants exclusively referred to UK nationals. Additionally, SA_2 (2020) adds to the traditionally understood ACEs, and while offering an example of 'Albanian traffickers', suggests a 'long history of conflict and economic dysfunction' play a part in determining if someone will be vulnerable or exploit the vulnerable. SA_2's (2020) example supports Mai's (2010, p. 49) research which identified 'socio-economic and cultural uncertainties' as one of the reasons for his sample of 34 Albanian and Romanian males to engage in modern slavery offences. The research is not suggesting that everyone who has ACEs will go on to engage

⁵³ The term Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) was originally coined by Felitti and colleagues (1998) in their research on ACEs' impact on death in adults. They refer to 'emotional, physical, or sexual abuse and household dysfunction during childhood'.

in modern slavery offences, however seven participants mentioned several experiences which are categorised as ACEs.

Eleven participants mentioned that some individuals engaged in modern slavery offences were part of organised crime groups. However, SLE_1 (2020) queries the use of the term 'organised crime groups' and, when referring to a Romanian national who engaged in modern slavery offences, suggests the setup was no more than a 'small family unit'. LENGO_1 (2019) discusses a Vietnamese case where the family were the 'traffickers' of the victim. NDPB_1 (2019) discloses a case where a British national was the sole individual who engaged in a modern slavery case. However, NDPB_1 (2019) conceded that when a modern slavery case is international the individual engaged will still need a 'criminal contact' in the host country. When participants discussed child criminal exploitation, and in particular county lines, the individual engaged was referred to as being part of an organised gang or aspiring to be in a gang when 'in reality they are local peer groups' (SLA_1, 2020).

The community of people surrounding the person can act as a push/pull factor for engaging in modern slavery offences. NGO_2 (2020) and NGO_3 (2020) spoke extensively about the acceptance, and normalisation, of exploitation for UK nationals within UK communities. They both highlighted the nuances of understanding exploitation within communities and suggested that what is deemed as exploitation could also be viewed as helping others within the community.

'... if you look at social conditions and you look at structures and hierarchical so when you look at families are micro-society and you look at what's acceptable and what's not acceptable within the home that's then transcends outside and I think that's the same with housing developments or areas and I think there's a micro-society within like the areas I grew up in and from experience I would say the older people in my area would have normalised exploitation but we wouldn't have known it as exploitation.' (NGO_2, 2020)

'... if you go back to the types of communities that I'm referring to everybody that's in the ends are friends and family so if you see an older young person, older young man in your community, older teenager that's always been around, your mum knows who his mum is, and they're saying "yo listen, I've got a couple of opportunities for man to make some money is everybody on it?" Am I being used? Am I doing a favour for a friend?' (NGO_3, 2020)

SA_2 (2020) and SLA_1 (2020) mention that an individual's peer group contributes to engaging in modern slavery offences.

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'I think we're all impacted and influenced by our environment ... we kind of behave or act in the way that our peers do or the environment that we're in. Sometimes we kick that trend ... but if you do that in an inner-city or other area or even in sort of smaller areas you're at risk and [for] some it's a protection mechanism [and for] some aren't able to make that leap, they're always going to be at risk, they're always going to be vulnerable and always going to be exploited, but others you know that's the environment they live in, that's the reality of their day-to-day life "it's you are either going to do this [be exploited], or you're going to do that [be the exploiter]."' (SLE_2, 2020)

'... it's a world they know and are comfortable with and know they can make money from ... because status is a big thing as well a lot of it, a lot of it is organised through, in terms of what we tend to deal with its peer groups and you need to be careful about calling them gangs because there's a definition of what a gang is and what an organised crime group is, a lot of them are wannabe gangs but in reality they are local peer groups.' (SLA_1, 2020)

As illustrated in chapter 2, TRACE (2015) and Choi-Fitzpatrick's (2017) research highlight the contributing factor of community norms within the Roma community (TRACE, 2015) and the Indian culture (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2017) for engaging in modern slavery offences⁵⁴. This research echoes this and also contributes to existing literature by demonstrating community norms and peer groups within the UK national population can act as push/pull factors to engage in modern slavery offences.

Moving from family and community, another family/early life instability was identified within the UK education system. A lack of education was found to be a contributing factor to engaging in modern slavery offences in TRACE's (2015) report based on several European countries and Broad's (2018) research on individuals who had migrated to the UK. In this research, eight participants who had worked in a supportive role discussed the impact of the UK education system on those engaging in modern slavery offences. The absence of such knowledge from the other participants about the educational background of those engaging in modern slavery offences was summed up by NDPB_1 (2019).

⁵⁴ As a reminder, the TRACE report (2015, p. 56) specified that within the Roma community the 'done thing' was to force others to beg and Choi-Fitzpatrick (2017) discussed the cultural norms within the caste system in Indian culture.

‘I don’t have that kind of detail, I’m not sure anybody would actually have, will have collated people’s sort of educational backgrounds it’s not something that features in a criminal investigation, people’s educational backgrounds.’ (NDPB_1, 2019)

It was demonstrated that young people who had gone on to engage in modern slavery offences had experienced a type of exclusion from the UK education system. The first type was exclusion from the school. Six participants shared that the individuals they worked with who had engaged in modern slavery offences had been excluded from school.

‘... young people that would have had some sort of difficulty at secondary or primary school, they would have either got suspended, excluded, they also probably would have had a special educational need that probably wasn't picked up, and kind of often times get removed from [school] provisions and get put in pupil referral units, and then that kind of links with the whole school to prison pipeline.’ (NGO_3, 2020)

‘... they fall out of education so exclusion because they don't know how to communicate or respond so they use violence and then they get themselves involved with a criminal group and they find an aspect of something ... I've had somebody he's gone from subsistence drug dealing i.e. selling a bit of weed here and there just to feed themselves to now working with a drugs gang but now they are exploiting other children.’ (SCLLE_2, 2020)

Exclusion from school can result in the person attending pupil referral units. Evidence has indicated pupil referral units are being used to recruit people into criminal groups which engage in modern slavery offences (Harding, 2021). As evidenced in the three narratives (section 4.2.1) individuals who are initially victimised can end up engaging in modern slavery offences. Therefore, the possibility that some individuals recruited from pupil referral units would eventually start engaging in modern slavery offences is not beyond the realms of possibility.

The second type of exclusion was from the academic curriculum. Five participants discussed this type of exclusion. NGO_2 (2020) states there is ‘a lack of tolerance’ for those that struggle to ‘conform to the structure of educational establishments’. CLE_1 (2020) demonstrates the potential impact that exclusion from academic skills can have on a person.

‘I do fear that many that fall into county lines, many not all, are of the background and of the setting where they think this is my only opportunity because education is telling them “unless you can prove through exams that you are good at the following eight topics, you’re not going to succeed in life because you won’t have the certificates for the employers that you want to work for.”’ (CLE_1, 2020)

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Both these types of exclusion demonstrated a lack of tolerance and support for young people in the UK education system who failed to conform to the traditional education establishment. This has been supported in Graham and colleagues (2019) report on the exclusion of certain children in English schools. These two types of exclusion are leading young people to find alternative ways to make money as they are unable to achieve the required qualifications for employment or further education, which engaging in modern slavery offences can offer.

Furthermore, according to four participants, there is a lack of appeal regarding education. Twelve participants acknowledged the limited number of employment opportunities (for the reasons raised in economic instability) as a contributing factor to engage in modern slavery offences. NGO_3 (2020) challenges job availability by asking 'what jobs? What jobs?' and relays his understanding that further educated people with high grades have been unable to gain employment.

'... a child leaves school with eight GCSE's does well, male or female, black or white, don't matter what colour and they go for a job, several jobs and every job pays less than or just about the minimum wage, not even the minimum wage ... means they can barely get to the job because remember travelling in London is very expensive.' (NGO_5, 2019)

NGO_2 (2020) highlights the challenges of education and employment prospects.

'it's harder and harder to get a job, there's no ambition to go uni because everyone then says "well what's the point you can't get a job, you're overqualified" do ya know what I mean so when you look at it from a real systematic angle it's like actually there's no hope like the system there's just zero hope man.' (NGO_2, 2020)

The lack of employment opportunities available, challenges in education, the highly competitive nature of securing employment, the vast gap in earnings of a legitimate career compared to those involved in modern slavery offences, and the upfront costs of a commute compared to earnings, all contribute to early life instabilities and are contributing factors to engaging in modern slavery offences.

4.2.3 Environmental instabilities

Environmental instabilities represent the socioeconomic status of a geographical location. Although in comparison to the other sections on instabilities this section on environmental instabilities is short, it still represents rich data by offering another contextual understanding of what contributes to individuals engaging in modern slavery offences. Eight participants similarly

described the characteristics of the geographical location which the individual who engaged in modern slavery offences had experienced.

‘... born into an estate or an environment that is already perceived to have, to be lost ... In the hot bed of London where county lines developed and became a thing. Many London boroughs have got those problems happening, prejudice and stereotyping and lack of opportunity are happening and selling drugs is a quick way to earn £100s or £1000s a day to people in an environment who don't perceive they would ever have the opportunity to do that legitimately.’ (CLE_1, 2020)

‘... [the individual engaging in modern slavery offences are] coming from some quite deprived areas in London where unemployment is naturally high anyway.’ (SCLLE_1, 2020)

NGO_3 (2020) suggests the socioeconomic status of a particular geographical location contributes to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences regardless of what racialised community they represent:

‘... it's almost like a conveyor belt that regardless of what community comes to that local area almost kind of gets baptised with the madness and the impact of the poverty, the dysfunctional households, and all of the same things that we've just mentioned them same communities face that when they get here, even though they're thinking that they're coming to a better opportunity. And then their children make decisions, and those individuals make decisions based on their limited opportunities that they ultimately have. So when you hear about drugs selling [form of county lines] in [name of location] the structure hasn't changed it's just new communities that are now being impacted by, and the outcome means now it's them. So that shows then, it's got nothing to do with race if you want to then try and say well only people from this background are engaging in criminal activity, no it actually doesn't matter. People that do not have the structure and support to self-sustain themselves, when we're talking about finance, we're talking about housing, we're talking about education, they are all vulnerable to the things that we are talking about.’ (NGO_3, 2020)

Applying IAT to this data conceptualises the impact that environmental instability may have on the individual at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. Each quote above suggests the individual living in such an environment will experience socioeconomic inequalities. These inequalities render the individual unable to achieve monetary success using legitimate means due to stereotyping and a lack of opportunities. According to IAT, it is the individual's responsibility to

achieve monetary success and therefore an individual will use illegitimate means to achieve it (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013). Thus, environmental instability is contributing to the individual engaging in modern slavery offences.

4.2.4 Polity instabilities

The term polity is adopted from IAT's polity which refers to the political system. Therefore, polity instability refers to instabilities caused by the political system.

Five participants highlighted that the current UK Government is creating a worsening society which is contributing to people engaging in modern slavery offences. These areas included: an increase in oppressive societal structures (NGO_2, 2020), young children being blamed for social ills (NGO_3, 2020), continued reduction in available social services and opportunities (NGO_3, 2020; SLE_2, 2020), the increase in poverty and it being more difficult to survive (SLA_1, 2020; NGO_4, 2020).

Eleven participants discussed the impact that austerity had on accessing support services which led to young people feeling unprotected and unsupported by central Government. In one example the support services were officially available, however, the actual availability of the service was questionable as the eligibility to access support was deemed too restrictive due to a lack of resources which left some people unsupported.

'... people that used to exist in the old traditional youth club environment or the youth services environment that weren't about solving problems but were about providing facilities which of course in turn solved problems by default, they are definitely absent because what we end up with is a threshold based approach where not because of the fault of the individual but because thresholds are set in order to assist in managing priorities. Priorities are often set in order to assist in managing resources and resources are deficient at the moment so what you end up with is thresholds being set which advice responses and they are not always in line with the problems that county lines creates and I think my biggest observation is that very often services wait until a person's situation has met a threshold and therefore becomes reactive and responses rather than proactive and preventative.' (CLE_1, 2020)

NGO_2 (2020) notes that young people witness the discrepancy in Government spending which they view as the Government spending billions of pounds in other areas than youth services and support. This can result in them finding alternative ways to earn money.

'Kids [who are engaging in modern slavery offences] are saying like "hold on a minute they [UK Government] got 1.3billion for this, and 1.2billion for that, what about us bruv all I need is a bit like £100 more a month" like it's just an insult ... The kids we're working with were saying it "like bro you think I'm stupid" I said "what do you mean?" "oh I see how much money is out there bro, it just don't come around here" ... [they] are broke man and they're just trying to make ends meet and they're trying to push it and they think that it's doing them a favour.' (NGO_2, 2020)

The challenges faced by young people who engage in modern slavery offences were also highlighted by NGO_4 (2020).

'[They want the UK] Government to invest in them and their future and make it easier for them to have a normal life not for them to have to go through all these obstacles and they're not saying that they don't want to have any hardship in life because I think they understand that life has its ups and downs but they wanted more of a chance to be able to be like everyone else.' (NGO_4, 2020)

The impact of austerity resulted in a lack of legitimate access to support services and a perception that central Government were not supporting or protecting them. Participants suggest this led to some individuals finding alternative ways to support themselves such as engaging in modern slavery offences, which can offer a large financial gain. Broad's (2015) research echoes this, finding that individuals engaged in modern slavery offences due to a lack of financial support and needing to find alternative ways to earn money. IAT would support this claim as the people are using any means possible to secure economic success through the neoliberal capitalist society lens of individualism where each person is to achieve monetary success without Government support (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013).

Systemic inequalities were discussed by 12 participants as contributing to people engaging in modern slavery offences. Those from the Roma, Black, Brown, Asian, and White working-class communities were viewed as experiencing the least opportunities and the most systemic inequalities. However, there are still nuances within the five communities mentioned above. NGO_2 (2020) notes, if:

'... me and you did a robbery and you're a scumbag because you are a poor White person, I'm a scumbag because I'm a Brown poor person, I will still get a harsher sentence than you, because I'm Brown. ... that's not my opinion [by using the term] scumbag, I'm just using, that's how we, it feels that you're being treated.' (NGO_2, 2020)

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Furthermore, NGO_2 (2020) suggests societal structures are oppressive to marginalised young people, and that policies drive inequality.

‘They [local authority] resurrected these massive buildings [as a] youth centres and shut all the small centres, if a young person lives let’s say 15 minutes away in another postcode, and there’s issues in the community around postcode conflicts [they are] now putting me [the individual] at risk to travel to the other building ... the social included kids would go use these big buildings so it would look like “oh well these young people are attending the centres” but it’s not the vulnerable young people that are attending the centres for those reasons.’ (NGO_3, 2020)

Additionally, NGO_2 (2020) highlights the stereotype for county lines offences is a ‘person of colour’. This was evidenced in CLE_1’s interview. They initially suggest gangs who are engaging in modern slavery offences are from ‘all demographics’ and that it would be wrong to seek a racial link. However, CLE_1 goes on to offer a racial link:

‘... we definitely saw examples of young Black gangs going into [predominantly White drug] market places and whether they were more fearsome or not wasn’t the point, they just played upon the reputation and the stereotype. They, perversely the negative racist stereotypes of what a young Black gang might do in a White county they took advantage of.’ (CLE_1, 2020).

The racial stereotype for county lines offences was not found in this research. Five participants who all specialise in child criminal exploitation and county lines discussed the race of the people who were involved in these offences and that they were supporting. NGO_2, (2020) and NGO_4 (2020) disclosed that their service users are predominantly from White backgrounds with a small number of people from Black backgrounds and one with dual heritage. NGO_5 (2019), NGO_2 (2020), and NGO_3 (2020) highlight that those from Black, Brown, Asian, and White working class communities experience a similar level, albeit the White working class person to a lesser extent, of prejudice and inequality in society. The experiences of the participants and the individuals they support is echoed by Byrne and colleagues (2020) who criticise the UK Government for perpetuating systemic inequalities and exclusions within its policies. Such experiences result in a limiting of opportunities to earn money, and applying institutional anomie theory (IAT), can contribute to engaging in financial crime (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013). Thus, the instability experienced by marginalised communities can contribute to them engaging in modern slavery offences.

The employment and financial restrictions placed upon those claiming asylum and those without an immigration status were mentioned by four participants as contributing to someone engaging in modern slavery offences as a way of earning money. SLE_2 (2020) describes the experience as the 'precariousness of immigration and claiming asylum in the UK'. LENGO_1 (2019) suggested most people who migrate to the UK described their experience as 'fighting an uphill battle' and through desperation will engage in exploiting others because 'if I [they] don't, if I [they] don't do it to someone then someone will probably do that to me [them]'. Broad's (2018) research also found those engaging in modern slavery offences had arrived in the UK, and with no other means to earn money opted to exploit their fellow travellers before they were exploited. The UK Government's political response to those claiming asylum and any form of immigration creates an environment conducive to exploitation by offering people very few options other than to engage in a financial crime such as modern slavery.

Twelve participants spoke about the impact that British society has on building an environment which is conducive to exploitation when the focus is on accumulating wealth and materialism. CJS_1 (2019) suggests:

'... people are motivated by greed, whether it's fiscal as in "I want to have the money" or something reflecting the money "my status, my power and my control" and that "we need to stop needing and wanting so much."' (CJS_1, 2019)

NGO_3 (2020) extensively discusses the impact of the UK's capitalist society and questions the appropriateness of designer clothing brands advertising to children, suggesting this leads to engaging in crimes that will allow the child to acquire the advertised product. The dominance of the economic institutions within a capitalist society structure and the striving for material goods can result in individuals engaging in financial crimes (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013). The UK capitalist society has already been deemed as creating an environment conducive to exploitation (Lebaron and Ayers, 2013; Peksen, Blanton and Blanton, 2017; Sharapov, 2017). However, so far, this has focused on how the environment creates the victims. This research has contributed to this understanding by highlighting how the environment is also creating those engaging in these offences.

4.2.5 Emotional instabilities

The data identified that those engaging in modern slavery offences experienced low self-worth and sense of belonging, and a want or need for status/power which those involved perceive is obtained through engaging in modern slavery offences. Additionally, the psychological needs of

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the individual engaging in modern slavery offences were illustrative of the person experiencing an emotional instability.

Low self-worth⁵⁵ was an indicator of unstable emotional well-being. When 11 participants spoke about those that engage in modern slavery offences, a common theme was constructed that represented the challenges the person faced with their self-worth. Low self-worth was created through families, educational settings, government, and systemic inequalities. For example, feeling they were 'not job worthy' (NGO_2, 2020). SLE_2 (2020) shares:

'... a young girl was used by a group, she wasn't the most attractive young girl, but she liked to eat so what they'd do, they'd feed her food, and she would bring kids in. So, they would, her vulnerability was different she might you know have issues you know self-image and all sorts of things but what they used was food and then she would bring others in as well.' (SLE_2, 2020)

SCLLE_2 (2020) offered a clear example of where a child with low self-worth will search for worth which gangs respond to either by exploiting the person first before they are made to exploit others or by going straight to exploiting them.

'... if you're a child and you have no worth at school and you've clearly got no worth at home and then you don't go to school, how do you, how do you get your worth? How do you feel valued?' (SCLLE_2, 2020)

Previous research has been unable to agree on whether different levels of self-worth or self-esteem have an impact on offending behaviour. Some research has found low levels of self-worth among young people and adults that have engaged in criminal activity (for example, Church II et al, 2012; Oser, 2006; Shanahan, Jones, and Thomas-Peter, 2011). While other research has demonstrated high levels of self-worth contributed to criminal behaviour (For example, Hubbard, 2006; Larsson, 2019). One reason for this disparity is the types of offending. It is understood there is limited research on the levels of self-worth of those engaging in modern slavery offences. The only study identified was conducted by Okeke, Duffy, and McElvaney (2021) which mainly reviewed official reports on 'traffickers' and applied Hare's psychopathy checklist-revised (PCL-R).

⁵⁵ The terms self-worth and self-esteem are often conflated within literature. Harter and Whitesell (2004, p. 2) point out the terms relate to 'how much one values oneself as a person'. Crocker and Wolfe (2001) differentiate between self-worth and self-esteem in their work *Contingencies of self-worth*. They indicate that self-esteem informs self-worth and suggest a low level of self-esteem will result in a low level of self-worth. Their paper is based on assessments of global state (referring to assessment of momentary feelings) and global trait (referring to assessment of entire self) self-esteem. In this research, 'self-worth' is used and adopts Harter and Whitesell's (2004) understanding of the term as well as the overarching term used by Crocker and Wolfe (2001).

They deduce ‘traffickers’ have a heightened level of self-worth. Conversely, the data from this research has identified that some people who engage in modern slavery offences have low levels of self-worth and are constructed as having emotional instability. This new data offers another narrative and framing for those that engage in modern slavery offences.

A lack of, and search for, belonging was recognised as another emotional instability. Love and belongingness are placed as the third most important category in Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (1943). Adopting this representation, belonging was placed under emotional instability. Ten participants discussed the lack of and search for belonging. NGO_2 (2020) states that ‘many young people that they feel there’s not a place for them in society’. And SLA_1 (2020) suggests that once the individual has a sense of belonging in a group which is engaging in modern slavery offences it:

‘... becomes a world that they ... know and they trust more than the normal world and they, they trust their network ... they do become trapped in it because of circumstances they find themselves in they then become trapped in a world of perpetrating themselves.’ (SLA_1, 2020)

Twelve participants suggest that some people who engage in these offences desire the status and power that is associated with engaging in these offences. The desire for status and power was not linked to any nationality or ‘type’. Status and power were understood in two ways. Firstly, in terms of how the wealth generated from these offences offered status and power. This is well placed within the neoliberal capitalist society in which monetary success is deemed desirable and attractive and with that comes status and power (Harvey, 2005; Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013). And secondly, the role that engaging in modern slavery offences offers as a symbol of status and power where ‘they actually like being in control’ (NGO_1, 2019) and aspiring to be a big player and to the gangster lifestyle (SA_1, 2020; SA_2, 2020). This research supports the findings from the TRACE (2015) report which identified that a lack of belonging and the desire for status and power were contributing factors to engaging in modern slavery offences.

Psychological instabilities were mentioned by three participants. One of these participants had a background in psychology and experience in psychological assessments on those engaging in modern slavery offences. When referring to those engaging in sexual exploitation, they were referenced as being immature and ‘inadequate adults’. Additionally, a psychological assessment conducted by one of the participants demonstrated the person engaging in the offence was ‘probably psychopathic’. Although this is recognised to be a small number of participants, current research supports these claims. As mentioned earlier, Okeke, Duffy, and McElvaney’s (2021) research on ‘traffickers’, although making no absolute conclusion, did suggest there were links

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from 'trafficker' behaviour to psychopathic behaviour. This suggestion is supported by SA_2 (2020) who, as a trained psychologist, spoke of the probability that one of the individuals who engaged in modern slavery offences that they have assessed was psychopathic. Psychopathic tendencies in those that engage in criminal offences is not new, however, this area remains under researched within modern slavery and it is suggested further research is needed.

To conclude, this chapter established who is engaging in modern slavery offences and what the push/pull factors are for engagement to explore whether primary prevention measures could address such push/pull factors. The chapter has identified that those engaging in such offences represent three narratives. Two of the narratives are: those individuals that go straight to engaging and those that are initially victims of modern slavery and then engage. These two narratives have been discussed in the existing literature and indicate an assumption that the person engaging in modern slavery is at their 'final destination', one of engaging. This chapter introduced a third narrative which challenges this 'final destination' by indicating that a person can alternate between victim and engaging in modern slavery offences. This is an important narrative to recognise. Without such a narrative, how a person is responded to, whether with support (victim) or arrest/investigation (perpetrating), would depend on when that person was identified, which is problematic from a human rights perspective. Specifically for this research, the three narratives pose an interesting challenge with using the binary labels 'victim' and 'perpetrator' in prevention policies. It is suggested that primary prevention measures would be better placed without such labels as they are not always mutually exclusive and could miss the people requiring support.

The chapter has consolidated and expanded on the existing, limited research on what contributes to engaging in modern slavery offences by identifying five push/pull factors, coined here as the five instabilities. The five instabilities contextualise the individual's experiences prior to engaging in modern slavery, which can help identify where, how, and to what extent primary prevention measures can prevent engagement in the first place. The five instabilities are not dissimilar to the recognised push/pull factors for victimisation in modern slavery offences, which include 'poverty, lack of education ... civil conflict, globalisation, economic crises ... social inequality' a lack of opportunity and the search for a 'better life' (Winterdyk. 2020, p. 1259). Broad and Gadd's (2023) most recent work supports this as they found that individuals who engage in modern slavery offences have often experienced similar life challenges as the victims of these offences (Broad and Gadd, 2023). Additionally, the chapter evidenced that the five instabilities were experienced despite the 'type' of modern slavery in which the individual was engaged. This suggests type-specific primary prevention measures would be problematic as they become too restrictive. This is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

The following chapter investigates whether primary prevention measures could address the five instabilities. The chapter investigates the current prevention landscape in modern slavery and the welfare state infrastructure to assess whether and where primary prevention measures could be placed, and critically highlights the need for systems change within the anti-slavery sector and the political arena.

Chapter 5 Primary prevention measures

The previous chapter identified five instabilities as the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery as indicated by anti-slavery professionals. The five instabilities can be used to speculate whether they might be addressed through primary prevention measures. As mentioned in chapter 2, Such and colleagues advocate for the public health approach for prevention to be applied to modern slavery (Such et al, 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021; 2022; McCoig, Campos-Matos and Such, 2022). Such and colleagues' report published in 2022 aimed to apply the cycle of prevention to all involved in modern slavery including those engaging in modern slavery offences (Such et al, 2022). However, a lack of available data meant the report refers predominantly to victims and survivors so is unable to address how to prevent engagement in the first place. The data gathered for this research can offer an initial understanding of how primary prevention measures could look in relation to those that engage in modern slavery offences.

5.1 Current landscape

This section illustrates the current landscape of primary prevention in modern slavery. As discussed in the literature review, 'Prevent' is part of the UK Government's Modern Slavery Strategy (HM Government, 2014). It was important to know if and how prevention was currently being implemented toward the individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences to understand if the infrastructure was already available.

LENGO_1 (2019) suggests the prevent response in the UK is misdirected toward victims rather than the original purpose of focusing on those engaging in modern slavery offences.

'... the weird bit of prevent which everyone thinks is about preventing victims but it's actually preventing offenders ... I don't think there's any real programme that's specifically targets potential offenders.' (LENGO_1, 2019)

The deficit of including those that engage in modern slavery offences was highlighted again by NDPB_2 (2020). The organisation NDPB_2 was working for was divided into four departments to represent the UK's 4 P framework and carry out good practice evaluations and reviews for the anti-slavery sector. When discussing their organisation's work NDPB_2 (2020) suggests the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences were out of their organisation's remit.

'... it may be the view that [preventing the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences] it's kind of something that falls outside of the remit of [their work] and there

are obviously other organisations who are kind of leading on that work so it might be that that's the case.' (NDPB_2, 2020)

NDPB_2's (2020) response that preventing the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences was 'out of their remit' demonstrates the imbalance of focus being heavily towards the victims/survivors. Furthermore, NDPB_2 (2020) suggests that 'other organisations ... are ... leading on that work'. Unfortunately, it was never disclosed which other organisations were being referred to. From the evidence collected in this research these organisations appear illusive, and unknown or unmentioned by the other participants. The UK Government's failure to incorporate those engaging in modern slavery offences in their own prevention measures for modern slavery questions their commitment to their own policies. This suggests the current landscape in prevention measures is not being explored to its full potential.

5.1.1 Child criminal exploitation and UK nationals

In this research, the only primary prevention measures which focused on those engaging in or at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences was directed at those at risk of engaging in child criminal exploitation and those predominantly of UK nationality. NGO 2 (2020), NGO_3 (2020), NGO_4 (2020), and CLE_1 (2020) work in different geographical locations in England, and train public and private sector professionals and support young, predominantly UK nationals who have engaged in or are at risk of engaging in child criminal exploitation, in particular county lines. SCLLE_2 (2020) who works in a prevent role in the criminal justice sector, had recently initiated prevention support for families of young people who are at risk of being victimised and engaging in child criminal exploitation. They go on to concede that this type of initiative is a 'postcode lottery' as other forces were yet to implement such prevention support.

'... we were in before the reachable teachable [moment] so they knew ... they've gone "oh no I've fucked up here come the police or it's the police from the problem solving team oh OK they're going to treat me fairly", but that's postcode lottery policing, you'd be lucky in [area SCLLE_2 works], wouldn't necessarily be so lucky elsewhere even within [the same force area].' (SCLLE_2, 2020)

It is argued primary prevention measures which focus on those at risk of victimisation or engaging in child criminal exploitation are not a result of the Modern Slavery Strategy. County lines specifically, which is a form of child criminal exploitation, features in the UK Government's Serious Violence Strategy 2018, which extensively focuses on primary prevention measures for those at risk of engaging in, as well as being a victim of, county lines (Home Office, 2018). Conversely, the UK's response to modern slavery, although it includes county lines, lacks any mention of

prevention or early intervention measures to address those at risk of engaging in county lines or any other exploitation covered under ‘modern slavery’ (HM Government et al, 2021; Home Office, 2021b). As mentioned earlier county lines is often considered to be performed by UK nationals (MSOIC, 2021). Therefore, it is suggested that the existence of prevention to target those at risk of engaging in county lines and not any other modern slavery offence is connected to the modern slavery/immigration rhetoric discussed in chapters 1 and 2. Most recently the inclusion of modern slavery in the new Nationality and Borders Act 2022 (*Nationality and Borders Act 2022*) sets a clear example of the nexus of modern slavery and immigration held by the UK Government.

The current landscape for primary prevention in modern slavery demonstrates that despite being written into strategies and policies, prevention and primary prevention in particular are not being implemented to address those at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. Where such measures do exist, they are embedded in strategies which target offences predominantly performed by UK nationals such as county lines, which continues the false narrative that modern slavery and immigration are synonymous. These failings are allowing modern slavery and harms and abuses to continue.

5.2 Support for primary prevention

Seventeen participants advocate for primary prevention measures to include the individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences.

‘... taking a step back and thinking strategically how can we look at the root causes and not just deal with the symptoms all the time?’ (SLE_2, 2020)

5.2.1 Source country

To prevent modern slavery in the UK, three participants suggested primary prevention measures should be placed within ‘source countries’ (CJS_2, 2019; SA_1, 2020; SLE_1 2020). Both CJS_2 (2019) and SLE_1 (2020) only discussed applying prevention measures in the UK when referring to child criminal exploitation and child sexual exploitation.

‘Obviously in countries where there is, shall we say a higher, well high incentive for people to come here, preventing by using prevention measures at source.’ (CJS_2, 2019)

The term ‘source country’ was interpreted to refer to countries outside the UK. The use of the term ‘source country’ suggests the three participants have distanced themselves and their home country from those engaging in modern slavery. This distancing fits well within Christie’s (1986, p. 28) concept of the ideal offender who is ‘foreign born’ and ‘a distant being’. Notably two of the

three participants which mentioned the need for prevention in source countries, also highlighted the need for prevention in the UK, however only when referring to child criminal exploitation and child sexual exploitation. This suggests that the participants believe these are the only two ‘types’ of modern slavery present in the UK performed by UK nationals and that all other modern slavery offences in the UK are performed by non-UK nationals. It is recognised that three participants is a small number to make a reference, however, their response is echoed in the UK Government’s response to preventing modern slavery by conflating modern slavery and immigration, funding intervention projects outside the UK, and the previous UK Labour Government funding ‘fragile states’ to improve infrastructure and target root causes for victimisation (Home Office, 2021a; Home Office and The Scottish Government, 2008).

5.2.2 ‘Type’ specific

Distinguishing between different ‘types’ of modern slavery has long been used to inform victim-focused policies and is used in some ‘spot the signs’ campaigns to help identify type-specific potential victims (Cooper et al, 2017; Stop the Traffik, 2022b; Unseen, 2021). Three participants suggested primary prevention measures would need to be type-specific in design. One of the participants was challenged on this notion, when I indicated the person would have yet to engage in any offence so there would be no ‘type’ at that time to target. They conceded:

‘I guess it wouldn’t in that perspective if, no if you’re targeting, if you are trying to identify your perpetrator of the future early or your ... I, it doesn’t need to look different you’re right, it doesn’t necessarily need to look different at that stage.’ (SLA_1, 2020).

Again, it is recognised this is a limited number of participants. However, the ‘type’ of modern slavery offence is predominantly referenced within modern slavery research as well as the anti-slavery sector and so is important to discuss in relation to this research. SLE_2 (2020) discusses their reluctance to use the term ‘county lines’ as they believe it reduces the awareness of other child criminal exploitation by focusing on a particular type. SA_2 (2020) describes the current approach to responding to modern slavery as ‘working backwards’ in which ‘types’ are understood only in their restricted definitions.

‘If labour exploitation then this, that and the other. If sexual exploitation then, this, that and the other. And that’s not how it works. It is much more fluid and dynamic than that and it’s far more responsive to any sort of intervention.’ (SA_2, 2020)

One modern slavery case can include more than one ‘type’ of modern slavery (Cooper et al, 2017; Home Office, 2021c; Lightowlers, Broad and Gadd, 2020). Therefore, if the victim or ‘offender’ are

failing to 'fit' into a specifically defined 'type' they maybe on the periphery of support and prevention and this can impact on an effective response to modern slavery. On a practical note, there are 17 'types' of modern slavery (Cooper et al, 2017), if prevention measures are tailored to specific types, that would generate 17 different prevention measures. In addition to needing resources to be allocated for each measure, it also poses the question of how types would be determined if the offence has yet to occur, not ignoring the fact that modern slavery cases can involve multiple 'types' which poses another question of which type-specific measure would be implemented. Furthermore, chapter 4 indicated there are common push/pull factors to engaging in modern slavery offences regardless of 'type' or nationality, therefore it is reasonable to assume the measures would be repetitive of each other to address the same or similar push/pull factors⁵⁶.

5.2.3 Prosecutions

Five participants spoke about the importance of prosecution and the confiscation of the proceeds of crime to prevent people from engaging in modern slavery. Prosecution as a form of prevention would align with tertiary prevention rather than primary prevention, however there is room for discussion as it supports the need for an alternative response to modern slavery. NGO_1 (2019) highlighted the need to target the finances of the person to indicate there was 'no benefit' to their engagement. This was supported by LENGO_1 (2019) who suggested:

'... the only way that we will prevent modern slavery is by looking at how it is making it more difficult for [individual engaging in modern slavery offences] to make or to move money, that that's it is all about finances.' (LENGO_1, 2019)

LENGO_1 (2019), SLE_1 (2020), and SCLLE_1 (2020) note the difficulties for law enforcement to investigate and prosecute modern slavery cases with competing crime priorities, resources (time and cost), and the need for specialist knowledge. This echoes research by Broad and Muraszkiwicz (2020) who suggest the low levels of prosecutions are due to a lack of victim support (which would lead to cooperation) and the complexity of the crime (which drains resources). SLE_1 (2020) notes it is difficult to monitor the individuals who have been given either the Slavery and Trafficking Prevention Order or Slavery and Trafficking Risk Order due to a lack of resources to ensure compliance. The lack of prosecutions and the challenges of managing recipients of the risk orders, supports the need for another approach to preventing modern slavery.

⁵⁶ It is acknowledged that more data is required to further determine whether there is no 'type or nationality specific' five instabilities.

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Prosecution or time in the criminal justice system (CJS) does not necessarily mean no future convictions. Five participants, all with a law enforcement background mentioned the commonality of the person engaging in modern slavery offences being known to law enforcement or arrested before they engaged in county lines and child sexual exploitation. This previous contact suggests there are opportunities to prevent engaging in modern slavery offences before it has happened.

'I can't say I've ever come across a line holder [role in county lines operations] that hasn't been in prison before.' SCLLE_1 (2020)

SCLLE_2 (2020) advocates for prosecution, however, then goes on to highlight the failings of rehabilitation.

'... we fail to do, which I'm a 100% behind, is a rehabilitation making sure prisoners are educated. Making sure they have a job or something to come to, making sure that they are felt loved, they are dealt with emotionally, mentally, they are taught to read and write, they're taught that once they've committed a crime they are no longer punished.'
(SCLLE_2, 2020)

SCLLE_2 (2020) suggestion that prisoners should receive education, employment opportunities, and emotional support is indicative of a type of penal-welfarism established in the 1950s and 60s. Penal welfarism came with the introduction of the post-war welfare state and was supported, or tolerated dependent on political leanings, as a way to lower recidivism and support the offender's welfare through teaching and training, readying them for the labour market (Garland, 2001). Support for rehabilitation programmes reduced after Martinson's (1974) *What works? -Questions and answers about prison reform* report was released which criticised American rehabilitation programmes by suggesting they had little impact on recidivism, bar a few examples. The report caveats its criticisms with suggestions that the implementation of the programmes was the cause of these findings and suggested programmes should deter criminal behaviour from happening in the first place (Martinson, 1974). However, the dominant message from the report, which was repeated in Britain, was that 'nothing works', causing a movement away from rehabilitation programmes (Garland, 2001, p. 58). This gained momentum with the introduction of the neoliberal ideology which moved away from penal-welfarism towards heightened social controls, especially toward minority groups and the lower classes (Garland, 2001).

Conversely, research conducted in Norway has illustrated that offender-focused rehabilitation can offer employment opportunities after release and has an emotional benefit to the offender (Tønseth and Bergsland, 2019). According to Esping-Andersen (1990) Norway's welfare state is categorised as being a social democratic regime while the UK's regime is liberal. The different

characteristics in each welfare regime in relation to crime policies contextualises the positive findings of Tønseth and Bergsland's (2019) research. It is thought a social democratic welfare regime receives more funding, usually through higher taxes, and is focused on full employment and universalism promoting equality and equity, whereas a liberal welfare regime has restricted and conditional access to benefits with less funding available (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Data indicates welfare regimes such as Norway's⁵⁷ which offer highly funded universal welfare services have low rates of incarceration and adopt a less punitive approach (Lappi-Seppälä and Tonry, 2011). The evidenced benefit of a well-funded welfare state and well-implemented rehabilitation programmes suggests primary prevention measures could adopt these initiatives in early life under an alternative political ideology to address the five instabilities.

5.2.4 Unmeasurable

Two participants suggest that primary prevention measures which address the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences would be problematic as they are unquantifiable and thus unable to be evaluated for their successes or failures.

SA_2 (2020) suggests there is a need for early intervention, however, points out 'what the State doesn't like about that is you have no way of proving that you have prevented someone going down this pathway'. In a discussion about the lack of political will to prevent those at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences and despite NDPB_1 (2019) advocating for and delivering prevention measures which target potential victims of modern slavery they justify the lack of political will by stating:

'... what proportion of the people we prevent becoming victims would then have turned into offenders - it's impossible to say really. I'm sure I mean in theory, I'm sure you're right but it'd just be impossible to quantify it.' (NDPB_1, 2019)

Issues of measuring and evaluating the success of programmes have been noted in the anti-slavery sector (Gardner, Northall and Brewster, 2020). The current UK prevention measures, which are implemented in the UK and internationally, that target potential victims are also unquantifiable and are unable to generate a true evaluation of their success, and yet millions of pounds are allocated, often to international projects (such as the Home Office's Modern Slavery Innovation Fund (Home Office, 2021a)), to develop victim-focused prevention measures

⁵⁷ Conversely, more recent research has indicated Norway is adopting a neoliberal approach which is increasing their punitive measures and becoming more homogeneous with other European countries (Shammas, 2016).

(Cockbain, Bowers and Dimitrova, 2018). Therefore, primary prevention measures which include the individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences should be seen as no different to those targeting potential victims. The inability of anti-slavery professionals and the UK Government to apply the same justifications for primary prevention measures to include those at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences further illustrates the reluctance to adhere to their own modern slavery prevention policies. It is suggested this could be hindering an effective response to modern slavery as those in the anti-slavery sector are only able to respond to the outcome (victims) while working with little knowledge as to what and who is creating the outcome and thus prevention is difficult.

5.2.5 No support

There was only one participant who, despite being head of an anti-slavery prevent team, rejected any primary prevention measure which targeted those at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. NDPB_1 (2019) states:

‘As a society we don’t tend to [focus on the perpetrator in prevention policies], we try and build out the circumstances that allows crime to flourish so for me that would be about making the UK a less attractive place to come, it would be about concentrating on the sectors that provide illegitimate employment, trying to build it out.’ (NDPB_1, 2019)

Their focus was on what they called ‘building the crime out’ by which they, through examples, explained how they target businesses that are commonly used for modern slavery and deter the victims from agreeing to those exploiting them by educating the potential victim on the risks of victimisation through leaflets or posters. This latter point seems to conflict with the coercion, manipulation, and/or force element of human trafficking. However, in modern slavery cases none of these elements need to be present, thus even without coercion, manipulation and/or force a person may have very little or no alternative option than to be exploited as a result of their social environment (Hoyle, Bosworth and Dempsey, 2011). Educational leaflets and posters will do very little to address the fundamental factors for victimisation such as offering financial and emotional support, education to gain employment, and reductions in marginalisation and inequality (not an exhaustive list) (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2017; Gardner, Northall and Brewster, 2020). Additionally, these measures produced by NDPB_1 (2019) are victim-blaming and come from a place of privilege as they insinuate the (potential) victim has been victimised due to being uneducated, while ignoring the lack of viable choices available to the person to enable them to reject the offer from the individual engaged in modern slavery offences.

5.3 Systems change

The chapter so far has demonstrated the current landscape of prevent work and has indicated a majority support for primary prevention measures to include those at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. The chapter will now identify and discuss the systems which were highlighted as potential distributors of primary prevention and where changes need to be made to address the five instabilities.

Systems change work advocates understanding each moving co-dependent part of a system to ensure a response is adequate, for the system to be effective (Foster-Fishman, Nowell and Yang, 2007). Systems change is a process which sets out to change the existing systems (actors, activities, settings) within an organisation(s) which can directly or indirectly influence the outcomes of a problem situation (Foster-Fishman, Nowell and Yang, 2007). Checkland (1981), whose epistemology is similar to this research, developed soft system methodology which includes using multiple perspectives to address a problem, including the individuals with lived experience. He later with his colleague Scholes, also advocated for systems to be contextually placed within the social, economic, and political environment to account for and change external influences (Checkland and Scholes, 1999). Influenced by Checkland, Foster-Fishman and colleagues (2007, p. 201) suggest this process ‘requires (1) understanding different perspectives concerning the problem situation; (2) locating root causes to systemic problems by identifying system parts and their patterns of interdependency that explain the status quo; and (3) using this information to identify leverage points that will cultivate second order [longer term solutions] change’. Three areas were identified in the data as requiring change for primary prevention measures to be effective. They were: awareness raising among professionals, institutions, and policy and programme development.

5.3.1 Awareness raising among professionals

Awareness raising is often mentioned in discussions around prevention measures although this has tended to be at the secondary level and victim focused (See Home Office, 2017; IASC and University of Nottingham’s Rights Lab, 2017). This research found support for awareness raising among professionals.

‘So it [prevention programmes] is out there does it go far enough? No. But also I think first responders and people with safeguarding responsibilities are not educated enough in this and I think that’s where we need to focus our attention. NHS, education and social services.’ (CJS_1, 2019)

NGO_3 (2020) highlights the need for professionals to be able to connect and engage with young people by learning the young person's world and keeping up to date with new apps or trends. He warns of the fatal consequences a lack of awareness can have on a young person.

'... a lot of models and approaches to engage with young people are outdated and we know that we are in a forever growing society, technological society, so you may have learnt a model to engage with a young person [for example] TikTok wasn't there then so if you want to understand TikTok and how young people communicate through TikTok the approach that you was going to probably use to engage with a young person on Facebook is irrelevant. So that is kind of the foundation that I start from that it's about challenging the understanding of where professionals are currently and how do we get them to the next level of understanding young people so that their decisions around engaging young people is a little bit more proactive and current.' (NGO_3, 2020)

'... I've known young people that have been told to go to meetings [organised by local authority] and been stabbed outside the building by young people, now how did the workers justify that happening to a young person, how are you going to make a young person risk their life just because you're saying they need to attend a meeting and I think well that is a worker's fault, that's got nothing to do with the young person at all. We put young people in danger, because we become ignorant and say things like "well you're supposed to come to a meeting" but not understanding locality.' (NGO_3, 2020)

SLA_1 (2020) notes that young people who have engaged in modern slavery offences and had previous encounters with professionals 'look at professionals as people they can't trust'. Developing mutual respect and trust between professional and service user is advocated in youth work as a form of good practice (Sapin, 2013).

However, awareness raising initiatives did not go without critical review. SLE_2 (2020) criticises awareness raising as they are 'still not seeing the improvements that we need to see in terms of both prosecutions but also in terms of prevention and protection either'. Instead, SLE_2 (2020) advocates for better immigration systems which reduce the opportunity for exploitation.

'It's not as simple as saying everybody can come in or nobody can come in, because then again you reduce the ability of some people to earn and improve their lives, and the lives of the children etc but also you, if you allow everybody in without any proper restrictions, any proper control and any if we come back to the welfare state any proper system that allow people to work and are funded in the right environment you allow criminals to operate to exploit people.' (SLE_2, 2020)

SLE_2 (2020) points out that awareness raising has failed to yield improvements on reducing victimisation, prevention, or prosecution in modern slavery. Although this is difficult to definitively prove, the continued increase in victim referrals and granted conclusive grounds decisions in the NRM⁵⁸ (Home Office, 2014; 2020; 2021c; 2022b; NCA, 2018; 2019) can offer a tentative acceptance that awareness raising is failing to prevent victimisation. It is suggested awareness raising placed within primary prevention measures would need to focus on the five instabilities.

5.3.2 Institutions

All 18 participants discussed how various welfare system institutions could prevent people from engaging in modern slavery offences by offering support and opportunities. Eight institutions were identified. These were: community/environment (mentioned by five participants), criminal justice agencies (eight), economic (12), education (eight), family (seven), mental health/emotional (seven), public health (three), and youth and community services (11). Institutional Anomie Theory (IAT) recognises these institutions (minus economic) as being well placed within a society to reduce levels of crime as they can offer values, morals, and support to a society (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013). However, IAT suggests if these institutions are weak, and the economic institution is dominant then this can result in 'diminished social support' and high levels of financial crime (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2013, p. 70).

Thirteen participants discussed the opportunities missed by various institutions to provide support and potentially prevent a person from engaging in modern slavery offences. A lack of early intervention within the family was recognised as a missed opportunity to offer early emotional support:

'... a lot of times when parents refer their young children [to the prevention service] the problem is mainly with the parents and some parents don't want to look at themselves they want to just blame the child.' (NGO_4, 2020)

The limited opportunities provided by relevant institutions for a young person to earn money meant:

'... drug dealers are giving kids more hope than we are ...' (NGO_2, 2020)

⁵⁸ National Referral Mechanism.

Chapter 5

The inadequate financial support from economic institutions resulted in individuals who are claiming asylum needing money to survive. SA_2 (2020) discusses inadequate financial support for those claiming asylum.

'... we're talking about the welfare state that doesn't give them [those claiming asylum] sufficient very often to live on so if they've got family or they've got other needs or they just want to make life better for themselves they'll seek out other opportunities to earn and those opportunities are very often exploitative or being involved in crime themselves and then they become perpetrators [individuals who engage in modern slavery offences].' (SA_2, 2020)

Twelve participants discussed the need for institutions to offer better support to reduce disadvantages and offer genuine, and accessible to all, opportunities to earn money and gain an education. Better support was mentioned with reference to understanding and accepting people's differences and altering how success is framed within an institution.

'... [we have] significant support for the team and performance setting is sensible and outcome focused and not just around data. So, we're looking at the difference we are making to young people, as opposed to just like reducing numbers. Quite often a success could not [be] that they are back in full-time education, but they are back with a part-time timetable. You know, quite often success is small steps and actually having a performance framework that recognises that is really helpful ...' (SLA_1, 2020)

To offer better support, SA_2 suggests challenging the silo thinking within professionals and institutions so all systems available for support can address a single case together. This is supported in the work of Such et al (2022) which advocates for a whole-systems approach to prevent modern slavery.

'The risk that we have and I think this comes back to your question about welfare services and state is we fall very quickly [into] silo thinking in these cases. I was talking to a social worker from youth offending service and he said he'd been to the sexual exploitation panel meeting, he'd been to the criminal exploitation county lines panel meeting, he'd been to the radicalisation panel meeting, he'd been to the gangs and youth violence panel meeting all for the same child! ... what they are not doing is looking at these issues systemically, so our welfare systems are safeguarding systems are extremely linear.' (SA_2, 2020)

SLE_2 remembers the positive support offered through family support services:

‘... we used to have, Every Child Matters, and all these things and there was money and investment into that, I don't see that anymore, there were also family focus groups where you know where there was a particular risk around a family or a family group or an area, some money and resources would have been invested to try and get them out of there. The majority of that went out with austerity and multi-agency work.’ (SLE_2, 2020)

5.3.3 Policy and programme development

Involving communities in policy and programme development and implementation has been referred to as a ‘bottom-up’ approach. This approach captures any given community’s concerns, goals, and challenges, which influences the development of policies, which are often implemented by the community (Pülzl and Treib, 2007). Contrary to this approach is the ‘top-down’ approach which involves policymakers and Government officials making policy decisions and implementing them, sometimes without ever consulting the very people that live in the community which the policy targets (Pülzl and Treib, 2007). Three participants indicate that the current approach to modern slavery is a top-down approach and advocate for a bottom-up approach. It is only recently in the anti-slavery field that organisations have started to use a bottom-up approach in their own programme development by including survivors to co-produce protection programmes (Asquith, Kiconco and Balch, 2022; Human Trafficking Foundation, n.d.; McCoig, Campos-Matos and Such, 2022).

‘... young people will supersede the barriers that are put before them and I say it like that because there's I don't want to limit it to the environment or I want to see local champions, I want to see young people that were once causing problems in the area being part of the solution ...’ (NGO_2, 2020)

Systems change within policy and programme development would require the implementation of the bottom-up approach from Government officials and policymakers. Four participants highlight that changing the culture or systems to prevent modern slavery requires bravery from the Government.

‘... you’ve got to be brave around that because it's costing us such a lot of money to deal with what's coming through the door but actually we need to focus efforts on a lot more in those earlier years ... because it will save us a lot of money.’ (SLA_1, 2020)

Systems change is currently being advocated in the anti-slavery prevention field, but with a prominent focus on (potential) victims and survivors (Such et al, 2022). The central focus on

victims/survivors is understandable as research on those engaging in modern slavery offences and what might prevent their engagement is lacking in the field. This lack of research challenges the successful implementation of the systems change process developed by Checkland and Foster-Fishman and colleagues as it ignores one part of the system: the individual engaging in modern slavery offences. Foster-Fishman and colleagues (2007) state that attempts to achieve systems change have been unsuccessful as they discount wider issues which impact on the problem. These challenges were highlighted by Such et al (2022, p. 9-10) with regards to their cycle of prevention, as they too advocate 'to minimise harm and maximise thriving a whole system of prevention was required. All parts of the continuum needed attending to.' It is therefore suggested that failing to include those that engage in modern slavery offences would hinder the success of systems change within the modern slavery prevention field. An integral part of the system is unaccounted for and thus will have minimal to no impact on the changes developed to address the problem of modern slavery. It is outside the remit of this research to look at how systems change, which includes those engaging in modern slavery offences, could work and what the process would consist of, however, this research has offered an initial understanding of the push/pull factors which contribute to engaging in modern slavery offences. This may go some way to populating each part of the system to better prevent modern slavery.

To conclude, despite 17 of the 18 participants supporting primary prevention measures to include those at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences, there is yet to be a focus on preventing engagement within academia or the wider community. This chapter has contributed to the existing literature by demonstrating the five instabilities which could be addressed by the existing welfare system infrastructure. The chapter recognises that the current welfare system and anti-slavery response would require systems change for primary prevention measures to be placed within the current infrastructure. Firstly, within the current systems themselves better awareness raising for professionals, better support provided by welfare institutions, and a bottom-up approach to policy and programme development should be encouraged. And secondly, for all parts of the system to be included. Thus, including those that engage in modern slavery offences to be involved in developing primary prevention measures.

The data from this chapter indicated there are two systems which play a key role in the development and implementation of any primary prevention measures which address the five instabilities. These are the professional working environment and culture, and the political system. The following chapter further investigates these systems to understand if they could challenge the implementation of such primary prevention measures.

Chapter 6 Potential challenges to implementation

The thesis has identified five instabilities which contribute to someone engaging in modern slavery offences. Applying this data to evaluate whether primary prevention measures could address such instabilities, the research has indicated that although there is a welfare system infrastructure in place to implement such measures there is a need for systems change. The previous chapter identified that the relevant professional working environment and culture, and the political system play a key role in developing and delivering any changes or additional responses. This chapter further investigates these two systems to determine any potential challenges to implementing primary prevention measures which include those targeted at individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences.

Adopting a public health approach to the research meant ensuring the research findings were pragmatic. The term pragmatic is used in this context to mean for the research to be practical in its exploration of primary prevention measures in the hope the research can be useful to whole systems involved in anti-slavery work.

6.1 Professional working environment and culture

6.1.1 Disputed terminology/definitions

Data from 13 participants highlighted the complexities around the terms and definitions used to describe modern slavery and its affiliated terms (see, e.g. Sharapov, 2017; Viuhko, 2018). This research used the data to discuss the potential impact on service delivery when professionals dispute the terms used in the sector and use inconsistent terminology/definitions to respond to the same phenomenon. Each term and definition is illustrated first before discussing the implications of using disputed terminology and definitions.

Exploitation

The term exploitation was disputed as being a top-down generated term placed upon those who the UK Government deem to be in need of protection. NGO_5 (2019) expressed how the Black community conceptualise the term 'exploitation'.

'... if a police officer came up to me and said "Right, you know, we are going to do you for rape or sexual exploitation", the first thing we would have said and one of my friends did say it once "Black people don't rape, White people do", so we have to look at why

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would a Black person say it? I'll tell you why, because when we came to this country all we heard on the news were how boys and people were being kidnapped and everybody who was found or the person who was arrested for it was white. There was no black person arrested for these crimes so you've got to understand from a very long period we've associated sexual exploitation, rape with White people or White men, sorry I should say White men sorry, White middle-aged men ...' (NGO_5, 2019)

NGO_3 ruminates on the nuances within the understanding of 'exploitation' when the community or individual is accustomed to such activity.

'I hear terms like exploitation I always ask, I ask the question what do we mean? Because you're talking about young people that are providing opportunities for other young people you could look at it like that ... I speak to any of the young boys that I've worked with, and you use the word "exploitation" they say what are you talking about. Also shows that language and the language that we use is very different to the language that young people use in the community.' (NGO_3, 2020)

Gang

The term 'gang' was mentioned by eight participants. NGO_2 (2020) refuses to use the term gang as they believe it is 'derogatory' and 'demonising' and creates a discriminatory image of a person based on prejudices, which impacts on the professional's response. They stress the importance of language when working with service-users as 'language can tear down or build up'.

Modern slavery and human trafficking

Participants had a good understanding of how modern slavery and human trafficking differ. However, SA_1 (2020) stated they use the term human trafficking over modern slavery as it is internationally more acceptable. They also suggest modern slavery focuses on the exploitative nature of the activity whereas human trafficking refers to recruitment and transportation as well and so they state modern slavery 'is just one element of the larger exploitation'.

Perpetrator or victim?

Some participants struggled to determine whether a person was a victim or 'perpetrator' which was most evidenced when referring to young people. As evidenced in chapter 4, NDPB_2 (2020) discusses a modern slavery case involving young people, where the individual engaged in modern slavery murdered someone, the person in question had previously been referred into the NRM as a victim of modern slavery and it is here that NDPB_2 (2020) queries at what point is the person a 'perpetrator' or victim? SCLLE_1 (2020) and SCLLE_2 (2020), who work predominantly with young

people engaging in county lines, battle with the terms and definitions of whether a person was a 'perpetrator' or a victim.

'... definition is probably the main bug bear of my life. It depends on what is considered a perpetrator or an offender who is actually a victim. So I mean in my mind the person who is in control of the county lines phone where they get all the enquiries for drugs is an offender because they are controlling the network and dispatching people to deal drugs on their behalf and the people, the line holders is the terminology that we call them and they are generally people that have been through the criminal justice system on multiple different occasions for various drugs offences or violent offences the county, the kind of the kid, the lower level runners, if you want to call them runners they are generally teenagers or young children and that's kind of a mixture of very well-known because they've been arrested on loads of occasions before and have been well known to social care etc. Ranging also to the people that have never been stopped before and never even come to our attention so it kind of depends on when the intervention happens at what stage of that young person's life ...' (SCLLE_1, 2020)

Choice

When referring to those engaging in modern slavery offences, the term 'choice' was mentioned by eight participants. These were split into two categories: freedom of choice (mentioned by five participants) and lack of choice (three participants). Five participants highlight that some individuals have made the choice to engage. Despite CLE_1's (2020) and SCLLE_2's (2020) experience of other professionals' assumption that people have been tricked into engaging in modern slavery offences, they argue that some young people are making a choice to engage. CJS_1 (2019) considers the move from victim to engaging to be the person's choice to engage as they have exited their own exploitation and thus have freedom of choice.

The lack of choice for the person who engages in modern slavery offences was mentioned by NGO_2 (2020), SA_1 (2020), and SLE_2 (2020). They highlighted that some individuals have very little alternative than to engage in modern slavery offences. This could be due to threats from others, or the competitive unregulated labour market leading gangmasters to undercut each other, or their environment.

'... it's about the perpetrator's choice not about the victims choice, ... and we can't always see that we're too black and white we're not grey enough ... is there something more we can do in that period when they're at risk of moving between [victim] and offender ... the environment that some people are in it can impact and then while they

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might be nice in a lot of other ways they will see some ... ways to exploit other people and not really feel that it's wrong it's gone back to choice ... they might find that they've got little choice but than to take up that mantle or that methodology.' (SLE_2, 2020)

Consensus on terminology among those involved in anti-slavery work is important in order to achieve the desired outcome. A discipline failing to lay basic terms at its foundation will lead to different interpretations and understandings of the discipline, thus development within the discipline will be problematic. (Mitroff and Sagasti, 1973). This is applicable within a professional context too as demonstrated by Colquhoun et al (2014) and Laming (2003). For policies and practices to be evidenced-based, consensus in terminology among professionals is needed to achieve effective research dissemination (Colquhoun et al, 2014). Laming's (2003) inquiry report into the abuse and death of the child Victoria Climbié highlighted the failings of the professionals who knew of and had been in contact with Victoria Climbié. These included social services, police, hospitals, housing authorities, and a specialist centre managed by a children's charity. Laming (2003) recommends multi-agency partners have a 'common language' to aid communication and consistency in their service response and delivery. However, definitions can narrow the framing and understanding of something (See Dunhill and Kidd's (2020) work on the definition of child soldiers excluding the girls involved). Definitions can therefore create an image or narrative of something or someone which is false. This research evidenced the potential problem with definitions when NGO_2 (2020) discussed the negative connotations of the term 'gang'. The challenges with definitions illustrate the need for all partners involved in the anti-slavery response to have consensus in terminology and their definitions for consistent service delivery. Failing in this could result in professionals missing opportunities to protect people and implement primary prevention measures if they follow different terminology and definitions.

The difference evidenced by the participants' conceptualisation of the term 'choice' can be understood through the existing discussions on using labels and the impact of such labels. Victim-focused modern slavery research has offered thought-provoking insight of the impact that perceived 'choice' has on professionals' response to victims. Hoyle, Bosworth, and Dempsey (2011) demonstrate the nuances of the term 'choice' used and understood by anti-slavery professionals. The nuances include the victim's experience of having no choice through force, choosing to migrate, and then being deceived, or having little other choices for survival from external push/pull factors. They highlight that if the victim is unable to 'fit' into the ideal victim concept where 'choice' does not feature, the victim will experience a lack of identification, support, and protection (Hoyle, Bosworth and Dempsey, 2011). Applying their research to this data suggests the participants who view the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences as

having a freedom of choice – suggesting they made a conscious decision – will be unwilling or reluctant to implement primary prevention.

6.1.2 Knowledge deficit

The gap in knowledge about the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences was highlighted in chapter 2, section 4. Five participants suggested there is a need to better understand those engaging in modern slavery offences to then inform early intervention and prevention measures. SCLLE_1 (2020) conceded:

‘... it's one of the areas that the NCA have said that we need to focus on because we don't actually know a huge amount about the perpetrators of county lines at that type of level.’ (SCLLE_1, 2020)

However, the data gathered in this research questions the legitimacy of professionals’ lack of knowledge of those engaging in these offences. If they all obtained no knowledge the five instabilities based on the 91 modern slavery cases discussed would be non-existent. Additionally, the participants interviewed represented diverse professional backgrounds, which may have facilitated the rich dataset as some worked directly with and supported those engaging in such offences.

The knowledge deficit could then be due to the limited number of research questions being studied to gather this knowledge. A reason for this could be the challenges in gaining access to the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences as recognised by Broad (2018) and experienced in this research. The default responses from ten participants offer an example of participants being unused to being asked about the individuals who engage in such offences as they answered such questions by discussing the victims. For example, when LENGO_1 (2019) was asked whether the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences understood the terms human trafficking and modern slavery, they answered by highlighting the victim’s lack of understanding of these terms and that often a victim is unable to self-identify as a victim. The participants’ default responses suggest the knowledge deficit of those engaging in modern slavery offences is also due to the lack of research focused on these individuals.

Whether the reason for the knowledge deficit is due to a professional lack of knowledge or a research gap in knowledge, SA_2 (2020) advocates to close the gap to aid primary prevention measures.

'... understand the problem in terms of environment victim and perpetrator we start to open up different lines of enquiry and other opportunities for intervention and disruption.' (SA_2, 2020)

That professionals have a knowledge deficit, for either reason, on those that engage in modern slavery offences, suggests there is no space for both entities (victim and the individual engaging) to be considered in the response to modern slavery. This could be due to the push toward ensuring any response to modern slavery is victim-focused (Aronowitz, 2017; Such et al, 2020). Viewing the two entities as mutually exclusive is problematic as any focus on the individual engaging in the offences is viewed as having a disregard for the victim and is expected instead to turn its attention to the victims (Garland, 2001). This separateness of victim and the individual engaging is problematic because, as demonstrated in the three narratives, those engaging could also be a 'victim'. Additionally, a knowledge deficit of one of the systems is not conducive to an efficient systems change effort.

6.1.3 Othering

Modern slavery literature has evidenced 'othering' in UK anti-trafficking policy where the individuals engaging in modern slavery are depicted as being 'ruthless, mostly foreign, organised criminals' (Nelson and Kidd, 2018; Sharapov, 2017, p. 95). The data supports previous research and was able to contribute to the discussion on 'othering' by offering insight into how professionals spoke about those that engage in modern slavery offences. The data demonstrated that some participants held the assumption that those engaging in modern slavery offences were non-UK nationals. When UK nationals were involved in modern slavery cases, excluding child criminal exploitation and child sexual exploitation, the UK national was depicted as a victim who was also being exploited by the non-UK national. Additionally, modern slavery cases were discussed differently to county lines cases. This is problematic as it could potentially be causing a blind spot in their responses to modern slavery and would pose a potential challenge if prevention measures were developed on a false narrative.

UK nationals versus Non-UK nationals

Eight participants referred to the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences by default as non-UK nationals. Five of these participants worked for criminal justice agencies and responded to all modern slavery offences including domestic. Two had specialist knowledge of labour exploitation. The remaining participant supported individuals who had engaged in, or were at risk of engaging in, modern slavery offences, in particular child criminal exploitation. Non-UK nationals were categorised as being pre-deposed to criminality (without any further explanation) (NDPB_1,

2019), having a disregard for others (SA_2, 2020), and big players who fancy themselves (SA_1, 2020).

‘When we look at East European traffickers we are likely to see very high levels of violence, gratuitous violence, large displays of wealth and the victims are pretty disposable.’ (SA_2, 2020)

The UK national, however, was depicted as the weaker entity in the group who would end up being exploited themselves by the group.

‘And sometimes actually they [the foreign nationals who are engaging in modern slavery offences] become greedy and that UK perpetrator will actually be an exploited person themselves.’ (SLA_1, 2020)

UK nationals were predominantly linked with child criminal exploitation and child sexual exploitation by the participants. When UK nationals were discussed in relation to another ‘type’ of exploitation, they were presented as the ‘arranger’ and having far less involvement in a non-UK national group.

‘... they [individual engaging in modern slavery offences] tended to be non-EU-nationals at that time whether, probably at the time we didn't understand it as much, there's often a person this side, who is an arranger, worked in a brothel there's some sort of UK connection a lot of the time or used to be, not so much now I think they tend to do it themselves more now so they don't need the British (inaudible) late 2009 2010 at the time, there was a bit more of that, if that makes sense. However, when we say there was non-British offenders [we] understand grooming a lot more and child sexual exploitation [now].’ (SLE_1, 2020)

Modern slavery versus county lines

Sixteen participants discussed county lines as an offence represented under the Modern Slavery Act. The remaining two participants did not discuss county lines. Those engaging in county lines cases were discussed with more compassion and understanding compared to modern slavery cases. Modern slavery cases were seen as internationally run by ‘greedy and immoral’ organised crime groups, or individual non-UK nationals who were making high profits. County lines was viewed as a UK-based activity which was an extension of the drugs trade involving children and young people, from which very little profit was made and which was often seen by the participants as a means to make money to survive. NDPB_2 (2020) highlights that they have witnessed an increase in preventing victimisation in child criminal exploitation, in particular

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county lines, however, they note they have not seen comparative work for other areas of modern slavery.

SLE_1 (2020) suggests county lines would be more susceptible to prevention than other modern slavery cases.

‘The families of those committing county lines offences are aware of the situation and the welfare system is able to prevent their continued involvement, however with the modern slavery human trafficking side ... when your offenders don’t even have to be in this country most of the time, when your victim is coming in and out of the country and swapped on a regular basis, ..., I think that would so much harder [to prevent].’ (SLE_1, 2020)

Conversely, SA_2 (2020) suggests county lines and other forms of modern slavery carry similar models.

‘Now I, we call it county lines because that reflects a model that’s happening here in the UK but as a pattern I think you will find the same pattern in many other modalities of modern slavery and in many other jurisdictions and contexts as well.’ (SA_2, 2020)

The data can be understood statistically and theoretically. A statistical understanding will be initially presented, proceeded by a discussion of the language used to conceptualise modern slavery and county lines cases before situating these themes within a theoretical understanding. There is no official open-access reporting on the nationality of those engaging in modern slavery offences in the UK. The UNODC (2020, p. 136) trafficking in person’s report suggests 64% of convicted ‘traffickers’ in the Western and Southern Europe region were ‘foreigners in the countries of conviction’. This is important to note, however, for this research it is deemed too broad a region to use in research specific to the UK. Conversely, adopting the concept that victims are often the same nationality as the individual exploiting them (Denton, 2016; Viuhko, 2018), the latest NRM statistics (Home Office, 2021c, p. 1) would suggest the top three nationalities of those engaging in modern slavery offences are from the UK, Albania, and Vietnam. This reflects the top nationalities for potential victims of modern slavery under the NRM. It is recognised that this can only be speculative. Lightowlers, Broad, and Gadd (2020) were able to access police data on victims and suspects of modern slavery offences. They noted 43% of the data received failed to indicate the nationality of the suspect, however of those that were recorded the UK was the highest recorded country of origin, representing 20%. The countries with less than 5% were Romania, Czech Republic, Pakistan, Hungary, and Vietnam (Lightowlers, Broad and Gadd, 2020). Their research identified two suspect subtypes: ‘male sex traffickers’ and ‘labour and domestic

traffickers' (male and female) (Lightowers, Broad and Gadd, 2020, p. 10). The most represented subtype was 'male sex traffickers'. The paper was unable to distinguish nationalities within the subtypes due to the quality of data, however, it does still indicate the presence of UK nationals as suspects for modern slavery offences.

The Modern Slavery Police Transformation Unit, which now sits under Modern Slavery and Organised Immigration Crime within the police to offer consistent and effective police responses to modern slavery, illustrated in their report (MSOIC, 2021) that there has been an increase in UK nationals as suspects in modern slavery offences for the last four years with this group now making up the biggest percentage. The report indicates the rate of British nationals as suspects and victims has increased from the previous year and attributes this to the increase in criminal exploitation investigations which it states 'predominantly involve British victims and offenders' (MSOIC, 2021, p. 22). However, again there is no distinction of what 'type' of modern slavery offences were committed. Arguably this report and Lightowers, Broad, and Gadd's (2020) research demonstrates suspects only, and not those prosecuted, therefore it could be argued the nationalities of UK nationals are more easily recognised than other non-UK nationals, so it does not exclusively demonstrate that UK nationals are the largest nationality to engage in modern slavery offences. Additionally, there are issues with police data recordings, so making any assumptions using these comes with caution, however, this is currently the only available open-access data.

The professionals' distinction between county lines and modern slavery could be understood through consultation of the Government's different responses to these offences which also demonstrate a difference in how these two 'types' are viewed. As mentioned in chapters 2 and 5, county lines is featured in the Home Office Serious Violence Strategy which includes prevention measures and encourages work on identifying those at risk of engaging in county lines and how to support them (Home Office, 2018). Taskforces and guidance documents have been established to prevent this crime type (see Local Government, 2021b). Contrary to this, in the 2021 modern slavery annual report, county lines is mentioned only in terms of 'Pursue' (as part of the 4Ps framework) in relation to law enforcement and prosecutions, and in the section pertaining to the victims of county lines. There is no mention of county lines prevention measures in terms of targeting the individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. The lack of inclusion of the prevention measures in place to respond to county lines gives clear evidence of the difference in response to both county lines and other modern slavery types. It is argued here that this is linked with the focus on modern slavery and immigration which county lines does not 'fit' well into, as it most often involves UK nationals. This further demonstrates the narrative of the ideal

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offender and poses a question of how this may impact on a professional's responses to any forms of modern slavery.

Thirteen participants had front line experience with those that engage in modern slavery offences covered under the Modern Slavery Act 2015 including county lines as a form of child criminal exploitation. Despite this, when participants discussed modern slavery cases which were not representative of county lines these cases were viewed as worse than county lines offences. For example, NGO_2 (2020) spoke extensively about county lines and suggested that exploiting others has become 'normalised' within society. However, further into their interview, they compare county lines with modern slavery cases, with the latter being described as 'heinous'. NGO_2 never reduced the impact of or justified county lines. However, at no point in their interview did they use a strong adjective when discussing county lines to describe the offence. This demonstrates how county lines is viewed and comprehended differently from other forms of modern slavery.

'... if we compare that [county lines] with modern slavery in terms of like international that send people around and do heinous crimes and use women and children, when you think about that could I imagine one of the victims then becoming a perpetrator I can't because unfortunately a lot of the time there's a lot of damage.' (NGO_2, 2020)

The difference in the participants' responses could have been due to the participants' proximity to those that have engaged in county lines offences. Exposure to an individual or group allows a connection to form which aids compassion from the front line worker toward the individual or group in question (Cassell, 2002). However, of these 13 participants who had front line experience, seven had experiences with both county lines and other modern slavery offences which challenges the notion that the difference in responses was due to forming a connection. As evidenced earlier, the Modern Slavery and Organised Immigration Programme annual report 2020-2021 attributes the individuals engaged in county lines within child criminal exploitation predominantly as British nationals. Additionally, Sharapov (2017) notes the UK's anti-trafficking policy portrays those engaging in modern slavery offences as often being foreign. The data from this research supports these findings where modern slavery cases were associated with non-UK nationals and county lines cases with UK nationals. In other words, modern slavery was happening somewhere else, to and by 'other' people, and county lines was happening here in the UK with the UK's 'own' people. The theory of 'othering', the in-group/out-group theory, and Christie's notion of the ideal offender can facilitate a discussion on what appears to be a default association.

The theory of 'othering' or 'otherness' suggests an awareness of self is generated through the awareness of the 'other' (Hegel, 2018). The 'other' are then the people or groups that the self is

different from or that are unable to offer a common reflection of oneself. Social identity theory appears to build on the foundation of 'othering' where those in the 'in-group' (us) are an extension of the self that share commonalities, whereas the 'out-group' (them) is the 'other' (Tajfel, 1982). The theory of 'othering' and the 'in-group/out-group' theory have been discussed in relation to victims of, and the state response to, human trafficking/modern slavery as well as in related topics such as immigration, globalisation, and racism (See Murphy, 2015; Todres, 2009; Williamson, 2017a). This research contributes to the discussion of 'othering' in modern slavery in terms of the professionals' responses to those that engage in modern slavery offences. All participants were based in the UK, although some had worked on international cases, and all had worked on UK cases. The data suggest the 'in-group' includes UK professionals, UK nationals engaging in these offences and those engaging in county lines offences (which are understood by the professionals to be only performed by UK nationals), whereas the 'out-group' includes non-UK nationals and modern slavery cases excluding county lines.

Christie's concept of the ideal offender can offer additional understanding of the data (Christie, 1986). Christie suggests the ideal offender 'is a distant being. The more foreign, the better. The less humane, also the better' and to have an ideal offender there must also be the ideal victim (Christie, 1986, p. 28). Christie's ideal offender is clearly represented among the 'out-group' constructed by the participants. Whereas the individuals in the 'in-group' fail to represent the ideal offender. Additionally, research has evidenced the existence of the ideal victim within the modern slavery response which results in viewing a person as 'deserving' or 'undeserving' of the victim label, presenting barriers in identification, protection, and support (Hoyle, Bosworth and Dempsey, 2011; Wilson and O'Brien, 2016). The impact of labelling is discussed in-depth in the following section. The anti-slavery sector has started to address and challenge the notion of the ideal victim by advocating for the use of representative imagery in campaigns and by having survivor-led programmes, which brings the actual victim/survivor to the forefront of the response (Freedom Fund, 2021; Freedom United, n.d.; Survivor Alliance, 2020). The move to challenge the ideal victim concept could suggest the ideal offender concept will follow suit. Until then however, perpetuating the ideal offender narrative of non-UK nationals engaging in modern slavery offences, excluding child criminal exploitation, will result in primary prevention measures missing the individuals who require such support.

6.1.4 Systemic racism

Systemic racism was mentioned in chapter 4 in relation to those who engage in modern slavery offences. Systemic racism was identified again however, in relation to how professionals were experiencing it within their working environment and culture. The experiences of two of the

participants are discussed in this section. Their direct dialogues have not been used so as to reduce any identifiable data.

Experiences of racism, such as those discussed here, can be categorised as acts of institutional or systemic racism⁵⁹. This research uses the umbrella term of systemic racism rather than institutional racism to discuss the experiences presented by the participants as they included institutional involvement and everyday interaction patterns. Where literature is presented, the term used by the original author will be adopted.

Despite systemic racism featuring heavily in the UK and global media in recent years as a reaction to George Floyd's murder in Minnesota in 2020 which sparked public reaction, institutional racism and systemic racism in the UK have been discussed and witnessed for many decades. Sivanandan (1976 [2008]) suggests the British Government laid institutionally racist policies and practices as early as the 1940s. Racism in UK countries and globally has a long history which extends much further back from the 1940s, however, the historical context of racism is beyond the scope of this research. According to Sivanandan, institutional racism was born out of state racism (which could be described as systemic racism) where the British Government created legislation that instigated an 'institutionalised system of discrimination against foreign labour' and in doing so created institutional racism as this foreign labour was Black labour (1976[2008], p. 78). In the 1970s, in an era Sivanandan describes as seeing the 'move from institutional racism to domestic neo-colonialism', Britain had orchestrated anti-discrimination tactics targeting different cultures living in the UK to offer less of a reason for other cultures to reject the existing capitalist mainstream systems 'so they would not threaten to transform it into a different system' (1976 [2008], pp. 85-86). The 1999 inquiry into Stephen Lawrence's murder and subsequent police actions would challenge Sivanandan as the report identified that institutional racism existed in the UK police service (Macpherson, 1999).

In 2021, the UK Conservative Government requested a report to assess race and ethnic disparities in the UK as a response to the protests that followed the murder of George Floyd. The requested Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities report notes the difficulties in measuring institutional racism and states at present terms such as structural racism, institutional racism, and systemic racism are interchangeably used and can be subjective, which causes confusion which they state negatively impacts on 'perpetrators being caught and punished' although fail to expand on why

⁵⁹ This research has adopted Feagin's (2006) and Banaji, Fiske and Massey's (2021) definition of systemic racism. Systemic racism is characterised by the 'created systems which exceed beyond racial prejudice and individual bigotry ... and are a material, social, and ideological reality that is well-imbedded in major U.S. institutions' (Feagin, 2006 p. 2) and the existence of 'processes and outcomes of racial inequality and inequity in life opportunities and treatment' (Banaji, Fiske and Massey, 2021, p. 2).

this might be (Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, 2021, p. 35). The report's findings and discussion on crime and policing, and employment, were important sections to critically analyse for this research. Despite offering statistical and qualitative evidence that racism existed within policing culture, the report denies institutional racism still exists. It is suggested the report's early declaration of issues with the term 'institutional racism' and its subjective use allowed the report to make recommendations without labelling any problematic behaviours as a form of institutional racism. Additionally, the report recommends culture change within organisations, but fails to offer any guidance on how this is to be achieved. The report has received criticism for its reluctance to acknowledge the existence of institutional or systemic/structural racism within the UK and it has been suggested the report is gaslighting⁶⁰ those with lived experience of racism (BMA, 2021; Criminal Justice Alliance, 2021; GMB Union, 2021; Gopal and Rao, 2021; RCPsych, 2021). According to the Guardian, 20 stakeholders including Government figures, NGOs and front line workers have also offered similar criticisms of the report's findings (Mohdin and Walker, 2021).

NGO_2 (2020) and NGO_3 (2020) disclosed detailed narratives of their and their colleagues' experiences of racism. The narratives discussed included examples when the participant or colleague was acting in a professional capacity. NGO_3 (2020) who self-identified as Black in their interview, recalled a time when, upon leaving a professional building, they were stopped and questioned by two law enforcement officers. NGO_3 (2020) notes due to their professional role and status, the officers were required by their Chief to attend unconscious bias training. NGO_3 (2020) suggests this was only due to their professional network and queried 'how many workers even in this field gets stopped and searched and treated just like every other citizen?'

NGO_2 (2020) relays a time when they and their colleague had organised an activities trip for the young people they support. While on the trip a White boy needed emergency care after an accident. NGO_2's (2020) colleague, who they identify as Black, accompanied the boy to receive help. The employees at the emergency facility questioned NGO_2's colleague's connection to the boy and asked the boy if he was safe. It is queried by NGO_2 (2020) whether this scenario would have been different if the adult was White and suggests the due diligence is based on prejudice.

'... so this is the problem, they doing due diligence and safeguarding based on prejudice, that's what bothers me more than anything.' (NGO_2, 2020)

⁶⁰ 'Gaslighting is an increasingly ubiquitous term used to describe the mind-manipulating strategies of abusive people, in both politics and interpersonal relationships' (Sweet, 2019).

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While training other professionals, NGO_2 (2020) received a negative feedback comment. The comment writer wrote they wished NGO_2 spoke properly as they found it frustrating. NGO_2 (2020) later equates the way they speak to their self-identified, mixed-race identity. In response to the negative feedback, they query:

'... if they can do that as a grown adult to a grown [adult] what they going to do to a child? ... [shows] what our children are up against.' (NGO_2, 2020)

The findings from this research support the criticisms of the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities Report, as two participants relayed experiences of their and their colleagues' experiences of systemic racism. It is acknowledged this is a small number of participants. The research was limited in terms of racial and ethnic diversity with four of the 18 participants self-identifying as Black or mixed race and the remaining participants being White. For this research, the participant recruitment was targeted at professionals who could offer the most in-depth discussion to aid understanding. However, the participants available within these relevant positions and those who accepted the invitation to be interviewed were predominantly White. The Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities Report (2021, p. 188) found that, excluding the Metropolitan Police, 'only White officers were promoted to the highest rank of Chief Officer' in the remaining 46 police forces. Additionally, BASNET, which consists of UK and European charities and companies which advocate for equality, inclusion, and diversity in the anti-slavery field, found that anti-slavery charities, networks, and partnerships were lacking in racial diversity and were under-representing their clientele, with workers being predominantly from a White British background (BASNET, 2021). It is understood that the lack of racial diversity in this research will have impacted on the findings. It is acknowledged that, if the study was to be repeated or developed upon, an increased awareness of race and ethnic representation would be beneficial.

It is difficult to evidence and prove that the events described and experienced by the participants were racially motivated. Alternative suggestions for their experiences could be offered and will now be discussed. One possibility is that the respective institutions were carrying out safeguarding procedures. However, the interactions described by NGO_2 (2020) and NGO_3 (2020) failed to illustrate an image in which professionals were treated with respect and professionalism. Instead, NGO_2's colleague and NGO_3 were treated with suspicion and in an accusatory manner. Additionally, NGO_2's experience of their accent being criticised fails to be demonstrative of a professional manner nor a safeguarding procedure and echoes Sivanandan's explanation of neo-colonialism, where non-White cultures are to 'fit' within the predominant White culture (1976 [2008]). Additionally, it could be suggested that the experiences disclosed were a singular or rare occurrence of a personal bias and that these experiences fail to offer any

illustration of systemic racism. However, the experiences of these two participants and the shared experience of NGO_2's colleague happened in different geographical locations and in different organisational settings which, if only minutely, illustrates that this response to non-White people is not only reserved for 'a few bad apples' or a specific institution. Another possibility is the lack of representation within these institutions which accounted for the suspicion, however, according to the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities (2021) report 46.1% of doctors working in the NHS are from ethnic minority groups and yet NGO_2's colleague's experience in a health care setting appeared to be racially motivated, so regardless of representation within the organisation there is evidence of systemic racism and perhaps personal bias.

There are two key concerns with this finding in the context of this research. Firstly, the evidenced existence of systemic racism within various institutions could lead to either low recruitment or low staff retention of non-White people. This would result in furthering under-representation of non-White and ethnic people within anti-slavery institutions and could perpetuate systemic racism. Evidence has demonstrated that a lack of diversity in policy development and implementation can be problematic as a policy can then fail to account for diverse experiences which can intentionally or unintentionally negatively impact on those it does not represent (Dettlaff and Boyd, 2020; Headley and Wright II, 2020; Hong, 2017). Additionally, representation of different ethnicities and race within institutions is beneficial to those of the same ethnic background as it can build trust with that institution meaning institution-led initiatives are received with little suspicion or reluctance (Davies et al, 2020).

Secondly, if professionals are experiencing systemic racism and are treated with suspicion and with an accusatory manner, it can be assumed that non-professionals are also being treated in this way. Or perhaps worse, especially as unlike NGO_3 (2020) a person who has no association with the sector is unlikely to be able to speak directly to senior officers and request the treatment be addressed and the individuals involved reprimanded. It also questions whether any universal prevention measure would be implemented with equality or equity if non-White people are viewed differently to White people. Within this research context, primary preventative measures could struggle to be effectively implemented with the presence of systemic racism.

6.1.5 Engage, adapt, adopt

Eleven participants suggested there was a reluctance from within the anti-slavery sector to engage, adapt, and adopt other measures to respond to modern slavery. NGO_2 (2020), NGO_3 (2020), and NGO_4 (2020) spoke about their experiences of training anti-slavery professionals and

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other relevant organisations, which were sometimes met with scepticism and a reluctance to change or adopt alternative ways of working.

SCLLE_2 (2020) sums up their experience of the reluctance of anti-slavery professionals to develop or challenge their response to modern slavery:

‘So there's a pattern it's the same pattern but nobody does anything about it because it's ... because nobody talks to each other ... we have unfortunately ... it's not just [SCLLE_2 organisation] it's all partners, we're just not very good at thinking more than past our nose ... because we just, it's easy to sit in the same cycle, it's easy to believe the narrative, it's easy to believe everything that, it's easy, it's very easy ... it's very easy to know ... it's just easy to do the same thing over and over again, that's what everyone has done ... the problem is everybody just talks strategy nobody does anything.’ (SCLLE_2, 2020)

The findings illustrated that there is some reluctance to implement new anti-slavery measures among anti-slavery professionals, especially if the measures were prevention focused and included individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. This reluctance to engage or be open to new measures or teachings within a person's professional environment may impact on their knowledge base and cause a lack of reflectivity in their professional practice. Reflectivity is important as it can challenge institutionally or personally held norms and recognise unconscious or conscious biases which could impact on the service user experience (Sicora, 2017; West, 2010). In the context of this research, the reluctance to learn from others and to be reflective could lead to falsely understood narratives of the individual engaging or at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. This false narrative could contribute to the formation of non-evidence-based policies and practices which would potentially be of little effect.

The anti-slavery professionals' reluctance to engage with, adapt to, and adopt alternative approaches to respond to modern slavery is problematic when the current response is failing to reduce the number of people being victimised. For systems change to be successful each person involved in the system needs to have a shared belief in the new system and its values (Foster-Fishman, Nowell and Yang, 2007). Failing to do so could challenge the implementation of primary prevention measures.

The examination of professional working environment and culture has illustrated five key areas that would potentially challenge the implementation of primary prevention measures. The data demonstrated these areas would require systems change. As previously mentioned in chapter 5, Checkland and Scholes (1999) advocate for systems to be contextually placed within the social,

economic, and political environment to account for and change external influences. Thus, the next section discusses the findings in relation to the current political system to assess if these external influences would challenge the implementation of primary prevention measures.

6.2 Political System

6.2.1 Political will

Chapter 5 discussed Government failings in implementing prevent work which includes those that engage in or are at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. Eight participants discussed the lack of political will to respond to modern slavery especially in reference to prevention and early intervention work. NDPB_1 (2019), who had previous experience in the Government's counter-terrorism department and anti-slavery department, states the Government are reluctant to invest in prevention measures which target the individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences unless it is under the Counter Terrorism response. They expressed the view that there would be no scope for a prevention policy to target such individuals, citing counter terrorism as the only area in which the UK has a prevention strategy – which is 'trying to stop people from blowing people up' – and that there was no political will to invest resources into a prevention programme which emulated the counter terrorism prevention strategy. NDPB_1 (2019) was asked to expand on this.

'Well with the prevent counter terrorism, as I say we try and stop people getting becoming so radicalised that they will start to think about causing physical harm to people. Now obviously people trafficking causes a degree of physical harm but not in the same way, it's not a direct attack on a person's personal safety. That's the only example I can think of where we try and prevent individual offenders. ... If Government was to devote resources to preventing people becoming people traffickers, then the next question would be 'well why are you not devoting resources to people becoming drug dealers or people becoming shoplifters or people becoming car thieves ... It would be and what I mean by politically devoting the resources that would be necessary to achieve that would be I think huge. Because first of all you'd have to have the people to work out who your potential offenders are, you'd have to have the people to approach

them, you'd have to have the people to work with them, all the costs involved, the effect involved. I don't think there's a political appetite for that.' (NDPB_1, 2019)⁶¹

Despite there being substantial evidence that contradicts NDPB_1's (2019) statement that human trafficking/modern slavery is not a direct attack on a person's personal safety (Consider: van Reisen, Estefanos and Rijken, 2012; Zimmerman, Hossain and Watts, 2011), their highlighted political reluctance to resource anti-slavery prevention measures was also supported by another seven participants. Such as NGO_4 (2020) who had experienced the Government's reluctance in accepting the offer of supplying prevention work with young people who are at risk of engaging in modern slavery.

The difference in political will to prevent modern slavery and prevent terrorism is clearly evidenced when comparing the respective prevention strategy in the Counter Terrorism CONTEST Strategy (2018) and in the Modern Slavery Strategy (2014). The CONTEST Strategy (2018) focuses targeting the individual at-risk of or already engaging in terrorism and the implementation of early intervention and support. On the contrary and extensively discussed in chapter 2, the Modern Slavery Strategy (2014) makes very little claims about targeting and supporting the individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. It is suggested the UK Governments reluctance to resource modern slavery prevention is based on how each offence is perceived. Acts of terrorism are narrated as an attack on national security and something happening to UK nationals (when happening on UK ground), whereas modern slavery is framed through an immigration lens as an attack on national security where the problem is caused by and affects non-UK nationals. As such the different framings could be responsible for the different responses to these offences. The conflation of modern slavery and immigration is a continued thread through this thesis. The impact of such conflation therefore might be facilitating inadequate measures and resources to respond to modern slavery which will neither protect (potential) victims or prevent individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences.

6.2.2 Neoliberal capitalist society

The introduction of the neoliberal capitalist society in the UK reduced the welfare state and social expenditure due to the belief that the welfare state was part of the 'problem' in a weak economy (Kus, 2006). Austerity in the neoliberal capitalist society has meant public sector professionals are only able to react to challenges, problems, and crises rather than be proactive. Garland (2001, p.

⁶¹ Although the participant refers to people trafficking as opposed to modern slavery cases, the question and research topic were clearly identified as those engaging in modern slavery offences and so it was interpreted that they were using the term 'people trafficking' and 'modern slavery' synonymously.

19) discusses this in relation to criminal justice professionals who, he notes, have had to resort to 'cost effective management of risks and resources' when responding to 'crime and offending'. Multi-agency partnership working has become a necessity under neoliberal culture in order to manage the support gaps in the welfare state (Crawford, 1999; Garland, 2001). The interviews conducted in this research indicated the impact that the neoliberal capitalist society had on the professionals and highlighted key areas which would challenge the implementation of primary prevention measures.

6.2.2.1 Reduced welfare state and austerity

Twelve participants highlight that the current UK Government is failing to protect the population's welfare, and in particular those who are outside the majority middle-class society, such as minority communities, other classes, and young people. Eight welfare institutions were identified as failing in some way to protect and support those who are at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. These were the benefit system (mentioned by eight participants), criminal justice agencies (six participants), economic (nine), education (seven), family (eight), asylum and immigration system (five), and youth and community services (six). All 18 participants mentioned at least one of these institutions.

As highlighted in the chapter 4, some people who engage in modern slavery offences are doing so as it is the only perceived available option to make money to survive. The data from this research indicated a need for increased resources within support services, including welfare services to allow for people to have better life choices. Eight participants advocated for more resources to be allocated to support services and directly to the public to prevent people engaging in modern slavery offences. Participants equated the lack of opportunities and poverty as contributing to someone engaging in modern slavery offences. While discussing poverty, 11 participants noted that to address economic instability there needed to be a genuine living wage and financial support regardless of whether the person is a UK national, non-UK national, or claiming asylum.

'Unless you're giving people those financial opportunities, you're never ever gonna stop exploitation, no it's people exploiting others for the sake of earning some money.'

(LENGO_1, 2019)

In chapter 4 it was highlighted that 14.5 million people in 2019/2020 were experiencing poverty with rising numbers of children experiencing poverty (JRF, 2022). The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) report attributes the continued rise in poverty in the UK to benefit freezes, systemic inequalities within the benefit system, precarious employment types, and the disparity of income rises to inflation increases (JRF, 2022). The report used data pre-COVID-19 and

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highlights the possibility of the poverty landscape deteriorating as a result of the pandemic. The current political climate is unable to offer a positive change to these contributing attributes. In September 2022, the then Conservative Prime Minister Liz Truss implemented a 'mini budget' which many speculated was the catalyst for the pound becoming weaker (Wearden, 2022) and has continued to have a negative impact on the UK's economy. Additionally, the UK has witnessed ongoing national strikes from different sectors related to pay disputes to reach a genuine living wage (Thomas, 2022), and there are continued restrictions of those claiming asylum, and a negative narrative of them being 'undeserving' of support including employment opportunities (Calo, Montgomery and Baglioni, 2022).

SLA_1 (2020) confirmed they witnessed a rise in youth perpetration (specifically exploitation) when youth services were cut.

'... there are less services to go around now, I think that's part of the problem, there is less to go around. So there are in terms of your vulnerable groups there's definitely increased poverty and as a consequence of that we are seeing certainly an increased amount of perpetration ... Yeah rise in youth perpetration definitely. Most definitely. A lot of perpetrators we're dealing with [in terms of exploitation] we actually have seen them as victims because of the roots we've spoken about, but they would have fitted in the category of those that if we'd had a focus on much earlier might not have become perpetrators. But because not having the services to do [that] so [we] missed that opportunity.' (SLA_1, 2020)

NGO_3 (2020) had previously predicted that the cutting of youth and community services would be reflected in an increase in knife crime and exploitation.

'... in 2009 before the recession came in that when David Cameron and them started to cut a lot of youth and community services nationally, we predicted that there was going to be issues of knife crime, we predicted there was going to be issues around I mean county lines wasn't the word then but we knew exploitation was going to be on the increase. Any time that you dismantle services that engage with children and young people and especially young people that are dysfunctional or at risk or vulnerable those these the issues that we're talking about right now is predictable, it's not anything that's come out of nowhere.' (NGO_3, 2020)

Two participants in this research explicitly linked the cuts in youth and community services with an increase in youth perpetration including exploitation. This supports the APPG report

mentioned earlier which highlighted the impact of youth services being cut and the increase in knife crime (APPG, Redthread and Barnardo's, 2020).

Eleven participants discussed the impact austerity and competing for resources had on their ability to carry out duties and work on prevention strategies. The majority of the participants (12 of 18) were either fully or partly funded by the Government. CLE_1 (2020), NDPB_2 (2020), SLE_2 (2020), and SLA_1 (2020) were all currently or previously employed within a criminal justice agency and described their work as 'firefighting with the immediate' (NDPB_2, 2020), 'hit and run [work]' (CLE_1, 2020) and dealing with what's coming through the door (SLA_1, 2020; SLE_2, 2020) which meant prevention work was unable to be carried out.

SLA_1 (2020) discusses the impact the lack of funding for support services can have on supporting and preventing a young person's life trajectory.

'... [their situation] is so ingrained that you are on a long long long journey to try and achieve success with that and improve their outcomes whereas investment front-end we are right at the start of the journey and even before the "reachable moments" because sometimes the reachable moments it's you are already a certain way down the journey, you need to get them waiting at that front-end and make sure the services are right there.' (SLA_1, 2020)

The limited resources available impacted on the professionals' ability to carry out support and investigate alternative ways to respond to modern slavery. NGO_2 (2020), NGO_3 (2020) and NGO_4 (2020) point out the challenges of supporting and diverting young people away from engaging in exploitation for financial gains when there are no, or limited, viable alternatives for them.

'... the world of exploitation the question that we have to ask is what are the things that we as a society haven't provided for our young people. So we can't have this conversation without talking about finance. And everyone saying that the conversation is very limited because what we want to talk about is dysfunctional families, what we want to talk about is the education that young people don't have, what we want to talk about is their friendship groups and I'm not suggesting that there needs to be there doesn't need to be better systems to address that but if we're living in a capitalist society and not talking about finance then that is the ultimate issue. These young boys are saying "I ain't got no money. It's all good telling me about my friendship groups, it's all good telling me about positive relationships, it's great telling me about raising awareness but I got no money! So how am I going to make money?" and when they say

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to me “my man's making two grand a week can you help me get a job” and I'm sitting there thinking no I can't, so we have to talk about finance. That for me that is the only missing element we're not talking about.’ (NGO_3_2020)

NGO_4 (2020) agrees that more resources should be allocated when he states:

‘... the help that could change everything that would be a game changer, the government doesn't want to put that kind of money in.’ (NGO_4, 2020)

CLE_1 (2020) and NDPB_2 (2020) note that despite the will of the professionals a lack of resources means early intervention is not being investigated and delivered:

‘... we did start to do some work when I was in [police force] but it was unfortunately it was one of those things that we were kind of quite busy firefighting with the immediate and it was something that we didn't get to progress but we did some mapping of victim pathways but what we also wanted to do was to do some mapping around perpetrator pathways as well and actually are there kind of those critical points of intervention ...’ (NDPB_2, 2020)

A lack of resources has been recognised in other areas of modern slavery such as protection and prosecution (Van Dyke, 2019). To focus on prevent, the non-departmental public body the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority (GLAA), which includes preventing modern slavery as one of its aims⁶² has repeatedly been identified as being under resourced, which negatively impacts on their ability to achieve their aims (Balch, 2019; Craig, 2017). The research supports this when SA_1 (2020) expressed their views on this organisation as being irrelevant and ineffective in responding to modern slavery, partly due to its underfunding and partly because of their political alliances.

‘... I think what you've got now is people who will be good in that organisation [GLAA] to meeting objectives but not really making huge inroads into the modern slavery agenda ... I just don't get the dynamic organisation that they could have been ... I feel that they are basically a branch of the civil service fulfilling administrative type tasks ... I don't feel that in our, and it's interesting when you talk to cops, nobody talk you know nobody's sense is that we should get the GLAA in this conversation you know whereas two, three, four years ago that was so, they were part of the conversation ...’ (SA_1, 2020)

⁶² Incidentally, their work does not include preventing individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences.

The purpose of welfare services is to reduce social exclusion and poverty by offering protection to the population and equal opportunities to achieve success (Beveridge, 1942). The data here illustrated that the current UK Government and their respective welfare services are failing to protect the population's welfare through a lack of services or opportunities being missed within those services. It was highlighted that the inadequacies of the welfare services impacted on traditionally disadvantaged groups. The groups identified in the data included those from minority communities, working and lower classes, young people, and those claiming asylum.

Reduction in public expenditure is a key element of the neoliberal capitalist society. In 2010 the UK Coalition Government's austerity policies were set to reduce welfare spending to recoup the negative financial fallout of the 2008 recession (Cummins, 2018b). This move took advantage of the landscape to reconfigure the welfare state by scaling it back which increasingly aligned with the neoliberal capitalist culture (Cummins, 2018b; Farnsworth and Irving, 2018). The negative impact of austerity on UK society in general – although experienced more by the poorer members of society who require support from the welfare state – has been illustrated within research on health (Stuckler et al, 2017), mental health (Cummins, 2018b), families (Rose and McAuley, 2019), children (Ridge, 2013), the increase in poverty (Pantazis, 2016), food bank use (Jenkins et al, 2021), and marginalised communities (Macdonald and Morgan, 2021) (not an exhaustive list). The data indicated the negative impact of austerity not only on the population but also on the professionals' ability to carry out their support services.

Research among health professionals illustrated that austerity impacted on professionalism and could result in negligence (Owens, Singh and Cribb, 2019). The findings from this research support Owen and colleagues' (2019) research which demonstrated austerity was impacting on the working environment and conditions of the 18 anti-slavery professionals in this research, and thus their ability to carry out their duties in supporting people. Lightowlers, Broad, and Gadd (2020, p. 13) highlight the need for 'adequate resources for police and other relevant services in order to carry out anti-slavery practice effectively'. Most of the participants' (13/18) respective organisations are either fully or partly reliant on public funding and so depend on Government funding, policies, and practices to allow them to respond to modern slavery, however minimally. The impact of austerity has been demonstrated throughout the research as reducing the support required by the population which in turn has become a contributing factor to engaging in modern slavery offences. As evidenced in chapter 5, the institutions highlighted by the participants to provide prevention measures were predominantly part of the welfare state. The data on austerity suggests the current UK Government structure would be unlikely to allocate more funding to welfare services within their preferred culture. It is therefore suggested that if prevention

measures were implemented within the welfare services, they would need to be incorporated within already existing programmes to reduce funding demands.

The resurgence of neoliberal politics has reduced public spending and developed 'welfare conditionality' which impacts on UK citizens' ability to gain opportunities to succeed (Edmiston, 2017, p. 262). The welfare system relies on state funding, and it is this very reliance – especially in a neoliberal society – which has led to research identifying the need for more funding within welfare services to achieve the original purpose of the welfare state and its services (Cummins, 2018a; Grimshaw and Rubery, 2012). Walker, Druckman and Jackson (2021) illustrate the realistic possibility of a reduction in economic growth and highlight five areas in which the welfare system will be impacted. One of these areas, titled as a dilemma, is how welfare systems will meet the ever-increasing demand for welfare. The authors suggest an alternative model of welfare would be to develop preventative policies which can save resources in a 'non-growing economy' and be placed to reach a wider population (Walker, Druckman and Jackson, 2021, p. 8). Although the participants suggested more resources were required, by applying Walker, Druckman and Jackson's (2021) predictions it could be suggested that primary prevention measures would cost less in the long-term and could offer a population-wide strategy which was not specific to those at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. However, the underfunding of modern slavery provisions questions the UK Government's seriousness in responding to modern slavery as organisations are unable to carry out their programmes due to a lack of funding which restricts their effectiveness.

6.2.2.2 Multi-agency working

Multi-agency working as a response to crime sits well within the neoliberal capitalist culture in which the role of the state has been scaled back, and where individual responsibility plays into the development of 'community', 'prevention' and 'partnership' (Crawford, 1999; Garland, 2001). Alongside the criminal justice system, other public, private, and voluntary organisations work together on social problems (Gough, 2019). Multi-agency working has been deemed to offer a holistic approach to supporting the service user as well as reserving resources by preventing repetition of work (Hughes and Prior, 2008; McCarthy and O'Neill, 2014). Specific to the modern slavery response, partnership is often advocated for within modern slavery strategies and reports (HM Government, 2014; IASC, 2022). It was of no surprise therefore, that the participants mentioned multi-agency working when discussing their working environments.

Seventeen participants mentioned multi-agency working. Twelve participants discussed the challenges of multi-agency working. The challenges experienced were around information and data sharing, the different objectives and priorities held by each agency, different administrative

structures when agencies span multiple counties, lack of engagement, varying resource allocation and funding responsibilities.

‘Sometimes it's [multi-agency working] very difficult, it can be very challenging because each agency or law enforcement agency also have their own priorities, objectives and different capacity.’ (CJS_2, 2019)

‘... there's [in multi-agency working] all sorts of fears in the sense that it's a power struggle ... because like whose going to be boss, who are you going to follow and ... then there's issues to do with funding and how that's metered out if you're all working together and I think they're fearful unnecessarily ... because there doesn't need to be a power struggle it doesn't need to be a problem...and some of them [are] not very good at information sharing ... I think we all need to get a mutual understanding from the beginning and to be able to work together, it's not rocket science but I just feel that you know unless they do things like that we're just going to be fighting an uphill struggle to help people ...’ (NGO_4, 2020)

SA_2 (2020) recalls a colleague stating they had spent ‘between seven and nine hours sat in meetings talking about the same child in different contexts of exploitation’.

Nine participants had positive experiences with multi-agency working. Participants discussed the benefits of having a different perspective on the same issue to reach a desired goal and to challenge any blind spots. Both NDPB_2 (2020) and SCLLE_2 (2020) mentioned that their respective organisations are striving to develop their multi-agency working through collaborative programmes. NDPB_2 (2020) discussed the multi-agency victim-focused prevent work conducted by the local authority, children’s social care, police, youth offending service, and health to safeguard potential victims. SLE_1 (2020) and SLA_1 (2020) work within different co-located teams and both highlight the benefits of this structure as it promotes immediate on-going discussions rather than one-off multi-agency meetings.

‘... so, the co-located team consists of the police, the police investigative team and analysts and police coordinators, the children and family’s team, social workers, missing children practitioners doing the return home interviews for all children that go missing, and a [specialist] support service. Then some of the third sector, the voluntary sector agencies that we link into as well, in the county ... we occasionally have some difficulties [with multi-agency working] but it tends to work pretty well it's a properly integrated service so all the partners sit together ... So the theory behind that is you are working to a consistent standard, a shared approach, a shared culture, a shared vision values, speed

is of the essence because you are all there, information sharing is greatly enhanced. It's a best practice approach definitely.' (SLA_1, 2020)

A multi-agency approach has long been advocated for in the response to modern slavery; in the protection, support, and prevention of victims, and in the prosecution of individuals who engage in modern slavery offences (University of Nottingham Rights Lab, 2020). In theory a multi-agency approach would also complement the multi-faceted nature of the modern slavery cases evidenced in this research, and the strategies to prevent individuals engaging in them. However, the multi-agency approach in practice can produce several challenges. The data demonstrated these challenges included differing professional agendas and administrative structures, information sharing, resource allocation, and engagement disparities.

The findings support previous research on multi-agency working. Sampson and colleagues (1988) discuss the different problems and resolutions of a police force compared to other person-centred organisations and suggests differences in agendas can sometimes result in a better service for the user, especially if an agenda is more representative of the client. Atkinson and colleagues' (2005) research which focused on education, social services and health professionals found similar challenges to multi-agency working to that of this research noted above. Research into multi-agency working in an anti-slavery context related to the criminalisation and exploitation of children in care, found Multi-agency Safeguarding Hub (MASH) practitioners experienced similar challenges to those of the participants in this research (Shaw and Greenhow, 2021). It could be suggested that the continued challenges of multi-agency working will remain, as even just referring to the presented research indicates the same reoccurring issues over a span of 40 years. However, Shaw and Greenhow (2021) and Crawford and l'Horiy's (2017) research has demonstrated a potential positive step forward with the use of co-located teams as they address some of the mentioned challenges such as information sharing. The data echoes the support for co-located teams, with four participants being positive about co-located teams, two of which already worked in this environment and were complimentary of the work achieved through this approach.

The use of multi-agency working to implement primary prevention measures is not new, as this approach was used to aid community safety through situational crime prevention measures (Garland, 2001). However, differing from situational crime prevention the research findings focus on the individual rather than deterrence among settings. Such and colleagues (Such et al, 2022) advocate for a whole-systems approach to preventing modern slavery as there are multiple actors involved which can work together to address its multifaceted nature.

The sheer breadth and depth of the five instabilities (economic, family/early life, environmental, polity, and emotional) and the institutions (criminal justice agencies, economic, education, family, mental health/emotional, public health, and youth and community services) highlighted to address them, demonstrates the need for multiple agencies to work together to achieve the desired outcome. The data illustrates that the existing co-located teams work well and could be used to implement prevention measures. The findings suggest a need for systems change within the anti-slavery organisations represented in the data to attain shared values and objectives and address the known challenges of multi-agency working to ensure effective programme implementation.

6.2.2.3 Reactive and proactive approaches

Welfare services and public sector organisations have applied a reactionary approach to their work for several decades. 'Reactive policing' is thought to have been a consequence of the shift toward a neo-liberal culture which created a criminogenic environment along with the increased use of technology to contact the police to gain a rapid response (Garland, 2001, p. 92).

Furthermore, Government crime control measures favouring punishment over prevention in society facilitate a reactionary approach (Garland, 2001). Additionally, austerity is a key contributor to public sector organisations and welfare services applying this type of approach.

There was a mix of reactive and proactive approaches discussed in the interviews. Reactionary approaches were identified in 13 interviews. Reactionary approaches included cases where prevent work was discussed, such as preventing the person from continuing to engage, or preventing further victimisation, as the professional was reacting to the modern slavery offence having already been performed. NGO_5 (2019) demonstrates the issue with reactionary work:

'It [work] only happens when a young person gets murdered in a certain area and then they say "oh we might need some training" but there's no preventative measures. Everything is about intervention afterwards no-one prevents.' (NGO_5, 2019)

Furthermore, SA_2 (2020) highlights that relying on the victim to alert professionals to their need for protection or support after the fact, fails to develop prevention measures.

'As authorities and agencies we have a system that is largely dependent upon certainly from a criminal justice point of view upon a victim of slavery, telling us they are victims of slavery, that assumes that they trust us to tell us, it assumes that they believe that we have the capacity to protect them and we don't always and it also assumes that they understand that they are victims so ... we situate the problem actually with victims and in case of children with victims and their families rather than in that systemic context

and if we understand the problem in terms of environment victim and perpetrator we start to open up different lines of enquiry and other opportunities for intervention and disruption.’ (SA_2, 2020)

Eight participants discussed proactive approaches applied within the anti-slavery sector. These included training of professionals, working and supporting young people before arrest, victim identification and support, and gaining knowledge from similar sectors such as domestic abuse. Aside from the work with young people, there were no other examples of person-centred proactive approaches within the anti-slavery sector which target individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. Eleven participants advocate for prevention measures to target individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences by addressing the ‘root causes and not just deal with the symptoms all the time’ (SLE_2, 2020)

‘I think the interaction between agencies at that [prevent] level because of austerity was lost and we saw an increase in crime and disorder as a result of that and ... because of austerity not just in terms of policing but in terms of local authorities, health and everything else that's pulled out because we'll do what is essential but we didn't realise that what we saw as essential was you know so we're dealing with the symptoms rather than dealing with the disease I think that's led to issues ... Taking a step back and thinking strategically how can we look at the root causes and not just deal with the symptoms all the time.’ (SLE_2, 2020)

‘I think they [victim-focused prevention work] are a really interesting development and I think certainly from a sort of county lines perspective it's got to be around child protection, responses and early intervention ... definitely kind of those multi-agency conversations that early intervention, bringing in family, looking at contextual safeguarding, those are all things that were recognised as, is good practice in this area and where there is perhaps need for further work and further development ... I guess from something like criminal exploitation like county lines I do think there is a lot to be said for child protection, early intervention and actually kind of putting in place those safeguarding models at the early stage.’ (NDPB_2, 2020)

Greig-Midlane’s (2019) work on neighbourhood policing demonstrated that senior management advocated for prevention programmes, however, it also identified that these were often not implemented due to decreasing resources. This objective seems to have been accomplished by SCLLE_2 (2020), who at the time of their interview had just developed a prevention programme. However, most of the participants, including those working in the criminal justice system discussed having to apply a reactive approach due to the impact of austerity which meant only

being able to respond to 'what's coming through the door'. Furthermore, Webb and Bywaters' (2018) research into expenditure on children and young people's services found a stable level of funding while recognising that prevention programmes were affected by austerity. The dominance of neo-liberal culture, with its accompanying austerity feature, would suggest that any proposed prevention measures would be unable to be implemented as such measures would challenge the fundamental principles of neo-liberal culture.

The chapter demonstrates that it would be challenging to implement primary prevention measures within the current professional working environment and culture, and political climate. The current professional working environment and culture creates an inaccurate narrative of those engaging in modern slavery, which offers an incomplete picture of modern slavery. This means any primary prevention method premised on these would not only miss opportunities to identify, protect and support people, but would also provide inconsistent service delivery. The existence of systemic racism may impact on cultural representation in the anti-slavery sector, which could potentially perpetuate systemic racism within the working environment and culture as well as in policy development, such as that related to primary prevention. Additionally, it could impact the support and protection provided to those most recognised as the people at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. Existing literature has challenged the lack of cultural diversity and representation within the victim support anti-slavery sector. However, there has yet to be research focusing on those engaging in the offences. The anti-slavery professionals' reluctance to engage with, adapt to, and adopt alternative approaches to respond to modern slavery is problematic and would challenge the implementation of primary prevention measures.

A lack of political will to invest in the response to modern slavery was illustrated when the response to national security attacks on the UK (terrorist attacks) was compared to attacks on the UK by way of modern slavery through immigration. Neoliberal society is at odds with primary prevention measures that include those who are at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences as these measures would rely on welfare spending, proactive working, and regulated labour markets, all of which conflicts with the neoliberal model. Thus, it can be assumed that the current political climate would challenge the implementation of primary prevention measures.

Despite the support of 17 of the 18 participants for such primary prevention measures, their working environment and culture and the current neoliberal capitalist society highlight the need for systems change within these domains if these measures were ever to become a reality. If the UK continues to model its society on the neoliberal capitalist model, their efforts to respond (disrupt, protect, and prevent) to modern slavery will always fail as the efforts required and neoliberal ideology are incompatible.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

International and national responses to modern slavery have ignored the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. Chapter 2 discusses how the combination of a victim-focused approach with a criminal justice approach as a response to modern slavery is conflicting and problematic, and inadequate as evidenced in the increasing victim referrals and low prosecution rates (Home Office, 2014; 2020; 2021c; 2022b; MSOIC, 2022; NCA, 2018; 2019). Centring on the individual who engages in modern slavery and the ‘neglected prong’ (Chuang, 2021, p. 179) of prevention, the thesis provides an alternative direction to respond to modern slavery. Additionally, by adopting this alternative direction the UK may genuinely coin their approach as ‘world-leading’.

The chapter illustrates the contributions made by this research to the existing literature and offers a wider discussion of those contributions within the political system. Drawing on the findings in this research, the thesis concludes that in theory primary prevention measures would be able to address the five instabilities for engaging in modern slavery offences. However, in practice this would come with challenges and resistance. The thesis argues that modern slavery is first and foremost a political problem caused by political decisions. Recommendations for the anti-slavery sector and future research conclude the chapter.

7.1 Third narrative

Chapter 2 demonstrated how the existing literature frames the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences as representing either one of two narratives. The first narrative depicts the individual as going straight to engaging and the second narrative portrays the individual as having been victimised first before engaging in modern slavery offences. The two narratives are presented as the individuals having reached their ‘final destination’ which is engaging in modern slavery offences.

This research, however, identified a third narrative where the individual alternates between victim and engaging, and introduced the term ‘the three narratives’. The third narrative challenges the ‘final destination’ concept by identifying an individual’s non-linear process of alternating between victim and engaging. The non-linear nature of this narrative suggests the individual’s modern slavery experience might have started with their victimisation or their engagement. The third narrative then portrays the nuances and complexities of the modern slavery reality. This provides a clear example that the ‘victim’ and those engaging are not mutually

exclusive, which raises questions as to the best way to respond to such a narrative. Recognising this nuance in narrative, CLE_1 (2020), who is a CEO of a consultancy firm specialising in county lines, and a retired senior law enforcement officer, works without the labels and sees the individual 'as one' rather than focusing on binary labels.

'I think, well because county lines not only creates victims and perpetrators that manifest in the same place it also creates victims who are also offending, and people who offend who go on to be victims. So I think the important thing is that you look at the work that I'm doing we look at it as one it's really not possible to say let's just focus on one or the other.' (CLE_1, 2020)

The undetermined starting role, be that victim or engaging, and the focus of this research being on the individual who engages in modern slavery offences, differentiates this finding with the current victim-focused research. Victim-focused research on modern slavery has identified how some victim(s) engage in modern slavery offences while still being a victim, thereby alternating between victim and engaging (Murphy et al, 2022). However, there are two key differences in the third narrative being introduced in this research to victim-focused research. Firstly, victim-focused research is just that: victim-focused. The victim is the centre of the discussion as opposed to the focus being on the person engaging in modern slavery. Thus, this research contributes to existing research which centres on the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences, of which there is very little. Secondly, the starting point is determined. The individual is a victim and engaging in modern slavery offences due to their exploitation. The third narrative in this research makes no such distinction.

The third narrative illustrates the fragility of an individual being depicted as either a victim or an individual engaging in modern slavery offences, and how such depiction is time dependent. If an individual is alternating between victim and engaging in modern slavery offences, on any given day/hour/minute the way in which the individual is depicted and responded to would be dependent on when they were identified (timing) and who identified them (construction). Current responses to modern slavery are binary: they are either targeting the 'perpetrators' to prosecute or disrupt their activity, or they are victim-focused offering prevention, protection, and support (HM Government, 2014). The third narrative, discussed here, demonstrates that some individuals engaging in modern slavery offences do not fit into such binary labels. Responding to modern slavery using only binary labels is problematic as this does not account for the individual's reality and instead relies on a reality constructed by someone else. Thus, the response, policy or front line professionals, will always be failing and potentially missing people who require support and protection.

The contribution of the third narrative to the existing literature provides a clearer understanding as to who is engaging in modern slavery offences. It is thus suggested that instead of only responding to modern slavery after the fact and using binary labels, non-label primary prevention measures ought to be implemented to respond to modern slavery prior to any narrative forming.

7.2 Five instabilities

The push/pull factors for modern slavery have traditionally centred on the victims (See Bales, 2007). Prior to the research in this thesis, the academic and non-academic knowledge on the push/pull factors for engagement in modern slavery offences was minimal, sporadic, unspecified, and uncontextualised. For example, the relevant research used terms such as the ‘economic gain’, ‘norms’ (within a community or family), ‘global inequalities’, and ‘social policies and law and border enforcement’ (Broad, 2015; 2018; Broad and Gadd, 2023, p. 15; Keo et al, 2014; Mai, 2010; TRACE, 2015). This thesis offers specific push/pull factors and provides contextual understandings of what contributes to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences. These factors are introduced as the five instabilities. These are: economic, family/early life, environmental, polity, and emotional.

Institutional Anomie Theory (IAT) facilitates the contextual understanding of the five instabilities. IAT is a macro level theory which believes the ‘values’ within the American Dream culture, and the social structure together cause anomie which results in high levels of financial crime. The values within the culture are centred on the individual responsibility of all to achieve unlimited financial gain and material goods. These values generate competition in society, as there is a belief that such achievements are universally available. The non-economic institutions (family, polity, and school) are dominated by economic institutions, which weakens the support, values, and morals they can offer. The culture and social structure together create anomie, and those without legitimate means to achieve financial gain will use illegitimate means such as, in this case, engaging in modern slavery offences. Chapter 2 evidenced that socioeconomic inequalities were experienced by the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences which suggested weakened non-economic institutions. Additionally, this research likened the social structures and the American Dream culture to the neoliberal capitalist culture and social structures present in British society. Thus, it was pertinent to apply IAT to this research to conceptualise the five instabilities.

Economic instabilities

Two categories are representative under the economic instability: want and need. The wanting of money is illustrated in existing literature where high financial gain is discussed as a contributing

factor for engaging in modern slavery offences (TRACE, 2015). The deregulated labour market has also been linked to creating an exploitative environment which is conducive to victimisation (Balch, 2015; Lewis et al, 2015; Shepherd and Wilkinson, 2021; Strauss, 2012; Such and Salway, 2017; Such et al, 2020). The research in this thesis echoes the existing literature by identifying individuals who wanted more money. The findings extended the current knowledge by indicating that such individuals use their financial gain to acquire material goods which offer status and respect. Additionally, this research demonstrates that the deregulated labour market with its interest in profit allows for an exploitative environment which is also conducive to individuals engaging in modern slavery offences. NGO_1 (2019), who owns an organisation which is targeted by individuals engaging in labour exploitation, illustrates this point when discussing labour exploitation where the gangmaster system provides the opportunity for gang leaders to exploit others.

'... the gangmaster system is very useful and [for] local farmers it's an essential part of their work but what can then happen is or what has happened to us is a gangmaster might recruit a gang of people so what they would have is say 250 or maybe even 500 people on their books they need on any given day anywhere between 50 and say 500 people to actually carry out the work that's needed to be done so they effectively then contact all the people get them to come in and distribute them into groups called gangs but there will always be a gang leader ... Now what happened or what can happen is that the gang leader although he is not directly employing the people and even without the agreement of the gangmaster might well then start to exploit the people in his gang so, what we've seen there is that people would have to pay the gang leader, a payment to be asked to re-join that gang again in the future and they have to start paying a commission now this is totally illegal.' (NGO_1, 2019)

The need for money being a contributing factor to engaging in modern slavery offences has been recognised in the existing literature (Broad, 2018; Shen, 2016; TRACE, 2015). This understanding has been linked with the second narrative and people claiming asylum, as immigration policies place restrictions which means the individual does not have enough money to survive. Until recently the existing knowledge has been centred on individuals who originate from outside the UK. Broad and Gadd's (2023) most recent research, derived from interviews with 30 UK nationals incarcerated for modern slavery offences, highlights the structural inequalities experienced by UK nationals which play a role in them engaging in modern slavery offences. The findings from this research support Broad and Gadd's work, despite the lack of interview data from incarcerated individuals. This research demonstrates that UK nationals can experience a lack of employment opportunities and sufficient financial support which contributes to their engagement in modern

slavery offences to earn money. When articulating why individuals engage specifically in county lines offences, specialist law enforcement officer SLE_2, states:

‘... it might be that they don't have enough food to put on the table during the day it might be that they're in a single parent family or low income and this [engaging in modern slavery offences] is a way out of that.’ (SLE_2, 2020)

Current research has yet to recognise how the precarious labour market makes an individual vulnerable to engaging in modern slavery offences. Different to the earlier discussion on how the deregulated labour market allows individuals to exploit others, the deregulation also fosters a precarious labour market for farmers and gangmasters which means their engagement is due to needing to be competitive to earn money. Retired civil servant and specialist academic, SA_1 (2020), had worked in a department which dealt closely with labour exploitation. They offered extensive knowledge on how the competitive environment in agriculture and pressures to secure a lucrative contract with a big named supermarket meant individuals (farmers and gangmasters) are left with little other choice than to exploit others just to earn money.

‘... the farmers themselves they are under pressure from the great contract with [big supermarket name] because they're probably good payers ... they [big named supermarket] will put a lot of pressure they will squeeze the suppliers and inevitably that squeeze [sic] ... so farmers tend to give a blind eye at times the reality is “do I get my contract or do I care who is on my field at any one time.”’ (SA_1, 2020)

‘... you'd get some gangmasters who were trying to do the right job but knew that they were being shafted, being undercut by other people which sometimes kind of compromised their morals some of them.’ (SA_1, 2020)

Research has identified that neoliberal capitalist cultures create an exploitative environment within the labour market which is conducive to victimisation (Lebaron and Ayers, 2013; Peksen, Blanton and Blanton, 2017; Sharapov, 2017; Winterdyk, 2020). Choi-Fitzpatrick's (2017) research on agricultural slaveholders in India indicated social, economic, and political systems contributed to their engagement in exploitative behaviours. This thesis supports and extends Choi-Fitzpatrick's findings by offering a UK focused study which demonstrates that the neoliberal capitalist society also forces people to exploit others by offering no alternative than to lower their human costs to maintain contracts within a competitive environment to make money for survival purposes.

This research has extended the existing knowledge and discussion on the individuals who engage in modern slavery by offering a contextual understanding of their wanting or needing money. Situating such an insight in the context of IAT enables us to understand how individual choices are

conditioned by economic pressures/instabilities through the anomie generated within the neoliberal capitalist culture. A culture, according to IAT, which places great emphasis on all achieving an unlimited amount of financial gain and displaying such wealth through material goods. If the individual has limited opportunity or financial support to reach monetary success, they will compete and use any means necessary to achieve the unlimited level of monetary success. If the individual has the opportunity through deregulated labour markets to make more money and display the wealth so sought after in the neoliberal capitalist culture, they will engage. The unlimited level of monetary success is evident when an individual who engaged due to needing money for survival continues to engage despite having enough to survive. NGO_3 (2020), who owns an organisation which supports young people, some of which had engaged in modern slavery offences, described a scenario which he struggled to understand where the individual once out of poverty continues to engage in modern slavery offences.

'... this kind of notion of "I'm doing it to make money to get out of poverty" and then they get into this kind of, they get sucked into this vacuum where then it becomes no longer about getting out of poverty then it's all about narcissistic behaviours and that's kind something that I'm wrangling with is that you have your people say "yeah I'm only doing this because I want to get out the hood, I want to get out the ends", "OK cool" but four years later your mum is still in the council house, nothing doesn't seem advanced from when you started doing it other than you've got a nice watch, you've got a nice car, you've got all the latest designer clothes but your family are still in the same environment ...' (NGO_3, 2020)

Family/early life instabilities

The findings from this research support current literature which identifies the impact of norms, traditions, and expectations within a family or community to engage in modern slavery offences (TRACE, 2015; Viuhko, 2018). This research contributes to such knowledge by including UK communities and UK nationals which are also experiencing such impactful norms. Furthering the existing research, parental/guardian deficit and protection/guidance deficit were highlighted as contributing to individuals engaging in modern slavery offences. SCLLE_2 (2020), a specialist county lines law enforcement officer shared their experience of working closely with families and young people who engage in modern slavery offences where there was a parental and guidance deficit. Protection/guidance deficit is illustrated by SLA_1 (2020), a specialist local authority employee and retired specialist law enforcement officer who shared their experience supporting young people where the need for money to support the running of the house meant parents 'turn[ed] a blind eye' to their child engaging in county lines offences.

‘... this issue [referring to individuals who engage in modern slavery offences] is violent, unparented, lack of moral guidance, selfish, narcissists who just want to make money ... gangs offer family, gangs offer you [to] feel part of it ...’ (SCLLE_2, 2020)

‘... some parents are turning a blind eye to their 15-year-old child being involved in local drug supply or being involved in a county line as a consequence on that because they're bringing back £100 a day. And that £100 is significantly contributing to the household.’ (SLA_1, 2020)

A lack of education has been identified in previous research as contributing to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences (Broad, 2018; TRACE, 2015). This research supports and extends this knowledge by demonstrating that UK nationals had a lack of education due to school exclusion, either actual exclusion from the premises or exclusion through academic ability. This research also acknowledged the lack of appeal to obtain education when there was a lack of employment opportunities.

Applying IAT contextualises the family/early life instability as the result of economic institutions dominating family and school institutions. This dominance means both parents are absent due to work commitments, and schools – which are unable to cater to all behaviours – refer individuals to public or privately owned pupil referral units. The lack of stability creates an anomic environment where shared morals and values are unable to be taught. This family/early life instability then contributes to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences.

Environmental instabilities

Socioeconomic inequalities within non-UK regions such as China, Nigeria, and Ghana have been linked with individuals engaging in modern slavery offences (Shen, 2016; Siegal and de Blank, 2010). This research expands current knowledge by including the socioeconomic inequalities present within England and shows how they contribute to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences, with this being coined in this research as an environmental instability. When asked the background of the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences, SCLLE_1, a specialist county lines law enforcement officer, stated:

‘... [the individual engaging in modern slavery offences are] coming from some quite deprived areas in London where unemployment is naturally high anyway.’ (SCLLE_1, 2020)

Polity instabilities

Polity instabilities demonstrate the impact that the UK political system has on UK citizens and individuals claiming asylum. This research found poverty, oppressive social structures, systemic inequalities, failings to protect young people, immigration policies, reductions in social services and opportunities, and a focus on capitalism contributed to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences. NGO_3 (2020) and NGO_4 (2020) both own organisations which support young people, some of whom have engaged in modern slavery offences, and describe what they need from the UK Government and how UK Government policies are impacting on them.

‘[They want the UK] Government to invest in them and their future and make it easier for them to have a normal life not for them to have to go through all these obstacles and they’re not saying that they don’t want to have any hardship in life because I think they understand that life has its ups and downs but they wanted more of a chance to be able to be like everyone else.’ (NGO_4, 2020)

‘They [local authority] resurrected these massive buildings [as a] youth centres and shut all the small centres, if a young person lives let’s say 15 minutes away in another postcode, and there’s issues in the community around postcode conflicts [they are] now putting me [the individual] at risk to travel to the other building ... the social included kids would go use these big buildings so it would look like “oh well these young people are attending the centres” but it’s not the vulnerable young people that are attending the centres for those reasons.’ (NGO_3, 2020)

Broad (2018) and Broad and Gadd’s (2023) research echoes some of these findings, which highlight that the UK’s structural inequalities and immigration policies have been experienced by individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. According to IAT, the weakening of a political institution as a result of too high a focus on generating economic growth and a criminal justice response, means the support and protections required to maintain a balanced social structure are ignored. IAT advocates for tertiary prevention by proposing reforms to criminal justice responses and the (re)introduction of national service. It is here that this research departs from IAT. This research evidenced the need for better support from political decisions and systems to prevent an individual from engaging in modern slavery offences in the first place. Tertiary prevention does not address the causes of the problem and so IAT solutions to address polity instabilities are disregarded. Addressing polity instabilities is discussed in the latter part of the chapter where the causes of such instabilities are recognised.

Emotional instabilities

The emotional instability challenges the framing of the individual as 'evil' (Broad and Gadd, 2023; Doezema, 2010; Gadd and Broad, 2022). Contradicting Okeke, Duffy, and McElvaney's (2021) research which indicated 'traffickers' have a heightened level of self-worth, the findings identified the possibility that such individuals had low self-worth. Systemic inequalities and a lack of UK Government investment meant individuals felt they were 'not job worthy' (NGO_2, 2020). Low self-worth and lacking in a sense of belonging meant individuals sought circumstances which were perceived to reduce such emotions. These circumstances were offered by groups where the individual could encompass any of the three narratives. Acquiring this knowledge can facilitate further understandings as to where, and what type of primary prevention measures could address such an instability. Additionally, the desire for status and power created an emotional instability as it was representative of the anomie created by the neoliberal capitalist culture. IAT would suggest emotional instabilities around self-worth and the desire for status and power are derived from the American Dream (or neo-liberal capitalist) culture which places high value on individualism where a person's worth is connected to their financial success.

Prior to this research there has been no framework offering specific factors (instabilities) that contribute to engaging in modern slavery offences. Likewise, no research has provided a contextual understanding to such instabilities. As will become evident in the chapter, multiple 'types' of modern slavery offences were discussed within the different instabilities. The instabilities can be singularly experienced, but they also impact on each other. For example, the family/early life instability can present an emotional instability too, where the absence in parents results in the individual searching for a sense of belonging and having a low level of self-worth. Polity instability can impact on the economic instability as choices made by governments impact on the culture and social structure of a society, resulting in either a want or need for money. SCLLE_2 offers a clear example of how the instabilities intertwine and impact on one another. SCLLE_2's (2020) quote below highlights that family/early life instability and emotional instability have been experienced prior to the individual joining a group and eventually engaging in modern slavery offences.

'... if you're a child and you have no worth at school and you've clearly got no worth at home and then you don't go to school, how do you, how do you get your worth? How do you feel valued?' (SCLLE_2, 2020)

This research illustrates that the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences are not immune to the external influences of culture and social structure. The introduction of the five instabilities

develops understanding of the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences which offers an opportunity to address such instabilities with primary prevention measures.

The five instabilities are not dissimilar to the recognised push/pull factors for victimisation in modern slavery offences. These include 'poverty, lack of education ... civil conflict, globalisation, economic crises ... social inequality' a lack of opportunity and the search for a 'better life' (Winterdyk, 2020, p. 1259). Despite this similarity the framing of the push/pull factors experienced by victims and those engaging in modern slavery offences differs. Victim push/pull factors are deemed as vulnerabilities (Bales, 2007; Weitzer, 2014; Wheaton, Schauer and Galli, 2010). However, research on those engaging in modern slavery frames these same factors as 'motivators', or 'drivers' rather than viewing them as experiencing victimisation or vulnerabilities (See Broad, 2018; Denton, 2016; Shen, 2016; TRACE, 2015). Notably, Keo et al (2014, p. 220) does mention the 'perpetrator's' vulnerability to being 'pushed' and 'pulled' into their engagement in exploitation. Aside from Keo et al (2014) the difference in the framing of the vulnerabilities of the individual engaging in modern slavery offences gives the impression that such individuals are strong, ambitious, in control and have a 'choice', whereas the victims are being pushed or pulled, suggesting a weakness, an ability to be pushed over and pulled around with little choice. This is problematic when relying on the binary labels of 'victim' and 'perpetrator' as the persons occupying these labels are experiencing the same vulnerabilities and yet these different constructions of the same experience offer a different image of the person. The similarity of such push/pull factors further demonstrates the importance of recognising the third narrative and questions the validity of the first narrative which understands that the individual engaging in modern slavery offences has gone straight to engaging without any victimisation.

The similarity in push/pull factors for victimisation and engagement and the introduction of the third narrative suggest that there is a *relationship* between the label 'victim' and the label of those engaging in modern slavery offences; urging us to understand the reality of the situation as *a continuum*, not as a binary. The relationship between the labels, therefore, is complex and is unable to be reduced to simple binary labels. It is thus suggested that primary prevention measures should be non-binary to ensure the support and protection are offered to all at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. This research highlights that regardless of which narrative an individual embodies there is a possibility they were victims of social, economic, and political vulnerabilities generated by the neoliberal capitalist society prior to – and which continue to contribute to – their engagement in modern slavery offences (See Figure 11).

The thesis has brought the individual engaging in modern slavery offences to the centre of the modern slavery discussion. This research contributes to the existing literature by providing a more

accurate understanding of who is engaging in modern slavery offences and what push/pull factors contribute to their engagement. This knowledge has facilitated a discussion on whether primary prevention measures could address the five instabilities.

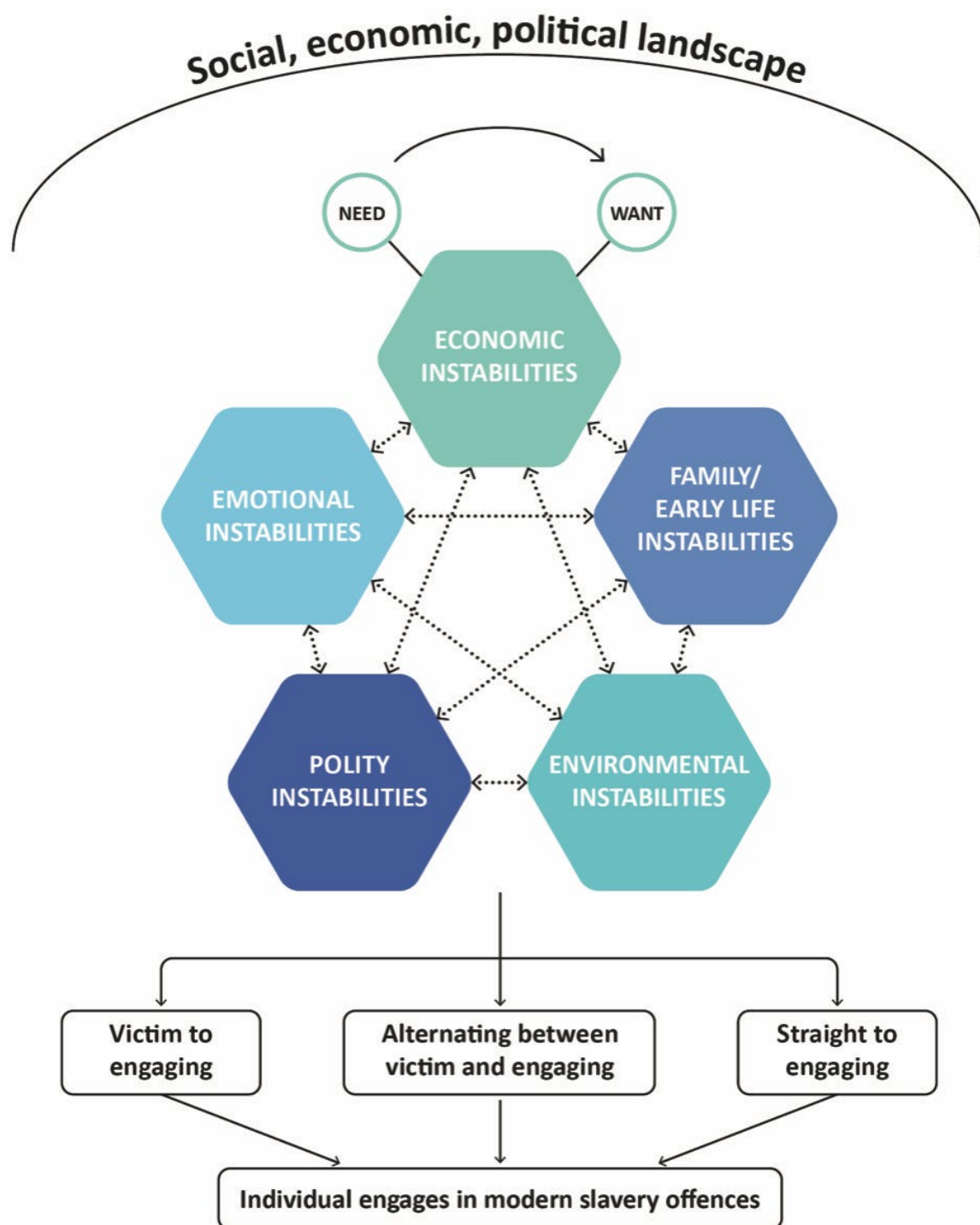


Figure 11. The social, economic, and political landscape creates the five instabilities which lead to one of the three narratives of an individual engaging in modern slavery offences

7.3 Primary prevention

‘Prevention activity aims to stop people from becoming victims of modern slavery or committing modern slavery crimes in the first place’ (HM Government, Ministry of Justice, The Scottish Government and Llywodraeth Cymru Welsh Government, 2021, p. 23)

Despite the UK’s official commitment to primary prevention, including the individuals engaging in modern slavery, there has been no investigation within academia or grey literature into whether primary prevention measures could be disseminated to the individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery offences. By applying the knowledge of the five instabilities, this research has found that in theory non-binary and non-type-specific primary prevention measures would be able to address the five instabilities. This research supports and develops on Boukli and colleagues’ (2020) work by identifying that the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences have also been impacted by social harms. The complexity and diversity of each instability requires multiple public sector stakeholders to be involved in the primary prevention measures, such as education, mental health support, family support services, financial provisions, and social services. Applying a public health model of prevention would facilitate this requirement well, as the public health sector already works with multiple public sector stakeholders (Such et al, 2021).

However, this research identified that in practice the designing and delivery of primary prevention measures would be met with challenges and resistance. The thesis acknowledges that systems change within the anti-slavery sector and political system would be required to mitigate these challenges and resistance. There is a need to include the lived experience of the individual who has engaged in modern slavery offences to facilitate the design and delivery of primary prevention measures. Their inclusion is required within the anti-slavery sector and the political system and will be discussed first before considering each system separately.

7.3.1 Lived experience

The anti-slavery sector advocates for those with lived experience of modern slavery to be heard, seen and to influence policy decisions (Asquith, Kiconco and Balch, 2022; Human Trafficking Foundation, n.d.; McCoig, Campos-Matos and Such, 2022). The rationale for this is that those who have experienced modern slavery are the experts and therefore are an essential voice in any modern slavery policy decision. However, the anti-slavery sector appears to only value the lived experience of victims/survivors, as their advocacy for lived experience stops short of those who engage in modern slavery. This research illustrates how nuanced the lived experience of those engaging in modern slavery offences are, by introducing the three narratives and the five

instabilities. It is recommended those with lived experience of engaging in modern slavery offences are included in policy decisions and for them too to be heard and seen. Including the individuals with lived experience of engaging opens a knowledge base which can facilitate evidence-based primary prevention measures. It is suggested these individuals are included either through co-production research or interviews. It is acknowledged either option comes with ethical considerations such as reliability and credibility, however, such considerations should be addressed in the research design.

The Modern Slavery Strategy (HM Government, 2014) uses the 4 Ps framework (pursue, prevent, protect, and prepare) to set out the areas with which the UK Government will respond to modern slavery. The Strategy was scheduled to be updated and published in Spring 2022 to reflect the developments in knowledge of modern slavery. Prior to the scheduled release, the previous Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner (IASC) wrote to the then Home Secretary, Priti Patel, advocating for the inclusion of a public health approach to preventing modern slavery (IASC and Home Office, 2021). The updated Strategy is yet to be published. The thesis advocates for the updated Strategy to include the lived experience of individuals who have engaged in modern slavery offences to facilitate the design and delivery of evidence-informed primary prevention measures.

Modern slavery is an emotive subject, so it is assumed those who work in the anti-slavery sector are caring and want to fight alongside the victims/survivors because of the injustices they have endured. However, if the anti-slavery sector and UK Government continue to ignore the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences and let emotive responses lead, policy designs will not be evidence-based and will fail to prevent the harms and abuses being experienced in the first place. By not including the lived experience of the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences the anti-slavery sector and UK Government are complicit in the continuation of modern slavery.

7.3.2 Anti-slavery sector

This research identified the anti-slavery sector as a system in and of itself, which requires change before being part of a whole-systems change. This research evidenced that not only is there anomie within the culture and social structure in terms of the dominant economic institutions and the non-economic institutions, but it also highlighted anomie within the anti-slavery sector itself. It is speculated that the anti-slavery sector shares the same wish of either combating modern slavery or at least severely disrupting it so no more harms are experienced. However, the lack of consensus in terminology and definitions among anti-slavery professionals weakens their

collective foundation which in turn weakens policy development and delivery (Colquhoun et al, 2014).

Additionally, the default language used, and assumptions made by some of the anti-slavery professionals that the individuals engaging in modern slavery were non-UK nationals, 'greedy', and 'immoral' (SA_1, 2020) challenges the third narrative and the five instabilities. Perpetuating an incomplete understanding of the individuals engaging in modern slavery offences restricts any prevention response to modern slavery as it ignores the nuances and would fail to support those in need. The assumptions being made within the anti-slavery sector about those who engage in modern slavery offences require challenge and reflection from within the sector.

Furthermore, challenges and reflections within the sector itself are needed to address the systemic racism present within the sector's systems. The existence of systemic racism within any system needs to be addressed, challenged, and rectified. There is no place for racism. To refocus on the systems within the anti-slavery sector, this research illustrated that systemic racism had been personally experienced by the anti-slavery professionals and their colleagues. The need for systems change in this context is not only a moral one but could also positively impact on wider society. Changing the system within the anti-slavery sector would facilitate an outward change which addresses the systematic inequalities evidenced in the five instabilities. Anti-slavery professionals need to challenge their own assumptions and potential uncomfortableness to do the very thing they want to do, which is prevent modern slavery from happening in the first place.

7.3.3 Political system

'Unless you're giving people those financial opportunities, you're never ever gonna stop exploitation, no it's people exploiting others for the sake of earning some money.'
(LENGO_1, 2019)

'... there are less services to go around now, I think that's part of the problem, there is less to go around. So there are in terms of your vulnerable groups there's definitely increased poverty and as a consequence of that we are seeing certainly an increased amount of perpetration ...' (SLA_1, 2020)

LENGO_1, a retired specialist law enforcement officer and specialist NGO employee, and SLA_1, a specialist local authority employee and retired specialist law enforcement officer, both demonstrate the impact that reduced public expenditure has on individuals engaging in modern slavery offences. The design and delivery of primary prevention measures would be challenged under the current neoliberal capitalist society which reduces public expenditure. The five

instabilities evidenced the need for a well-funded, well-functioning welfare state to address each of the instabilities. However, the reduction in welfare services within the neoliberal capitalist society fails to adequately support the population through funding and appropriate implementation of services. For successful implementation of primary prevention measures the current reduction in welfare expenditure would need to be reversed, or at the very least, halted. Without adequate funding, modern slavery will continue and worsen with more people engaging due to an increase in instabilities.

Additionally, if the welfare system is to effectively address the five instabilities it needs to offer a better alternative to the perceived and actual profit gained when engaging in modern slavery offences. IAT suggests the social and cultural order need to change to reduce crime. Applying IAT to this research, for the welfare system to offer a better alternative would require a long- and short-term strategy for change. The long-term strategy would require the neoliberal capitalist society to change and challenge the damages this culture has on a society, including the reach for unlimited monetary gain using any means necessary. Without this, it can be assumed the welfare state will always fall short in offering a better alternative. The short-term and pragmatic strategy would recognise that offering a better alternative could not happen in a vacuum. As highlighted by Such et al (2022) the response to preventing modern slavery requires a whole-system approach. It would need to include not just better financial stability but also better opportunities to access education and employment and better support for gaining family and emotional stability.

The short-term and pragmatic strategy would include different sectors working together to address the five instabilities. This would require multi-agency working. Chapter 6 highlights that multi-agency working can be challenging, which supports existing literature (Atkinson, Doherty and Kinder, 2005; Shaw and Greenhow, 2021). The challenges of multi-agency working include managing different professional agendas and the allocation and distribution of resources, mainly funding and responsibilities. Such challenges were discussed by CJS_2, who works in the criminal justice system under prosecutions.

‘Sometimes it's [multi-agency working] very difficult, it can be very challenging because each agency or law enforcement agency also have their own priorities, objectives and different capacity.’ (CJS_2, 2019)

To address these challenges, it is suggested two changes need to happen: 1) a mandatory official agreement prior to any multi-agency working commencing and 2) a centralised funding scheme. A mandatory official agreement would include agreed directions, uses and purpose of the multi-agency work and clarify all agendas and percentage of responsibility each agency commits to

undertaking. The centralised funding scheme would have devolved local authorities deposit a proportion of their funding based on the prevalence of modern slavery in their region into the scheme. When a case includes cross-borders and multi-agency work the funding would be retrieved from the centralised funding scheme to mitigate any funding responsibility issues.

Primary prevention measures which are informed by the lived evidence of the individuals who have engaged in modern slavery offences will not only prevent harms and abuses from being experienced by the person exploited but it will also prevent harms and abuses from being experienced by the individual at risk of engaging.

7.4 Smoke, mirrors, and bandages

Applying the contributions from this research to the wider context questions the political framing of the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences and the political complicity in creating the five instabilities which influence to the individual's engagement.

Each of the five instabilities were understood and articulated by applying IAT. Through this application it is evident the instabilities are caused by the wider political culture and social structures. The instabilities are not caused by the individual, they are placed *upon* the individual through political decisions such as the reduction in public expenditure, a lack of opportunities, restrictions, and systemic inequalities. Furthermore, the adherence to a neoliberal capitalist culture facilitates an exploitative environment which contributes to an individual engaging in modern slavery offences.

The UK Government has yet to challenge their own involvement in developing an exploitative environment, preferring instead to apply what one might call a 'bandage response' whereby its modern slavery statements are advocated for and branded as 'world-leading' while ignoring its own role in creating an exploitative environment. Instead, UK Government sanctions are placed on top of the current labour environment. This research demonstrates this 'bandage approach' has little effect when the foundations of the labour market remain the same.

The culture and social structure within the neoliberal capitalist society counteract the response required to prevent modern slavery. The continued dominance of economic institutions and weakening of non-economic institutions will only exacerbate the five instabilities, which worsen when the support, protection, and equity offered by non-economic institutions is reduced or removed. Exacerbating the five instabilities will result in more individuals engaging in modern slavery offences and more individuals being victimised. Thus, the neoliberal capitalist society creates each system within modern slavery and requires urgent challenge and reflection.

Failure to recognise the contribution that the UK culture and social structure have on modern slavery is problematic as it reduces the UK Government's responsibility for and contribution to modern slavery. At best this is through inexcusable ignorance, at worst it is deliberate, either way however, by continuing to ignore the impact the current political system has, not just on victimisation and demand, but on the engagement in modern slavery will only increase the prevalence of modern slavery offences.

The UK Government continues to distance itself from modern slavery by continually linking immigration with modern slavery. Their depiction of the individual engaging in modern slavery offences is reminiscent of Christie's (1986, p. 28) ideal offender which 'is a distant being. The more foreign, the better'. This is evidenced in the current Prime Minister's speech on immigration policies where he refers to modern slavery and the individuals 'who trade in human misery' (Sunak, 2022). The immigration link is contradicted in this thesis as not only did the participants most frequently discuss UK nationals, but the five instabilities were experienced in British society.

The UK Government's strategies also illustrate its commitment to equating modern slavery with immigration. UK nationals are considered to represent the individuals who engage in county lines (MSOIC, 2021). The UK's Serious Violence Strategy 2018 advocates for prevention measures to target individuals at risk of engaging in county lines (Home Office, 2018). In comparison, neither the Modern Slavery Strategy nor the UK Government Annual Modern Slavery Reports refer to preventing individuals at risk of engaging in modern slavery from doing so. As evidenced in this research it is possible the five instabilities can be experienced within multiple 'types' of modern slavery so it could be assumed the instabilities are no different for the individuals engaging in county lines or any other modern slavery offence and thus prevention would be applicable in both documents. It is argued this separation is deliberate as UK nationals are thought to be more prominently engaged in county lines, which if included in Government modern slavery documents challenges the rhetoric of modern slavery being an immigration issue. This distinction allows for the notion that modern slavery is placed upon the nation rather than being a political issue which is perpetuated by the current political systems.

The five instabilities contest that modern slavery is an immigration issue as they were created within British society. The (mis)placement of blame on immigration issues within UK Government speeches and official documents is smoke and mirrors. Such smoke and mirrors were demonstrated in 2008 when Labour set out its action plan to respond to human trafficking and invested in 'fragile states' to reduce the root causes for victimisation (Home Office and The Scottish Government, 2008), and evidently continue today. By repeatedly conflating immigration

and modern slavery, the UK Government is absolving itself of its responsibility and complicity in modern slavery.

The UK Government is misdirecting the public away from the actual problem. Its political decisions are causing inequalities and instabilities. These are forcing individuals to engage in, and be victimised by, modern slavery offences, or both. The UK Government policies in place are not dealing with the problem because the problem was caused by its own policies.

The continuation of the current neoliberal capitalist society will only allow modern slavery to continue. Despite efforts of well-meaning professionals, they will always be reacting to modern slavery and individuals will continue to experience the harms and abuses either from the modern slavery experience or from the political decisions. If the current political systems implemented primary prevention measures to address the five instabilities, they would only be placing a bandage on a cut they caused. For primary prevention to work the political system itself needs changing, not just to implement primary prevention measures, but to prevent the political decisions and the immigration rhetoric which allow modern slavery to continue. The anti-slavery sector is best placed to hold the UK Government accountable for its decisions which not only result in victimisation, but engagement in modern slavery offences.

Modern slavery is a political problem caused by political decisions. It is not an immigration problem, nor is it a problem which solely requires a criminal justice or victim-focused response. It is first and foremost a political problem. If the causes are to be treated prior to the symptoms, the political system needs addressing and challenging, otherwise modern slavery will continue to thrive.

7.5 Recommendations

Recommendations for anti-slavery professionals (including policymakers)

- **Systems change.** As highlighted above systems change work is advocated for within the anti-slavery sector and political systems. Guided by the evidence from this research, anti-slavery professionals should jointly develop agreed terminology and definitions to strengthen their foundation and work towards the same goals. Additionally, anti-slavery professionals should reflect upon and challenge their assumptions and the language used with regards to the individuals who engage in modern slavery offences. As evidenced in this research such assumptions and language do not reflect reality, which could potentially cause professionals to miss the individuals who require support and protection. Additionally, anti-slavery professionals should reflect upon, challenge, and

address the systemic racism present within their sector, otherwise these issues will continue and again those in need of support and protection will be missed. Furthermore, the political system requires systems change within the welfare system. This change should reflect the original purpose of the welfare system which was to reduce social exclusion and poverty by offering protection to the population and equal opportunities to achieve success (Beveridge, 1942).

- **Policymakers to develop two mandatory policies for multi-agency working.** Addressing the five instabilities requires a whole-systems approach with multiple anti-slavery stakeholders which means a functioning multi-agency approach is of paramount importance. This research highlighted the challenges experienced by the professionals within multi-agency working centred on funding and responsibilities which has been recognised in other literature (Atkinson, Doherty and Kinder, 2005; Shaw and Greenhow, 2021). To mitigate the highlighted challenges this thesis recommends policymakers should develop two mandatory policies. The first is a mandatory official agreement which is agreed and signed by each stakeholder which commits the stakeholder to the direction, use and purpose of the multi-agency work and clarifies all agendas and percentage of responsibility each agency commits to undertaking. The second policy is a centralised funding scheme. Each local authority would be required to deposit a proportion of their funding based on the prevalence of modern slavery in their area. When a modern slavery case includes cross-borders and multi-agency work the funding would be retrieved from the centralised funding scheme to mitigate any funding responsibility issues.
- **Involve the individuals with lived experience of engaging in modern slavery offences to help develop modern slavery strategies.** Policymakers and anti-slavery professionals should include the individuals with lived experience of engaging in modern slavery offences to develop effective evidence-based strategies and responses to modern slavery. Accessing these individuals could either be through probation services or by recruiting via any organisation which have supported or worked with them.
- **Primary prevention measures should be non-type and non-label specific.** This research highlights the five instabilities which were experienced regardless of what 'type' of modern slavery was being engaged in. The introduction of the third narrative demonstrates the nuance and fragility of the labels 'victim' and 'perpetrator'. It is thus recommended that policymakers develop non-type and non-label specific primary prevention measures to address the five instabilities which contribute to individuals engaging in modern slavery to ensure no individual is being missed under such supportive measures.

Recommendations for further research

- **Include the individuals with lived experience of engaging in modern slavery to co-produce or inform research.** This research was able to derive the five instabilities and the third narrative from 91 modern slavery cases discussed by 18 anti-slavery professionals. As recognised in this research, individuals who have engaged in modern slavery offences should be included in future research to develop, validate, and challenge the five instabilities and three narratives. Collaborative work with the probation service might offer an opportunity to access and interview these individuals as Broad and Gadd's (2023) research has evidenced. Additionally, co-production research is advocated for within the anti-slavery sector (Survivor Alliance, n.d.). Although this is currently only in relation to those with lived experience of exploitation this should be extended to those with lived experience of engaging in modern slavery offences. If opting for this approach, it is suggested it would be effective to target organisations which work with and support individuals who have engaged in modern slavery offences. Ethical considerations such as re-traumatisation and safety for all involved in the research should be examined.
- **Larger dataset.** To further test the validity and credibility of the five instabilities and in addition to including the individuals with lived experience of engaging in modern slavery offences, more data should be derived from a larger sample of anti-slavery professionals. The research design should ensure all different 'types' of modern slavery are represented in the data. Furthermore, the research design should include, where possible, participants from different backgrounds. Representation of diversity is invaluable to research of this type, particularly as this research found that systemic inequalities and racism impacted on the five instabilities as well as the professional environment and culture.
- **Collaborate with others to access data and make greater impact.** Collaboration with researchers and other interested crime and anti-slavery agencies such as the National Crime Agency, the Modern Slavery Policy and Evidence Centre, and public health experts to develop on the findings of this research and influence social change. As seen in Broad and Gadd's (2023) work, a collaboration can offer the opportunity to access restricted data or participants which were denied in this research. If modern slavery research continues to face challenges with accessing those engaging in these offences, knowledge will always be incomplete, making it difficult to respond effectively.
- **Test versatility of the five instabilities.** Further research should repeat the research in other countries to understand whether the five instabilities are contextual or universal. Understanding this would impact on which country/society could adopt and implement similar measures.

Appendix 1 Topic guide

This Topic Guide example is a template for the interviews with anti-slavery organisations. At this stage in the research the individual who engaged in modern slavery offences was being referred to as an offender, perpetrator, and someone who is perpetrating.

Aims and Objectives

- Experiences of modern slavery perpetrators
- Pathway to modern slavery
- Challenges and successes of early intervention programmes RE: county lines
- What needs to be done to reduce the number of people at risk of getting involved in this crime type?

Introduction

- Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed and just to confirm you consent to this being recorded.
- So the research is interested in your experiences and perspectives of modern slavery perpetrators and the impact of the welfare state.
- There are no right or wrong answers and if there's some questions you don't want to answer just let me know and we'll move on. The interview is voluntary so if you would like to stop and withdraw at any time just let me know and we'll stop the interview. The interview will be an hour long.
- Everything you say is confidential, however I will need to break that if I feel you are at risk of hurting yourself or others in which case I will notify the relevant authorities. All personal data is protected anything that is used from this interview in the findings will be anonymised so there's no chance of you being identified.
- Any questions?

Background

- You and your profession
- Organisation objectives
- Day-to-day
- Eradicating modern slavery
 - Challenges?
 - Positives?

Experiences of modern slavery offenders

Appendix 1

- History
 - Where from?
 - Family life?
 - Education/school?
 - Social Services involvement?
 - Employment?
 - Poverty?
- Driving force for involvement
- Victim to offender
- Victims and offenders same or similar socio-economic background
- Equal opportunity

Programmes

- County lines under modern slavery.
- Early intervention for county lines can it extend to other forms of modern slavery?
- Do you view supporting potential victims as the same as supporting potential perpetrators?
- Focus on work they do
 - positives
 - barriers?

What do you think could be done to prevent people from being at risk of becoming involved in modern slavery human trafficking offences?

End

- Thank you for your time.
- Any other issues that would like to discuss but hadn't?
- Everything that was said today will remain confidential. Your personal data will be protected and your identity kept anonymised.

Appendix 2 Distress protocol

Distress Protocol.

- At the beginning of the interview reiterate that the participant has the right to take a break or terminate the interview at any time.
- If interviewer is going to discuss a sensitive topic, clearly specify that the question to follow may be a trigger for some people, in order to pre-warn them.
- If participant is talking about sensitive, potentially distressing circumstances or situations, be mindful of this and utilise supportive verbal and body language to remind them they have support and that they can take a break if needed.
- If the discussion develops into an in-depth reflection, then the interviewer should offer a break at a reasonable time.
- If the participant becomes distressed, showing signs of emotional or physical stress, the interviewer should ask if the participant needs a break or to terminate. If this behaviour continues for a prolonged period, the interviewer will suggest they take a comfort break to allow the participant to take time away. This will ensure that the participant is not prevented from having a break or termination even if they feel uncomfortable asking for one.
- If the participant becomes distressed and is beginning to show signs of agitation or becomes violent or threatens violence, the interviewer will terminate the interview and exit the interview room.
- If at any time during the interview, either with the incarcerated human trafficker or the ex-human trafficker, they have become upset, distressed, emotionally or physically stressed, it is the duty of the interviewer to notify at the end of the interview the participant's prison warden or probation officer. This is mentioned in the PIS so the participant will be fully aware this is part of the protocol. This action is to ensure that there is after care, support, accountability and awareness of the situation for all involved, ensuring the safety of the incarcerated human trafficker and ex-human trafficking. The interviewer will also always have contact details of the relevant support services which may be of use to them or the relevant contact information of the mental health team at the prison.
- As for the anti-human trafficking professionals if, at any time during the interview, they become upset, distressed, emotionally or physically stressed, I will supply them with the

Appendix 2

same support services contact details and encourage them to seek out their supervisor for support.

Appendix 3 Recruitment letters

Recruitment letter for law enforcement professionals.

Dear Law Enforcement

My name is Sophie Wilkinson, and I am an ESRC funded PhD candidate in criminology at the University of Southampton. My research is focusing on the perpetrators of modern slavery investigating whether the UK welfare state contributes to them committing this type of offence. The project will help us understand more about why people become modern slavery perpetrators.

Your involvement in this research would be appreciated as I am hoping to gain unique insight into this area from professionals who have experience with and/or knowledge of modern slavery perpetrators. If you would like to take part in this research, I would like to conduct an hour-long interview, using remote means, at your convenience. A consent form (attached) would need to be signed before the interview.

Please note, participation in this study is completely voluntary, whereby you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, even after the interview and without penalty.

Confidentiality will be upheld, all personal data will be protected and anonymity will be guaranteed.

I understand this is a difficult and uncertain time for all, however, if you feel able to offer a brief amount of your time for this research, I would really appreciate it.

For more information about the research, I have attached a participant information sheet (PIS) as well as the consent form.

Yours faithfully,

Sophie Wilkinson

Appendix 4 Participation information sheet

Study Title: Preventing modern slavery: Using a socio-political lens to explore the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences and critically analyse the potential for primary prevention measures.

Researcher: Sophie Wilkinson

ERGO number: 48391

You are being invited to take part in the above research study. To help you decide whether you would like to take part or not, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the information below carefully and ask questions if anything is not clear or you would like more information before you decide to take part in this research. You may like to discuss it with others, but it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

The purpose of the research is to investigate whether the UK welfare state contributes to an individual becoming a perpetrator of modern slavery. By better understanding these influences we may be able to build prevention measures to help reduce this crime. The research will gather the lived experiences, perceptions and attitudes of current and ex-perpetrators of modern slavery and anti-modern slavery professionals.

My research will contribute to my academic qualification and thus the quality of my data is paramount to the success of my research findings.

Why have I been asked to participate?

You have been specifically chosen to participate in this research as you are an expert in the anti-modern slavery arena and your personal/professional experiences, perceptions and attitudes with regard to the perpetrators of modern slavery offences would be invaluable to the research findings.

What will happen to me if I take part?

As the research is based on your perceptions, you will be interviewed for no longer than an hour. Due to COVID-19 restrictions this will be conducted remotely via electronic means. We can use

Appendix 4

either video conferencing (Zoom, Skype, FaceTime) or telephone, whichever is your preference. If opting for Zoom a password will be generated to ensure security of our interview. The interview is semi-structured and so I will ask you a number of questions from an interview script. Prior to the interview, you will receive an email, if you so wish, of my interview script. The content of the script can be up for discussion prior to the interview or at the time of the interview but will need to remain close to the research question aims. However, if there is anything you are concerned about answering please do not hesitate to discuss this with me, as I will not ask you anything that will cause concern. I will be asking for your permission to audio-record the interviews which allows me to transcribe the interviews reducing the need to conduct a follow up interview for clarity. If clarity is needed once the interview has taken place, however, then please let me know if you are happy for me to contact you via email.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

Your unique experiences and perceptions will bring an invaluable contribution to the existing knowledge in the area of modern slavery. Your contribution to this research will inform further knowledge in the academic field with the hope it will contribute to future policies and practice with regards to reducing the offending behaviour.

Are there any risks involved?

I cannot foresee any potential risks to you by being involved in my research. Your identity will be anonymised therefore it will not be possible for your identity to be revealed through my research findings. There could be a slight possibility that the topic of my questions may cause distress or psychological discomfort. By submitting my interview script to you I hope to reduce any unforeseen discomfort by allowing negotiations around the questions. If my questions and/or our interview does raise any issues, you have the right to stop the interview at any time, for a break or for termination. I will also signpost you to the relevant support services.

What data will be collected?

The data collected for this research will be your name (for the consent form only), the audio-recording of the interview which will be destroyed 14 days after the interview, and the transcription from the interview which will be used for analysis and discussion.

The signed consent form will be the only documentation that has your name on it and will be stored in a locked cabinet that only myself and my supervisor have access to.

For the duration of the research, including prior to the interview, during the interview and in the analysis and discussion stage of the research after the interview, your identity will be anonymised

and you will only be referred to by a title that relates to your profession and a randomised number. The title relating to your profession is seen as important for this research to understand the differences and similarities in each profession. It will not be possible to identify you via the title as a generic title will be used (for example: prison officer) which will remove any possible chance of you being identified.

To ensure your words in the interview are accurately recorded I would like to audio-record the interview. If you consent to the interview being recorded your voice will be collected data. Within 14 days of the interview, the recording will be transcribed and then destroyed. The audio-recording is destroyed as there is no need for this data to be stored once it has been transcribed.

The transcriptions will be used to analyse the data and to write the findings and discussion of the research and will remain anonymised thus ensuring your identity will be protected.

Will my participation be confidential?

Your participation and the information we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential.

Only members of the research team and responsible members of the University of Southampton may be given access to data about you for monitoring purposes and/or to carry out an audit of the study to ensure that the research is complying with applicable regulations. Individuals from regulatory authorities (people who check that we are carrying out the study correctly) may require access to your data. All of these people have a duty to keep your information, as a research participant, strictly confidential.

Assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered, in which case the relevant authorities will be contacted.

I am able to offer linked anonymity, I will allocate you a title and number, thus meaning I will be unable to identify you when I am writing up the results. I will comply with the Data Protection Act/University policy and thus any identifiable data will be stored securely with restricted access. Access will only be granted to myself and my supervisor, Dr. Anita Lavorgna. This data will be stored for a maximum of ten years as per University of Southampton policy.

Do I have to take part?

No, it is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide you want to take part, you will need to sign a consent form to show you have agreed to take part. Once I have received the signed consent form, I will then reply to you confirming your acceptance in

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participating in the research and we can begin to arrange the most suitable time, date and preferred electronic means to conduct the interview.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to change your mind and withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without your participation rights being affected.

For practical reasons, I encourage you to withdraw within 14 days of the interview so that I can remove the data prior to transcribing and analysing them. Additionally, if you have said something in the interview that you would like to withdraw, you have the right to contact me to ask me to withdraw the comment which I will do without question.

What will happen to the results of the research?

Your personal details will remain strictly confidential. Research findings made available in any reports or publications will not include information that can directly identify you without your specific consent.

The results of the research will be written up as part of my doctoral dissertation. If you so wish, I am happy to send a copy of the results to you, which will not affect anonymity. Publications and anonymised data relating to my research have to be made available through the institutional repository. The results of the data will be made available and stored for a maximum of ten years as per University of Southampton policy.

As well as the results of the research, the anonymised transcripts will be held by myself and could be used for future research to aid further research and knowledge in the anti-modern slavery sector. Use and access to this data will exclude commercial use and will be categorised as safeguarded data.

Where can I get more information?

If you would like more information or have any enquiries please feel free to contact me at: sew1n17@soton.ac.uk or my supervisor, Dr Anita Lavorgna, at: a.lavorgna@soton.ac.uk

What happens if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should speak to the researchers who will do their best to answer your questions. My email address is: sew1n17@soton.ac.uk and my supervisor Dr. Anita Lavorgna's is: a.lavorgna@soton.ac.uk

If you remain unhappy or have a complaint about any aspect of this study, please contact the University of Southampton Research Integrity and Governance Manager (023 8059 5058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk)

Data Protection Privacy Notice

The University of Southampton conducts research to the highest standards of research integrity. As a publicly-funded organisation, the University has to ensure that it is in the public interest when we use personally-identifiable information about people who have agreed to take part in research. This means that when you agree to take part in a research study, we will use information about you in the ways needed, and for the purposes specified, to conduct and complete the research project. Under data protection law, 'Personal data' means any information that relates to and is capable of identifying a living individual. The University's data protection policy governing the use of personal data by the University can be found on its website (<https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page>).

This Participant Information Sheet tells you what data will be collected for this project and whether this includes any personal data. Please ask the research team if you have any questions or are unclear what data is being collected about you.

Our privacy notice for research participants provides more information on how the University of Southampton collects and uses your personal data when you take part in one of our research projects and can be found at <http://www.southampton.ac.uk/assets/sharepoint/intranet/Is/Public/Research%20and%20Integrity%20Privacy%20Notice/Privacy%20Notice%20for%20Research%20Participants.pdf>

Any personal data we collect in this study will be used only for the purposes of carrying out our research and will be handled according to the University's policies in line with data protection law. If any personal data is used from which you can be identified directly, it will not be disclosed to anyone else without your consent unless the University of Southampton is required by law to disclose it.

Data protection law requires us to have a valid legal reason ('lawful basis') to process and use your Personal data. The lawful basis for processing personal information in this research study is for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest. Personal data collected for research will not be used for any other purpose.

For the purposes of data protection law, the University of Southampton is the 'Data Controller' for this study, which means that we are responsible for looking after your information and using it

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properly. The University of Southampton will keep identifiable information about you for ten years after the study has finished after which time any link between you and your information will be removed.

To safeguard your rights, we will use the minimum personal data necessary to achieve our research study objectives. Your data protection rights – such as to access, change, or transfer such information – may be limited, however, in order for the research output to be reliable and accurate. The University will not do anything with your personal data that you would not reasonably expect.

Your personal data will be anonymised which means your personal data will be deleted and thus no longer accessible therefore the research data cannot be traced back to you. Any linked data which could identify you in the transcripts will be deleted and the document will be saved as a protected document to ensure anonymity.

If you have any questions about how your personal data is used, or wish to exercise any of your rights, please consult the University's data protection webpage (<https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page>) where you can make a request using our online form. If you need further assistance, please contact the University's Data Protection Officer (data.protection@soton.ac.uk).

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and considering taking part in this research.

Appendix 5 Consent form

Study title: Preventing modern slavery: Using a socio-political lens to explore the push/pull factors for engaging in modern slavery offences and critically analyse the potential for primary prevention measures.

Researcher name: Sophie Wilkinson

ERGO number: 48391

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet 04.03.19 Version 1.3 and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.	
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time for any reason without my participation rights being affected.	
I understand I can withdraw from the study at any time. I understand that if I withdraw more than 14 days after the interview my data will not be removed as after this time the data will be anonymised and the audio-recording deleted.	
I understand that I will not be directly identified in any reports of the research.	
I give permission for the anonymised transcripts that I provide to be held by Sophie Wilkinson as described in the participant information sheet 04.03.19 Version 1.3 so it can be used for future research and learning in the anti-modern slavery sector as a form of analytical research.	

Optional - please only initial the box you wish to agree to:

I agree for the interview to be audio-recorded.	
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Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....Date.....

Name of researcher (print name).....

Appendix 5

Signature of researcherDate.....

Appendix 6 Full details of interviews

No. of Participants	Recruitment stage	Participants Titles	Date and time of interview	Length of interview	Means used to interview	Ethnicity identified	Gender	Means used to recruit
1	1	CJS_1	31.10.19 9.15am	60mins	Zoom	White	Female	Conference
2	1	NGO_5	15.11.19 11am	45mins	Phone	Self-identified as Black	Male	Conference
3	1	NDPB_1	20.11.19 10am	60mins	FaceTime	White	Male	Conference
4	1	LENGO_1	27.11.19 10am	60mins	Skype	White	Male	Conference
5	1	NGO_1	09.12.19 9am	60mins	Phone	White	Male	Conference
6	1	CJS_2	10.12.19 11.30am	60mins	Phone	White	Female	Conference

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No. of Participants	Recruitment stage	Participants Titles	Date and time of interview	Length of interview	Means used to interview	Ethnicity identified	Gender	Means used to recruit
7	2	SA_2	02.06.20 10am	90mins	Zoom	White	Male	Snowball from CJS_1
8	2	SLE_1	03.06.20 10am	60mins	Zoom	White	Male	Twitter
9	2	CLE_1	05.06.20 2pm	80mins	Zoom	White	Male	Twitter
10	2	NDPB_2	09.20.20 2pm	65mins	Zoom	White	Female	Responded from modern slavery research mailout
11	2	SLA_1	16.06.20 10am	110mins	Teams	White	Male	Previous participant in masters
12	2	SCLLE_1	18.06.20 3pm	50mins	Phone	White	Male	Twitter

No. of Participants	Recruitment stage	Participants Titles	Date and time of interview	Length of interview	Means used to interview	Ethnicity identified	Gender	Means used to recruit
13	2	SA_1	24.06.20 10am	70mins	Teams	White	Male	Responded from modern slavery research mailout
14	3	NGO_4	05.10.20 11.30	60mins	Zoom	Self-identified as Black	Male	Twitter
15	3	NGO_2	16.10.20 10am	75mins	Zoom	Self-identified as Brown and mixed race	Male	Twitter
16	3	NGO_3	14.11.20 10am	75mins	Zoom	Self-identified as Black	Male	Twitter
17	3	SLE_2	22.10.20 11am	80mins	Teams	White	Male	Twitter
18	3	SCLLE_2	27.10.20 12pm	75 mins	Teams	White	Male	Snowball from SCLLE_1

Appendix 7 Participant rejections

	Stage of recruitment	Description of organisation	Date of recruitment	How many times tried to recruit	Response to recruitment
1	1	Government department working on modern slavery communication	6.11.19	1	Checked to see if allowed to speak with me - never heard back
2	1	Specialist government modern slavery department	12.11.19	2	No response to either email
3	1	Specialist government modern slavery department	12.11.19	4	Wanted to help but never chased down successfully
4	1	Supporting those out of prison	08.10.19	2	Email passed to CEO never heard back
5	1	Supporting those out of prison	08.10.19	2	Declined no resources

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	Stage of recruitment	Description of organisation	Date of recruitment	How many times tried to recruit	Response to recruitment
6	1	Supporting those out of prison	08.10.19	1	No resources already working with other researchers
7	1	Supporting those out of prison	08.10.19	2	No response
8	1	Supporting those out of prison	08.10.19	1	Declined no knowledge or experience
9	1	Supporting those out of prison	08.10.19	2	Declined no resources or time
10	1	Supporting those out of prison	08.10.19	2	Declined no knowledge or experience
11	1	Supporting those out of prison	08.10.19	2	Declined no knowledge or experience
12	1	Supporting those out of prison	08.10.19	2	No response
13	1	Supporting those out of prison	08.10.19	2	No response
14	2	Worked on Latvia MS case	28.05.20	1	No response

	Stage of recruitment	Description of organisation	Date of recruitment	How many times tried to recruit	Response to recruitment
15	2	Modern slavery trainer and consultant	28.05.20	1	No response
16	2	One of the anti-slavery partnerships	28.05.20	2	No response
17	2	Specialist government department including modern slavery	28.05.20	1	Declined no resources
18	2	Modern slavery trainer and consultant	28.05.20	1	No response
19	3	Barrister working on modern slavery cases	29.09.20	1	No response
20	3	Activist in anti-slavery sector	29.09.20	1	Declined no resources but can quote Twitter
21	3	Supporting those out of prison	29.09.20	1	No response

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	Stage of recruitment	Description of organisation	Date of recruitment	How many times tried to recruit	Response to recruitment
22	3	Retired specialist law enforcement	29.09.20	2	No response
23	3	Local Government specialist modern slavery department	07.10.20	2	No response
24	3	Anti-trafficking org	20.10.20	2	Declined no resources
25	3	Human rights organisation	27.10.20	1	No response
26	3	Anti-trafficking org	28.10.20	1	Declined no resources
27	3	Anti-trafficking org	28.10.20	1	No response

Appendix 8 Database indicating the 91 discussed modern slavery cases

	Sex exploitation	Labour exploitation	CCE	County lines	Domestic servitude	Cannabis cultivation	Debt bondage	Child Sexual Exploitation	Unofficial adoption	Criminal exploitation drugs begging	<u>Total</u>
Romanian	4	1	2								7
Roma	2	5						1	1	1	10
Vietnamese	1	1				3	1				6
UK nationals	6	4	1	15		1		5			32
Hungarian	3										3
Pakistan/Indian caste system					1						1
Eastern Europe	1	3		1							5
Nigeria					1						1

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	Sex exploitation	Labour exploitation	CCE	County lines	Domestic servitude	Cannabis cultivation	Debt bondage	Child Sexual Exploitation	Unofficial adoption	Criminal exploitation drugs begging	<u>Total</u>
Chinese	1	1				1	2				5
Albanian	1	1		1		1					4
Slovakian		1									1
Bulgarian		1									1
Lithuanian		1									1
Russian		1									1
Latvian		2									2
Qatar					1						1
Czech Republic	1										1
Asian man								1			1
Kurdish man	1					1		1		1	4
Afghanistan						1					1

	Sex exploitation	Labour exploitation	CCE	County lines	Domestic servitude	Cannabis cultivation	Debt bondage	Child Sexual Exploitation	Unofficial adoption	Criminal exploitation drugs begging	<u>Total</u>
Iran						1					1
Polish		2									2
<u>Total</u>	21	24	3	17	3	9	3	8	1	2	91

Glossary of Terms

- 'Instabilities'..... The term instability, which is used within the concept of the five instabilities, offers the notion of something being unstable. The level of stability within the five factors is influenced and impacted by the decisions of powerful institutions (Such as central Government or local Government). The decisions are made for society rather than with it and, depending on where the current Government is on the political spectrum, will impact more negatively on the richer (if left wing) or poorer (if right wing) population. The individuals who have engaged in modern slavery offences who were discussed by the anti-slavery professionals were predominantly representative of the poorer population, meaning these individuals are impacted by decisions which create these instabilities.
- 'Push/pull factors' The phrase 'push/pull factors' is used to articulate certain factors which are 'pushing' an individual away from their current situation and 'pulling' an individual toward a particular situation.
- 'Systems'/'systems change'. Systems change is a process which sets out to change the existing systems (actors, activities, settings) within an organisation(s) which can directly or indirectly influence the outcomes of a problem situation (Foster-Fishman, Nowell and Yang, 2007).
- Austerity The term austerity is an overarching term meaning Government's various economic policies which reduced welfare spending post 2008 recession (Cummins, 2018b).
- County lines County lines is a type of criminal exploitation. Criminal exploitation is an offence under the Modern Slavery Act 2015. The thesis uses the NCA (n.d.) description of county lines which refers to the transportation of illegal drugs from one county to another, often using a specific phone line. It is most often children and vulnerable people are exploited to transport the drugs.
- Gang..... The term gang is used in two different ways and is dependent on the context of the sentence, paragraph, and discussion taking place. Firstly, when the term 'gang' is used within the context of

gangmasters it is to be assumed the term 'gang' relates to the group of workers that the gangmaster (either an individual or business) provides for agricultural work. (GLAA, 2019). The second use of the term 'gang' is to be understood as a group of people which, as per the focus of the research, are or have engaged in criminality including modern slavery offences.

Human trafficking Most likely found in internationally the term 'human trafficking' refers to the UN Trafficking Protocol definition of human trafficking which has 3 elements. These are the act, the means, and the purpose (see Chapter 2.1 for more information). As this thesis is positioned within the UK and is focused on the offences included in the Modern Slavery Act 2015, the term human trafficking is only used when another scholar has used the term (see an in-depth discussion in chapter 1 section 1).

Institutional or systemic racism The author adopts Feagin's (2006) and Banaji, Fiske and Massey's (2021) definition of systemic racism. Systemic racism is characterised by the 'created systems which exceed beyond racial prejudice and individual bigotry ... and are a material, social, and ideological reality that is well-imbedded in major U.S. institutions' (Feagin, 2006 p. 2) and the existence of 'processes and outcomes of racial inequality and inequity in life opportunities and treatment' (Banaji, Fiske and Massey, 2021, p. 2). This research uses the umbrella term of systemic racism rather than institutional racism to discuss the experiences presented by the participants as they included institutional involvement and everyday interaction patterns. Where existing literature is presented, the term institutional racism will be used if adopted by the original author.

Modern slavery The term 'modern slavery' in this thesis is used as an umbrella term to refer to all the offences included in the UK's Modern Slavery Act 2015. These are: slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour (Section 1), human trafficking (Section 2), and committing an offence with intent to commit an offence under section 2 (Section 4) (*Modern Slavery Act 2015*).

Narrative The term 'narrative' conceptualises the individuals' story of engaging in modern slavery offences.

- Neoliberal capitalism/neoliberal capitalist society Neoliberal capitalist society and thus neoliberal capitalism is to be understood as a political ideology of reduced state intervention, with a free-market ideology which sees private individuals control country's trade and industry to generate profit (Kotz, 2017; McGuigan, 2014, p. 224).
- Neoliberal ideology/neoliberal culture The term neoliberal is used in relation to the ideology which has been dominant within the political systems of the UK and the US since Thatcher and Reagan (Beckert, 2020). Neoliberalism encourages economic growth and promotes competition, individual responsibility, privatisation, deregulation, free-market and reduced government expenditure (Watts and Hodgson, 2019). The neoliberal culture is punitive in design to offer an appearance of social control by being 'tough on crime' (Bell, 2011).
- Prevention The term prevention was drawn from the public health model of prevention (Christmas and Srivastava, 2019) and defined as stopping something from happening in the first place and/or stopping it from continuing.
- Primary prevention..... The term 'primary prevention' is adopted from the public health model of prevention (Christmas and Srivastava, 2019). As such, 'primary prevention' refers to 'preventing the problem occurring in the first place' (Christmas and Srivastava, 2019).
- Psychopathy..... The thesis adopts Hare and Neumann's (2009, p. 792) definition of psychopathy which is a personality disorder that includes a cluster of interpersonal, affective, lifestyle, and antisocial traits and behaviours
- Self-worth/Self-esteem The term 'self-worth' is used over the term 'self-esteem'. The thesis adopts Harter and Whitesell's (2004) understanding of the terms as well as the overarching term used by Crocker and Wolfe (2001). The terms self-worth and self-esteem are often conflated within literature. Harter and Whitesell (2004, p. 2) point out both terms relate to 'how much one values oneself as a person'. Crocker and Wolfe (2001) differentiate between self-worth and self-esteem in their work Contingencies of self-worth. They indicate that self-

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esteem informs self-worth and suggest a low level of self-esteem will result in a low level of self-worth.

Vulnerabilities The term 'vulnerabilities' is used throughout the thesis to depict the surrounding conditions in which someone might exploit or be exploited.

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