

What works to end modern slavery?

A review of evidence on policy and interventions in the context of justice

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1. Introduction

In 2015, United Member States committed to taking action against modern slavery by 2030. Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) Target 8.7 entailed an undertaking by States to:

Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms.

Yet, exactly what constitutes 'effective measures' to end these practices remains ambiguous. Although efforts to produce reliable data on antislavery interventions, as well as work to improve access to data, have increased in recent years, the need for a more robust understanding of the current evidence base on 'what works' remains. This review provides a snapshot of extant literature, identifying key learnings, trends, and gaps in our understanding of what works in different contexts.

1.1. Objectives of the study

The purposes of the study was to examine what is known about effective policy to achieve SDG Target 8.7 in the context of justice, by: (1) collecting and collating existing evidence on what works; (2) identifying the range of claims and hypotheses captured in academic and grey literature, and the evidentiary foundations of these hypotheses; and (3) conducting mixed methods analysis of strengths, weaknesses, and trends in the evidence base. As such, the overarching research question for this study was:

What is known about works at the State and multinational policy level to address modern slavery in the context of justice?

Justice in this context is understood as encompassing criminal justice, civil justice, international justice, survivor engagement and support, and health policy and practice. The study further considers additional cross-cutting themes (applicable in the context of justice, but also in the parallel contexts of markets and crisis), namely gender, education, social policy, and climate and environment. Themes considered in the parallel markets and crisis reviews are also considered in this report.¹

This study is intended to inform the development of a Policy Guide by Delta 8.7 and the global expert Working Group convened by the United Nations University Centre for Policy Research (UNU-CPR). The Policy Guide is intended to help identify the mix of multilateral and national policies needed to accelerate progress towards SDG 8.7 in the broad policy domain of justice. The Policy Guide is targeted towards an audience of multilateral and national-level policymakers. The review therefore focuses specifically on findings relevant to national and multilateral policy, within the specific area of justice.

1.2. Modern slavery

The language of 'modern slavery' is used throughout this review, in line with the terminology employed in United Nations Sustainable Development Goal Target 8.7. However, the specific content of definitions of 'modern slavery' can differ substantially in different contexts. In most cases, 'modern slavery' is conceived as an umbrella term

¹ For markets, these themes were: economic policy; trade policy; financial policy; development policy; and supply chains. For Crisis: conflict; humanitarian contexts; displacement; and migration.

capturing a range of specific practices within its remit. The International Labour Organisation and Walk Free, for instance, include forced labour and forced marriage in their global estimates of 'modern slavery'.² The UK's Modern Slavery Act (2015) includes slavery, servitude, forced labour, and trafficking in persons. Australia's Modern Slavery Act (2018) encompasses slavery, servitude, forced labour, deceptive recruitment for labour or services, forced marriage, trafficking in persons, debt bondage, and the worst forms of child labour. The US Department of State adopts a slightly different approach, suggesting that trafficking in persons and modern slavery are 'interchangeable umbrella terms' for the same basic practices (in this case presented as sex trafficking and compelled labour/labour trafficking).³ However, the US Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons also indicates that bonded labour, domestic servitude, and unlawful recruitment and use of child soldiers fall within the remit of forced labour.⁴

While use as an umbrella term is the most commonly adopted approach internationally, some commentators understand 'modern slavery' to be a singular and holistic concept—a coherent conceptual category of experience rather than a set. This definition might still encompass a range of different practices, however, 'modern slavery' itself is determined by a set of benchmarks specific to the concept, rather than by a finding of another form of exploitation such as forced labour. Kevin Bales, for instance, presents [modern] slavery as defined by a set of core attributes: 'the state of control exercised over the slave based on violence or its threat, a lack of any payment beyond subsistence, and the theft of the labor or other qualities of the slave for economic gain'.⁵ The definition of slavery is therefore presented as 'a state marked by the loss of free will in which a person is forced through violence or the threat of violence to give up the ability to sell freely his or her own labour power'.⁶

For the purpose of this review, it was not necessary to establish a decisive definition of the concept of 'modern slavery'. Rather, parameters had to be set as to which evidence would be included as relevant to 'modern slavery', and which would be excluded. The research team adopted a broad approach, considering a range of practices associated with modern slavery, as well as sources speaking specifically of 'modern slavery' or 'contemporary slavery'. The range of practices are set out in [Annex 1. Search strategy](#), in [Table 1. Term harvesting template](#).

1.3. Summary of findings

The domain area of justice, as defined in this review, is vast. It considers both traditional justice contexts (criminal justice, civil justice, and international justice) and survivor justice—captured in survivor engagement and support, and health policy and practice. It is therefore unsurprising that the issues considered, and approaches adopted, across the 175 records assessed in this study covered significant ground. The 401 distinct claims identified in this review traversed a wide variety of issues, from the role of plea bargaining in cases of online sexual exploitation of children in the Philippines, to need for more robust international guidelines and standards on health policy in the context of modern slavery. They covered issues of international and domestic law and policy, as well as local practice and systemic concerns. They addressed the need for financial support, labour rights, out-

² International Labour Organisation and Walk Free Foundation, 'Global Estimates of Modern Slavery' (Geneva, 2017) www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_575479.pdf

³ US Department of State, 'Trafficking in Persons Report: 2020' (20th edition, US Department of State 2020) <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/2020-TIP-Report-Complete-062420-FINAL.pdf>, 3.

⁴ Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 'What is Modern Slavery?' (US Department of State 2020) <https://www.state.gov/what-is-modern-slavery/>.

⁵ Kevin Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery* (University of California Press 2005), 9.

⁶ *Ibid*, 57.

of-court settlements, and transnational cooperation agreements. Yet, despite this diversity of content and form, common threads run through many of the studies considered.

Studies addressed *what* should be done in order to effectively address modern slavery. However, more frequently, they concerned themselves with *how* these mechanisms and interventions should be delivered, in order to secure positive outcomes for survivors and for the prevention and reduction of modern slavery. They considered the importance of different forms of support for survivors of modern slavery, but more often they considered the particular approaches that must be adopted to facilitate recovery, reintegration, and survivor wellbeing. Thus, long-term, holistic, victim-centred, and survivor-informed support was presented as the framework within which particular services ought to be considered and provided. Studies analysed the importance of robust labour rights and protections for vulnerable populations, but more deeply considered the need for effective monitoring, and enforcement, education, empowerment for workers to assert their rights, and the importance of an overarching commitment to human rights principles. Records highlighted the need for criminal justice accountability, but more often interrogated the importance of victim-centred, evidence-based approaches that support positive engagement with survivors, ensure equal treatment, and avoid criminalising or re-traumatising survivors.

The dominant narrative supported by the evidence collected and considered in this review is therefore that effective measures to address modern slavery in the context of justice demand serious consideration be given to the way in which interventions are delivered, and not only to what measures are adopted. Commitment to evidence-based, victim-centred antislavery efforts requires reflection and dedication to ensuring that policy is translated into practice, and that this practice produces positive outcomes for those experiencing, or vulnerable to, exploitation.

The 36 hypotheses outlined below provide an indication of what is currently known about what works to address modern slavery in the context of criminal justice, civil justice, international justice, survivor engagement and support, and health policy and practice. But they are by no means complete. This review revealed gaps in what is known in core areas of modern slavery response—this requires further review, but more importantly further research underpinned by robust methodologies to ensure findings are meaningful,

Note on the presentation of evidence

Analysis in this report adopts 3 distinct units of analysis: records, claims, and hypotheses.

For each individual record assessed in this study, specific claims about what works to address modern slavery in the context of justice were identified. In some cases, a single claim was identified for a record. In others, several claims were drawn from a record (with the highest number of claims identified in a single source being 12).

These claims were grouped through inductive synthesis, producing the 36 hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery presented in this report. Claims grouped within a hypothesis all relate directly to the argument presented, in some cases mirroring the hypothesis as constructed, and in others presenting a more specific claim that nonetheless supports the broader hypothesis. Although discrete claims drawn from the records assessed also represent hypotheses on what works within the context of their studies, they are labelled separately throughout this report for clarity.

Discussion moves between these units depending on the variable under consideration. This is signalled in the text in each case. Where the text refers to 'records', 'studies', 'sources' or 'reports', the unit of analysis is the record taken as a whole. Where the text refers to 'claims', the unit of analysis is the 401 discrete claims drawn from the records assessed. Where the discussion analyses 'hypotheses', the unit of analysis is the broader argument about what works, constructed from the identified claims.

reliable, and can be extrapolated beyond the scope of the specific inquiry. To take immediate and effective measures to end modern slavery by 2030, more needs to be learned about what works. However, the evidence outlined below provides a useful starting point, and a guide.

1.4. Hypotheses

This review identified 36 distinct hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery in the context of justice. These are addressed in turn in Section 4. [Findings on what works](#), considered within the theme most dominantly related to the hypothesis. These hypotheses do not represent an exhaustive list of all claims identified in the records assessed, focusing on claims for which authors brought evidence to bear in testing the argument presented. A small number of claims presented in the evidence base that did not find voice across multiple records also remain to be analysed and presented as hypotheses for the final review report. It should further be noted that the records analysed in this review represent a limited cross-section of the wider evidence base (see further Section 2.2. [Literature selection](#)). The list of hypotheses below should not, therefore, be taken as an exhaustive list, but as indicative of the evidence base assessed in this review.

The 36 distinct hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery in the context of justice identified in this review are:

Hypothesis 1. [Providing modern slavery and human trafficking training to law enforcement and criminal justice actors improves identification, investigation, and prosecution of modern slavery offences](#)

Hypothesis 2. [Cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration between antislavery actors at all levels improves investigations, arrests, and prosecutions](#)

Hypothesis 3. [Creating specialised law enforcement processes to address modern slavery improves the criminal justice response](#)

Hypothesis 4. [Ensuring survivors receive appropriate support and criminal justice processes are victim-centred increases victim cooperation with investigations and prosecutions, improving the likelihood of success](#)

Hypothesis 5. [Robust and specific legislative definitions of modern slavery offences support effective antislavery responses](#)

Hypothesis 6. [Over-prioritisation of criminal justice mechanisms and responses impedes effective prevention, identification, and support](#)

Hypothesis 7. [Legal and policy frameworks and practice that ensure survivors are not criminalised for offences committed in connection to their experiences of modern slavery are critical to effective protection and identification](#)

Hypothesis 8. [Oversight and monitoring mechanisms help ensure effective implementation and enforcement of modern slavery laws and policies](#)

Hypothesis 9. [Shifting investigation and prosecution strategies away from reliance on survivor testimony to alternative forms of evidence would increase success rates](#)

Hypothesis 10. [Successful prosecution of modern slavery offences acts as a deterrent to offending](#)

Hypothesis 11. [Basing policy development on robust evidence improves the effectiveness of antislavery policy](#)

Hypothesis 12. [Plea bargaining can effectively improve the efficiency of criminal justice processes related to modern slavery](#)

Hypothesis 13. Ensuring access to interpreters during criminal justice processes helps ensure a fair trial and justice in modern slavery cases

Hypothesis 14. Ensuring survivors have access to compensation and civil remedies against their perpetrators supports their recovery and reintegration and contributes to deterrence

Hypothesis 15. Ensuring robust labour regulation and access to labour rights and protections for survivors of modern slavery effectively supports prevention and protection efforts

Hypothesis 16. Transnational coordination between governments in antislavery legislation and enforcement improves responses to modern slavery

Hypothesis 17. Restrictive immigration policies and strict border controls increase risks of modern slavery and trafficking, reduce likelihood of victim identification, and result in the criminalisation of victims

Hypothesis 18. Harmonisation of national laws and policies addressing modern slavery with other countries and international law would improve responses

Hypothesis 19. Long-term support for modern slavery survivors is necessary to effectively support recovery and reintegration

Hypothesis 20. Financial and employment support for survivors of modern slavery is necessary to support their recovery and reintegration, and prevent re-trafficking

Hypothesis 21. Cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration between antislavery actors at all levels improves identification and support for victims

Hypothesis 22. Trauma-informed models of survivor support and engagement are necessary to support recovery and reintegration

Hypothesis 23. Flexible, victim-centred and survivor-informed models of support and engagement with survivors are necessary for recovery and reintegration, and aid prevention

Hypothesis 24. Changing conceptions and representations of victimhood would improve identification of victims, reduce risk of criminalisation, and support law enforcement efforts

Hypothesis 25. Ensuring free access to legal advice and support is necessary for effective survivor support

Hypothesis 26. Ensuring access to appropriate and safe accommodation is necessary to ensure effective survivor protection, recovery, and reintegration

Hypothesis 27. Holistic, multidisciplinary support for survivors of modern slavery is necessary to support recovery and reintegration

Hypothesis 28. Immediate assistance, including healthcare and material support, is critical to enabling recovery and reintegration for survivors of modern slavery

Hypothesis 29. Development of statutory guidance for modern slavery legislation supports consistent survivor treatment and improves protection

Hypothesis 30. Providing appropriate specialised modern slavery training to service providers and care workers improves quality of care for modern slavery survivors

Hypothesis 31. Having globally agreed upon definitions of rescue, recover, and reintegration would help aid survivor recovery and create more consistent practices

Hypothesis 32. Providing modern slavery training to healthcare workers would increase identification of victims and provide an opportunity for appropriate intervention

Hypothesis 33. Ensuring survivors have access to mental and physical healthcare is necessary to support recovery and reintegration

Hypothesis 34. Introduction of specialised screening and diagnostic tools in healthcare settings improves identification of potential victims of modern slavery

Hypothesis 35. Providing language support in healthcare settings improves identification and treatment of victims of modern slavery

Hypothesis 36. International and regional instruments providing instruction about States' health care obligations would help ensure survivors have access to the healthcare they need to support their recovery and reintegration

2. Methods

Given the broad nature of the inquiry underpinning this review, the study necessarily traversed literature drawn from a number of different disciplines and contexts, which adopted a variety of different research methods, approaches, and theoretical frameworks. The mix of qualitative, quantitative, and mixed research methods necessitated a mixed research synthesis for this study.⁷ This approach is intended to integrate results from across the evidence base, summarising what is known in a particular area and thereby directing future practice and research.⁸

The review was delineated into five key stages: (1) developing the research question, sub-questions, and objectives; (2) identifying and collecting relevant literature through a standardised and systematic search protocol developed *a priori*; (3) screening and selecting literature through the application of inclusion and exclusion criteria identified *a priori* in the search protocol; (4) extracting data from the literature, including qualitative summary in prescribed format and coding records against established matrix; and (5) extracting information from the literature and conducting qualitative review of records synthesising and reporting findings and results.

Informational value (signal) and methodological flaws (noise)⁹ of records varied across the body of evidence collected. However, no records were excluded for reasons of quality.¹⁰ Rather, the strength and quality of evidence collected was assessed in the analysis and synthesis stages.

2.1. Data sources and search strategy

The research team systematically searched for relevant academic and grey literature across the Nottingham Libraries database (NUSearch) which houses over one million print books, 300,000 e-books, and 20,000 e-journals as well as providing centralised access to hundreds of academic and grey literature databases including EconLit, IBSS, ICPSR, JSTOR, OECD iLibrary, ProQuest, SAGE, and Scopus.¹¹ The research team also conducted searches through Google Scholar. Language (English) and time (2010-present) limits were placed on the search, and a range of search terms used. Search terms were expanded and adapted using a term harvesting template, with initial search terms established *a priori* with reference to the research questions. Further search terms were added on the basis of existing team expertise, and developed inductively during the search process from relevant terms emerging from the literature and search results (see [Annex 1. Search strategy, Table 1. Term harvesting template](#)). These terms were combined in Boolean searches to identify relevant literature (see [Annex 1. Search strategy, Table 2. Search tracking template with sample entries](#)). Where search strings yielded high returns (>300

⁷ Sandelowski, Voils and Barroso define mixed research synthesis as 'systematic review aimed at the integration of results from both qualitative and quantitative studies in a shared domain of empirical research'. M Sandelowski, CI Voils and J Barroso, 'Defining and Designing Mixed Research Synthesis Studies' (2006) 13(1) *Research in the Schools* 29.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ A Edwards, G Elwyn, K Hood, and S Rollnick, 'Judging the "Weight of Evidence" in Systematic Reviews: Introducing Rigor into the Qualitative Overview Stage by Assessing Signal and Noise' (2000) 6 *Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice* 177; A Edwards, IT Russell, and NC Stott, 'Signal versus Noise in the Evidence Base for Medicine: An Alternative to Hierarchies of Evidence?' (1998) 15 *Family Practice* 319.

¹⁰ Scholarship on systematic review methods advises against exclusions on the basis of quality – VS Conn and MJ Rantz, 'Research Methods: Managing Primary Study Quality in Meta-Analyses' (2003) 26 *Research in Nursing and Health* 322; H Cooper, *Synthesizing Research: A Guide for Literature Reviews* (1998, Sage); JPT Higgins and S Green (eds), *Cochrane Handbook for Systematic Reviews of Interventions (Cochrane Training, 2005)* <https://training.cochrane.org/handbook/current>.

¹¹ A full list of databases accessed through NUSearch can be found at <https://nusearch.nottingham.ac.uk/primo-explore/dbsearch?vid=44NOTUK>.

records), the first 30 results were reviewed, and search terms refined to reduce irrelevant results. Returns of 300 records or fewer were reviewed in their entirety. A total of 183 Boolean searches were conducted, returning a total yield of 735,770. Of these, 6,227 records were screened for inclusion, and a total of 987 relevant records collected.

Manual and reference list searching was used to complement this search strategy. A list of key sources was established *a priori* to be searched manually in their entirety for relevant records. Yields from manual searches, and where necessary key search terms used to refine number of records reviewed from key sources, were recorded. Relevant papers were also retrieved using the 'pearl-growing' technique, identifying further references from the bibliographies of papers collected through database and manual searching. A total of 244 records were collected from manual and reference searching.

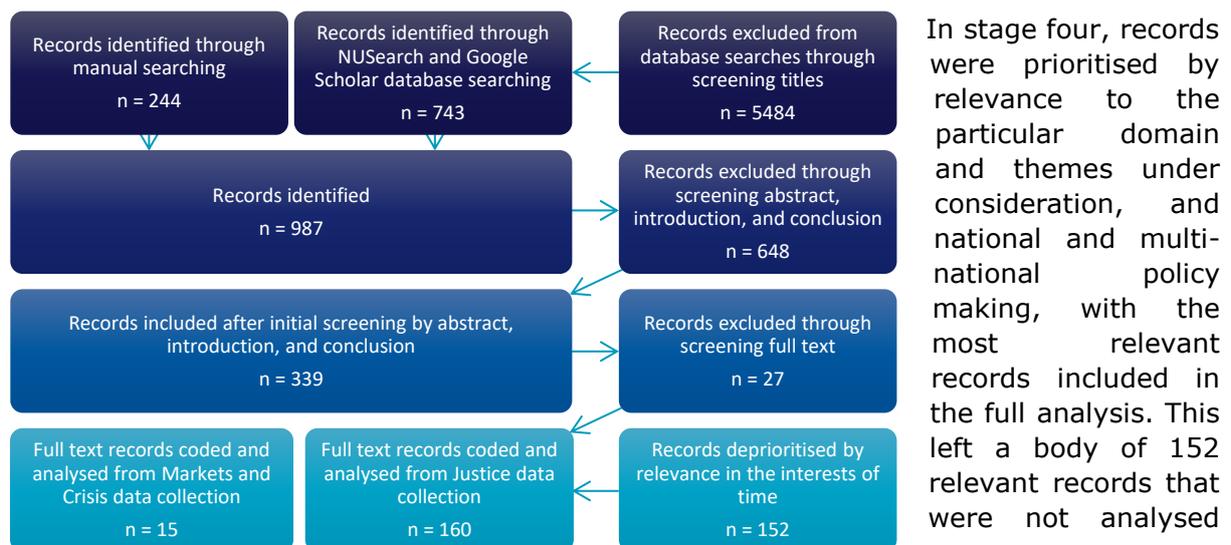
2.2. Literature selection

A three-stage screening process was used to assess all records returned in the search and collection phase. In stage 2 (search and collection), titles of search returns were reviewed to identify potential relevance, adopting an inclusive approach. Records were then screened against inclusion and exclusion criteria established *a priori* in the search protocols. To meet inclusion criteria, sources had to:

- (1) be relevant to national or multinational policy making;
- (2) be relevant to the specific themes under consideration; and
- (3) contain a specific and identifiable claim, or claims, on what works to address modern slavery relevant to policy making and the themes under consideration.

Records were excluded if they failed to meet these criteria, or if they were published prior to 01 January 2010. Editorials, newspaper articles, and other forms of popular media were also excluded. Abstracts and framing material (introductions, conclusions, executive summaries etc) were reviewed for screening in stage 3 (initial screening), and screening criteria were further considered against the full text of the record during stages 4 and 5 (coding and analysis).

Figure 1. Screening and review process¹²



¹² Adapted PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) flow chart, adapted from D Moher, A Liberati, J Tetzlaff, DG Altman and The PRISMA Group, 'Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses: The PRISMA statement' (2009) 6(7) *PLoS Med.*

and coded, as a result of time constraints that were considered potentially relevant to the investigation.

Justifications for exclusion were recorded throughout the review process.

2.3. Extracting data

Full-text analysis was conducted on all records that satisfied the inclusion criteria (total 175 records – see [Annex 3. Reference list](#)). Each record was evaluated through two standardised forms, to extract specific data points for records retained in the review. The coding matrix form (see Annex 2. Coding matrix), based on deductive coding approaches, was generated *a priori* by the research team in collaboration with UNU-CPR. This matrix captures key data points relevant to the further quantitative interrogation of evidence intended by UNU-CPR, as well as entailing assessments of evidence amenable to descriptive quantitative analysis (see [Section 3. Mapping the evidence base](#) below).¹³ This coding matrix collected both qualitative and quantitative data, and enabled qualitative information to be transformed into quantitative data for quantitative analysis ('quantitising').¹⁴ Coding of research design and methods was categorical rather than hierarchical, recognising that quality of evidence is not determined by research design alone, but on the robust application of methods appropriate for the study context.¹⁵ For instance, appropriately conducted qualitative studies may be stronger sources of evidence than the randomised control trials often presumed to be the 'gold standard' of evidence, depending on the subject of inquiry and the context of the study.¹⁶ The coding matrix also included a scale to assess the quality of evidence to support the efficacy of the approach assessed in the record, based on the UK Department for International Development's guide to Assessing the Strength of Evidence.¹⁷

In this stage, the research team identified the core claims relevant to the study being tested in each record. Relevance to the study in this case required that these claims should be about what works to address modern slavery in the context of Justice. These claims were framed inductively, drawn from the records without prescription as to content, beyond the requirement that these be relevant to the core research question and domain. These claims served as the primary unit of analysis in the coding matrix, with all other variables being coded against particular claims rather than the record as a whole. They also served as the primary unit of qualitative analysis, recognising the core objective of the study to determine the current state of evidence on what works to address modern slavery at the national and multinational policy levels in the domain of justice. Each claim represents an argument about a particular practice, policy, intervention, or approach to address modern slavery and its impacts.

¹³ Though limited in scope, this reflects the need to 'quantitise' qualitative findings for combination with quantitative study findings for integrated mixed research synthesis. AJ Onwuegbuzie and C Teddlie, 'A Framework for Analyzing Data in Mixed Methods Research' in A Tashakkori and C Teddlie (eds), *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioural Research* (Sage 2003) 351-383. See also Sandelowski et al, above n 7.

¹⁴ Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, above n 13. See also Sandelowski et al, above n 7.

¹⁵ Literature on systematic review methods argues against the use of fixed hierarchies in considering research methods, advocating instead for appropriate typologies – see D Ogilve, M Egan, V Hamilton and M Petticrew 'Systematic Reviews of Health Effects of Social Interventions' (2005) 59 *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 886; M Petticrew and H Roberts, 'Evidence Hierarchies and Typologies: Horses for Courses' (2003) 57 *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 527.

¹⁶ See RE Slavin, 'Best Evidence Synthesis: And Intelligent Alternative to Meta-Analysis' (1995) 48 *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology* 9.

¹⁷ Department for International Development, 'Assessing the Strength of Evidence' (UK Government, March 2014) <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/how-to-note-assessing-the-strength-of-evidence>.

Each record was qualitatively assessed to extract relevant observations on the strength of evidence and enable more nuanced analysis of the evidence base. Qualitative data was extracted and summarised, and preliminary critical analysis of records conducted independently, considering: (1) claims tested in the record; (2) testing methods; (3) findings on claims; (4) strengths and shortcomings of evidence and methods in relation to specific claims; and (5) strengths, shortcomings, and features of the record taken as a whole. This involved the transformation of quantitative findings into qualitative form ('qualitising')¹⁸ necessary for integrated mixed research synthesis (see 7 below).

2.4. Data mapping and synthesis

To integrate and analyse findings from the methodologically diverse records collected, the research team undertook a mixed research synthesis, adopting an integrated design. This reflects the following assumptions underpinning integrated design outlined by Sandelowski et al: (a) the methodological diversity in the evidence base does not require distinct analyses; (b) studies adopting distinct methods are not fundamentally or always distinguishable in the evidence base; (c) studies in the evidence base with diverse methods might nonetheless address the same (or similar) research questions; and (d) synthesis of records in the collected evidence base adopting diverse methods is practicable using methods developed for quantitative and qualitative reviews.¹⁹ Integrated mixed research synthesis was appropriate in light of the evidence base collected (with studies adopting diverse methods nonetheless providing evidence confirming, refuting, and extending one another) and the aim of assimilating research findings rather than merely configuring them.²⁰

To enable integrated mixed research synthesis, stage four (discussed in [Section 2.3. Extracting data](#) above) involved the transformation and standardisation of research findings from methodologically diverse studies through 'quantitisation' of qualitative data for quantitative analysis across the evidence base collected, and 'qualitisation' of quantitative data for qualitative analysis. The combination of both quantitative and qualitative measures for the claims identified in the evidence base enabled more nuanced and holistic analysis of the evidence supporting each of these claims than could be achieved with either taken alone.

Quantitative coding was used to underpin evidence mapping (see [Section 3. Mapping the evidence base](#)), including basic quantitative analysis and descriptive statistics. This coding also supported mapping of sub-groupings of evidence by theme, established through mixed quantitative and qualitative review (see [Section 4. Findings on what works](#)). To support thematic analysis of the evidence base, the research team inductively developed thematic tags for the full set of claims identified, coding manually in Excel until saturation point was reached. On the basis of these codes, studies were clustered into hypothesis groupings, with a more general categorical hypothesis created that described the discrete claims included in the group. These groupings formed the basis of critical thematic analysis, considering strengths, weaknesses, variation, and trends in hypotheses. This included consideration of variation between quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, and non-empirical studies within hypotheses, as well as mixed methods analysis of the evidence base, to avoid the risk noted by Rolfe in the context of mixed research syntheses

¹⁸ Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, above n 13. See also Sandelowski et al, above n 7.

¹⁹ This reflects the underpinning assumptions of integrated mixed research syntheses noted by Sandelowski et al., above n 7, 36. note that the integrated design is most appropriate when

²⁰ Ibid.

of erasing difference between qualitative and quantitative methods,²¹ through the 'one-way assimilation of qualitative data into quantitative data'.²²

2.5. Limitations

This study considered records available in English published or completed in the time period from 01 January 2010 to 01 July 2020. It excluded records not accessible online to the research team. This had the impact of excluding the majority of full-length monographs and edited volumes. Further analysis might therefore be conducted on records published prior to 2010, and in other languages, and to capture records that were inaccessible to the research team at the time of the study. Although the NuSearch database provides access to a range of databases hosting grey literature, the majority of results collected were academic sources. This was also supplemented by a complete manual review of all sources included in the Walk Free Foundation's 'Promising Practices Database', which captures 179 evaluations relevant to modern slavery. Future studies might therefore usefully undertake further manual searching of a wider range of non-governmental, governmental, and inter-governmental organisations, as well as broader Google searching, to capture a wider range of grey literature – particularly for the period from 2018 onwards to capture evaluations published since the Promising Practices Database was compiled.

This study was conducted within resource and time constraints that precluded analysis of the full body of potentially relevant records. Prioritisation in stage four excluded 152 potentially relevant studies. Fuller analysis of these remaining studies is therefore needed in order to fully understand the existing evidence base on what works to address modern slavery in the context of justice. The time constraints also necessitated records being analysed and coded by a single research team member, rather than the double-blind coding that would have provided the most solid foundation to support conclusions drawn on the evidence. Given the subjective nature of the process of constructing claims from records, as well as decisions on the relevant data extracted from these records, this creates risk of analysis and findings being skewed on the basis of differences between reviewers. To mitigate these issues, clear guidelines on coding for each metric were provided at the outset, random quality assurance was conducted by the project lead on ~20% of entries, and further guidance provided to team members as required throughout the process. However, further quality assurance is required to ensure confidence in the dataset. This work remains ongoing.

Without in-depth consideration of the paradigms in which the different research outputs considered were produced, the underpinning assumptions about theory, legitimate objects of study, legitimate research questions, and what constitutes a finding remain largely unexplored. Greenhalgh (et al) highlight the challenges of synthesising evidence from across a wide range of disciplines with a variety of study designs, noting that 'an empirical discovery made using one set of concepts, theories, methods and instruments cannot be satisfactorily explained through a different paradigmatic lens'.²³ Given the constraints and parameters of this review, the interrogation of underlying paradigms and assumptions of the evidence base and development of 'meta-narratives' was not possible. Further research considering the different underpinning assumptions and biases of different disciplines and fields is therefore required to understand these nuances.

²¹ G Rolfe, 'Faking a Difference: Evidence-Based Nursing and the Illusion of Diversity' (2002) 22(1) *Nurse Education Today* 3.

²² Sandelowski et al, above n 7, 33.

²³ T Greenhalgh, G Robert, F Macfarlane, P Bate, O Kyriakidou, and R Peacock, 'Storylines of Research in Diffusion of Innovation: A Meta-Narrative Approach to Systematic Review' (2005) 61 *Social Science and Medicine* 417, 419.

3. Mapping the evidence base

175 records were assessed and coded in this study (see [Annex 3. Reference list](#)). Of these, 138 (79%) were published in a peer reviewed context, 31 (18%) in a non-peer reviewed setting, and 4 (2%) were unpublished. Publication status was unclear in 2 cases. 29 records (17%) were programme or project evaluation reports. From these 175 records, 401 distinct claims about what works to address modern slavery in the context of justice were identified.

3.1. Temporal trends

In line with the parameters set for the research inquiry, all records assessed were published (or completed) in the period from 01 January 2010 to 01 July 2020. The highest number of records were analysed from the 2015 year, with 28 records, while the lowest frequency occurs in 2010, with 6 records coded. This study covered only 6 months of 2020, with 9 records assessed in this period. The increase in records assessed in 2015 could be connected to a number of significant international occurrences related to modern slavery in that year, and the adoption of the Protocol to the 1930 Forced Labour Convention in 2014. However, it should be noted that there is often a time lapse between evidence being generated in both research and practice, and that research becoming publicly available. Thus a clear correlation between international events and the spike in publications cannot be determined based on this review.

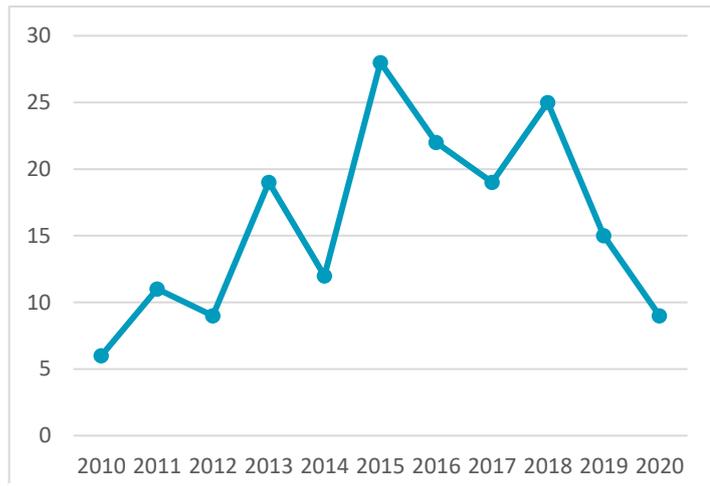


Figure 2. Frequency of coded records by year of publication or completion

3.2. Authorship

The majority of records assessed (83%) were academic publications, although records collected in stage 2 were drawn from a variety of sources. 14% of records were authored by non-governmental organisations, 2% by intergovernmental organisations, and 1% by governmental actors (see [Figure 3. Distribution of records by authorship](#)).

Figure 3. Distribution of records by authorship

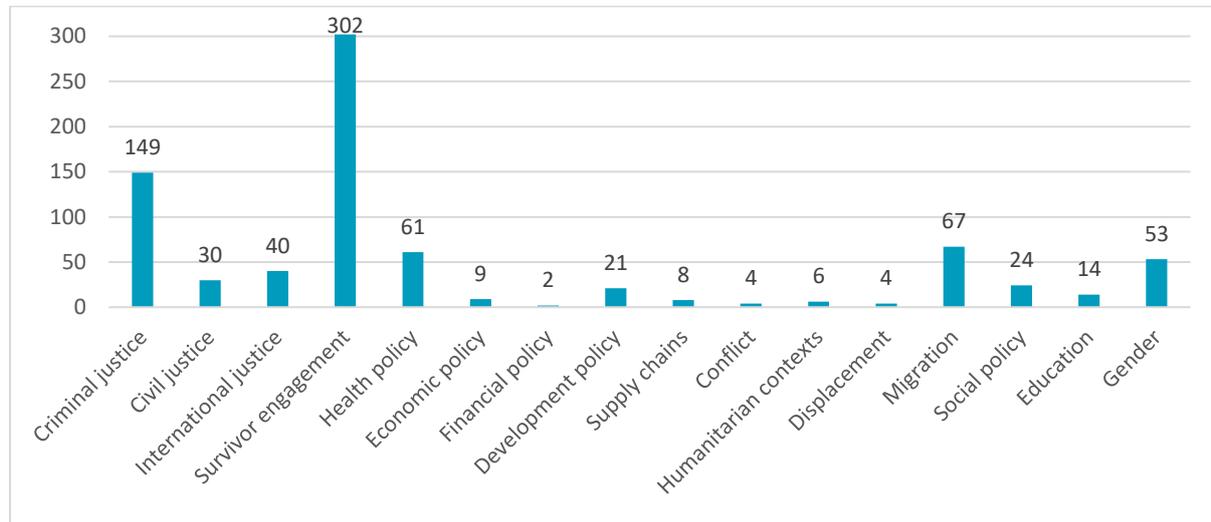


3.3. Domains and themes

Claims assessed in this study traversed all five of the pre-defined justice themes, as well as linking to cross-cutting themes of gender, social policy, and education. Claims also intersected with themes under consideration in the parallel markets and crisis reviews, most notably connecting to the migration and development policy themes. Survivor

engagement and support was the most common theme identified by a significant margin, with 299 claims assessed as relevant to this theme (75% of all claims identified). This was followed by criminal justice, which was considered to relate to 143 claims (36%). Claims were identified in relation to all of the themes identified across the three parallel reviews, with 2 exceptions: no claims relevant to justice were identified as related to the markets theme of trade policy, or the cross-cutting theme of climate and environment.

Figure 4. Number of hypotheses related to review themes

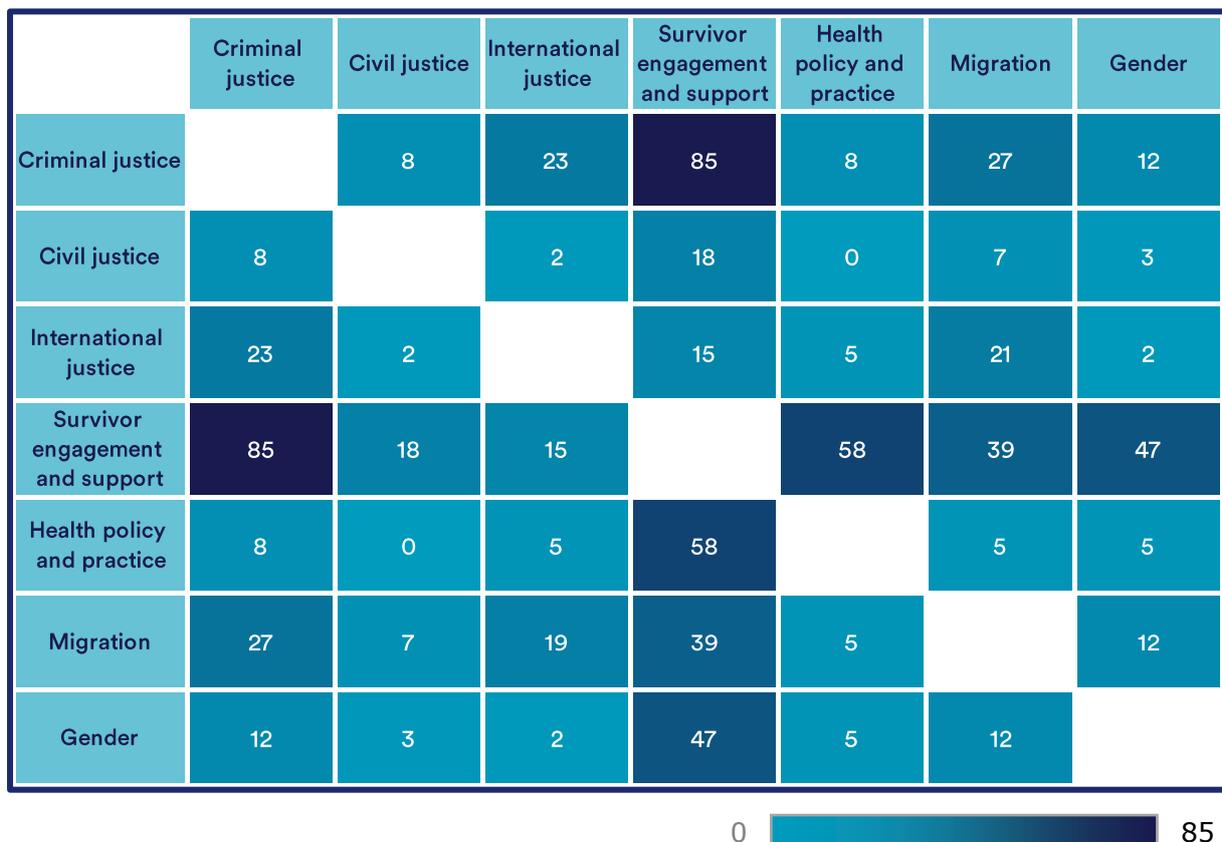


Relatively few records relevant to the themes of civil and international justice were assessed in this study, with civil justice considered relevant to 30 claims (7%) and international justice to 40 (10%). With regard to civil justice, this reflects the relatively limited evidence base considering modern slavery in this context. However, further interrogation of research considering labour rights and exploitation more broadly might yield more extensive results. The theme of international justice did not evidence such a scarcity of evidence in the initial phases, with a significant number of records identified in initial data collection phase that were ultimately excluded or de-prioritised as they did not directly evaluate evidence of what works. In part, this is a result of the difficulty of assessing impacts of activity and interventions at this level. However, it also indicates that further research (both academic and non-academic) is required to evaluate the impacts of international law and policy in practice and determine what works to address modern slavery in the context of international justice.

The majority of claims assessed were relevant exclusively to the Delta 8.7 Policy Guide domain area of justice, representing 309 of the 401 claims assessed (77%). However, 57 claims (14%) were at the intersection of Justice and Crisis, while 20 (5%) were relevant to both Justice and Markets. A small number of claims coded in this study were not relevant to Justice, but solely related to Markets or Crisis (n=10 and n=3 respectively). These claims were nonetheless included in the study because they were drawn from records that were directly relevant to Justice and contained claims within this domain. Claims at the intersection between Justice and Crisis typically focused on issues related to migration and immigration, considering the rights, experiences, needs, and entitlements of migrant survivors, and the intersections between immigration policy and effective protection and prosecution. Claims at the intersection of Justice and Markets were predominantly drawing connections between economic and development contexts and survivors' needs, experiences, recovery, and sustainable reintegration. No claims were identified at the intersection of all 3 domains.

Of the 401 claims coded, 133 (33%) were recorded as relevant to a single theme, 174 (43%) connected to 2 themes, 70 (17%) to 3 themes, 17 (4%) to 4 themes, and 7 (2%) to 5 themes. The most common intersections were all connections with survivor engagement and support—unsurprising given the relative frequency of claims coded against these themes comparable to other themes studied. This included intersections between survivor engagement and support and criminal justice with 85 intersecting claims, health policy and practice (58 claims), gender (47 claims), and migration (39 claims). This demonstrates the cross-sectoral relevance of considerations of survivor engagement and support and emphasises the importance of considering survivor experiences and perspectives in these various contexts. These connections are largely explained by the frequency of each of these themes in the study, although the substantive connections between themes were also clear from the literature.

Figure 5. Number of claims at the intersections between themes²⁴



3.4. Source characteristics

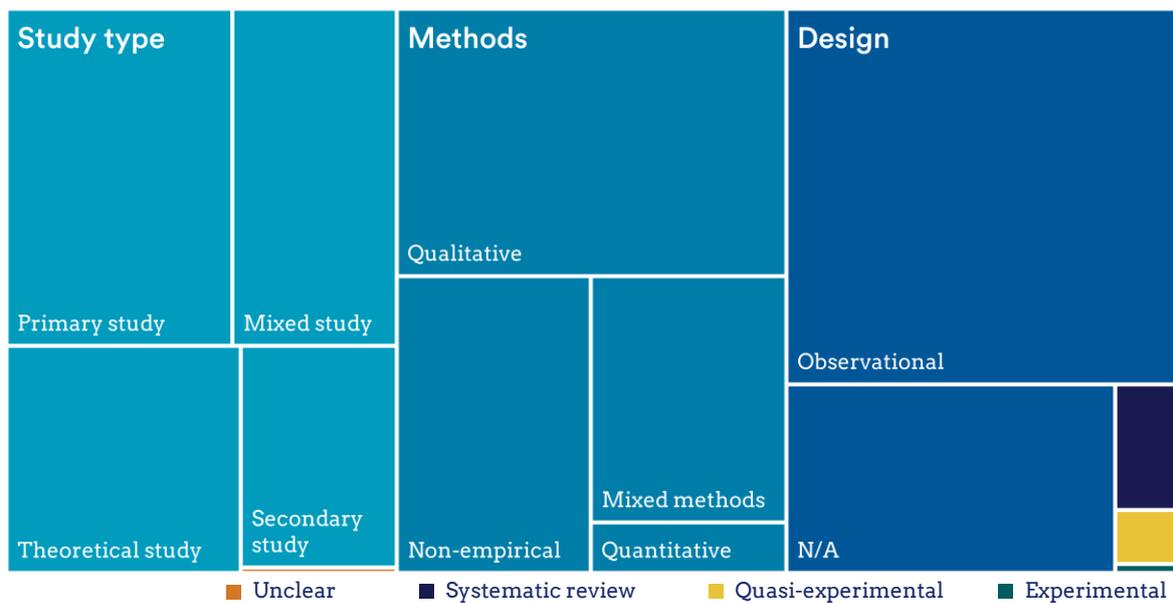
Claims assessed in this review were considered in studies adopting a variety of different methods, approaches, and research designs. The diversity of methods evidenced across the 175 records assessed strengthens the evidence base, with records often coalescing around shared conclusions even as they adopted substantially different approaches to assessing what works to address modern slavery in the context of justice. Primary studies were the most common, underpinning 139 claims (35%) assessed across the review. This was followed by mixed studies supporting 101 claims (25%), theoretical or conceptual

²⁴ All themes listed across the three UNU Policy Guide domain areas were considered in coding records, including cross-cutting themes. Themes with a frequency <30 in this review are excluded from this table.

studies supporting 97 claims (24%), and secondary studies supporting 63 claims (16%). Study type was unclear in 1 case (0.2%)

Qualitative methods were favoured by a significant margin, underpinning 190 of the 401 claims assessed (47%). This was followed by non-empirical methods underpinning 105 claims (26%) and mixed methods approaches representing 88 claims (22%). Purely quantitative studies were uncommon in this review, underpinning only 18 claims (4%). The preference for qualitative methods was coupled with a tendency towards observational research designs, with 267 claims (67%) supported by studies adopting this approach. Experimental and quasi-experimental approaches were rare, representing 1 (0.2%) and 6 (1%) claims respectively, while 14 claims (3%) were supported by a systematic review.

Figure 6. Distribution of claims by research characteristics



3.5. Scope of application

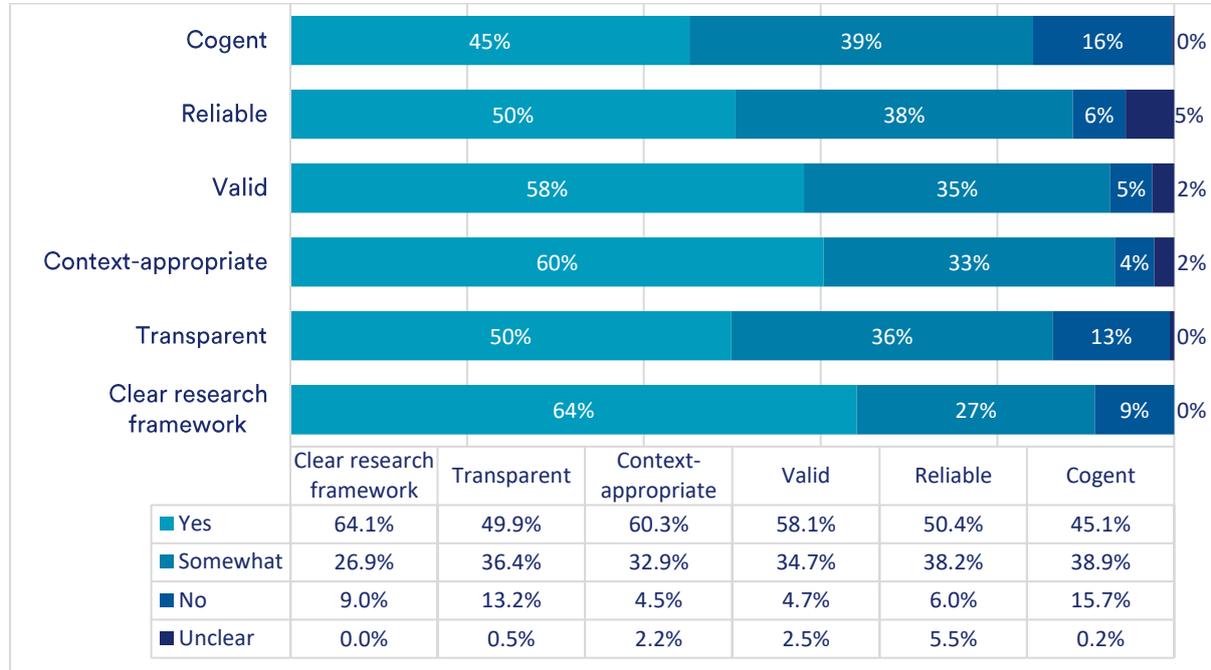
Studies in this review were geographically diverse, with the majority considering a single, specific national context. 16 studies (9%) were not geographically tied, adopting a generalised international perspective. 6 studies (3%) considered particular geographic regions, covering Asia (2), the Balkans, Europe (3), and the Middle East and South Asia together. Several studies considered specific sub-national geographic contexts, from particular states within a federal country, to particular cities. Several studies conducted comparative studies, either within or between States. While studies broadly traversed the globe, it is notable that no studies included in this review focused on national contexts in Central or South America (although Mexico was the focus of 2 studies). This was the only region absent from the review, and likely a result of the language limitations of the review. The United States was the focus of the highest number of studies, with 56 studies (31%) considering the country as a whole or a particular sub-national context within it. This was followed by the United Kingdom, which was the focus of 16 studies (9%), Cambodia in 9 studies (5%), Australia in 7 studies (4%), and Indonesia in 5 studies (3%). In total, 53 distinct national contexts were specifically considered in studies considered in this review.

3.6. Evidentiary quality

The evidence underpinning claims in this review was considered against 6 measures of quality, considering clarity of the research framework, transparency, context-appropriateness of the methods and approaches adopted, validity, reliability, and cogency.

Overall, the majority of claims were considered to have satisfied each of these measures in whole or to some extent. Relatively few claims were considered not to satisfy these quality measures, with the measure considered not to have been satisfied in the highest number of cases being cogency (n=63; 16%).

Figure 7. Distribution of claims by evidentiary quality measures



While there was significant divergence in the approaches adopted, and in many cases room for improvement to ensure robust evidence generation, the strength of evidence underpinning claims in this review was assessed to be strong. This provides support for the conclusions drawn in the studies (and discussed further in [Section 4. Findings on what works below](#)), as well as providing an indication of areas in need of development.

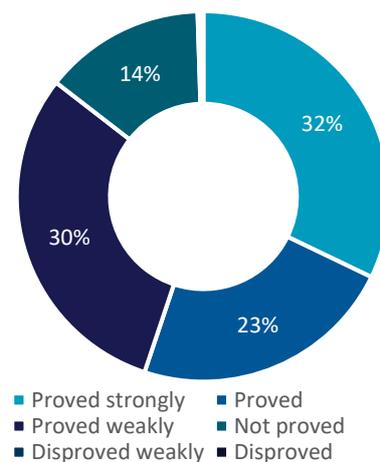
4. Findings on what works

Justice, conceived broadly, is the foundation of efforts to address modern slavery. Antislavery efforts are therefore interwoven with concerns around criminal, civil, and international justice, and survivor engagement and support (including healthcare). Connections between antislavery action and criminal justice, international justice, and survivor engagement and support are far from new—they are well-traversed ground in international, national, and local antislavery movements. They form two of the cornerstones of antislavery action according to the commonly recognised '3 P' framework—prosecution and protection—and underpin both prevention and partnerships. It is therefore unsurprising that the concerns of justice are myriad, and the evidence base is more developed in its interrogations than in the domains of markets and crisis. The 36 hypotheses considered below, representing 401 distinct claims about what works to address modern slavery in the context of justice, track a large swathe of this literature, and the arguments and evidence contained within it.

Hypotheses and claims considered in the following analysis cross all five of the pre-defined justice themes and can broadly be associated with a dominant theme. However, the intersections between these themes, and thus the indivisibility of antislavery efforts, should be noted. In particular, the extent of inter-connections with survivor engagement and support demonstrate authors' conceptualisation of this theme as necessarily engaged in every sphere of antislavery action.

Evidence underpinning justice claims was broadly considered to support positive findings on the claims identified, although with varying levels of confidence in the strength of evidence. Overall, 343 claims were considered to have been underpinned by evidence supporting a positive finding, with 129 claims (32%) considered to have been proved strongly, 92 (23%) to have been proved, and 122 (30%) to have been proved weakly. In 56 cases (14%), the evidence brought to bear in testing claims identified was not considered to support a positive or negative finding. In a very small number of cases (n=2, 0.5%) the evidence was considered to support a negative finding on the hypothesis, with 1 claim (0.2%) considered to have been disproved weakly, and 1 (0.2%) disproved.

Figure 8. Findings on justice claims



Note on the presentation of 'findings on claims'

'Findings on claims' in the context of the analysis presented below represent the extent to which the evidence brought to bear in testing the claims under review were considered by the reviewer to support a positive, neutral, or negative finding on that claim. This draws on the evidentiary quality measures assessed in relation to the claim, but also provides an indication of whether findings were positive or negative, or if insufficient evidence was brought to bear to support a finding either way ('not proved'). This category of neutral findings is important to note, as many studies assessed did not substantially interrogate the claim being considered (for instance, because this claim was not the primary focus of the study) or drew on limited evidence to test it (for instance, because the claim was taken as largely a matter of commonly accepted knowledge in the sector).

It should be noted that these assessments (like assessments on evidentiary quality) are subjective conclusions, often drawn by non-expert reviewers. They therefore provide a starting point for the interrogation of evidence by the Expert Working Group—but should not be taken as determinative.

4.1. Criminal justice

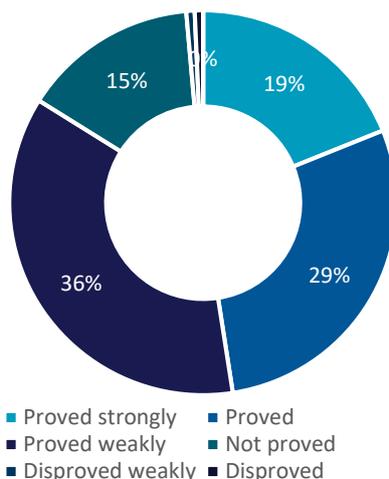
A relatively large and diverse set of claims were identified within the theme of criminal justice. In total, 143 claims relevant to the theme were identified in the review, drawn from 77 records. All studies were published, with 62 (81%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 15 (19%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 64 studies (83%) had academic authorship, 11 (14%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, 1 (1%) by a governmental actor, and 1 (1%) by an intergovernmental agency. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review, from 2010 to 2020, with a peak in 2015 (n=14).

Figure 9. Number of records related to criminal justice over time



Claims relevant to criminal justice were considered to have been proved strongly in 27 cases, proved in 41 cases, proved weakly in 52 cases, and not proved in 21 cases. Claims in this theme were considered to have been disproved 2 cases – with 1 disproved weakly. In both cases, claims disproved were related the immigration and border controls.

Figure 10. Findings on criminal justice claims



Claims relevant to criminal justice often connected to an additional theme, although 31 claims in this group (22%) were considered solely relevant to criminal justice. 76 claims were considered relevant to survivor engagement and support, 24 to migration, 22 to international justice, 12 to gender, and 8 to civil justice and health policy and practice respectively. Claims relevant to criminal justice were also connected to social policy (4), displacement (4), conflict (3), humanitarian contexts (3), development policy (3), economic policy (1), financial policy (1), and supply chains (1).

Evidence underpinning criminal justice claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be clear and valid. The majority of claims were also considered to be underpinned by evidence that was transparent, context appropriate, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so. The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 0-13%.

Criminal justice hypotheses

Ultimately, 13 unique hypotheses were drawn from the literature relating to criminal justice:

Hypothesis 1. Providing modern slavery and human trafficking training to law enforcement and criminal justice actors improves identification, investigation, and prosecution of modern slavery offences

Hypothesis 2. Cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration between antislavery actors at all levels improves investigations, arrests, and prosecutions

Hypothesis 3. Creating specialised law enforcement processes to address modern slavery improves the criminal justice response

Hypothesis 4. Ensuring survivors receive appropriate support and criminal justice processes are victim-centred increases victim cooperation with investigations and prosecutions, improving the likelihood of success

Hypothesis 5. Robust and specific legislative definitions of modern slavery offences support effective antislavery responses

Hypothesis 6. Over-prioritisation of criminal justice mechanisms and responses impedes effective prevention, identification, and support

Hypothesis 7. Legal and policy frameworks and practice that ensure survivors are not criminalised for offences committed in connection to their experiences of modern slavery are critical to effective protection and identification

Hypothesis 8. Oversight and monitoring mechanisms help ensure effective implementation and enforcement of modern slavery laws and policies

Hypothesis 9. Shifting investigation and prosecution strategies away from reliance on survivor testimony to alternative forms of evidence would increase success rates

Hypothesis 10. Successful prosecution of modern slavery offences acts as a deterrent to offending

Hypothesis 11. Basing policy development on robust evidence improves the effectiveness of antislavery policy

Hypothesis 12. Plea bargaining can effectively improve the efficiency of criminal justice processes related to modern slavery

Hypothesis 13. Ensuring access to interpreters during criminal justice processes helps ensure a fair trial and justice in modern slavery cases

Hypothesis 1. Providing modern slavery and human trafficking training to law enforcement and criminal justice actors improves identification, investigation, and prosecution of modern slavery offences²⁵

The role of survivor support and victim-centred processes in ensuring successful criminal justice processes was captured in 14 distinct claims across 14 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 10 (71%) published in peer-reviewed journals and authored by academics, and 4 (29%) published in non-peer reviewed settings by non-governmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2019. The majority of claims within this group related to both the criminal justice and survivor engagement and support themes (n=11), with 1 also connecting to international justice. 3 claims also related to the cross-cutting theme of gender, and 1 to social policy.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 8 cases, proved in 3 cases, proved weakly in 2 cases, and not proved in 1 case. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	7 (50%)
Secondary study	1 (7%)
Mixed study	4 (29%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	2 (14%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	6 (43%)
Mixed	5 (36%)
Non-empirical	3 (21%)
Research design	
Observational	11 (79%)
N/A	3 (21%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	2 (14%)

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs. 1 record relied on theoretical discussion, drawing on evidence from extant literature, while 1 mixed methods study combined quantitative and theoretical (non-empirical) research methods. Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method, with 4 studies analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders, 1 analysing data collected from interviews with survivors, and 1 involving interviews with perpetrators. This latter study combined perpetrator interviews with focus groups, all of which were conducted with women convicted of human trafficking or commercial sexual exploitation of women. Case data analysis supplemented key informant interviews in 3 cases, with one of these studies also conducting surveys with stakeholders and statistical analysis of secondary data sets. Surveys were also a common data collection method in this hypothesis group, with 3 studies using surveys as the sole method of data collection.

The number of respondents ranged from 18-90 for interviews and 7-302 for surveys (although it should be noted that the 7 surveys supplemented both interviews and case data). The number of cases reviewed in case analysis ranged from 175-390.

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority considered to be clear, transparent, context-

²⁵ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [14], [19], [26], [29], [30], [36], [67], [77], [83], [90], [108], [109], [128], and [161].

[Return to Criminal justice hypotheses](#)

appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent. Overall, methodologies in this hypothesis grouping were considered to be robust and well articulated, combining multiple methods to produce a stronger evidentiary foundation for conclusions drawn. The evidence base benefits from a wider consideration of statistical and case data in several of the records assessed, strengthening the evidence through a more expansive review and supporting findings from interviews with smaller sample groups. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. Authors often drew on international literature rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	12 (86%)	2 (14%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	9 (64%)	3 (21%)	2 (14%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	9 (64%)	4 (29%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)
Valid	12 (86%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)
Reliable	12 (86%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)
Cogent	9 (64%)	3 (21%)	2 (14%)	0 (0%)

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation, identifying the importance of support and victim-centred processes for survivors of sex and labour trafficking, as well as trafficking for the purpose of criminal exploitation. Studies considered both male and female survivors, although 2 studies drew on experiences and perspectives of only female respondents—1 with survivors and 1 with perpetrators. 1 study specifically considered the experiences of migrant women who had been imprisoned for crimes their traffickers forced them to commit.

The role of training for law enforcement and criminal justice practitioners was strongly emphasised across the evidence base, with implications for identification, investigation, prosecution, and protection of victims. Records noted the need for training for a wide variety of criminal and public justice officials, including police officers, prosecutors, and border guards. Records across this group emphasised the importance of specialised human trafficking and modern slavery training in ensuring criminal justice actors have the requisite knowledge and skills to appropriately deal with cases. This included training in definitions and elements of offences, dynamics of offending and victimhood, different forms of exploitation, spotting the signs, and victim-centred processes. The nuances of consent and coercion were also identified as particular areas requiring training.

Stereotypes and presumptions about human trafficking and its victims were highlighted as impeding identification and response measures, including notions of 'ideal victimhood', 'prostitution myths', and assumptions that sexual exploitation is the primary form of trafficking. 1 study noted that existing training reinforced these assumptions about sexual exploitation as the focus of anti-trafficking, emphasising the importance of training accurately reflecting the dynamics of offending. 4 records noted the role of these assumptions in creating situations in which victims are criminalised for activities connected to their victimisation, including in cases of criminal exploitation and prostitution. One study that conducted pre- and

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction. One study was not geographically tied, being theoretical and international in scope, and one focused specifically on a particular state in the United States—Kentucky. The remaining records were national studies, covering Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia (2), Finland, Mexico, Serbia, Spain (2), the United Kingdom (2), and the United States (2).

post-testing on training participants found that training substantially decreased punitive attitudes towards potential victims, decreasing the chances that victims would be criminalised. Several studies (n=3) also noted that training was needed to prevent conflation of trafficking and smuggling, and to ensure law enforcement agents did not treat consent as obviating trafficking in cases involving coercion and abuse.

Records noted that training increased the number of victims identified and the diversity in forms of exploitation and types of victim recognised, as well as increasing the number of investigations and arrests conducted. They further highlighted that training provided a foundation for better engagement with victim advocates, and reduced risks of re-traumatisation in criminal justice processes. One record found that it was important that training be provided to senior officers, noting statistically significant improvements when executive-level agents were provided with training that did not result from training of mid-level officers. Records further noted the importance that training be adequately resourced, ongoing, and institutionalised to ensure that new and changing personnel received specialised training.

Hypothesis 2. Cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration between antislavery actors at all levels improves investigations, arrests, and prosecutions²⁶

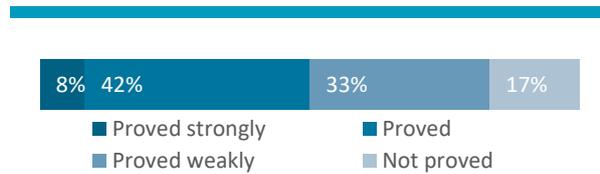
The value of cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration between antislavery actors at all levels in improving criminal justice processes was captured in 12 distinct claims across 11 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 7 (64%) published in peer-reviewed journals with academic authorship, and 4 (36%) published in non-peer reviewed settings, with 3 (27%) authored by non-governmental organisations and 1 (9%) authored by a governmental agency. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2019, with a slight concentration in 2018 (n=3). All studies in this group related to the theme of criminal justice, with 5 also connecting to survivor engagement and support, and 2 to international justice. 1 study related to the cross-cutting theme of 'social policy'.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	5 (42%)
Secondary study	1 (8%)
Mixed study	5 (42%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	1 (8%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	2 (17%)
Qualitative	5 (42%)
Mixed	4 (33%)
Non-empirical	1 (8%)
Research design	
Observational	9 (75%)
N/A	3 (25%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs. Interviews were the most commonly utilised method of data collection, with 6 studies conducting interviews with key informants, including police, prosecutors, magistrates, governmental actors, civil society, intergovernmental and international organisations. The number of interview respondents in a single study ranged from 17-121. Interviews were often supplemented with additional data collection and analysis methods, including case data reviews in 3 cases, literature reviews in 2 cases, and participatory analysis through focus groups and follow-up interviews in 1 case. Key informant focus groups were the sole method of data collection in 1 study (involving 16 respondents and identifying 274 unique data statements) and supplemented a key informant survey in another (with 42 total respondents). 1 study utilised a survey of service providers as the sole data collection method (n=175) and combined this with secondary data from an independent survey (n=206) for comparative analysis. Another study conducted secondary data analysis (descriptive statistics and logistic regression) on a range of data (including case and demographic data). This group also included 1 non-empirical study involving law and policy analysis.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 1 case, proved in 5 cases, proved weakly in 4 cases, and not proved in 2 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

²⁶ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [24], [42], [64], [67], [68], [92], [107], [112], [115], [164], and [171].

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	3 (25%)	8 (67%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	6 (50%)	6 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	6 (50%)	5 (42%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	6 (50%)	4 (33%)	2 (17%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	6 (50%)	4 (33%)	2 (17%)	0 (0%)

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding, with the majority of claims considered to be supported by clear research. All studies were assessed to be clear and context-appropriate, or somewhat so, and the majority were considered to be transparent, valid, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

Studies in this group traversed the various forms of exploitation, with most covering human trafficking and modern slavery broadly, although 1 specifically considered sex trafficking, and 1 online sexual exploitation of children. No other studies in this group were tied to considering particular victim populations, although 1 study explicitly included consideration of LGBTQI survivors.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, although 1 study was not geographically tied, adopting an international perspective. 5 studies focused on specific sub-national locations, covering Amsterdam (the Netherlands), Florida, Georgia, Lee and Collier Counties, and a single Midwestern city (all in the United States). The remaining studies focused on particular national contexts, covering Cambodia, Mexico, the Philippines, Portugal, and Thailand.

Studies in this group emphasised the important role of cross-sectoral coordination at all levels—from collaboration with local community actors to transnational cooperation—in supporting effective law enforcement. Investigations, arrests, and prosecutions were all found to benefit from effective coordination and suffer in the absence of such. Several specific benefits of different forms of engagement and were identified, although 1 study emphasised the importance of clear processes and guidelines for collaboration (with the lack of such hampering the quality of cases at trial). Another noted the need for cooperation at the operational level and not just at higher levels, finding that having to filter communication through designated officials whose time is in high demand and who are not familiar with all the details of the case is inefficient, and that rank, diplomacy, and formalities often hinder effective collaboration.

Collaboration between law enforcement and service providers was found to increase survivors’ willingness to participate in prosecutions, and facilitate greater rates of prosecution, in 2 studies. Multi-agency collaboration was noted to produce an ‘exponential impact’ on modern slavery and anti-trafficking responses. In one study, the operation of a multi-agency task force was found to increase willingness of law enforcement to certify victims, in part as a result of engagement with anti-trafficking organisations that raised their awareness of the intersection between sex work and trafficking. Another study identified membership in a multi-agency task force as the only variable studied to have a significant impact on trafficking arrests, with officers involved in a task force found to be 39 times more likely to have conducted a human trafficking investigation or arrest.

Collaboration between different law enforcement agencies and offices (domestically and transnationally) was noted to improve investigation, arrest rates, and successful prosecution, including by ensuring that police and prosecutors work together to ensure necessary evidence is collected to secure prosecutions (n>6). 1 study also highlighted the need to collaboration with community police, finding that this cooperation improved collection of information and investigation, while absence of such decreased chances that victims would be identified in the first instance.

Hypothesis 3. Creating specialised law enforcement processes to address modern slavery improves the criminal justice response²⁷

The role of survivor support and victim-centred processes in ensuring successful criminal justice processes was captured in 16 distinct claims across 12 records assessed.

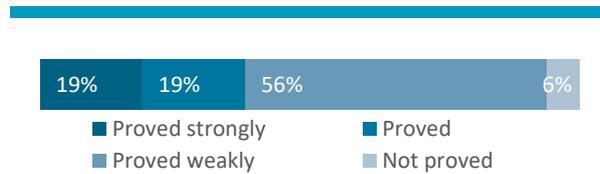
All studies were published, with 8 (67%) published in peer-reviewed journals, and 4 (33%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. Publication dates extended from 2011 to 2019, with slight concentrations in 2011 (n=3) and 2018 (n=3). 8 studies (67%) were authored by academics, 3 (25%) by non-governmental organisations, and 1 by an intergovernmental agency (8%). All claims in this group related to the theme of criminal justice, with 6 also connecting to survivor engagement and support, 1 to civil justice, and 1 to international justice.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	6 (38%)
Secondary study	1 (6%)
Mixed study	6 (38%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	3 (19%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	1 (6%)
Qualitative	8 (50%)
Mixed	4 (25%)
Non-empirical	3 (19%)
Research design	
Observational	10 (63%)
N/A	6 (38%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	2 (13%)

while 2 others conducted case analysis in addition to key informant interviews. 1 study conducted follow-up interviews with a select group of respondents to conduct participatory analysis. Interview designs were all qualitative, with 2 studies undertaking semi-structured interviews. The number of respondents in these studies ranged from 18-121. 1 study employed a survey methodology, combining pre- and post-testing through questionnaires at training provided in connection to the study to high-level police officers (pre-test n=302; post-test n=85) with a survey of patrol officers to assess impact. 1 study adopted a purely quantitative approach, conducting secondary data analysis involving descriptive statistics and logistic regression.

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding. All studies were assessed to be clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, and



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 3 cases, proved in 3 cases, proved weakly in 9 cases, and not proved in 1 case. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs. 2 records conducted non-empirical discussions based on extant literature. Interviews were the most commonly utilise method of data collection, with 6 studies conducted interviews with key informants, and 1 combining key informant interviews with survivor interviews. This study also supplemented interviews with case file review (n=230) and focus group discussion. 1 other study supplemented key informant interviews with stakeholder focus groups,

²⁷ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [8], [40], [60], [67], [68], [101], [107], [112], [113], [115], [135], and [137].

reliable, or somewhat so. The majority of studies were also considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent, with only 2 claims underpinned by evidence assessed not to have satisfied this measure in whole or in part. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	7 (44%)	9 (56%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	4 (25%)	12 (75%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	6 (38%)	10 (63%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	6 (38%)	10 (63%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	7 (44%)	9 (56%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	7 (44%)	7 (44%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)

Studies in this group traversed the various forms of exploitation, with most covering human trafficking and modern slavery broadly, although 1 specifically considered sex trafficking, 1 labour trafficking, 1 child labour, and 1 online sexual exploitation of children.

Studies in this group identified the need for, and value of, specialised processes for addressing and combatting modern slavery. However, the specific approaches advocated were relatively diverse between the different studies. These crossed studies focused on specialised units and agencies, specialised data systems, and targeted funding for specialisation within existing agencies. Many records emphasised the complex and specific nature of human trafficking and modern slavery offending, noting that specialisation was necessary to ensure effective law enforcement in light of this complexity.

Several studies (n=5) considered the need for specific law enforcement units or task forces specialised in human trafficking. 3 of these studies were evaluative, considering the impacts of existing specialised units, and 2 were prospective, indicating the critical need for specialised units based on the nature and scope of existing failures in non-specialised processes. These studies highlighted the need for specialised knowledge on human trafficking offences, a proactive approach to identifying and investigating cases, and ability to respond rapidly to potential cases, as well as the institutionalisation of knowledge, mentoring, and training. Lack of commitment as well as knowledge were identified as barriers to effective operation of non-specialist units. 1 study found that membership of a (multi-agency) anti-trafficking task force increased the odds of an officer having conducted a human trafficking arrest by 39 times, with membership being the only variable in the study with a significant impact on arrests. These specialist units were highlighted as improving identifications and arrests, in part by ensuring that officers had a nuanced understanding of trafficking and victimhood that enabled them to identify victims that otherwise would have been overlooked or criminalised. Several units considered in this group were collaborative, multi-agency task forces, while several studies across this group emphasised the importance of collaboration internationally, nationally, and locally (see also [Hypothesis 1. Providing modern slavery and human trafficking training to law enforcement and criminal justice actors improves](#)

Geographic distribution
Studies evidenced some geographic diversity, although with a significant portion focused specifically on the United States (n=6). 1 study was not geographically tied, adopting an international perspective, while 3 studies focused on specific sub-national locations, covering Amsterdam (the Netherlands), Florida, and Kentucky (United States). The remaining studies focused on particular national contexts, covering Cambodia, the Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, and the United States (4).

[identification, investigation, and prosecution of modern slavery offences](#)).

Several studies emphasised the need for specialised processes, procedures, and funding within existing institutional structures. 1 study considered the importance of departmental human trafficking procedures, protocols, and policies, with officers in departments with such specialised measures in place recorded to be 5 times more likely to have conducted a human trafficking investigation or made an arrest. The study found that such measures increased the likelihood of victims being identified and improved the quality of investigations as well as the quantity, although noted the need for specialised training to go alongside protocols (see also [Hypothesis 1](#). Providing modern slavery and human trafficking training to law enforcement and criminal justice actors improves identification, investigation, and prosecution of modern slavery offences). Several studies highlighted the need for investment in specialised processes and personnel, and the need to ensure that officers are able to specialise (as opposed to being regularly transferred). Studies noted that expertise was built through case work, and that some forms of exploitation required specific technical skills, and therefore that it was important that officers could specialise in order to build the necessary skills to effectively conduct combat modern slavery.

Investigating a different approach, several studies in this group (n=5) considered the need for specialised data management, tracking, screening, and monitoring systems for modern slavery cases. 1 study considered the application of an identification screening tool for law enforcement, finding the tool to be highly accurate at predicting cases and highlighting that the ability to use a reliable victim identification tool expands the reach of those who serve victims and those who investigate and prosecute trafficking cases. Another focused on the need for an international trafficking registry, drawing on evidence on the operation of the US sex offender registry to conclude that such a tool would improve international cooperation, prosecution, and deterrence. Comprehensive child labour monitoring systems and trial data tracking systems were also investigated and advocated in this group, noting improvements to criminal justice processes, resource allocation, and understandings of the changing dynamics of trafficking over time.

Hypothesis 4. Ensuring survivors receive appropriate support and criminal justice processes are victim-centred increases victim cooperation with investigations and prosecutions, improving the likelihood of success²⁸

The role of survivor support and victim-centred processes in ensuring successful criminal justice processes was captured in 12 distinct claims across 12 records assessed.

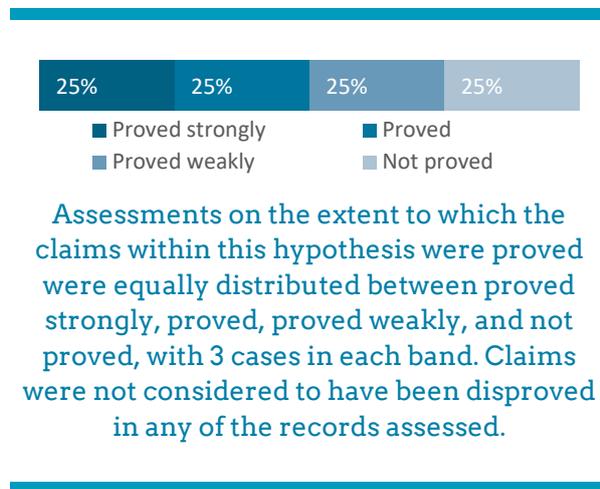
All studies were published, with 6 (50%) published in peer-reviewed journals and authored by academics, and 6 (50%) published in non-peer reviewed settings by non-governmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2014 to 2020. All claims within this group related to both the criminal justice and the survivor engagement and support themes. 1 claim also related to the cross-cutting theme of gender.

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs. Three records relied on theoretical discussion, drawing on evidence from extant literature. Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method, with 7 studies analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders, and 3 analysing data collected from interviews with survivors. 2 studies combined interviews with both survivors and key informants. 1 study supplemented key informant interviews with stakeholder focus groups, and 2 combined stakeholder interviews with analysis of case records and statistics on human trafficking cases. The specific details of methods adopted were not outlined in several sources, creating ambiguity in the methodology and undermining confidence in the strength of evidence generated in the research.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	5 (42%)
Secondary study	1 (8%)
Mixed study	3 (25%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	3 (25%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	7 (58%)
Mixed	2 (17%)
Non-empirical	3 (25%)
Research design	
Observational	8 (67%)
N/A	4 (33%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	1 (8%)

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority considered to clear and context-appropriate. Half of records were considered to provide cogent evidence in support of the hypothesis, with an additional 2 (17%) considered somewhat cogent. Evidence underpinning the hypothesis was considered to be transparent or somewhat transparent, valid or somewhat valid, and reliable or somewhat reliable in the majority of cases, with 8-33% of records considered not to meet the various evidentiary quality measures. Primary studies in this



²⁸ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [1], [8], [12], [25], [41], [42], [62], [66], [67], [68], [90], and [115].

group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts. Authors often drew on international literature rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	7 (58%)	2 (17%)	3 (25%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	4 (33%)	5 (42%)	3 (25%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	7 (58%)	4 (33%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Valid	4 (33%)	6 (50%)	2 (17%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	4 (33%)	5 (42%)	3 (25%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	6 (50%)	2 (17%)	4 (33%)	0 (0%)

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation, identifying the importance of support and victim-centred processes for survivors of sex and labour trafficking. Studies considered both male and female survivors, although 1 study drew on experiences and perspectives of only female survivors and another focused specifically on child survivors of online sexual exploitation. 1 study specifically considered the needs and experiences of exploited fishermen.

Many of the records in this group emphasised the central role of survivor testimony and participation in criminal justice processes, highlighting that survivor participation was often critical to the success of investigations and prosecutions. The majority of records indicated that both survivors' willingness and their ability to engage in these processes was undermined when they were not receiving appropriate support and criminal justice mechanisms were not victim-centred. One record highlighted the potential for survivors to 'disappear' during criminal justice processes when they were not receiving support to meet their basic needs, and the related risk of re-trafficking in these cases. It was, however, emphasised that support provision should not be made contingent on participation in criminal justice processes.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction. One study considered the regional context of the Europe with a comparative of 6 countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Serbia, and the Netherlands), and 2 studies were not geographically tied. The remaining records were national studies, covering Cambodia, the Philippines, Portugal, Thailand (2), and the United States (3).

A lack of information and communication around criminal mechanisms and the role of survivors within them, and an absence of efforts to build trust, were noted to make survivors less likely to report to law enforcement in the first instance, or to participate throughout ongoing processes (n=4). Several studies (n=5) indicated that survivors' fear of being criminalised for immigration offences or other crimes committed as a result of their exploitation also prevented them from reporting to, or engaging with, law enforcement.

Beyond initial identification and engagement, studies in this group noted that the quality of survivor participation in criminal justice mechanisms increased when they received appropriate support and processes were victim-friendly. Several records (n=3) noted the risk of secondary victimisation and re-traumatisation when processes were not tailored to protect and support victims. They further noted that support—particularly mental health support and counselling—would improve the quality of victim testimony, making survivors 'better and more credible' witnesses. This because victimisation could have negative

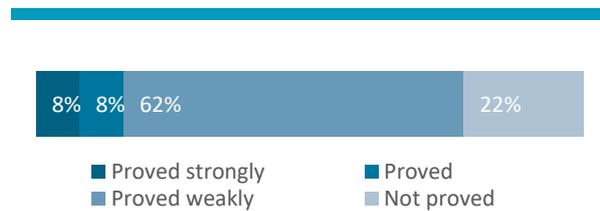
impacts on the apparent reliability of testimony, particularly where conditions like PTSD interfered with survivors' memory of their experiences. Survivor support and victim-centred processes were therefore noted to improve both the potential quantity of criminal justice processes, and their quality and likelihood of success.

A number of records highlighted practical solutions to ensure criminal justice processes were victim-friendly, including ensuring that criminal justice professionals received appropriate training on engaging with survivors, ensuring diversity in law enforcement teams, adopting forensic interviewing techniques, allowing video testimony in courts instead of requiring victims to testify in front of their abuser, and considering allowing survivors to provide private testimony in judges' chambers or closed court rooms. They further highlighted the need for law enforcement agents to account for factors such as gender, immigration status, fear of reprisals, trauma, language barriers, and cultural background (which can all act as barriers to victims' cooperation) when engaging with survivors. Records in this group also highlighted the potential for positive participation and victim-friendly criminal justice mechanisms to be empowering for survivors, as well as improving the quality of their testimony.

Hypothesis 5. Robust and specific legislative definitions of modern slavery offences support effective antislavery responses²⁹

The importance of providing for robust and specific legislative definitions of modern slavery offences in supporting antislavery responses was captured in 13 distinct claims across 11 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 12 (92%) published in peer-reviewed journals and authored by academics, and 1 (8%) published in a non-peer reviewed setting by an intergovernmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2012 to 2019. The majority of the claims were at the intersection between criminal justice (n=13) and international justice (n=3), with 2 also connecting to migration, 1 to survivor engagement and support, 1 to civil justice and 1 to development policy. Several claims also related to the Crisis themes of displacement (1), conflict (1), and humanitarian contexts (1). 1 claim also related to the cross-cutting theme of gender.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 1 case, proved in 1 case, proved weakly in 8 cases, and not proved in 3 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	3 (23%)
Secondary study	3 (23%)
Mixed study	1 (8%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	6 (46%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	1 (8%)
Qualitative	5 (38%)
Mixed	0 (0%)
Non-empirical	7 (54%)
Research design	
Observational	9 (69%)
N/A	4 (31%)
Programme or project evaluation	0 (0%)

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through secondary or theoretical studies, drawing on evidence from extant literature and analysis of international and domestic laws and policies (n=9). Of these, 2 records also conducted case studies, with one carrying out a theoretical analysis of screening mechanisms used by law enforcement agencies at the US-Mexico border, underpinned by the author's own experience. 4 claims were tested through studies involving primary data collection, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs. Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method, with 4 studies analysing interviews

with key informants and stakeholders. Of these, 1 record conducted a thematic analysis on data collected from interviews with survivors and focus groups (20 young people), and 1 study drew upon 166 interviews and 140 case analysis from police and court records. The number of respondents ranged from 20-166 for interviews.

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding, with the majority considered to be clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and

²⁹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [6], [8], [19], [27], [71], [87], [91], [115], [126], [135], and [172].

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the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts. The lack of empirical evidence supporting conceptual discussions was assessed in the majority of theoretical studies. Authors often drew on international literature to rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	7 (54%)	6 (46%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	6 (46%)	6 (46%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	6 (46%)	6 (46%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)
Valid	3 (23%)	9 (69%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)
Reliable	3 (23%)	9 (69%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)
Cogent	6 (46%)	5 (38%)	2 (15%)	0 (0%)

These studies assessed whether national or international normative frameworks were either too broad or too restrictive, with the aim of ensuring the identification and protection of victims of trafficking or modern slavery. 2 studies focused on how overly broad definitions hampered the fight against trafficking, with the result of either criminalising migration or law enforcement focusing on targeting people in prostitution, instead of focusing on individuals experiencing force, fraud or coercion. 2 records argued that effective investigation and prosecution of human trafficking and modern slavery-related offences required specific and narrow definitions at domestic level.

A second set of claims within this group argued that either narrow definitions or interpretations of what constitutes trafficking or its elements (i.e. coercion), lead to misidentification and treatment of victims as culpable and complicit actors (n=5). One study proposed to expand the UN Palermo Protocol definition to cover trafficking in persons for ransom, and 1 record proposed to extend the anti-trafficking framework to crimes committed by civilian contractors abroad in U.S legislation. Within the US framework, another record held that American counties with comprehensive legislation against trafficking (i.e. legislation plus additional mandates intended to enhance criminal justice responses) identify more trafficking cases than those with basic legislation against trafficking or no anti-trafficking legislation. Reviewing domestic criminal laws to tackle different forms of child exploitation, is proposed as a solution in 2 records.

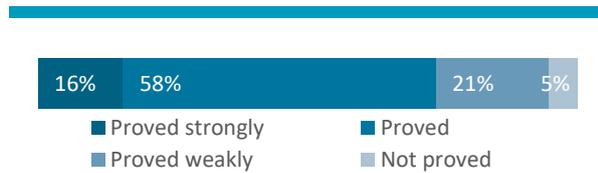
Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction. One study was not geographically tied, being theoretical and international in scope, and one focused specifically on particular states within the United States. The remaining records were national studies, covering Nigeria, Bulgaria, Portugal, Canada, Eritrea, Mexico, the United Kingdom, and the United States (3). The findings were tied to the specific legal systems on which they were conducted, and extrapolation to other geographies would therefore require further research.

Hypothesis 6. Over-prioritisation of criminal justice mechanisms and responses impedes effective prevention, identification, and support³⁰

The negative consequences of over-prioritisation of criminal justice responses to modern slavery and human trafficking at the expense of prevention and protection efforts were captured in 19 distinct claims across 15 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 14 (93%) published in peer-reviewed journals with academic authorship, and 1 (7%) published in a non-peer reviewed setting by a non-governmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2012 to 2019, with a concentration in 2016 (n=4). All claims within this group related to criminal justice, and the majority (n=17) also connected to survivor engagement and support. 3 claims connected to international justice, 3 to health policy and practice, and 1 to civil justice. 5 claims related to the Crisis theme of migration, and 2 to the cross-cutting theme of gender.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 3 cases, proved in 11 cases, proved weakly in 4 cases, and not proved in 1 case. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	5 (26%)
Secondary study	1 (5%)
Mixed study	4 (21%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	9 (47%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	8 (42%)
Mixed	1 (5%)
Non-empirical	10 (53%)
Research design	
Observational	10 (53%)
Systematic review	1 (5%)
N/A	8 (42%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

Methods employed in studies in this group varied, with a range of different approaches and analysis methods adopted. 4 studies undertook qualitative interviews, with 1 conducting semi-structured interviews with survivors (n=80), and 2 combining survivor interviews with additional methods—qualitative ethnographic research, participant observation, and interviews with community members in 1 case, and key informant interviews and law and policy analysis in the other. The final interview study combined key informant interviews (n=11) with 2 focus groups conducted with current or former sex workers (n=21) and participant observation from a follow-up symposium. 1 study featured interpretive analysis, 2 undertook policy analysis, and 1 doctrinal legal analysis and case studies. 1 study was based on a single individual case study. This group also included 3 secondary or theoretical discussion papers, with 1 drawing on experience in legal practice, and 1 systematic review (n=19).

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority of claims considered to be supported by evidence that was clear and valid. The evidence underpinning claims was assessed to be valid or somewhat valid in all cases, and to satisfy all other quality measures fully or

³⁰ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [1], [6], [13], [20], [21], [33], [49], [51], [53], [62], [90], [93], [104], [110], and [134].

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partially in the majority of cases. The extent to which evidence underpinning claims was reliable was considered to be unclear from the text of the record in 5 cases (26% of claims) although it should be noted that this represented only 3 unique records. The various evidentiary quality measures were considered not to have been met in 0-21% of cases.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	13 (68%)	2 (11%)	4 (21%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	9 (47%)	7 (37%)	1 (5%)	2 (11%)
Context-appropriate	8 (42%)	7 (37%)	4 (21%)	0 (0%)
Valid	11 (58%)	8 (42%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	9 (47%)	4 (21%)	1 (5%)	5 (26%)
Cogent	8 (42%)	8 (42%)	3 (16%)	0 (0%)

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation, with the majority focused on human trafficking and modern slavery broadly rather than on specific forms of exploitation. 2 studies focused specifically on experiences of individuals in the sex industry, while another focused specifically on child trafficking.

Studies in this group highlighted a range of negative outcomes arising when antislavery actors over-prioritised criminal justice approaches to the problem of modern slavery and human trafficking. Although several studies noted the importance of criminal justice mechanisms, records across the group highlighted that treating this as the primary focus of antislavery and anti-trafficking responses had adverse impacts on prevention and protection efforts.

Several records focused on measures and policies making provision of support or access to residency contingent on survivors’ participation in the criminal justice process, which result from the prioritisation of prosecution over protection. They emphasised that these measures often came at the expense of survivors, and in some instances also undermined the goal of successful prosecution. 2 studies noted that such measures resulted in unequal treatment of survivors based

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction. One study considered three specific contexts (Myanmar, South Asia with a focus on India, and the Middle East) and 3 studies were not geographically tied. The remaining records were national studies, covering Australia, Austria, China, England, India, Italy, Norway, Singapore, South Africa, the United States (2).

on whether they were in a position to provide meaningful testimony in criminal proceedings (something outside of their control), and excluded victims not well-placed to act as witnesses from access to support and residency. Several records (n>4) found that these approaches had the potential to put vulnerable survivors in mentally and physically unsafe situations, with a survivor in 1 study reporting family deaths connected to the criminal investigation (also creating negative mental health consequences and feelings of guilt for the survivor). The risk of re-traumatisation from participation in criminal justice processes was also noted, with the implication that the best interests of survivors are not always best met by participating in these. Several records also described these conditionalities as ‘instrumentalising’ and ‘disempowering’ survivors. Low investigation and prosecution rates in trafficking cases were also noted in 1 study, creating situations where a relatively low proportion of survivors would have access to support.

Several studies (n>6) found that prioritisation of criminal justice and immigration enforcement resulted in survivors not being identified and being criminalised for activities committed as a result of their victimisation. This included studies considering the

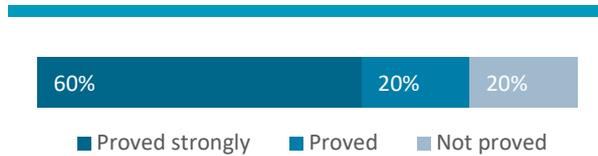
criminalisation of children and sex workers specifically, but also survivors more broadly. Studies found mistreatment, abuse, and criminalisation by law enforcement, constituting a failure in protection as well as decreasing likelihood that survivors would self-report to law enforcement authorities. 1 study further noted that the over-focus on criminal justice led to misunderstandings of victimisation and criminality in trafficking cases, ultimately undermining the effectiveness of criminal justice processes.

Several studies in this group (n>4) emphasised the need to move beyond a criminal justice approach to address the root causes of modern slavery. They noted the need to shift both discourse and resources to addressing the underpinning conditions. 2 studies found that shifting to broader conceptions of labour justice (and embedding criminal justice within this framework) would support prevention by focusing on systemic root causes. 1 study found that a public health approach to addressing trafficking would be more effective, while another noted tensions between the 'raid, rescue, rehabilitate' model of anti-trafficking with local health projects—finding that this crime-centred approach undermined HIV projects and caused harm to women and girls in the sex industry. While not suggesting the abandonment of criminal justice, these studies highlighted the need to balance criminal measures with protection and prevention efforts.

Hypothesis 7. Legal and policy frameworks and practice that ensure survivors are not criminalised for offences committed in connection to their experiences of modern slavery are critical to effective protection and identification³¹

The importance of establishing legal and policy frameworks and practice that ensure survivors are not criminalised for offences committed in connection to their experiences of modern slavery as a vital element of effective protection and identification was captured in 10 distinct claims across 10 records assessed.

The majority of the studies were published. 6 (60%) were published in peer-reviewed journals, and 3 (30%) were published in non-peer reviewed settings. Publication status was unknown in 1 case. Records were predominantly authored by academics (n=7), with 3 authored by non-governmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2019, with the highest concentration in 2019 (n=3). All claims within this group were at the intersection of the criminal justice and survivor engagement and support themes, with intersections with migration in 2 cases, and international justice in 1. 1 claim also related to the cross-cutting theme of gender.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 6 cases, proved in 2 cases, and not proved in 2 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	4 (40%)
Secondary study	2 (20%)
Mixed study	2 (20%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	2 (20%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	7 (70%)
Mixed	1 (10%)
Non-empirical	2 (20%)
Research design	
Observational	6 (60%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
N/A	4 (40%)
Programme or project evaluation	1 (10%)

Half of the claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs. Three records relied on theoretical discussion, drawing on either primary resources (national legislation and policies), secondary resources and a case study, or only secondary resources. One study consisted of a literature review of 17 records.

Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method (n=5), with 4 studies analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders, and 1 analysing data collected from interviews with survivors. 2 studies supplemented key informant interviews with stakeholder focus groups, and 2 combined stakeholder interviews with analysis of individual cases and analysis of decision letters from competent authorities on cases of presumed trafficked persons.

Overall, the quality of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be relatively strong, with the majority considered to be clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent or somewhat cogent. Primary studies in this group were generally

³¹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [6], [29], [30], [61], [66], [77], [85], [109], [140], and [151].

supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	7 (70%)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	7 (70%)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	6 (60%)	3 (30%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
Valid	8 (80%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	7 (70%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)
Cogent	4 (40%)	4 (40%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)

These studies focused on demonstrating that existing non-liability regimes for victims of modern slavery who committed an offence due to their situation of exploitation are inadequate for ensuring their effective protection and identification. While one record pointed to the pitfalls in the legal regulation—namely the Modern Slavery Act in the UK—the majority of the claims criticised the interpretation and practical application of the existing legal regimes without questioning the suitability of non-liability provisions. The legal study highlighted that by including a comprehensive list of exempt crimes, the UK Modern Slavery Act leads to an overreliance on the image of the ‘perfect victim.’ In addition, it outlined that there is grey area surrounding the focus on proving that a victim had no choice but to commit a criminal act, when it may appear from the outside that they did. Drawing upon the ‘perfect victim’ narrative, this legal analysis benefited from empirical evidence demonstrating that narrow interpretations of what constitutes coercion compound difficulties in being recognised as a ‘victim’ of modern slavery abuse, which lead to treating victims as ‘culpable and complicit actors’. On this note, findings showed that use of force was most commonly required for recognition of ‘victim’ status, thus ignoring more sophisticated methods than the use of physical force used by traffickers, such as emotional and psychological manipulation, the use of threats, indebtedness and instilling loyalty towards traffickers. For instance, an analysis of rejection letters issued by the UK Home Office showed a lack of understanding of the effects of trafficking on the victim, since it focused on small inconsistencies in the victim’s account to question the credibility of the whole account, or it rejected claims because of a lack of corroborative police evidence. 3 records specifically argued that identification was undermined by an over-focus on criminalisation and restrictive migration approaches by law enforcement agencies.

2 studies highlighted the importance of ensuring that minors who have been commercially exploited sexually are not criminalised and gain access to effective counselling, rehabilitation, and other services. 1 record pointed to the additional negative social and health consequences experienced by exploited youth who are treated as offenders or delinquents by the justice system. 1 study suggested further training for law enforcement focusing on a restorative approach, since law enforcement agencies are in a unique position to connect commercial sexual exploitation (CSEC) victims to appropriate services, thereby helping to foster a therapeutic

Geographic distribution

Studies in this hypothesis were not particularly geographically diverse, centred on 3 specific jurisdictions. The UK was the most frequent geography of study (n=4), although 1 UK study focused specifically on England, and another on England and Wales. 1 study was not geographically tied, but international in scope. The remaining records were national studies, covering the USA (3) and Spain (2). Although findings were attached to national legal frameworks, some lessons may be extrapolated to countries with similar criminal justice systems.⁰

relationship between the CSEC survivor and the community of service providers around them.

In general, it should be noted that there was a predominant focus on the UK legal and policy framework, which may hinder the possibility of extrapolating findings to other national contexts without further research.

Other hypotheses related to criminal justice

Hypothesis 8. Oversight and monitoring mechanisms help ensure effective implementation and enforcement of modern slavery laws and policies³²

The value of monitoring mechanisms to ensure effective implementation and enforcement of modern slavery laws and policies was captured in 4 discrete claims in 4 studies assessed. The majority of the studies noted that introducing independent monitoring systems, such as a national rapporteur or a “national watchdog” would ensure that government anti-trafficking policy is being correctly and effectively enacted. While 3 studies referred to UK’s general anti-trafficking framework, 1 was specifically related to child labour in an international setting. Studies also noted and demonstrated particular claims such as the need of introducing quality control for interpreters during NRM process for avoiding bias or unprofessionalism which can eventually damage the credibility of the trafficking victims and lead to negative decisions by decision makers.

3 claims in this group were considered to have been proved—proved strongly in 2 cases and weakly in 1. 1 claim was considered not to have been proved.

All studies in this group were published in non-peer reviewed setting by 2 NGOs, 1 intergovernmental organisation and 1 academic. Studies were published in 2010, 2013, 2016, and 2019. 2 studies involved primary data collection, with 1 study adopting quantitative methods and analysing individual cases, while the other undertook interviews and focus groups with key informants combined with desk research, thus strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts. 1 study conducted a quantitative (correlation) analysis of World Bank data, followed by a theoretical discussion drawing on extant secondary sources to support conclusions of the need of comprehensive monitoring systems in efforts to address child labour. 1 study drew upon theoretical and secondary studies to achieve the conclusions, although it is not made clear if it was a systematic analysis and how the study was undertaken.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	2	2	0
Transparent	2	1	1
Context-appropriate	2	1	1
Valid	2	2	0
Reliable	2	2	0
Cogent	2	1	1

One study was not geographically tied and was international in scope, while 3 studies in this group focused on the United Kingdom. Findings may be generalisable to other contexts, however understanding practice and outcomes of these interventions in diverse contexts would require further research. Half of the studies were at the intersection of 2 themes: survivor engagement and support (3) and criminal justice (2). None of the studies involved direct survivor engagement.

Hypothesis 9. Shifting investigation and prosecution strategies away from reliance on survivor testimony to alternative forms of evidence would increase success rates³³

The value of shifting law enforcement strategies away from reliance on victim testimony to other forms of criminal evidence was captured in 3 claims across 3 records assessed. These studies emphasised the importance of evidence-based prosecution broadly (n=1), highlighted the value of digital forensic experts in cases of online sexual exploitation of children (n=1), and noted that strategies that rely heavily on survivor testimony hinder

³² Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [10], [109], [135], and [140].

³³ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [8], [68], and [115].

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effective prosecution (n=2) and are potentially re-traumatising for particularly vulnerable survivors. 1 study further noted barriers to building trust between law enforcement and survivors that hindered survivors' engagement with criminal justice processes.

The hypothesis was considered to have been proved in all cases, although the evidence was considered to have proved the hypothesis weakly in 2 cases.

All studies underpinning this hypothesis were published, with 2 published in peer reviewed journals and authored by academics, and 1 published in a non-peer reviewed setting and authored by an NGO (International Justice Mission). 1 study was published in 2015, and 2 in 2018. All 3 studies were primary studies with observational designs, 2 adopting qualitative methods and 1 combining quantitative and qualitative analysis. All 3 studies involved key informant interviews (with 12, 121, and 166 respondents). 1 study supplemented initial surveys with participatory analysis and a small set of follow-up surveys, and another conducted in-depth case record analysis on 140 human trafficking cases.

Each study focused on a distinct national context, covering the Philippines, Portugal (covering 3 Judicial Districts), and the United States (covering 12 counties). All 3 studies connected to the theme of criminal justice, and 2 also related to survivor engagement and support. While studies were tied to the particular contexts in which they were conducted, it may be possible to extrapolate to additional contexts with further research, and robust methods adopted in studies in this group provide a good foundation for further interrogation.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	2	1	0
Transparent	1	2	0
Context-appropriate	2	1	0
Valid	1	2	0
Reliable	2	1	0
Cogent	1	1	1

Hypothesis 10. Successful prosecution of modern slavery offences acts as a deterrent to offending³⁴

Many studies considered in this review supported the hypothesis that successful criminal justice processes culminating in the prosecution of modern slavery perpetrators acted as an effective deterrent to future offending (thereby supporting prevalence reduction). However, in most cases this was not specifically tested or assessed but presumed. 3 studies specifically considered the role of prosecution in deterring offending. In 1 case, the role of prosecutions in deterring trafficking at sea (of fishers and seafarers) was highlighted, noting the current environment of impunity for these abuses. In another, the claim was made that prosecution is necessary for any long-term strategy to substantially reduce prevalence. The final study took a different approach, considering the practice of out-of-court payments and extra-judicial settlements in modern slavery cases and finding that these alternatives failed to deter abuses (in comparison to successful prosecutions)

The hypothesis was considered not to have been proved in any of the records assessed.

All studies underpinning this hypothesis were published, with 2 published in peer reviewed journals, and 1 published in a non-peer reviewed setting. 1 study was published in 2013, and 2 in 2016. 1 study presented a brief theoretical discussion in response to a debate, with the format of the paper (3 pages in length) preventing the presentation of robust evidence. 1 claim was tested in a mixed study adopting qualitative methods, synthesising data from key informant interviews, casework data, a desk review of programme

³⁴ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [67], [147], and [169].

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evaluations, empirical studies, and relevant literature. While the argument satisfied the quality measures to some extent, the extent of discussion and articulation of evidence from research conducted were not sufficient to support a positive finding on the hypothesis. In the final case, the claim was presented through non-empirical analysis in a larger study that involved a variety of methods. However, the data and research conducted were not substantively brought to bear on this specific claim.

2 studies in this group were international in scope, and 1 focused on Cambodia. 2 considered the issue of modern slavery broadly, while 1 focused specifically on exploitation of fishers and seafarers at sea. All 3 studies connected solely to the theme of criminal justice.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	0	2	1	0
Transparent	2	1	0	0
Context-appropriate	0	2	0	1
Valid	0	1	1	1
Reliable	0	1	1	1
Cogent	1	1	0	1

Hypothesis 11. Basing policy development on robust evidence improves the effectiveness of antislavery policy³⁵

The value of robust evidence as a basis for the development of effective antislavery policy was captured in 3 claims across 3 records assessed. 1 study found that the popular narrative surrounding sex work is damaging and regressive. It argued that the oppression paradigm that criminalises and/or victimises all sex workers based on inflated estimated trafficking statistics and an emphasis on exploitation was not helpful for policy makers and could potentially endanger sex workers more. Instead, policies should be more nuanced and based on fact and existing policies to focus on systemic issues that result in trafficking rather than individual actors. 1 study supports this argument by concluding that human trafficking legislation using research may be considered more credible and therefore may be more likely to progress in the policy process, particularly when referencing the scale-up of best practice, which can then be translated into legislature that can help survivors. 1 study developed a framework to research the harms caused by trafficking which could be used to inform anti-trafficking policy.

The hypothesis was considered to have been proved strongly in 1 case, proved in 1 case and proved weakly in 1 case.

All studies underpinning this hypothesis were published in peer reviewed journals and authored by academics. 1 study was published in 2012, 1 in 2016, and 1 in 2019. 1 study was a quantitative and qualitative mixed methods primary study with an observational design. 1 record was a non-empirical secondary study that conducted a keyword analysis and content analysis of federal legislation using trafficking- and trauma-related search terms. 1 study was a non-empirical secondary review.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	Unclear
Clear research framework	3	0	0
Transparent	3	0	0
Context-appropriate	2	1	0
Valid	1	1	1
Reliable	1	1	1
Cogent	2	1	0

³⁵ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [72], [150], and [170].

1 study had a worldwide focus. 2 studies focused on a distinct national context, covering Belgium and the USA. 2 studies connected to the theme of survivor engagement and support, and 2 related to criminal justice. While 2 studies were tied to the particular contexts in which they were conducted, it may be possible to extrapolate to additional contexts with further research. Overall, robust methods were adopted in studies in this group which provides a good foundation for further (in 1 case more focused and in 1 case broader) interrogation that involves survivors in a meaningful way.

[Hypothesis 12. Plea bargaining can effectively improve the efficiency of criminal justice processes related to modern slavery³⁶](#)

Studies across this review highlighted current failings and limitations in criminal justice processes, including the protracted time period involved in criminal cases proceeding through trial. 1 study found the use of plea bargaining in cases (specifically considering cases of online sexual exploitation of children) to be an effective mechanism for improving efficiency of criminal justice processes and reducing potential for re-traumatisation of victims, whilst still achieving justice for survivors and acting as an effective deterrent to offending.

The hypothesis was tested in a primary, mixed methods study involving key informant interviews with 121 stakeholders, and follow-up participatory analysis conducted through interviews and focus groups. The study was published in 2018 in a non-peer reviewed setting by a non-governmental organisation.

This hypothesis was considered to have been proved within the context of the study, with the underpinning evidence assessed as context-appropriate, valid, and reliable, and somewhat clear, transparent, and cogent.

[Hypothesis 13. Ensuring access to interpreters during criminal justice processes helps ensure a fair trial and justice in modern slavery cases³⁷](#)

The value of access to interpreters during criminal justice processes to ensure a fair trial and justice in modern slavery cases was captured in 1 claim in 1 study. It found that there was no official translation service to support the police, social affairs officials or judicial officers both before trial and during trial and that this should be made available during the investigation and prosecution of the cases.

The hypothesis was tested in a mixed methods primary study with an observational research design involving interviews with 57 prisoners at an all-female prison who were incarcerated for human trafficking or the commercial sexual exploitation of women. 41 women met with the research team for 2 interview sessions, whilst 16 met with the researchers for only 1 interview session. 48 participants also took part in 6 focus group discussions. The study was published in 2011 in a non-peer reviewed setting by a non-governmental organisation.

This hypothesis was considered to have been proved strongly within the context of the study, with the underpinning evidence assessed as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent.

The study was geographically bound, with a focus on Cambodia. It was at the intersection of 2 themes: criminal justice and survivor engagement and support.

³⁶ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [68].

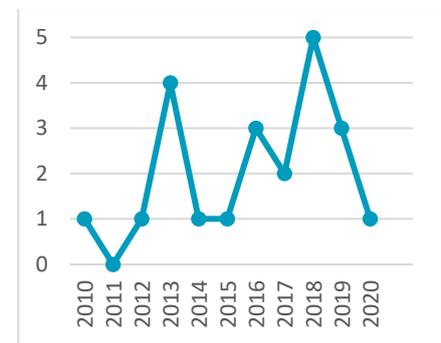
³⁷ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [128].

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4.2. Civil justice

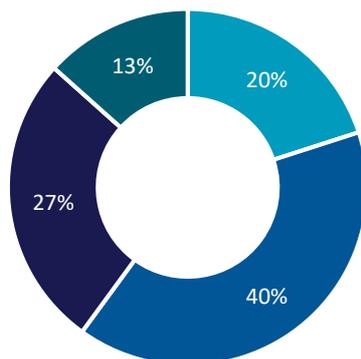
Relatively few claims relevant to the theme of civil justice were identified and assessed in this review. In total, 30 claims relevant to the theme were identified in the review, drawn from 22 records. The majority of studies were published, with 17 published in peer-reviewed settings, 4 published in non-peer reviewed settings, and 1 unpublished evaluation report (non-governmental). 18 studies in this group had academic authorship, 3 non-governmental, and 1 intergovernmental. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review, from 2010 to 2020, with slight concentrations in 2013 (n=4) and 2018 (n=5).

Figure 11. Number of records related to civil justice over time



Claims relevant to civil justice were considered to have been proved strongly in 6 cases, proved in 12 cases, proved weakly in 8 cases, and not proved in 4 cases. Claims in this theme were not considered to have been disproved in any case.

Figure 12. Findings on civil justice claims



Claims relevant to civil justice often connected to an additional theme, with only 2 claims in this group considered solely relevant to civil justice. 18 claims were considered relevant to survivor engagement and support, 8 to criminal justice, 7 to migration, 5 to supply chains, and 3 to gender. Civil justice claims also connected to international justice (2), social policy (2), education (2), and financial policy (1). Several claims relevant to the civil justice theme were considered primarily relevant to a different theme, including in particular survivor engagement and support and criminal justice. This resulted in relatively few claims being considered as primarily related to civil justice.

Evidence underpinning civil justice claims was broadly considered to be strong, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be clear, transparent, context appropriate, valid, and reliable. The majority of claims were also considered to be cogent, or somewhat cogent, although overall this quality measure was satisfied in fewer cases.

Civil justice hypotheses

Ultimately, 2 unique hypotheses were drawn from the literature relating to civil justice:

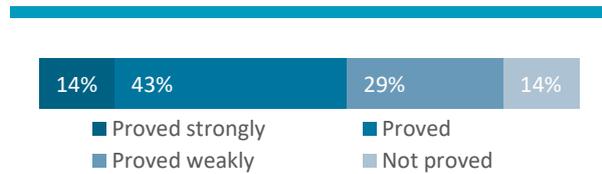
Hypothesis 15. Ensuring robust labour regulation and access to labour rights and protections for survivors of modern slavery effectively supports prevention and protection efforts

Hypothesis 16. Transnational coordination between governments in antislavery legislation and enforcement improves responses to modern slavery

Hypothesis 14. Ensuring survivors have access to compensation and civil remedies against their perpetrators supports their recovery and reintegration and contributes to deterrence³⁸

The importance of compensation for survivors in supporting recovery, reintegration, and deterrence was captured in 7 distinct claims across 7 records assessed.

All studies assessed in this group were published, with 6 (86%) published in peer-reviewed journals with academic authorship, and 1 (14%) in non-peer reviewed settings by a non-governmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2019. All claims within this group related to the civil justice and survivor engagement and support themes, while 3 also related to criminal justice. 1 claim also related to the Markets theme of financial policy and 1 to supply chains.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 1 case, proved in 3 cases, proved weakly in 2 cases, and not proved in 1 case. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	0 (0%)
Secondary study	0 (0%)
Mixed study	3 (43%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	4 (57%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	2 (29%)
Mixed	1 (14%)
Non-empirical	4 (57%)
Research design	
Observational	3 (43%)
N/A	4 (57%)
Programme or project evaluation	1 (14%)

3 studies in this grouping included primary data collection, conducting key informant interviews in every case. 1 study supplemented key informant interviews with interviews with survivors (although it is unclear how many interviews were conducted in this study). The 2 other studies involving primary data added elements of case analysis to their research, in one study through the analysis of case statistics and in the other analysis of case records. The number of respondents was not identified in 1 study and included 20 and 27 respondents in the other 2 cases. All three studies adopted a semi-structured interview design. All primary studies adopted observational research designs, with 2 adopting qualitative analysis methods and 1 combining qualitative and quantitative analysis. 1 study in this group was a programme or project evaluation.

3 studies in this grouping included primary data collection, conducting key informant interviews in every case. 1 study supplemented key informant interviews with interviews with survivors (although it is unclear how many interviews were conducted in this study). The 2 other studies involving primary data added elements of case analysis to their research, in one study through the analysis of case statistics and in the other analysis of case records. The number of respondents was not identified in 1 study and included 20 and 27 respondents in the other 2 cases. All three studies adopted a semi-structured interview design. All primary studies adopted observational research designs, with 2 adopting qualitative analysis methods and 1 combining qualitative and quantitative analysis. 1 study in this group was a programme or project evaluation.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	4 (57%)	3 (43%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	3 (43%)	2 (29%)	2 (29%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	4 (57%)	3 (43%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	5 (71%)	2 (29%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	3 (43%)	4 (57%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	2 (29%)	4 (57%)	1 (14%)	0 (0%)

³⁸Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [23], [26], [41], [55], [56], [67], and [147].

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The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, context-appropriate, and valid. Evidence underpinning the claims was considered to be transparent or somewhat transparent, and cogent or somewhat cogent in the majority of cases, and reliable or somewhat reliable in all cases. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

Geographic distribution

Studies in the group crossed several national contexts, with 6 records focused on a single jurisdiction covering Australia (2), Cambodia, Serbia, Thailand, and the United Kingdom. One study was not geographically tied, but was international in scope. Several of the studies in this grouping involved analysis specific to the geographic contexts under consideration. The ability to extrapolate these findings to other contexts would therefore require further research and consideration of the implications of different legal, political, economic, and social contexts.

Two studies in this group focused on the experiences and needs of fishers and seafarers, and one specifically considered sexual exploitation. The remaining studies considered human trafficking and modern slavery broadly.

Studies emphasised the important role of compensation in addressing trafficking and modern slavery and highlighted existing gaps in provision, although approached the issue from a range of different perspectives. Several studies noted the important role compensation pays in supporting recovery and reintegration and preventing re-trafficking, noting that lack of material support significantly hindered reintegration. One study indicated that 'economic empowerment' was the primary need identified by survivor, and that compensation also counters the contributing vulnerability factors of poverty and deprivation that lead to trafficking by providing survivors with the financial means to support themselves and their families without having to pursue risky job opportunities, compensation.

Two studies noted that access to compensation also contributed to criminal justice processes, as it could provide survivors with material support while they were participating in the legal process, and lack of compensation could reduce motivation to participate. It was also emphasised, however, that the possibility of compensation should not be tied to criminal justice processes given the low rates of prosecution and conviction in trafficking and modern slavery cases. Two records indicated that national compensation schemes were appropriate mechanisms for survivor support, noting that in some instances perpetrators may not have the financial means to pay compensation but the importance of such in these cases remained. One of these studies advocated for a national compensation scheme, while the other indicated that both State-funded and court-ordered compensation mechanisms could be effective models.

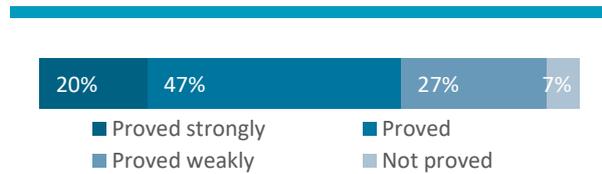
Several studies noted the importance of recognising the specific harms associated with trafficking and modern slavery, highlighting that the complexities of these cases means that they may not be adequately addressed by more generalised crime compensation schemes. One record further noted the importance of accounting for both the economic and non-economic harms and losses of modern slavery. One record, focusing specifically on cases of sexual exploitation, suggested that it was important to recognise both the labour abuses and the sexual abuses that could occur in cases of sexual exploitation. The authors therefore indicated that it was important that victims in these cases have access to civil compensation routes associated with labour violations, as well as other frameworks.

One study in this group focused on financial investigations and the confiscation and seizure of assets of perpetrators as an avenue for securing compensation for survivors. Two studies emphasised the important deterrent role of imposing economic costs on perpetration, with implications for deterring offending—particularly by economic actors.

Hypothesis 15. Ensuring robust labour regulation and access to labour rights and protections for survivors of modern slavery effectively supports prevention and protection efforts³⁹

The importance of compensation for survivors in supporting recovery, reintegration, and deterrence was captured in 15 distinct claims across 11 records assessed.

The majority of studies assessed in this group were published, with 8 (73%) published in peer-reviewed journals with academic authorship. 2 (18%) were published in non-peer reviewed settings, and 1 (9%) record assessed was unpublished, with all 3 (21%) authored by non-governmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2012 to 2020, with at least 1 publication published in each year in this period. All claims within this group related to the civil justice theme, with 8 also relating to survivor engagement and support, 4 to criminal justice, and 1 to international justice. 1 record related to the Markets theme of supply chains, and 5 to the Crisis theme of migration. 2 claims related to the cross-cutting theme of education, 2 to gender, and 1 to social policy.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 3 cases, proved in 7 cases, proved weakly in 4 cases, and not proved in 1 case. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	1 (7%)
Secondary study	1 (7%)
Mixed study	8 (53%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	5 (33%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	3 (20%)
Mixed	6 (40%)
Non-empirical	6 (40%)
Research design	
Observational	12 (80%)
N/A	3 (20%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	5 (33%)

5 studies in this grouping included primary data collection, adopting a variety of data collection methods. 2 studies employed interviews with both key informants and target populations, in 1 case with survivors (although in this case only 1 survivor interview was conducted), and in the other with migrant women. This was supplemented in both cases by secondary research. 1 study combined semi-structured interviews with migrant fishers (n=32) with key informant interviews (n=7), discourse analysis of media reporting, and critical feminist geopolitical insights. Another combined interviews with migrant workers (n=54) with 62 key informant interviews with non-governmental and governmental actors, recruitment agencies, lawyers, and an insurance company representative, as well as case data analysis (n=226) and secondary analysis of media reporting and law and policy. The final primary study involved semi-structured interviews, focus groups, participant observations, and secondary data analysis of a wide variety of project datapoints (including baseline and end line surveys). 5 studies in this group were programme or project evaluations, which contributed to the number of studies that adopted a combination of methods for data collection and analysis. 5 studies conducted theoretical and secondary analyses, with 3 focusing on doctrinal legal analysis, and 1 combining legal analysis with case studies.

³⁹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [21], [22], [56], [116], [121], [135], [147], [152], [154], [155], and [159].

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The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, and reliable. Evidence underpinning the claims was also considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent in the majority of cases. All studies were considered to satisfy quality measures of transparency, context appropriateness, validity, and reliability, in whole or in part. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	10 (67%)	4 (27%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	12 (80%)	3 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	12 (80%)	3 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	11 (73%)	4 (27%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	11 (73%)	4 (27%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)	0 (0%)

Records assessed in this group covered a range of forms of exploitation, and included studies sex trafficking, labour exploitation child labour, migrant domestic workers, migrant workers, and exploitation of fishers and seafarers (2). Studies typically focused on exploitation without a specific focus on survivors of particular genders, although interviews with migrants in 1 study included only migrant women.

Studies in this group highlighted the important role of labour regulation and protection in preventing exploitation and providing avenues for redress in the instance of violations. Several studies focused on the needs of particularly vulnerable groups excluded from labour protections (whether in law or in practice) under the status quo. These included migrant workers, domestic workers, fishers and seafarers, and sex workers in particular in the studies assessed. Studies emphasised the need to ensure labour protections extended to these vulnerable groups, noting that this provided survivors from these groups with access to labour interventions and programming, as well as civil remedies. 1 study further noted that the extension of labour protections and regularisation would substantially improve working conditions in sex industry.

The need for greater ratification of international labour treaties, and compliance with these frameworks, was noted with an emphasis on international laws as a framework for domestic legislation and regulation. The need for more robust legislation and regulatory frameworks to ensure labour protections was highlighted in several studies. These included studies focusing on the need for specialised legislation for the protection of domestic workers, fishers, and seafarers, as well as emphasis on the need to regulate recruitment practices and ensure recruitment fees (where permitted) are borne by employers and not employees.

Studies highlighted the importance of labour monitoring, oversight, and enforcement in preventing exploitation and protecting those that experience violations (noting also the converse,

Geographic distribution

Studies in this group were geographically diverse, although with a strong focus on Asia. 6 studies considered a single national jurisdiction, covering Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Nepal, Turkey, and the United States. 1 study considered 3 regions/countries (Myanmar, South Asia with a particular focus on India, and the Middle East), while another considered 4 national contexts (Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore). 1 study focused on 3 sub-national contexts in India (Bangalore, Tirupur, and Delhi NCR) and 2 were not geographically tied but global in scope.

that the lack of oversight enables exploitation). The importance of labour inspectors and the labour inspectorate in conducting oversight and monitoring activities was also emphasised in several records. However, the need to strengthen and improve existing activities in this space was also noted in several records.

Several studies noted that the application of labour protections was not sufficient in itself to ensure protection of vulnerable workers. Records noted the need for education for workers on labour laws, workers' rights, and rights more broadly, in 1 case finding a connection between increased education and awareness with self-identification and reporting. 1 study highlighted the potential role of 'Union stewards'—leaders trained in labour laws and schemes relevant to work context—in reaching out to large numbers of workers and labour rights education. This study further found that union stewards themselves were empowered by this role to speak up about abuses with management. The important role of unions in supporting anti-trafficking efforts was also emphasised in another study in this group. The overarching narrative of this group focused on the need to embed modern slavery responses in labour justice, including embedding criminal justice and immigration frameworks in this context, to ensure that systemic root causes are addressed. 1 study noted that this should be shaped by overarching human rights principles.

4.3. International justice

Relatively few records relevant to international justice were ultimately assessed in the review. This was not a symptom of few records relevant to international justice being identified during the data collection and initial screening phases. Rather, records relevant to international justice were excluded or de-prioritised during stages 3 and 4 of the review. This was often a result of these records not testing particular claims or claims about what works to address modern slavery in the context of international justice—they were often more theoretical and/or prospective, with fewer records undertaking evaluative assessments of what works in practice. This is explained in part by the difficulty of assessing impacts of policy and interventions developed at this level. However, it also indicates a need for further robust research into the impacts of what works to address modern slavery in the context of international justice.

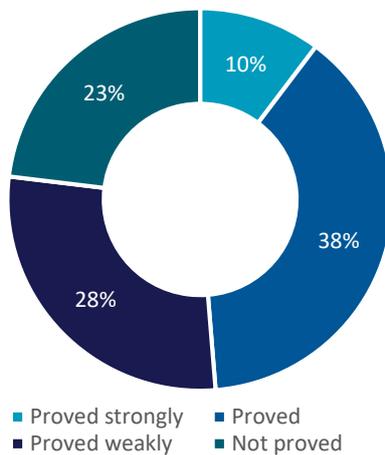
Figure 13. Number of records related to international justice over time



In total, 39 claims relevant to the theme were identified in the review, drawn from 28 records. All studies were published, with 24 (86%) published in peer-reviewed settings with academic authorship, and 4 (14%) published in non-peer reviewed settings authored by non-governmental organisations. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review, from 2010 to 2020, with a slight peak in 2013 (n=5).

Claims relevant to international justice were considered to have been proved strongly in 4 cases, proved in 15 cases, proved weakly in 11 cases, and not proved in 9 cases. Claims in this theme were not considered to have been disproved in any case.

Figure 14. Findings on international justice claims



Claims relevant to international justice often connected to an additional theme, with only 2 claims (5%) considered solely relevant to international justice. 22 claims were considered relevant to criminal justice, 15 to survivor engagement and support, and 19 to migration. Claims relevant to criminal justice were also connected to health policy and practice (5), civil justice (2), economic policy (2), development policy (2), social policy (2), gender (2), supply chains (1), and conflict (1).

Evidence underpinning criminal justice claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be transparent, context appropriate, and valid. The majority of claims were also considered to be underpinned by evidence that was clear, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so. The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 0-21%, with clarity of research framework being the measure most frequently considered not to have been satisfied (n=8).

International justice hypotheses

Ultimately, 3 unique hypotheses were drawn from the literature relating to international justice:

Hypothesis 16. Transnational coordination between governments in antislavery legislation and enforcement improves responses to modern slavery

Hypothesis 17. Restrictive immigration policies and strict border controls increase risks of modern slavery and trafficking, reduce likelihood of victim identification, and result in the criminalisation of victims

Hypothesis 18. Harmonisation of national laws and policies addressing modern slavery with other countries and international law would improve responses

Hypothesis 16. Transnational coordination between governments in antislavery legislation and enforcement improves responses to modern slavery⁴⁰

The role of transnational coordination and harmonisation of antislavery efforts in improving collective and national responses to modern slavery was captured in 11 distinct claims across 8 records assessed.

All studies assessed in this group were published, with 6 (75%) published in peer-reviewed journals by academic authors and 2 (25%) in non-peer reviewed settings by non-governmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2018 with a slight concentration (n=3) in 2010. All claims within this group (n=11) related to international justice, 5 related to criminal justice, 3 to survivor engagement and support, and 1 to civil justice. 5 claims related to the Crisis theme of migration, while 1 related to the Markets theme of supply chains. 1 claim related to the cross-cutting theme of social policy.

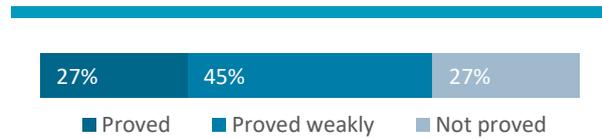
Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	1 (9%)
Secondary study	2 (18%)
Mixed study	3 (27%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	5 (45%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	6 (55%)
Mixed	0 (0%)
Non-empirical	5 (45%)
Research design	
Observational	5 (45%)
N/A	6 (55%)
Programme or project evaluation	0 (0%)

22-121. The group also includes 3 studies presenting doctrinal legal analysis and 1 non-systematic literature review.

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the majority of claims recorded as context-appropriate and reliable, and somewhat clear, transparent, valid, and cogent. In all cases, the evidence was positively assessed, with only one study considered not to be reliable.

The majority of studies in this group were not focused on particular forms of exploitation, but considered the issue of human trafficking more broadly. Likewise, studies were generally not focused on survivors representing particular gender or identity groups, although 1 study was focused on child trafficking, 1 specifically addressed online sexual exploitation of children, and 2 focused on migrant workers.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved in 3 cases, proved weakly in 5 cases, and not proved in 3 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

The majority of claims in this group were tested through secondary or theoretical studies, with 4 (36%) claims tested in 3 studies that involved primary data collection (2 of which were mixed studies). All primary studies used key informant interviews, with each supplementing these interviews with additional data collection and analysis methods. 1 supplemented interviews with casework data analysis, 1 with focus groups, and 1 with participant observation and process tracing. All empirical studies in this group adopted qualitative research methods and observational designs. The number of respondents in a single study ranged from to

⁴⁰ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [11], [24], [44], [60], [67], [68], [73], and [110].

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	4 (36%)	7 (64%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	4 (36%)	7 (64%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	6 (55%)	5 (45%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	5 (45%)	6 (55%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	2 (55%)	7 (64%)	1 (9%)	1 (9%)
Cogent	5 (45%)	6 (55%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Studies were relatively diverse in their content, each emphasising the critical role of international and transnational cooperation and coordination, but often in different ways and with different points of focus. 1 study specifically considered the need for transnational coordination in setting corporate responsibility laws and standards, to ensure that corporations were not able to simply relocate to continue abuses. 2 studies considered the specific dynamics of transit countries, noting that these were often overlooked in the dominant efforts targeting source and destination countries. 1 study highlighted the value of supporting and funding anti-trafficking programming in transit countries in advancing both protection for victims and law enforcement against traffickers. The other noted the opportunity for increased efforts to combat trafficking in transit countries, suggesting that these States are positioned to prosecute perpetrators, protect victims from further harm and criminalisation, and increase detection (particularly at borders). Another study in this group also highlights the role of transit countries in ‘full and complete investigations’ of potential trafficking cases by source, transit, and destination countries working in collaboration.

Several studies in this group highlight the transnational nature of human trafficking and modern slavery as significant barriers to effective law enforcement efforts, citing obstacles in investigation and prosecution that arise in the absence of effective transnational cooperation. 1 record advocated the development of an international trafficking registry to record and track perpetrators and cases as an effective mechanism to enable data sharing and improved law enforcement efforts. 1 study highlighted that frameworks for cooperation were not sufficient to enable and ensure effective coordination. Rather, open lines of communication, trust, and a strong ability to collaborate on a detailed level were indicated to be required. This record further noted that bilateral and multilateral MOUs provided a valuable framework within which cooperation could be organised, but that lack of guidance and unclear procedures for their implementation impeded their success.

Geographic distribution

Several of the studies in this group adopted an international perspective not geographically tied to particular contexts (n=3), while another considered the development of an international tool modelled after a United States framework. Geographically tied studies predominantly focused on the Asia-Pacific region, with 1 study considering the Mekong sub-region with a specific focus on Cambodia and Thailand, and the remaining focused on the national contexts of Australia, Cambodia, the Philippines, and the UK (adopting a transnational perspective).

1 other study also considered the role of bilateral agreements, in this case in the return and reintegration of survivors rather than in law enforcement. This study noted that support for survivors post-return rests on the origin country, leaving destination countries repatriating survivors with little control or influence on the situations they are returned to. The study noted that increased international collaboration offered a mechanism to help advocate for improved and sustained support for survivors on return.

The importance of international and transnational cooperation in ensuring appropriate survivor protection was emphasised in many of the sources in this group, highlighting the importance of collaboration in detection, support, and justice. 1 source noted that it was important that collaboration connect both governmental and non-governmental actors transnationally in order to ensure effective protection. Records further noted that cooperation provided opportunities for sharing of skills between different actors and combining capacity to improve responses overall. They noted that cooperation could also provide a stronger foundation for international lobbying for improved laws and policies addressing trafficking and modern slavery.

Hypothesis 17. Restrictive immigration policies and strict border controls increase risks of modern slavery and trafficking, reduce likelihood of victim identification, and result in the criminalisation of victims⁴¹

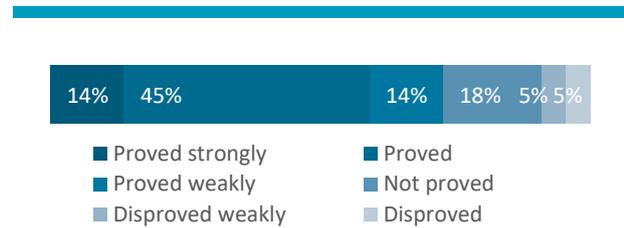
Tensions between effective anti-trafficking and antislavery responses and restrictive immigration policies were captured in 22 distinct claims across 18 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 14 (78%) published in peer-reviewed settings and 4 (22%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. The majority of studies were published by academic authors (n=15; 83%), with 3 (17%) authored by non-governmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2020, with concentrations in 2015, 2017, and 2019 (with 3 records each). Claims in this grouping were relatively diverse, with all connecting to the theme of migration, 14 to criminal justice and 12 to survivor engagement and support. 6 claims connected to the theme of international justice, 4 to civil justice, and 3 to health policy and practice. Claims in this group connected to several themes related to Crisis, including 3 to humanitarian contexts, 3 to displacement, and 2 to conflict. 2 claims also related to the cross-cutting theme of social policy, and 1 to gender.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	5 (23%)
Secondary study	4 (18%)
Mixed study	5 (23%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	8 (36%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	9 (41%)
Mixed	5 (23%)
Non-empirical	8 (36%)
Research design	
Observational	12 (55%)
Systematic review	1 (5%)
N/A	9 (41%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	4 (18%)

from interviews with survivors. 3 studies combined interviews with both survivors and key



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 3 cases, proved in 10 cases, and proved weakly in 3 cases—meaning that 73% of hypotheses were considered to be positively proved. Claims were considered not to have been proved in 4 cases, and disproved in 2. 2 claims in this group indicated the reverse of the hypothesis as stated, meaning that they provided evidence disproving the hypothesis—with one considered to disprove the hypothesis weakly and 1 to disprove in relation to the specific considerations in the claim.

Claims in this grouping were tested through a variety of study types and methods. Just under half of the claims in this grouping (n=10) were tested in studies that included primary data collection, while the remaining claims were predominantly tested in theoretical or conceptual studies. Qualitative research methods were the most common in primary studies, while non-empirical methods were also common given the relatively high proportion of theoretical or conceptual studies. All empirical studies adopted observational designs. Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method, with 5 claims tested through studies analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders, and 5 analysing data collected

⁴¹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [6], [17], [22], [24], [33], [66], [91], [103], [104], [110], [111], [113], [113], [118], [143], [152], [155], [165], and [166].

informants, although in 1 case only 1 survivor interview was conducted in a group of interviews otherwise conducted with key informants. 1 study supplemented survivor interviews with 2 survivor focus groups. 2 studies combined both survivor and key informant interviews with an additional data collection and analysis method—1 with case analysis, and the other with discourse analysis of media content. 1 study relied on case file analysis alone, while 2 theoretical studies were underpinned by experience of practice. The number of interview respondents in a single study ranged from 7-85.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	12 (55%)	7 (32%)	3 (14%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	10 (45%)	10 (45%)	2 (9%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	12 (55%)	10 (45%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	15 (68%)	6 (27%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	11 (50%)	7 (32%)	1 (5%)	3 (14%)
Cogent	11 (50%)	9 (41%)	2 (9%)	0 (0%)

Overall, the quality of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be relatively strong, with the majority considered to be clear, context-appropriate, and valid. The majority were also considered to be transparent, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. However, it should be noted that there was a relatively high proportion of theoretical and conceptual studies in this group.

Most studies were not connected to particular forms of exploitation, but considered human trafficking and modern slavery broadly, although 1 specifically considered the case of migrant domestic workers and another exploitation in the fishing sector. Studies also generally did not focus on survivors of particular genders or ages, although 1 study specifically considered women and another considered young people aged 15-21. 1 study focused specifically on the position of healthcare providers with respect to the tensions between immigration policies and victim protection.

Studies in this group did not coalesce around a single perspective on the tension between restrictive immigration policies and victim identification and support. 3 studies presented contrary or non-supportive findings, although in 1 case the study as a whole supported the hypothesis and it was only on a very specific point that it diverged. This study noted that restrictive immigration policies and approaches did not prevent migrant children from disclosing experiences of abuse. However, it did find that these policies resulted in child victims being mistreated or ignored, thus supporting the hypothesis overall.

Another study noted that it was 'unrealistic' for sovereign states to be expected to relinquish control of their borders in the interest of protecting potential victims of human trafficking, and highlighted that States perceived border control as an important element of anti-trafficking intervention. However, this record does not evaluate the efficacy of this perspective, and therefore does not support a contrary finding that border control does support

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with several (n=5) adopting international perspectives that were not geographically tied. 1 study focused on the European Union as a whole, 1 considered Europe, Syria, and Eritrea, and another included Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore. 2 studies adopted more specific, sub-national perspectives, with 1 focused on New York (United States) and the other on the Greater Sydney region (Australia). The remaining records were national studies, covering Belgium, England, Italy, Malaysia, Nepal, the Netherlands, and the United States (2).

anti-trafficking efforts in practice. The authors do, however, note that there are ways to improve victim identification and protection in the context of restrictive immigration policies—namely strengthening capacity of immigration officials to support victims, maximising resources for border control and immigration as part of a multi-faceted approach to combat trafficking, and basing policies on empirical evidence. However, these recommendations are not tested in this source. Likewise, the final conflicting source did not include substantive evaluative evidence to support the conclusion that improved maintenance of border controls (achieved through anti-corruption efforts) would help prevent trafficking. It therefore cannot be considered to have been established on the basis of evidence available in this assessment.

The remaining studies and claims highlighted the negative consequences of restrictive immigration policies on risks of trafficking and modern slavery, as well as identification and treatment of victims. Studies noted that law enforcement and immigration officials often focused on immigration instead of trafficking, resulting in them considering victimhood through the lens of the individual's immigration status. Records noted a 'culture of disbelief' towards migrants (and in 1 study specifically migrant children) that made officials less likely to believe a victim's experiences. They further noted that punitive approaches to immigration often resulted in sanctions against victims, including criminalisation, detention, and deportation (even in contexts where victims were cooperating with authorities in criminal justice processes). Several studies noted that the fear of sanctions also prevented victims from self-reporting, and highlighted that exploiters often used the threat of deportation to control victims and prevent them from reporting to authorities. 1 study found that not having immigration status and fear of deportation were the primary factors impacting non-disclosure of trafficking for respondents.

Many studies in this group noted that the closing down of avenues for regular migration pushed people into irregular channels, as the structural drivers of migration remained in operation. These studies indicated that restrictive immigration policies therefore increased risks of trafficking and created opportunities for traffickers to take advantage of vulnerable individuals. Records noted that this created a threat to security by providing opportunities for organised criminal networks, and 1 suggested that international pressure to control borders played a role in facilitating these tensions. 1 record further noted that the focus on securitisation of borders and immigration restrictions acted as a distraction from more meaningful efforts to address structural drivers.

Restrictive conditions on regular migration—particularly tied visas—were also noted to increase opportunities for exploitation of migrant workers and decrease likelihood of reporting. Several studies noted that overarching restrictive immigration policies interfered with decision-making on visas for identified victims of trafficking, decreasing the likelihood of success where decision-making involved discretion for officials. One study noted that the complexity of trafficking further interfered with this decision-making, excluding many victims from access to relevant visas. Records further noted that access to justice for exploited migrants was often restricted as a result of political and cultural attitudes towards migration, as well as legally when migrant workers were not eligible for the same protections as citizens. 1 record also highlighted the lack of international consensus and collaboration around the mobility of people, signalling this as interfering with effective policy in this area.

Other hypotheses related to international justice

Hypothesis 18. Harmonisation of national laws and policies addressing modern slavery with other countries and international law would improve responses⁴²

The importance of international harmonisation of antislavery law and policy, including coordination between countries' domestic laws and with international law, was captured in 5 claims across 5 studies assessed. Studies varied in the specific subject matter under consideration. 1 study highlighted the need for transnational coordination of corporate regulation, noting that the absence of coordination would result in companies simply moving headquarters to the country with least restrictive frameworks. Another emphasised the need for coordination of penalties between countries and protection guarantees for victims. The importance of coordinating legislation across countries, including in transit countries that were often excluded from international collective policies and agreements was specifically investigated in another study. Studies (n=2) also highlighted the need for harmonisation of various domestic laws intersecting with modern slavery issues, noting that a lack of internal consistency could create new vulnerabilities to trafficking this was also emphasised in another record, and considering in particular the intersection with immigration law and policy. While the importance of harmonisation with international law was noted in several studies, 1 emphasised that effective criminalisation and legislation at the domestic level required more specificity than could be found in international definitions.

The hypothesis was considered to be proved in 2 cases, proved weakly in 1 case, and not proved in 2 cases.

All studies underpinning this hypothesis were published, with 4 published in peer-reviewed settings with academic authorship, and 1 published in a non-peer reviewed setting by a non-governmental organisation. Studies were published in 2010, 2013, 2015, 2018, and 2020. Studies in this group were all theoretical (n=4) or secondary research (n=1), primarily doctrinal legal and policy analysis. 1 study combined historical context, extant statistical data, and secondary sources.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	3	1	1	0
Transparent	2	2	1	0
Context-appropriate	2	3	0	0
Valid	2	3	0	0
Reliable	2	1	1	1
Cogent	2	3	0	0

Studies were primarily focused on the European context, covering the national contexts of Bulgaria, Russia, and the United Kingdom. 1 study focused broadly on the European Union, and the final study was not geographically tied but international in scope. All studies related to international justice, with 4 also relating to criminal justice, 1 to civil justice, 1 to the Markets theme of supply chains, and 1 to the Crisis theme of migration.

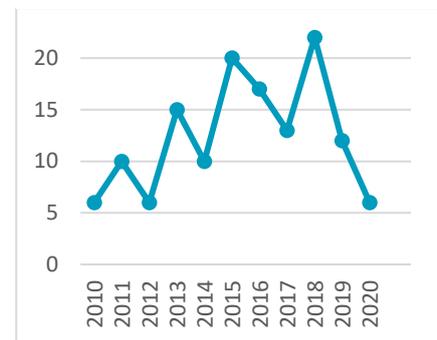
⁴² Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [24], [70], [73], [111], and [172].

[Return to International justice hypotheses](#)

4.4. Survivor engagement and support

Survivor engagement and support was the theme considered relevant to the greatest number of claims in this study by a significant margin. This demonstrates the positioning of survivor engagement and support as underpinning policy and interventions in a range of contexts, as well as the size of the body of evidence considering this theme specifically. The body of evidence considering survivor engagement is diverse in terms of content, methods, disciplinary context, and geographic scope. While many studies conducted evaluations of existing policy and interventions, the evidence underpinning this theme overall tends to focus on assessing support needs and looking forward to the requirements of best practice rather than evaluating the impacts of particular approaches. This reflects a shared presumption across the evidence base of the intended outcomes of effective survivor engagement and support: to enable survivors' recovery and reintegration, facilitate independence and empowerment, and support overall wellbeing. The additional goal of ensuring participation of survivors in antislavery policy and practice (both to support recovery and empowerment and to ensure efficacy of policy decisions) is also evidenced in this theme, although made explicitly in particular studies.

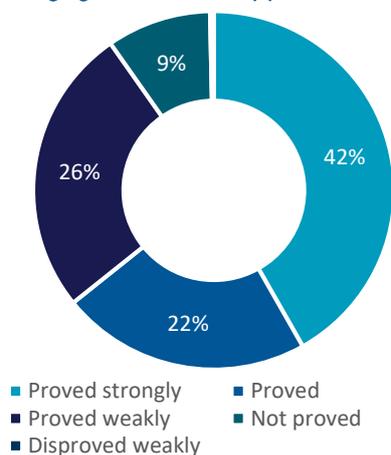
Figure 15. Number of records related to civil justice over time



In total, 299 claims relevant to the theme were identified in the review, drawn from 137 records. The majority of studies were published, with 107 (78%) published in peer-reviewed settings, 24 (18%) published in non-peer reviewed settings, and 4 (3%) unpublished. Publication status was unclear in 2 cases. Records were predominantly authored by academics, with 113 records (82%), followed by 21 records (15%) authored by non-governmental organisations, 2 (1%) by intergovernmental organisations, and 1 (0.7%) by a governmental organisation. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review, from 2010 to 2020, with peaks in 2015 (n=20) and 2018 (n=22).

Claims relevant to survivor engagement and support were considered to have been proved strongly in 125 cases, proved in 67 cases, proved weakly in 78 cases, and not proved in 28 cases. Claims in this theme were considered to have been disproved 1 case, related to immigration and border controls.

Figure 16. Findings on survivor engagement and support claims



Claims relevant to survivor engagement and support often connected to additional themes, although a third of claims in this group were considered solely relevant to survivor engagement and support (n=96, 32%). 76 claims were considered relevant to criminal justice, 57 to health policy and practice, 47 to gender, 38 to migration, 18 to civil justice, 13 to social policy, and 15 to international justice. Claims also connected survivor engagement and support with education (10), development policy (3), financial policy (2), humanitarian contexts (2), economic policy (1), supply chains (1), and conflict (1).

Evidence underpinning survivor engagement and support claims was considered to be strong, with the

majority of claims in this group considered to be clear, transparent, context appropriate, valid, and reliable. The majority of claims were also considered to be cogent, or somewhat cogent, although overall this quality measure was satisfied in fewer cases. The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 3-18%.

Survivor engagement and support hypotheses

Ultimately, 13 unique hypotheses were drawn from the literature relating to survivor engagement and support:

Hypothesis 19. Long-term support for modern slavery survivors is necessary to effectively support recovery and reintegration

Hypothesis 20. Financial and employment support for survivors of modern slavery is necessary to support their recovery and reintegration, and prevent re-trafficking

Hypothesis 21. Cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration between antislavery actors at all levels improves identification and support for victims

Hypothesis 22. Trauma-informed models of survivor support and engagement are necessary to support recovery and reintegration

Hypothesis 23. Flexible, victim-centred and survivor-informed models of support and engagement with survivors are necessary for recovery and reintegration, and aid prevention

Hypothesis 24. Changing conceptions and representations of victimhood would improve identification of victims, reduce risk of criminalisation, and support law enforcement efforts

Hypothesis 25. Ensuring free access to legal advice and support is necessary for effective survivor support

Hypothesis 26. Ensuring access to appropriate and safe accommodation is necessary to ensure effective survivor protection, recovery, and reintegration

Hypothesis 27. Holistic, multidisciplinary support for survivors of modern slavery is necessary to support recovery and reintegration

Hypothesis 28. Immediate assistance, including healthcare and material support, is critical to enabling recovery and reintegration for survivors of modern slavery

Hypothesis 29. Development of statutory guidance for modern slavery legislation supports consistent survivor treatment and improves protection

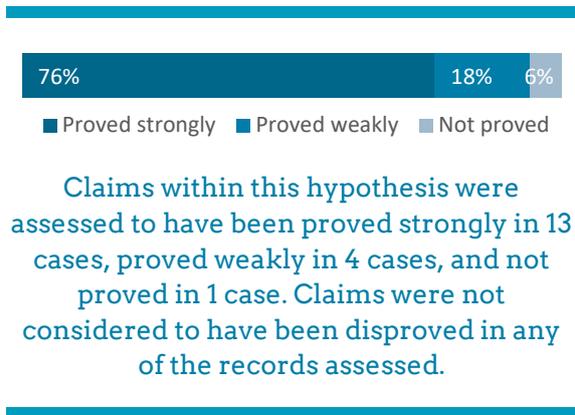
Hypothesis 30. Providing appropriate specialised modern slavery training to service providers and care workers improves quality of care for modern slavery survivors

Hypothesis 31. Having globally agreed upon definitions of rescue, recover, and reintegration would help aid survivor recovery and create more consistent practices

Hypothesis 19. Long-term support for modern slavery survivors is necessary to effectively support recovery and reintegration⁴³

The need for survivors of modern slavery to have access to long-term support to support their recovery and reintegration was captured in 17 distinct claims across 15 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 9 (60%) published in peer-reviewed journals and 6 (40%) in non-peer reviewed settings. 11 studies had academic authorship, and 4 were authored by non-governmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2020, with a concentration in 2018 (n=4). Claims within this group typically related to the survivor engagement and support theme exclusively, although 3 claims also connected to health policy and practice, 1 to criminal justice, and 1 to migration. 5 claims related to the cross-cutting theme of gender and 1 to education.



The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through primary studies, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs. The grouping also

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	6 (35%)
Secondary study	5 (29%)
Mixed study	5 (29%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	1 (6%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	11 (65%)
Mixed	5 (29%)
Non-empirical	1 (6%)
Research design	
Observational	14 (82%)
Systematic review	1 (6%)
N/A	2 (12%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	7 (41%)

included 1 systematic review, and 1 non-systematic literature review. Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method, with 6 studies analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders, and 6 analysing data collected from interviews with survivors. 3 studies combined interviews with both survivors and key informants, with 1 going further to include interviews with survivors’ families, friends, and neighbours. This study also integrated participant observations from fieldwork in the analysis. Surveys were the sole data collection method in 1 study (surveying survivors), and supplemented interviews with both survivors and key informants in another (surveying stakeholders). Focus groups with key

informants were the sole method of data collection in 1 study, while another study supplemented survivor interviews with a survivor focus group. The evidence is also strengthened by 3 of the records undertaking longitudinal studies, considering survivor experiences over a period of 6-9 months. The number of participants varied between studies from 5 to 317 respondents.

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be strong, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid and reliable. Evidence

⁴³ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [28], [51], [53], [54], [66], [69], [99], [102], [129], [131], [139], [140], [141], [145], and [146].

[Return to Survivor engagement and support hypotheses](#)

underpinning the claims was considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent in the majority of cases, although on the whole the records satisfied this measure less definitively. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. Authors often drew on international literature considering survivors' support needs, rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	14 (82%)	2 (12%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	14 (82%)	2 (12%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	12 (71%)	5 (29%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	13 (76%)	3 (18%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	13 (76%)	2 (12%)	1 (6%)	1 (6%)
Cogent	8 (47%)	8 (47%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation, identifying the need for long-term support for survivors of sex trafficking, forced labour, and organ trafficking. Studies considered both male and female survivors, although 5 studies drew on experiences and perspectives of only female survivors. Several studies considered the specific dynamics and needs of survivors who were returned to home countries and communities.

Long-term support for survivors is connected to a range of outcomes and benefits, and the lack of such support identified to have a range of serious disbenefits in survivors' recovery and reintegration journeys. These included risks of homelessness, re-victimisation, and re-trafficking, with survivors in 1 study noting that reintegration was 'close to impossible' in the absence of long-term support.⁴⁴ Lack of support was also identified as isolating for survivors, preventing them from being able to reintegrate in their communities and rebuild social bonds. Studies emphasised the role of long-term support in facilitating effective recovery, wellbeing, reintegration, and resilience against future victimisation, with flow-on effects for family and community resilience that may have implications for modern slavery prevalence (although this was not directly tested in the studies).

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction. One study considered the regional context of the Balkans, and one study was not geographically tied, adopting an international perspective. The remaining records were national studies, covering Albania, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Indonesia, Moldova, Nepal, Pakistan, the United Kingdom (2), and the United States (2).

Studies in this grouping highlighted the need to attend to the drivers of slavery, including individual and structural vulnerabilities, as an important element of long-term support. This included interventions and support targeted towards addressing poverty, lack of opportunities and alternatives, lack of occupational skills, illiteracy, social stigma, precarious residency status, poor health, and lack of economic stability. The studies therefore suggest that long-term support services ought to include provision of education and professional training, subsistence or welfare support, life skills training, housing, physical and mental health care, support for regularisation of residency status, and support

⁴⁴ Pranab Dahal, Sunil Kumar Joshi, Katarina Swahnberg. 'We are looked down upon and rejected socially': A Qualitative Study of the Experiences of Trafficking Survivors in Nepal. Global Health Action.

for family reconciliation and reintegration, as well as ongoing case management and legal support.

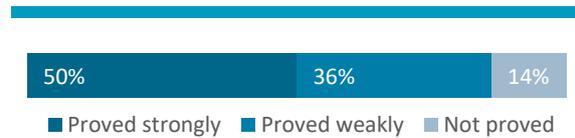
These findings were interconnected with consideration of the need for flexible, victim-centred, multidisciplinary, and holistic support (considered further in [Hypothesis 23](#). Flexible, victim-centred and survivor-informed models of support and engagement with survivors are necessary for recovery and reintegration, and aid prevention and [Hypothesis 27](#). Holistic, multidisciplinary support for survivors of modern slavery is necessary to support recovery and reintegration). Studies therefore emphasised the importance of long-term support catering to survivors' changing needs over time, enabling constant growth and adaptation to meet the complex needs of survivors. Records also noted the need for funding to underpin comprehensive long-term support and emphasised that access should be unconditional.

Hypothesis 20. Financial and employment support for survivors of modern slavery is necessary to support their recovery and reintegration, and prevent re-trafficking⁴⁵

The importance of financial and employment support in facilitating survivor recovery and reintegration, and preventing re-trafficking was captured in 14 distinct claims across 11 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 6 (55%) published in peer-reviewed journals with academic authorship, and 5 (45%) in non-peer reviewed settings, with 3 (27%) authored by non-governmental organisations and 2 (18%) by intergovernmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2012 to 2019, with a concentration in 2017 (n=4).

All claims within this group related to the survivor engagement and support theme, with 1 also connecting to criminal justice and 1 to civil justice. 1 claim related to the Markets theme of economic policy, 1 to financial policy, and 1 to development policy. 2 claims related to the Crisis theme of migration, 3 to the cross-cutting theme of gender, 2 to social policy, and 1 to education.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 7 cases, proved weakly in 5 cases, and not proved in 2 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	6 (43%)
Secondary study	3 (21%)
Mixed study	5 (36%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	10 (71%)
Mixed	4 (29%)
Non-empirical	0 (0%)
Research design	
Observational	12 (86%)
N/A	2 (14%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	4 (29%)

The majority of claims in this group were tested in studies involving primary data collection, although 2 studies conducted non-comprehensive literature reviews (1 a scoping review) of extant evidence (n=16 and 17). Interviews were the most commonly utilised method of data collection, with 5 studies conducting interviews with key informants and 3 studies conducting interviews with survivors. 1 study involving survivor interviews used this as the sole data collection method (n=25), adopting a semi-structured interview design. The remaining 2 survivor interview studies combined these with other data collection methods, including key

informant interviews, case studies, and secondary research in both cases, as well as law and policy analysis in 1 case. Key informant interviews were also frequently combined with other methods, including policy analysis, focus group discussions, participatory exercises, and analysis of case statistics. 1 study combined case analysis with ethnographic participant observations rather than using interviews, and another used Photovoice to collect data (images and text) from survivors and their family members. 1 study in this group reported on a high quantity of field programmes (n=101) and drew on programme and case data, as well as case studies, from across these programmes. However, the specific methodology in this case is not laid out in detail in the text.

⁴⁵ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [34], [41], [42], [43], [66], [80], [97], [98], [117], [120], and [162].

[Return to Survivor engagement and support hypotheses](#)

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, context-appropriate, and valid. The majority were also considered to be transparent, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so, although the evidence underpinning 6 claims was considered not to be cogent. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary secondary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	11 (79%)	2 (14%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	4 (29%)	7 (50%)	3 (21%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	11 (79%)	2 (14%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)
Valid	9 (64%)	3 (21%)	2 (14%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	6 (43%)	6 (43%)	2 (14%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	5 (36%)	3 (21%)	6 (43%)	0 (0%)

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation, with the majority of pieces considering modern slavery or human trafficking as a whole, rather than specific forms of exploitation. 2 records focused specifically on female survivors, while another focused on exploited fishers.

The critical role of financial support and economic empowerment in facilitating recovery, reintegration, and sustainable resilience was emphasised across the records in this group. 5 studies focused specifically on financial support and skills development, 4 on employment support, and 3 considered both. 1 record specifically noted the tendency in survivor support programmes to focus on psycho-social support to the exclusion of finance and employment, while records across the group emphasised that financial and employment support (both in the short-term and long-term) were critical to ensuring sustainable recovery and reintegration. Records did note, however, that this should be conducted in combination with other support (including psycho-social support, healthcare, and legal support).

Records noted that economic circumstances and lack of alternatives were critical drivers of modern slavery. They therefore highlighted that, in the absence of support to change these circumstances, survivors would face significant risks of re-trafficking even if they had received an otherwise extensive package of support. They highlighted the continuing financial pressures on survivors, including familial pressures and the need to meet basic needs, and noted that, in the absence of alternatives survivors might return to exploitative situations to secure at least some support to meet these demands, or accrue debts which in turn would make them more susceptible to re-trafficking. On the other hand, studies found that survivors provided with financial support were protected from the economic drivers of re-trafficking, those given the tools to manage their finances would encounter less problems with debt and financial insecurity, and those supported to employment (through vocational training and employment programmes) were provided with sustainable alternative livelihoods.

Geographic distribution

The majority of studies in this group focused on Asia, with one considering the whole region (including Australia and New Zealand), and 6 focused on the national contexts of the Philippines (2), Thailand (2), and Vietnam (2). 1 study focused on Italy and Nigeria together, and another on 5 European countries (Belgium, France, Hungary, Italy, and the United Kingdom). 2 studies were not geographically tied but international in scope.

Records also noted the psychological and emotional value of financial and employment support for survivors, noting that such measures were empowering, supported survivors' self-confidence, and fostered a sense of independence. Studies emphasised that the psychological impacts of economic instability hindered survivors' recovery and reintegration, and conversely that economic empowerment had significant flow-on effects for survivors' wellbeing. In 1 study focused on financial skills development, survivors expressed that having assets stimulated hope, created an orientation toward the future, built self-efficacy, and improved household stability by cushioning income shocks. Another study highlighted that debt and financial insecurity exacerbated mental health problems for survivors, finding that access to financial support, skills, and vocational training decreased the likelihood that survivors would enter into debt or experience financial instability.

Various different forms of financial support were considered in the records studied, including compensation, unconditional cash transfers, and provision of ongoing subsistence support. Studies also considered financial skills development interventions, including asset development, money-saving initiatives, financial management skills, and creation/operation of peer support networks focused on income-generation activities. With regard to employment, studies considered both vocational and employment skills training and programmes designed to facilitate access to particular employment opportunities. The value of peer-support was emphasised in several studies (n>3), noting that this created a less paternalistic approach for survivor recovery and reintegration, fostered self-confidence, helped build social connections, and supported resilient communities.

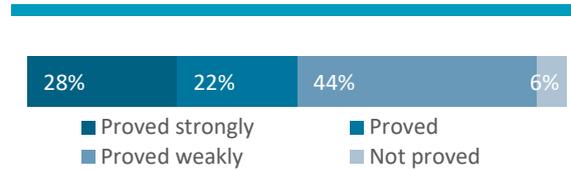
Studies also noted that financial and employment support packages encouraged self-identification and reporting, increased survivors' willingness to engage with law enforcement, and enabled survivors to participate in criminal justice processes. However, 1 study also emphasised that it is important that financial and employment support not be tied to participation in criminal justice processes, as this created a situation of unequal treatment and a denial of protection to survivors, as well as being outside the control of survivors in many cases. 1 record noted that it was vital that financial support be facilitated and supported by the government, but that this would benefit from being channelled both through governmental channels and through non-governmental organisations. Another noted that it was important that employment support and access to employment did not impose costs (e.g. fees) on survivors. 2 records in the study noted that access for survivors to financial support and vocational training was unequal in some contexts and emphasised the importance of equal access to these opportunities and support. 1 study also noted that it was important that skills and training provided a pathway to economic empowerment, noting that in some instances support focused on gendered skills such as tailoring and hairdressing, which in some contexts may not provide a sustainable path out of poverty and exploitation. Studies also noted that employment support required a range of support, including for language acquisition, and in securing documentation and right to work.

9 claims identified in this review also considered the relationship between financial and employment support and opportunities, and prevention of modern slavery. These records highlighted the role of improved economic conditions and viable alternatives in reducing modern slavery and child labour. These are not considered in this group but are considered in relation to 'development policy' in the Markets review.

Hypothesis 21. Cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration between antislavery actors at all levels improves identification and support for victims⁴⁶

The role of cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration in identifying and supporting victims of modern slavery was identified in 18 distinct claims across 18 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 10 (56%) published in peer-reviewed journals and 8 (44%) in non-peer reviewed settings. Publication dates extended from 2011 to 2020, with a concentration in 2015 (n=4). 10 studies (56%) had academic authorship, 6 (33%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, 1 (6%) by a governmental actor, and 1 (6%) by an intergovernmental agency. Claims within this group typically related to the survivor engagement and support theme exclusively, although 6 claims also connected to criminal justice and 1 to civil justice. 2 claims also related to the crisis theme of migration, and 1 to humanitarian contexts. 3 claims related to the cross-cutting theme of social policy and 1 to gender.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 5 cases, proved in 4 cases, proved weakly in 8 cases, and not proved in 1 case. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	8 (44%)
Secondary study	1 (6%)
Mixed study	7 (39%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	2 (11%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	1 (6%)
Qualitative	9 (50%)
Mixed	6 (33%)
Non-empirical	2 (11%)
Research design	
Observational	14 (78%)
Systematic review	1 (6%)
N/A	3 (17%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	3 (17%)

Half of the claims in this grouping were tested through primary studies, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs, although mixed methods approaches were also common. The grouping also included 1 systematic review. Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method, with 9 studies analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders, and 5 analysing data collected from interviews with survivors. 4 studies combined interviews with both survivors and key informants. Surveys were the sole data collection method in 1 study (surveying service providers), and supplemented interviews or focus groups in three others

(surveying stakeholders in each case). Focus groups with key informants were the sole method of data collection in 1 study, while three other studies supplemented other data collection methods with focus groups (conducting focus groups with stakeholders in 2 instances, and survivors in 1).

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be strong, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. Authors often

⁴⁶ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [40], [42], [43], [48], [64], [67], [77], [84], [92], [133], [134], [140], [145], [147], [164], [171], and [173].

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drew on international literature, rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	13 (72%)	5 (28%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	11 (61%)	6 (33%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	11 (69%)	5 (31%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	12 (67%)	6 (33%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	10 (56%)	7 (39%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	14 (78%)	2 (11%)	2 (11%)	0 (0%)

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation, with the majority of pieces considering modern slavery or human trafficking as a whole, rather than specific forms of exploitation. Two records specifically considered sexual exploitation of children. Studies considered both male and female survivors, although 1 study drew on experiences and perspectives of only female survivors, and 2 focused specifically on children. One study also considered the specific context of LGBTQI survivors (alongside others).

The role of effective collaboration and coordination between a range of different actors in improving identification and survivor support was emphasised across the records assessed. Studies highlighted the importance of coordination within and between governmental, civil society, and (in 1 study) intergovernmental organisations. The complexity of survivor needs and changing needs over time, as well as multiple possible points of identification and entry into support frameworks, were noted as key factors driving the need for coordination in 5 records assessed. Several records emphasised the need to coordination to include organisations and a broad range of professionals beyond specialised anti-trafficking actors as key sectors of potential identification and support, including healthcare workers and sex worker rights organisations. One record highlighted the value of having a single point of contact for survivors to help navigate coordinated support systems, and indicated that social workers were effective operators in this role.⁴⁷

While coordination and collaboration are noted as vital to effective identification and support, the terms and conditions of that cooperation (rather than collaboration alone) was noted to be determinative of outcomes. Studies noted that multi-agency work varies and highlighted the importance of individual buy-in amongst network members, the importance of building strong relationships between partners, and the need for partners to be willing to cooperate, open, accountable, and flexible in order to be effective.⁴⁸ Trust

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction. One study considered the regional context of the Balkans, three focused more closely on specific geographies within the United States (covering the state of Georgia, Lee and Collier Counties in Florida, and 1 'Midwestern city' respectively), and 4 studies were not geographically tied. The remaining records were national studies, covering Cambodia, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, the United Kingdom (2), the United States (3), and Vietnam.

⁴⁷ Noël Busch-Armendariz, Maura Busch Msonwu, and Laurie Cook Heffron (2014) 'A Kaleidoscope: The Role of the Social Work Practitioner and the Strength of Social Work Theories and Practice in Meeting the Complex Needs of People Trafficked and the Professionals that Work with Them'.

⁴⁸ See, for instance, Hea-Won Kim, Taekyung Park, Stephanie Quiring, and Diana Barrett (2018) 'The anti-human trafficking collaboration model and serving victims: Providers' perspectives on the impact and experience' 15(2) *Journal of Evidence-Informed Social Work* 186-203.

was therefore identified as a crucial component of effective multi-agency collaboration. Referral mechanisms were identified as suitable frameworks for coordination in several records, although the need for sustainable financing in any network was also emphasised.

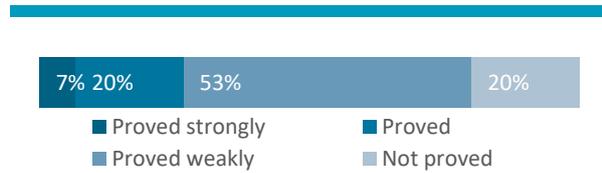
One of the core benefits of coordination and collaboration in improving identification and support was noted to be the opportunity for network learning, sharing of best practice, provision of training, standardisation of approaches, and creation of centralised resources (n=6). One record highlighted the importance of collaborative efforts to ensure data collection was compatible between organisations, to facilitate effective information sharing and learning. The need for clear internal network communications strategies to facilitate cooperation was noted in 2 records.

Failures in coordination were noted in 1 record as increasing risk of re-trafficking, while the requirement for survivors to repeat their experiences between multiple different agencies was noted to be distressing and increase risk of re-traumatisation—particularly for child victims. Competition between anti-trafficking actors was noted to occur in contexts lacking effective collaboration, with have negative impacts for survivors' access to, and experiences of, support and service provision. Coordination was therefore indicated to impact the quality of service, access to appropriate services to meet survivors' complex and varied needs, and the degree to which the needs of victims were met.

Hypothesis 22. Trauma-informed models of survivor support and engagement are necessary to support recovery and reintegration⁴⁹

The need for trauma-informed approaches to engaging with, and supporting, survivors of modern slavery was captured in 15 distinct claims across 11 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 9 (82%) published in peer-reviewed journals, and 2 (18%) in non-peer reviewed settings. 9 studies (82%) had academic authorship, and 2 were authored by non-governmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2015 to 2020, with the highest concentration in 2016 (n=3). No studies testing the hypothesis were assessed for the period from 2010-2014. All claims within this group related to the survivor engagement and support theme, with half (53%) also connecting to health policy and practice. 2 claims also connected to criminal justice, and 1 claim related to the cross-cutting theme of gender.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 1 case, proved in 3 cases, proved weakly in 8 cases, and not proved in 3 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	5 (33%)
Secondary study	4 (27%)
Mixed study	1 (7%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	5 (33%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	4 (27%)
Mixed	6 (40%)
Non-empirical	5 (33%)
Research design	
Observational	6 (40%)
Systematic review	1 (7%)
N/A	8 (53%)
Programme or project evaluation	0 (0%)

Study types, methods, and designs in this group were diverse, with a variety of different approaches adopted and no single approach representing a majority of studies. 2 studies conducted systematic reviews, although in 1 of these cases the review protocols were not described in the text making it unclear whether the study was systematic. 2 additional studies supplemented other methods with literature reviews, while others drew on a range of secondary sources to support their analysis. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2 studies in this group, 1 interviewing survivors (n=13) and the other interviewing stakeholders in government and civil society (n=121). The latter supplemented these interviews with participatory analysis conducted through focus group and an additional round of interviews with respondents from the first round of data collection (n=7). 1 study involved direct survivor engagement adopting a set of assessment tools, although the specific details of the methodology are not set out in the record, nor are numbers of participants identified. 1 record in this group conducted a Delphi study with 23 experts and 10 survivors, supplemented by a literature review (n=19), while another conducted keyword and content analysis on the text of US federal Bills and Resolutions from 1989-2019 (n=1056).

latter supplemented these interviews with participatory analysis conducted through focus group and an additional round of interviews with respondents from the first round of data collection (n=7). 1 study involved direct survivor engagement adopting a set of assessment tools, although the specific details of the methodology are not set out in the record, nor are numbers of participants identified. 1 record in this group conducted a Delphi study with 23 experts and 10 survivors, supplemented by a literature review (n=19), while another conducted keyword and content analysis on the text of US federal Bills and Resolutions from 1989-2019 (n=1056).

⁴⁹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [18], [31], [32], [48], [63], [68], [72], [77], [96], [138], and [175].

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This group also included 1 study presenting a hypothetical patient case study to illustrate the signs of trafficking, 1 combined discussion of a single illustrative case with discussion based on extant literature, and 1 presented recommendations based on previous study (the methodology of which is not laid out in detail in this record).

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	7 (47%)	4 (27%)	4 (27%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	7 (47%)	2 (13%)	6 (40%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	4 (27%)	4 (27%)	2 (13%)	5 (33%)
Valid	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	0 (0%)	3 (20%)
Reliable	7 (47%)	8 (53%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)	0 (0%)

The quality of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be mixed, although overall supporting a positive finding on the hypothesis. The majority of claims were recorded as clear, transparent, valid, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so. It was unclear whether the approach adopted in several cases (n=5) was context-appropriate, making this the sole quality measure that was not achieved or somewhat achieved in the majority of cases. Primary studies in this group were often supported by comprehensive literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. However, the extent of support for some of the hypothetical and conceptual studies is less clearly established.

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation, with the majority of pieces considering modern slavery or human trafficking as a whole, rather than specific forms of exploitation. 3 records specifically considered sexual exploitation of children, with 1 focused on trafficking of children for sexual exploitation, 1 on commercial sexual exploitation of children, and 1 on online sexual exploitation of children. No studies in this group focused on a particular gender, although survivors participating in the Delphi study were all female, and there were no LGBTQ+ participants (identifying this as a gap in data collection).

Geographic distribution

Studies in this group were not geographically diverse, predominantly focused on the United States, with 9 of the 11 records addressing the country or specific geographic contexts within the United States. 1 study considered New Jersey in particular, while the remaining studies considered the United States more broadly. 1 of the remaining studies focused on the Philippines, while the final study adopted a global perspective, but with specific reference in the text made to Asia as a region, Cambodia, Germany, Ireland, Nepal, Serbia, and the United States.

Studies in this group emphasise the importance of trauma-informed care for survivors of modern slavery and human trafficking, noting its role in survivor recovery and reintegration. Several studies further note that trauma-informed approaches help to reduce severe risks of re-victimisation and re-traumatisation in a variety of contexts, and 1 study also noted that it reduces rates of dropout from care as well as improving success rates. Records in this group presented a trauma-informed approach as critical for effective aftercare for survivors, and connected to the need for individualised, flexible, survivor-informed, culturally appropriate, and evidence-based approaches. One study further identified emphasising the research basis behind the trauma-informed movement as strengthening the credibility of relevant policy efforts.

Studies in this group further noted the need to of recognising nuances between trauma and PTSD, and half the studies emphasised the importance of healthcare and support staff

(including peripheral staff such as security personnel and receptionists) to receive training and education on trauma-informed approaches. One study emphasised that adoption of trauma-informed approaches needs to be systemic (e.g. should be adopted throughout all healthcare systems), and may require structural and personnel changes in order to be given effect. 1 study also flagged the potential for support and healthcare workers to experience vicarious traumatisation when working with survivors, therefore advocating for trauma-informed approaches for workers as well as survivors.

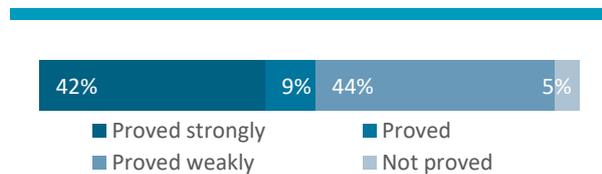
Various approaches to trauma-informed care were discussed across this group, with several studies considering traditional clinical approaches. 1 study considered the effectiveness of therapeutic yoga, expressive arts, and sensory-based interventions (breathing techniques, aromatherapy, animal-assisted therapy, mindfulness), finding these approaches to have significantly positive impacts on survivors' recovery, wellbeing, and reintegration (including rebuilding of trust and social bonds) within the confines of the study.

Several studies in this group highlighted the need for further, more rigorous research into the practice and impacts of trauma-informed care in different contexts and with different populations.

Hypothesis 23. Flexible, victim-centred and survivor-informed models of support and engagement with survivors are necessary for recovery and reintegration, and aid prevention⁵⁰

The need for flexible, victim-centred and survivor-informed models of support and engagement at all levels of activity connected to antislavery and anti-trafficking was captured in 43 distinct claims across 36 records assessed.

All studies assessed in this group were published, with 21 (58%) published in peer-reviewed settings and 15 (42%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 23 records (64%) were authored by academics, 10 (28%) by non-governmental organisations, 1 (3%) by a governmental actor, and 2 (6%) by intergovernmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2020, with concentrations in 2013 (n=5), 2015 (n=5) and 2018 (n=6). All claims within this group related to the survivor engagement and support theme, while 10 also related to health policy and practice, 5 to criminal justice, 1 to civil justice, and 1 to international justice. 5 claims related to the Crisis theme of migration, 1 to conflict, and 1 to humanitarian contexts. 9 claims related to the cross-cutting theme of gender, 3 to education, and 1 to social policy.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 18 cases, proved in 4 cases, proved weakly in 19 cases, and not proved in 2 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	17 (40%)
Secondary study	6 (14%)
Mixed study	13 (30%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	7 (16%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	2 (5%)
Qualitative	23 (53%)
Mixed	11(26%)
Non-empirical	7 (16%)
Research design	
Quasi-experimental	1 (2%)
Observational	32 (74%)
Systematic review	2 (5%)
N/A	8 (19%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	6 (14%)

Studies in this group adopted a range of different methods, and in different combinations. Interviews were the most common methods employed for primary data collection, with 16 studies conducting interviews with key informants and 11 conducting interviews with survivors. 9 of these studies included interviews with both key informants and survivors. Semi-structured interviews appear to have been the most commonly utilised. 1 study supplemented survivor and key informant interviews with interviews with survivors’ family, friends, and neighbours, and another included interviews with survivors’ mothers and husbands. Many interview studies also combined other methods of data collection

and analysis, including focus groups with survivors (3) or key informants (2), surveys with survivors (1) and stakeholders (3). 1 study utilised stakeholder surveys as the sole method of data collection. 2 studies supplemented primary data collection with participant observation, and 3 combined interviews with analysis of case data. 1 study was based

⁵⁰ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [1], [16], [18], [25], [31], [32], [33], [34], [37], [39], [41], [42], [43], [66], [68], [80], [81], [84], [90], [92], [96], [99], [100], [101], [109], [119], [125], [133], [138], [141], [145], [146], [147], [153], [156], and [168].

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solely on case data analysis, considering data from 3701 cases (covering men, women, and children). 1 record in this group conducted a Delphi study with 23 experts and 10 survivors, supplemented by a literature review (n=19), and 3 were based on literature reviews—2 systematic (n=19 and 20) and 1 non-systematic (n=17). The group included 3 longitudinal studies, 1 considering survivor experiences over a 6-9 month period, and the other 2 considering impacts and outcomes over 10 years.

Several studies in this group adopted non-empirical approaches, including law and policy analysis, comparative country case studies, and theoretical or exemplar case studies. He majority of cases adopted observational designs, although 1 study involved quasi-experimental approach and included interviews with comparable non-participant groups in 3 of the 4 case studies.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	31 (72%)	9 (21%)	3 (7%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	23 (53%)	10 (23%)	10 (23%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	29 (67%)	9 (21%)	3 (7%)	2 (5%)
Valid	25 (58%)	16 (37%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)
Reliable	23 (53%)	17 (40%)	3 (7%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	21 (49%)	14 (33%)	8 (19%)	0 (0%)

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, and reliable. Evidence underpinning the claims was considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent in the majority of cases. Quality measures were considered not to have been met in 2-23% of cases, with transparency being the measure most often considered not to have been satisfied (n=10; 23%). Primary studies in this group were often supported by literature reviews and/or supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence.

Studies in this group emphasised the flexible, victim-centred, and survivor-informed approaches to engaging with, and supporting, survivors of human trafficking and modern slavery. 1 study related specifically to online sexual exploitation of children, 1 to sexual slavery of women and girls, 2 to sex trafficking, and 1 to child marriage of girls. 1 study considered the specific position and experiences of fishers and seafarers.

Studies in this group highlighted the complex nature of trafficking and modern slavery, and the varied and individualised experiences of these abuses. They noted that individual survivors' needs could vary significantly, as a result of their different experiences of abuse, individual circumstances, background, and personality (among other factors). Most records emphasised the need for

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, although a significant proportion of studies were focused on the United States (n=14). Four records focused on a group of States, with 2 considering a group of European States (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, the Netherlands, and Serbia; Belgium, France, Hungary, Italy, United Kingdom), 1 focused on the Balkans, and 1 considering a mixed group of Upper Egypt, Bangladesh, Amhara (Ethiopia), and Bihar (India). 6 studies focused on specific sub-national contexts in the United States, covering Missouri, Florida, Georgia, New Jersey, Wisconsin, and Kansas City. The remaining studies considered the national contexts of Cambodia (2), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Indonesia (2), the Philippines, Thailand (2), the United Kingdom (2), the United States (8), and Vietnam. 7 studies were not geographically tied, adopting an international perspective.

tailored and individualised support in response to these realities, with all advocating for victim-centred approaches. Particular factors highlighted as relevant to support provision and engagement that should be taken into account included cultural and ethnic background, language, gender age, religion, immigration status, type of exploitation experienced, sector in which labour exploitation occurred, and pregnancy and parental responsibilities. 2 records highlighted the need to collect relevant data on factors such as these when survivors are referred into service and support frameworks, so that appropriate care and support could be provided. Many records (n>8) also emphasised survivors' changing needs over time, and the requirement for support and engagement to continue long-term (see also [Hypothesis 19](#). Long-term support for modern slavery survivors is necessary to effectively support recovery and reintegration) and adapt in response to survivors changing situations and needs. One record presented this as a 'continuum of services' based on survivors' current needs and interests.

Records noted the important role of responsive, needs-based support in facilitating recovery and reintegration, highlighting that the absence of such could result in survivors experiencing significant distress and re-traumatisation when engaging with service providers and officials (n>6), increased risk of survivors disengaging from criminal justice processes and support provision (n>5), and increased likelihood of re-trafficking (n>5). Flexible, victim-centred care was therefore seen as connected to prevention. Several studies (n>8) emphasised the important role of survivor participation and consultation in shaping the terms of support and engagement, highlighting that these measures helped ensure appropriate engagement, improved suitability of services for survivors, and helped to build confidence and empower survivors. 3 studies emphasised the importance of supporting survivors' independence and agency, noting the long-term benefits of this for reintegration. 1 study described survivor support and engagement through official channels as the 'staging ground' on which survivors rebuild their lives, with many studies in this group supporting the important role of flexible, victim-centred support in recovery reintegration (n>9). 1 record involved engaging survivors as 'change-agents' in their home communities, highlighting the value of such approaches in enabling reintegration and supporting community resilience and prevention.

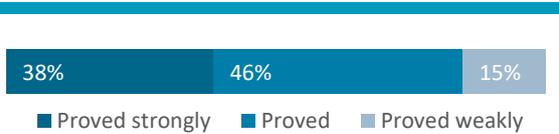
Several studies noted that creation of support and engagement frameworks that were flexible, victim-centred, and survivor informed improved identification, particularly self-reporting (n>5). Records highlighted the important role of trust-building with survivors for both identification and aftercare, and suggested that victim-centred, participatory processes were more effective in fostering positive relationships between survivors, support providers, and other officials. These relationships and trust were highlighted as benefitting criminal justice process in 4 studies assessed, and victim-centred approaches were noted to decrease risks of criminalisation of victims in 2 studies. 1 study further highlighted the importance of ensuring effective links and cooperation between source and origin countries, to facilitate ongoing, victim-centred care.

Several records (n>7) noted that effective, flexible, victim-centred and survivor-informed care was not automatic, and that it was critical that relevant actors received appropriate training to adopt this approach. One study also emphasised the importance of ensuring sufficient resources were allocated to facilitate this approach. Records also drew close connections with the need to ensure trauma-informed care (see [Hypothesis 22](#). Trauma-informed models of survivor support and engagement are necessary to support recovery and reintegration), seeing the two approaches as intertwined. One record also called for further, rigorous research into the practice and outcomes of flexible, victim-centred, survivor-informed approaches.

Hypothesis 24. Changing conceptions and representations of victimhood would improve identification of victims, reduce risk of criminalisation, and support law enforcement efforts⁵¹

The need to develop more nuanced and evidence based conceptions and representations of victimhood in modern slavery cases, and the harms of stereotypes and inaccurate imagery, was identified in 13 distinct claims across 11 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 10 (91%) published in peer-reviewed journals and authored by academics, and 1 (9%) published in a non-peer reviewed setting by a non-governmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2018, with the highest concentration in 2015 (n=3). All claims within this group related to the survivor engagement and support⁷ theme, with 4 also connected to criminal justice and 3 to international justice. 1 claim connected to the Crisis theme of migration, and 6 to the cross-cutting theme of gender.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 5 cases, proved in 6 cases, and proved weakly in 2 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	2 (15%)
Secondary study	4 (31%)
Mixed study	1 (8%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	6 (46%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	4 (31%)
Mixed	3 (23%)
Non-empirical	6 (46%)
Research design	
Observational	6 (46%)
N/A	7 (54%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

Studies in this group adopted relatively diverse methods, and the majority undertaking secondary studies based on extant literature involving primarily theoretical or conceptual analysis. 3 studies undertook analyses of representation in media and public reporting, with one study conducting analysis of media reporting, 1 focused on representations (both visual and written) in the United States Trafficking in Persons Reports, 1 analysing the websites of 18 federally funded anti-trafficking non-governmental organisations in Canada, and 1 considering media depictions of trafficking globally. The first of these involved robust

analysis of 361 unique victim narratives and 25 offender narratives. The second included a grounded, iterative coding process (following Strauss and Corbin). The methodology underpinning the third was not laid out in the text, although it combines consideration of media depiction with theoretical discussion, and it appears that media analysis was not systematic. 3 studies undertook primary data collection: 1 involving a survey of 363 Bosnian Border Police; 1 combining 58 key informant interviews with 33 survivor interviews (with returnees and prospective returnees from Norway to Nigeria) and 18 interviews with sex workers; and 1 conducting 90 key informant interviews with anti-trafficking professionals, a case review of 390 cases, and a desk review. 1 additional study also conducted case analysis, analysing qualitative and quantitative case data from 210 men, 2604 women, and 887 children.

⁵¹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [15], [52], [75], [90], [104], [108], [109], [114], [122], [150], and [153].

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The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be strong, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, context-appropriate, and valid. All cases satisfied these measures of clarity in whole or in part. The majority of cases were also considered to be transparent, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so. The evidence underpinning claims was considered not to meet an evidentiary quality measure in 5 cases, with 3 claims underpinned by evidence considered not to be cogent. Evidence was also considered not to be transparent or context appropriate in 1 case each. In 4 cases, it was unclear whether the evidence underpinning claims was valid, although it should be noted that this represented only 2 studies in the group. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	11 (85%)	2 (15%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	6 (46%)	6 (46%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	9 (69%)	3 (23%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Valid	8 (62%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	4 (31%)
Reliable	6 (46%)	5 (38%)	0 (0%)	2 (15%)
Cogent	4 (31%)	6 (46%)	3 (23%)	0 (0%)

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation, with the majority of pieces considering modern slavery or human trafficking as a whole, rather than specific forms of exploitation. They considered the specific dynamics of representation, and its implications for different victim demographic groups.

All studies in this group considered the dominant stereotypes of victimhood that are pervasive in antislavery and anti-trafficking campaigning and activities. Studies all coalesced in recognising the 'image' of the trafficking victim as an innocent women or child, typically sexually exploited, and blameless in their victimisation. Studies also noted that narratives of victimhood were racialised, based on physical (as opposed to psychological) abuse, and that blamelessness in this context included either a lack of consent to migration, or the victim's belief that they were migrating for other work but were ultimately forced into sexual exploitation. 'Prostitution myths' were also noted in 2 studies to contribute to this misrepresentation. This image was noted to exclude male victims (with vulnerability associated with femininity and not masculinity), those experiencing labour trafficking, and complex victims in particular, but also more broadly all individuals that did not fulfil the idealised stereotype. Stereotypes of offenders were also investigated in several studies in this group, with an emphasis on offenders as male, organised criminals, deviants, and unknown to the victims.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, although 2 studies were not geographically tied but adopted an international perspective. 1 study considered the regional context of Europe, and 1 considered the source-destination country dynamics between Nigeria and Norway, and. The remaining records were national studies, covering Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, Indonesia, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States (2).

This idealised image of victimhood and simplified narrative of perpetration was noted to have several ramifications on identification, treatment of victims, and criminal justice processes. Studies found that dominant narratives and stereotypes inhibited identification and recognition of non-ideal victims, with implications for access to support services and criminal justice processes. These narratives were also noted to influence support post-

identification, with 1 study finding that female victims of sex trafficking were almost the exclusive beneficiaries of a 'Vulnerable Groups programme', with officials in the programme citing their 'sensitivity to female victims of trafficking for prostitution' and the fact that they did not associate masculinity with vulnerability.

Studies in this group also noted the implications of stereotypes of both victimhood and offending on criminal justice processes beyond identification, noting the need to recognise the diversity of perpetrators to facilitate investigation, arrest, and prosecution. The criminalisation of victims was noted in several studies to arise where law enforcement officers did not have a nuanced and complex understanding of victimhood, resulting in re-victimisation of survivors and reluctance to self-report to authorities. Social stigmas were also noted in 1 paper to influence self-reporting, with un-deal male victims in particular being deterred from seeking or accepting assistance.

Several records noted the role of campaigning imagery in shaping and perpetuating these images, and therefore indicated a need for a change of imagery at this level to improve anti-trafficking responses. 1 study found that representations were typically initiated and encourage by government campaigns in the first instance, and perpetuated by civil society, noting therefore that effective change ought to involve a change in government messaging. Records also noted the need for training to break these stereotypes, with a focus on the definitions established in law and the diversity of potential cases.

Hypothesis 25. Ensuring free access to legal advice and support is necessary for effective survivor support⁵²

The importance of ensuring free access to legal advice and support as a necessary tool for effective survivor support was captured in 8 distinct claims across 8 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 4 (50%) published in peer-reviewed journals and authored by academics, and 4 (50%) published in non-peer reviewed settings by non-governmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2019. All claims related to survivor engagement and support, with 3 intersecting with the theme civil justice, 2 with health policy and practice and 1 with social policy.

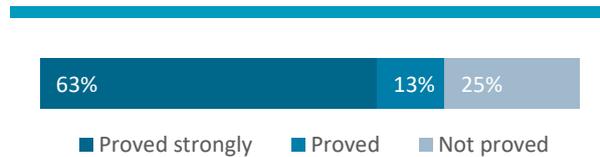
The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection (n=5), predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs, with 1 record undertaking quantitative analysis. Interviews were used in all cases involving data collection, with 5 studies analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders, and 3 analysing data collected from interviews with survivors. Surveys were also a common data collection method in this hypothesis group, with 2 studies combining interviews with surveys of either survivors or key stakeholders. 1 study also relied on case studies and focus groups with service providers, trafficking survivors and law enforcement personnel to determine if the screening tool could reliably identify victims of sex and labour trafficking. 1 study complemented interviews with focus groups and case studies. 3 records relied on theoretical discussion based on analysis of

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	1 (13%)
Secondary study	1 (13%)
Mixed study	4 (50%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	2 (25%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	1 (13%)
Qualitative	3 (38%)
Mixed	2 (25%)
Non-empirical	2 (25%)
Research design	
Observational	5 (63%)
N/A	3 (38%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	2 (25%)

secondary sources, such as academic and grey literature. Two conceptual analyses were underpinned by authors' personal experience working on the field. The number of respondents ranged from 15-35 for interviews and 27-206 for surveys.

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding, with the evidence supporting the majority of claims considered to be clear, transparent or somewhat transparent, context-appropriate or somewhat context-appropriate, valid, reliable or somewhat reliable, and cogent or somewhat cogent. Overall, methodologies in this hypothesis grouping were well articulated, combining multiple methods to produce a stronger evidentiary foundation for conclusions drawn. The evidence



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 5 cases, proved in 1 case, and not proved in 1 case. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

⁵² Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [2], [14], [26], [53], [66], [101], [140], and [162].

base benefits from a wider consideration of statistical and case data in several of the records assessed, strengthening the evidence through a more expansive review and supporting findings from interviews with smaller sample groups. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	7 (82%)	0 (0%)	1 (13%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	3 (38%)	3 (38%)	2 (25%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	5 (63%)	2 (25%)	1 (13%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	1 (13%)	1 (13%)
Cogent	3 (38%)	3 (38%)	2 (25%)	0 (0%)

Studies in this group argued that granting access to free legal advice and support, including in pursuing immigration and compensation claims, is essential to support survivors’ recovery and reintegration and should be granted. On this note, one study showed that compensation is a vital part of recovery and that the probability of compensation is higher when free and adequate legal assistance is provided. 1 record focused on the scope of the legal claims which indirectly affect access to legal aid in the UK, arguing that the lack of formal appeal procedure for negative National Referral Mechanism decisions hampers subsequent access to redress, since trafficking victims are not entitled to government-funded assistance following receipt of a negative decision. 2 records focused on the quality of the legal services, highlighting that they should be adequate to build trust and meet victims’ social and health needs.

Of these studies, one specifically addressed the challenges posed by a variable quality of legal aid when the trafficking victims are children. It showed the importance of the appointment of an independent guardian for assisting and guiding trafficked children through the challenges of legal processes and reintegration.

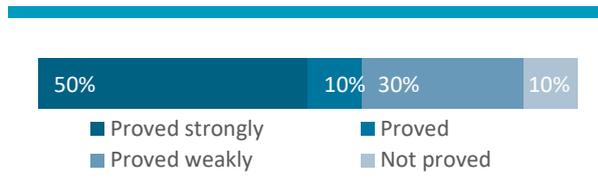
Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction. One study was not geographically tied, being theoretical and international in scope. The remaining records were national studies, covering UK (n=2), Vietnam, Serbia, Austria, USA, and Nigeria. Several of the studies in this grouping involved analysis specific aspects of national legislation. The ability to extrapolate these findings to other contexts would therefore require further research and consideration of the implications of different legal, economic, social and political contexts.

Hypothesis 26. Ensuring access to appropriate and safe accommodation is necessary to ensure effective survivor protection, recovery, and reintegration⁵³

The importance of ensuring access to appropriate and safe accommodation as a necessary tool for effective survivor protection, recovery, and reintegration was captured in 10 distinct claims across 9 records assessed.

All studies in this grouping were published, with 3 (33%) published in peer-reviewed settings and, and 6 (60%) published in non-peer reviewed contexts. 4 studies (44%) had academic authorship, 4 were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 1 by an intergovernmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2017, with the highest concentration in 2013 (n=3). All claims within this group related to survivor engagement and support, with 1 study intersecting with criminal justice, 1 with social policy, and 1 with migration. 2 claims related to the cross-cutting theme of gender.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 5 cases, proved in 1 case, proved weakly in 3 cases, and not proved in 1 case. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	5 (50%)
Secondary study	1 (10%)
Mixed study	4 (40%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	1 (10%)
Qualitative	7 (70%)
Mixed	2 (20%)
Non-empirical	0 (0%)
Research design	
Observational	9 (90%)
N/A	1 (10%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	3 (30%)

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs. Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method (n=7), with 4 studies analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders, supported by secondary research. 3 studies complemented interviews with either surveys (n=2) or case studies (140 cases gathered from police and court records). 1 record gathered data from 5 focus group meetings. 1 study relied on theoretical discussion, through analysis of secondary sources, such as academic and grey literature. The number of respondents ranged from 15-166 for interviews and 15-206 for surveys.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	9 (90%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	6 (60%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	6 (60%)	3 (30%)	1 (10%)	0 (90)
Reliable	5 (50%)	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	4 (40%)	6 (60%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

⁵³ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [2], [8], [14], [66], [69], [80], [81], [125], and [168].

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The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority considered to be clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent. Overall, methodologies in this hypothesis grouping were well articulated, combining multiple methods to produce a stronger evidentiary foundation for conclusions drawn. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction. One study was not geographically tied, being theoretical and international in scope, and one focused specifically on 12 particular states in the United States. The remaining records were national studies, covering the UK (n=3), USA, Nigeria, Albania, Belgium, France, Hungary and Italy.

These studies analysed the importance of providing adequate accommodation for survivors of trafficking from various perspectives: as a preventive measure, as a necessary element for recovery and reintegration, and as a facilitator element for effective prosecution. As a preventive tool, 1 study showed that appropriate accommodation helped avoid children being re-trafficked. 5 claims drew upon the importance of adequate accommodation for recovery and reintegration of survivors, demonstrating that immediate and post-reflection period material support for survivors of trafficking (accommodation and food) are critical to recovery and to ensure their long-term stabilisation and integration.

4 claims focused on specific features of accommodation which may enhance survivors' recovery and reintegration process: 1 study suggested that live-in recovery programmes are seen as more helpful environments for recovery than programs that do not offer live-in accommodation. 2 records similarly argued that it is important to develop protocols for the allocation of NRM accommodation and length of stay based on an individual's needs and risk-assessment, and 1 study held that providing suitable housing for survivors that is separate, but located close together, would improve survivors' recovery and reintegration. As a facilitator of criminal prosecution, 1 record showed that the lack of specialised services for trafficking victims, particularly safe housing, hinders prosecution efforts.

Other hypotheses related to survivor engagement and support

Hypothesis 27. Holistic, multidisciplinary support for survivors of modern slavery is necessary to support recovery and reintegration⁵⁴

The necessity of holistic, multidisciplinary support for survivors of modern slavery to support recovery and reintegration was captured in 5 claims across 5 records assessed. 1 study highlighted that recovery and reintegration support for survivors of modern slavery needs to be tailored to the individual needs of each trafficked person. 4 studies found that support programmes have to be a multidisciplinary, multiagency and multinational. They should include counsellors, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, medical personnel, and legal professionals who conduct comprehensive needs assessment, ensure safety and confidentiality, comprehensive case management, practice trauma-enforced care, speak the survivor’s native language, provide culturally appropriate services, and provide specialised shelter for survivors. 1 study also emphasised that support has to be continuous to address immediate and crisis needs, ongoing needs, and long-term needs. The core service areas within this continuum are basic necessities; secure, safe shelter, and housing; physical health care; mental health care; legal and immigration advocacy; job and life skills training; and substance abuse services.

The hypothesis was considered to have been proved strongly in 2 cases, proved in 1 case, proved weakly in 1 case, and not proved in 1 case.

All studies underpinning this hypothesis were published, with 3 published in peer reviewed settings with academic authorship, and 2 published in a non-peer reviewed settings authored by non-governmental organisations. 1 study was published in 2011, 2 in 2015, and 2 in 2017.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	4	0	1
Transparent	3	1	1
Context-appropriate	3	2	0
Valid	3	2	0
Reliable	3	2	0
Cogent	3	2	0

2 studies were primary studies with observational research designs, 1 qualitative and 1 quantitative. 1 of them involved two rounds of interviews with 108 survivors of trafficking (49 males and 59 females). The second round of interviews was conducted with 66 respondents (24 males and 42 females). The study also included informal communication with 30 of the participants in between interviews. The researchers also interviewed 34 family members, 31 persons from respondents’ social environment and 144 key informants/stakeholders at national, district, sub-district and village level. Additionally, the study also involved participant observation and informal conversations and discussions (with individuals or groups), direct observation and participation in community events. The other primary study included a survey of 206 female survivors of human trafficking who had received support and assistance in rehabilitation homes for human trafficking victims, as well as 17 personal interviews with government personnel and members of a non-governmental organisation. 3 studies were qualitative secondary studies, including 2 systematic reviews. These studies reviewed 15, 17, and 20 documents respectively, including academic and grey literature.

2 studies were not geographically tied, adopting an international perspective, although 1 of these studies made specific reference to several particular geographic contexts—namely Asia, Cambodia, Germany, Ireland, Nepal, Serbia, Switzerland, and the United States. 3

⁵⁴ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [2], [48], [66], [141], and [146].

studies focused on a distinct national context, covering the Indonesia, Nigeria and the United States.

All 5 studies connected to the theme of survivor engagement and support. 1 study also connected to health policy and practice and 1 to the cross-cutting theme of gender. While 3 studies were tied to the particular contexts in which they were conducted, it may be possible to extrapolate to additional contexts with additional research or evidence. Generally robust methods adopted in studies in this group provide a good foundation for further interrogation that is based on a clear and transparent methodology, includes a wider evidence base and the input of survivors, and effectively illustrates and synthesises information from different sources.

Hypothesis 28. Immediate assistance, including healthcare and material support, is critical to enabling recovery and reintegration for survivors of modern slavery⁵⁵

The critical importance of ensuring survivors' immediate needs are met, including access to emergency healthcare and material support, was captured in 4 distinct claims across 4 records assessed. 1 study highlighted that short-term needs of survivors included physical health care, mental health care, safety services, case management, and legal advocacy. 1 focused specifically on short-term healthcare needs, and one focused on 'immediate material support', with 100% of respondents reporting accommodation and food as key elements of support. The final study highlighted the need for immediate shelter and accommodation, with an emphasis on ensuring safety and protection for survivors. It should be noted that the value and necessity of immediate support was highlighted in a large number of studies considered in this review. This was often taken for granted and served as a shared premise on which authors advanced their arguments. In several cases, the need for long term support (considered above in [Hypothesis 19](#). Long-term support for modern slavery survivors is necessary to effectively support recovery and reintegration) was presented as a requirement *in addition* to immediate assistance. However, the importance of immediate support was not specifically tested in many of the records assessed.

Claims in this group were considered to have been proved strongly in two cases, proved weakly in 1 case, and not proved in the final case.

All studies in this group were published, with 2 published in peer-reviewed settings with academic authorship, and 2 published in non-peer reviewed settings by non-governmental organisations. Studies were published in 2015, 2016 (2), and 2017. The group included 2 primary studies, involving semi-structured key informant interviews with

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	3	0	1
Transparent	2	1	1
Context-appropriate	2	2	0
Valid	3	0	1
Reliable	2	1	1
Cogent	2	2	0

support providers (n=5) in 1 case, and a combination of a survivor survey (n=206) and survivor interviews (n=17) in the other. 1 mixed study was also included in this group, involving semi-structured interviews with key informants (n=21), surveys with anti-trafficking professionals (n=15), and a desk review of extant literature. The final study in this group was a non-systematic secondary literature review (n=17). It was the rapid, non-systematic nature of the review (and lack of methodological detail) that resulted in negative findings on quality measures in this group. All studies that involved primary data

⁵⁵ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [2], [66], [129], and [168].

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collection found the hypothesis to have been proved, supporting a positive hypothesis on the finding.

Each study adopted a distinct geographical perspective, with 1 adopting an international perspective, and the remaining covering Nigeria, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The latter study considered the specific issue of domestic sex trafficking of minors, while the remaining 3 considered modern slavery broadly. All studies connected to the theme of survivor engagement and support, while 2 also connected to health policy and practice.

Hypothesis 29. Development of statutory guidance for modern slavery legislation supports consistent survivor treatment and improves protection⁵⁶

The value of developing statutory guidance in modern slavery legislation for supporting consistent survivor treatment and improving protection was captured in 2 discrete claims in 2 studies assessed. Both studies draw upon statutory guidance as an effective tool for avoiding re-traumatisation and re-victimisation, with 1 study specifically addressing age assessment as an essential aspect for ensuring appropriate treatment of children.

Claims in this group were considered to have been proved strongly in both studies.

All studies in this group were published in non-peer reviewed settings by both a non-governmental organisation and an academic author. Studies were published in 2013 and 2018. Both records involved primary data collection, both adopting qualitative methods and with observational designs. 1 study conducted semi-structured key informant interviews (n=21), coupled with secondary literature consisting of academic articles and guidance documents. The other study interviewed both survivors (n=17) and key stakeholders (N=18), contrasted with secondary data and analysed in a seminar.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat
Clear research framework	2	0
Transparent	2	0
Context-appropriate	1	1
Valid	2	0
Reliable	2	0
Cogent	1	1

Both studies in this group were focused on the United Kingdom. Since the studies are heavily reliant on national policies and the relationship between the UK Home Office and other organisations, it may be difficult to extrapolate findings to additional contexts. However, robust methods adopted in studies in this group provide a good foundation for further interrogation. All studies were at the intersection of 2 themes: survivor engagement and support and social policy. Active survivor engagement is a significant part of one of the studies.

Hypothesis 30. Providing appropriate specialised modern slavery training to service providers and care workers improves quality of care for modern slavery survivors⁵⁷

The value of providing appropriate specialised modern slavery training to service providers and care workers to improve the quality of care for modern slavery survivors was captured in 6 claims across 5 records assessed. These studies emphasised that service providers, social workers, medical, and legal professionals should be trained to work with all types of trafficking victims and support their reintegration without discrimination and following ethical guidelines to improve their holistic care. Training should include: how to provide victim-centred services including counselling, psychosocial, and life skills training; how to

⁵⁶ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [14] and [28].

⁵⁷ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [43], [50], [105], [140], and [146].

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identify, receive, treat, protect and advocate for victims and how to build trusting relationships; and case management. It should also include training on the definition and effects of trafficking.

The hypothesis was considered to have been proved in all cases, proved strongly in 5 cases and proved in 1.

3 studies underpinning this hypothesis were published in non-peer reviewed settings, and 2 were unpublished. 3 studies had academic authorship, 1 was authored by a non-governmental actor, and 1 by an intergovernmental actor. All studies were published (or completed) between 2012 and 2018. 3 claims were assessed through primary studies, 1 through a secondary study, and 2 through mixed studies. The majority adopted observational research designs (n=5; 83%), although 1 claim was supported by a quasi-experimental study. Mixed methods were slightly favoured (n=3; 50%), followed by qualitative methods (n=2; 33%) and quantitative methods (n=1; 17%). Studies involved interviews (n=4), focus groups (n=2), informal conversations and observation (n=1), direct observation (n=1), questionnaires (n=1), and surveys (n=1). 3 studies included field research, which was supplemented with desk-based research in 2 cases.

Each study focused on a distinct national context, covering the UK, Indonesia, Vietnam, and the USA (covering the specific sub-national contexts of Texas (1) and Arizona (1)). All 6 claims connected to the theme of survivor engagement and support, and 2 also related to health policy and practice and gender respectively. While studies were tied to the particular contexts in which they were conducted, in 1 case it may be possible to extrapolate to additional contexts. Robust methods adopted in studies in this group provide a good foundation for further, broader and more nuanced, consistent and long-term interrogation that involves meaningful participation of survivors throughout.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	6	0	0
Transparent	6	0	0
Context-appropriate	6	0	0
Valid	6	0	0
Reliable	6	0	0
Cogent	3	3	0

Hypothesis 31. Having globally agreed upon definitions of rescue, recover, and reintegration would help aid survivor recovery and create more consistent practices⁵⁸

Several studies in this review considered the need for robust definitions of modern slavery practices as a foundation for effective responses. 1 study also noted the role of globally agreed definitions of 'rescue', 'recovery', and 'reintegration' in supporting survivor recovery and ensuring consistent practice. The study found that increased global coordination with regard to the foundational concepts of survivor support (in this case with regard to child victims) would improve consistency, and ultimately survivor recovery. The study highlighted that comprehensive and coordinated case management as well as rights-based and trauma-informed care were essential.

The hypothesis was tested in a systematic review, examining academic and grey literature from 2000-2013. The review methodology was clearly laid out, providing a robust foundation to support conclusions drawn. The review combined database searching (across 4 databases) with Google scholar and key website searches, and reference list searching. The authors also contacted support organisations to access additional grey literature. The review ultimately included 15 records.

⁵⁸ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [48].

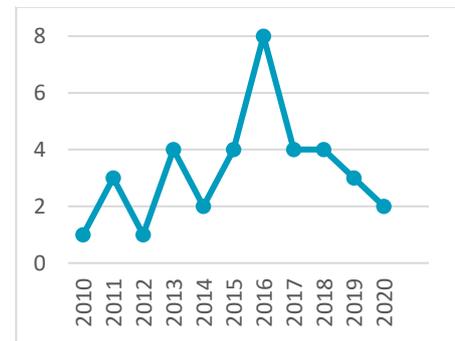
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This hypothesis was considered to have been proved strongly in the study, with the underpinning evidence assessed as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent.

4.5. Health policy and practice

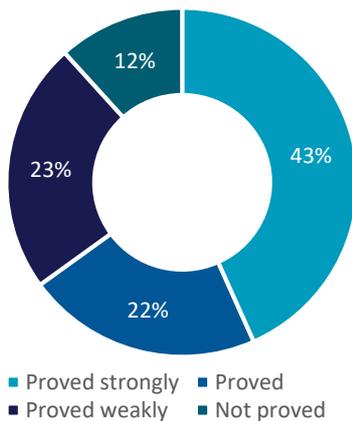
Given the specialised context, the representation of health policy and practice in claims identified in this review is relatively strong. In total, 60 claims relevant to the theme were identified in the review, drawn from 36 records. The majority of studies were published, with 30 (83%) published in peer-reviewed settings, 5 (14%) published in non-peer reviewed settings, and 1 unpublished report. 30 studies (83%) had academic authorship, 5 (14%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 1 (3%) by an intergovernmental organisation. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review, from 2010 to 2020, with a peak in 2016 (n=8).

Figure 17. Number of records related to health policy and practice over time



Claims relevant to health policy and practice were considered to have been proved strongly in 26 cases, proved in 13 cases, proved weakly in 14 cases, and not proved in 7 cases. Claims in this theme were not considered to have been disproved in any case.

Figure 18. Findings on health policy and practice claims



Claims relevant to health policy and practice almost always connected to the theme of survivor engagement and support, with only 3 claims identified within this theme that did not demonstrate this connection. Connections with other themes were much scarcer, although claims were considered at the intersection of health policy and practice with criminal justice (8), international justice (5), gender (5), migration (3), social policy (3), and development policy (1).

Evidence underpinning health policy and practice claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be clear, transparent, context appropriate, valid, and reliable. The majority of claims were also considered to be cogent, or somewhat so, although overall this quality measure was satisfied fully in fewer cases. The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 0-28%, with all claims considered to be underpinned by reliable (or somewhat reliable) evidence. A relatively high proportion of evidence underpinning claims (28%) was considered not to satisfy the measure of cogency, indicating that argumentation and analysis at the intersection of modern slavery and health policy has some way to go.

Health policy and practice hypotheses

Ultimately, 5 unique hypotheses were drawn from the literature relating to civil justice:

Hypothesis 32. Providing modern slavery training to healthcare workers would increase identification of victims and provide an opportunity for appropriate intervention

Hypothesis 33. Ensuring survivors have access to mental and physical healthcare is necessary to support recovery and reintegration

Hypothesis 34. Introduction of specialised screening and diagnostic tools in healthcare settings improves identification of potential victims of modern slavery

Hypothesis 35. Providing language support in healthcare settings improves identification and treatment of victims of modern slavery

Hypothesis 36. International and regional instruments providing instruction about States' health care obligations would help ensure survivors have access to the healthcare they need to support their recovery and reintegration

Hypothesis 32. Providing modern slavery training to healthcare workers would increase identification of victims and provide an opportunity for appropriate intervention⁵⁹

The role of training for healthcare workers in improving identification of victims and appropriate interventions was captured in 16 distinct claims across 13 records assessed.

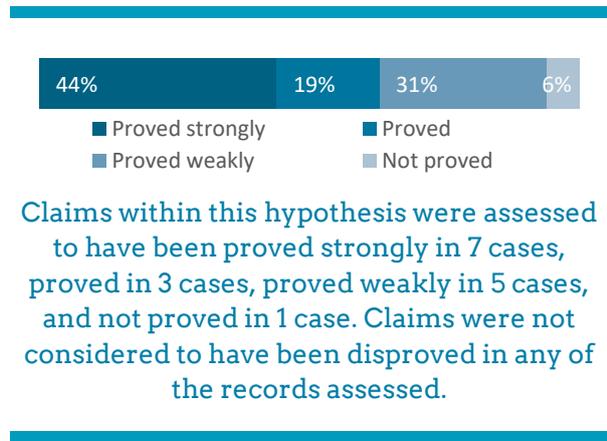
The majority of studies assessed in this group were published, with 10 (77%) published in peer-reviewed journals and 2 (15%) in non-peer reviewed settings. 1 study (6%) was unpublished. 10 (77%) had academic authorship, 3 (23%) were authored by non-governmental actors. Publication dates extended from 2015 to 2020, with no records identified in this group for the period from 2010-2015. Claims within this group typically related to both health policy and practice (n=16) and survivor engagement and support (n=14). 1 claim related to criminal justice, and 1 related to the cross-cutting theme of social policy.

Primary studies were the most common means of testing claims in this group, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods. Observational designs were the most common, although this group also included studies adopting experimental and quasi-experimental designs, which were uncommon throughout the review. Two claims in this group were tested through systematic review, although the extent to which this study was systematic is not clearly established in the record. Theoretical and secondary studies were common in this group, with 8 claims tested based on existing data or literature. There were no programme or project evaluations in the group.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	7 (44%)
Secondary study	3 (19%)
Mixed study	1 (6%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	5 (31%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	5 (31%)
Qualitative	1 (6%)
Mixed	3 (19%)
Non-empirical	7 (44%)
Research design	
Quasi-experimental	4 (25%)
Observational	6 (38%)
Systematic review	2 (13%)
N/A	4 (25%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	2 (13%)

Surveys were the most common method of primary data collection in this group, the majority of which adopted quantitative methods. The number of respondents to surveys ranged from 9 to 1648, with most studies in the range of 70-170 respondents. One survey study was conducted with survivors of trafficking, while the remaining were conducted with health care practitioners and/or students. 3 studies included both pre- and post-testing after the provision of specialised human trafficking training to health-care workers Interviews with anti-trafficking stakeholders supplemented surveys in 1 study. Notably, this group included 4 quasi-experimental studies, all of which assessed knowledge and awareness gained through the provision of training.



⁵⁹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [7], [32], [57], [74], [89], [96], [105], [113], [119], [142], [160], [168], and [175].

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	9 (56%)	4 (25%)	3 (19%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	9 (56%)	5 (31%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	8 (50%)	4 (25%)	3 (19%)	1 (6%)
Valid	10 (63%)	6 (38%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	11 (69%)	5 (31%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	6 (38%)	5 (31%)	5 (31%)	0 (0%)

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid and reliable. Evidence underpinning the claims was considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent in the majority of cases, although on the whole the records satisfied this measure less definitively. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

The majority of studies in this group were not focused on particular forms of exploitation, but considered the issue of human trafficking more broadly. Likewise, studies were generally not focused on survivors representing particular gender or identity groups, although 1 study (the piece that conducted primary research directly engaging survivors) was focused on foreign national adult women. The healthcare workers studied in this group were also diverse, ranging from healthcare practitioners (physicians, OB/GYN, pharmacists, nurses) and students to staff working in healthcare contexts (security personnel in healthcare settings, pharmacy staff, and all staff in emergency departments and trauma centres).

Studies in this group emphasise the unique position that healthcare practitioners and workers are in with regard to identifying potential victims of human trafficking. They note that healthcare workers are well-placed to identify because victims often come into contact with the healthcare system, and because patient interactions involve building a relationship of trust (although 1 study highlights the importance of hospital and practice systems ensuring sufficient time can be spent building rapport and trust with patients who are potential victims).

Geographic distribution

With 1 exception (conducted in the United Kingdom), all studies were conducted in, and/or specifically considered, the United States context. Most studies considered a specific geography within the United States, considering Arizona, New York, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and Wisconsin. The remaining studies considered the United States broadly.

Studies further note that healthcare workers are well-placed to provide potential victims with information about their rights, entitlements, and support available, and to connect them to relevant services. Several studies note, however, that current awareness and training of human trafficking amongst health care workers is limited.

Several studies emphasise the importance of training and education focused specifically on understanding trafficking and spotting the signs, highlighting the potential for increased identification in healthcare contexts. Studies also emphasised the importance of training being evidence-based, survivor-informed, and trauma-informed, and that this should also include training on appropriate care for survivors. Several records highlighted the importance of clear curricula satisfying these standards. They further noted that healthcare workers required training on diverse and culturally sensitive situations, so that a range of victims with different experiences could be identified and treated appropriately. 1 record

also highlighted potential deficits in training in rural areas, noting the importance of ensuring training reaches rural as well as urban settings.

Hypothesis 33. Ensuring survivors have access to mental and physical healthcare is necessary to support recovery and reintegration⁶⁰

The importance of meeting survivors' health needs and ensuring access to healthcare in supporting recovery and reintegration was captured in 13 distinct claims across 13 records assessed.

All studies assessed in this group were published, with 8 (62%) published in peer-reviewed settings with academic authorship, and 5 (38%) published in non-peer reviewed settings—4 authored by non-governmental actors and 1 by an intergovernmental agency. Publication dates extended from 2011 to 2019, with the highest concentration in 2016 (n=4).

All claims within this group related to both health policy and practice and survivor engagement and support. 1 claim also connected to criminal justice, and 1 to international justice. 3 claims connected to the Crisis theme of migration, 1 to the cross-cutting theme of social policy, and 1 to gender.

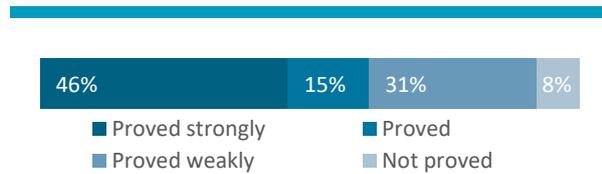
Primary studies were the most common means of testing claims in this group, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	6 (46%)
Secondary study	1 (8%)
Mixed study	5 (38%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	1 (8%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	1 (8%)
Qualitative	8 (62%)
Mixed	3 (23%)
Non-empirical	1 (8%)
Research design	
Observational	10 (77%)
Systematic review	1 (8%)
N/A	2 (15%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	3 (23%)

Interviews were the most popular method of data collection, with 7 studies undertaking interviews with key informants, and 3 studies conducting interviews with survivors. In 2 of these studies, survivor interviews were combined with key informant interviews. Semi-structured interview designs were favoured, and the number of respondents interviewed in a single study ranged from 5-112. One study combined key informant interviews with a survey of survivors (n=206), and another combined key informant surveys with key informant interviews and a policy review. 1 study combined key informant and survivor interviews and focus groups (n=36) with a case file review (n=230). 1 longitudinal study involved psychiatric evaluations of survivors, conducted at 5 days and 6 months, combined with demographic data to consider the applicability of findings to non-participants. 2 studies conducted literature reviews—1 systematic (n=19) and 1 non-systematic (n=17). 3 studies in this group were project or programme evaluations.

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, context-appropriate, valid, and cogent. Evidence



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 6 cases, proved in 2 cases, proved weakly in 4 cases, and not proved in 1 case. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

⁶⁰ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [2], [18], [33], [42], [66], [80], [101], [129], [131], [148], [162], [165], and [168].

underpinning the claims was also considered to be transparent or somewhat transparent in the majority of cases, and reliable or somewhat reliable in the majority of cases. Evidence was not considered to have satisfied the evidentiary quality measures in 0-23% of cases. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	10 (77%)	2 (15%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	5 (38%)	5 (38%)	3 (23%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	8 (62%)	4 (31%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Valid	8 (62%)	3 (23%)	2 (15%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	5 (38%)	7 (54%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	7 (54%)	3 (23%)	3 (23%)	0 (0%)

The majority of studies in this group were not focused on particular forms of exploitation but considered the issue of human trafficking more broadly. However, 1 study focused specifically on domestic minor sex trafficking, and 1 focused on female sex trafficking. 4 studies (31%) in this group focused specifically on female victims or survivors, and 1 focused specifically on migrant female survivors of trafficking returning to Moldova.

Studies in this group emphasised the healthcare needs of survivors of modern slavery and human trafficking, and the critical role of access to appropriate healthcare in supporting recovery and reintegration, as well as supporting survivors' feelings of safety and security. All studies highlighted the importance of mental health and psychological support services, while 7 also underscored the need for appropriate physical healthcare. Studies noted that many survivors emerge from their experiences of modern slavery with significant psychological distress, with 1 study finding that 88% of women exploited abroad and returned to their home country experienced significant psychological distress, with 54% reaching levels of clinical diagnoses for mental disorders within 2-12 months. This study further noted that survivors diagnosed with co-morbid PTSD or with another anxiety or mood disorder were likely to continue to have poor mental health later. Several studies highlighted the need for ongoing and long-term support, both for mental health and for chronic physical health issues arising from experiences of exploitation, as well as immediate and emergency care.

Studies noted the need for dedicated healthcare addressing the specific experiences of modern slavery and trafficking, noting also the need for care to be individualised to the specific survivors' needs. This included the need for healthcare to be made accessible in survivors' native language, and to be culturally appropriate. Several studies highlighted that this should be victim-centred and trauma-informed, noting that this increased the chances of success and decreased dropouts. The importance of consistency was also noted, with consistency in this case concerning access to services rather than a standardised approach to care for different survivors. The lack of coordination between government

Geographic distribution

Studies in this group were geographically diverse, with the majority focused on a single national jurisdiction. 2 studies were not geographically tied, but international in scope, while 1 focused on a group of European countries (Belgium, France, Hungary, Italy, and the United Kingdom). 1 study considered the specific sub-national context of the Greater Sydney region (Australia), while 1 considered 5 European contexts (Belgium, France, Hungary, Italy, and the United Kingdom). The remaining studies covered the national contexts of Moldova, Nepal, Nigeria, the United Kingdom, the United States (3), Thailand, and Vietnam.

agencies was noted to impede access to healthcare for survivors in 1 study, while several highlighted the importance of collaboration between various actors to ensure access to appropriate and consistent support.

The need for resource allocation to ensure immediate and long-term access to healthcare services was emphasised in multiple studies. 1 study found cases where healthcare providers denied access to identified victims who were entitled to support, highlighting the connection with the need for appropriate and sustained training for healthcare providers (see also [Hypothesis 32](#). Providing modern slavery training to healthcare workers would increase identification of victims and provide an opportunity for appropriate intervention). Several studies highlighted the need for structural change and support, with 1 emphasising the role of structural healthcare access in improving individual and community resilience to modern slavery. Studies further noted the importance of healthcare not being tied to participation in criminal justice processes. 1 study also noted the need for more supportive international policy, noting that the absence of such inhibited effective, coordinated support to ensure survivors' access to healthcare and therefore recovery and reintegration.

Other hypotheses related to health policy and practice

Hypothesis 34. Introduction of specialised screening and diagnostic tools in healthcare settings improves identification of potential victims of modern slavery⁶¹

The value of specialised modern slavery and human trafficking screening and diagnostic tools utilised in healthcare settings to support identification of potential victims was captured in 4 discrete claims in 4 studies assessed. Studies noted that healthcare workers were well-placed to support victim identification and connect to services, given that victims often come into contact with the healthcare system. Studies noted particular approaches to developing screening tools, with each of the 4 studies considering specific interventions and not only considering the value of such measures in the abstract. 2 studies considered the specific application of an intervention (screening tool) in a particular context, in both cases finding that the application of these tools improved identification. Studies also noted particular questions and factors that ought to be considered in these tools.

Claims in this group were considered to have been proved in all studies, including being proved strongly in 1 case.

All studies in this group were published, with 3 published in peer-reviewed contexts with academic authorship, and 1 published in a non-peer reviewed setting by a non-governmental organisation. Studies were published in 2014, 2016, 2017, and 2019. 2 studies involved primary data collection, with 1 study adopting quantitative methods and a quasi-experimental design, and 1 qualitative and observational. 1 study presented a systematic review (n=9) and the final piece involved a theoretical discussion based on experience in practice. The systematic review considered the Polaris Project Medical Assessment Tool to be best suited for screening human trafficking victims in the US of the 9 screening tools assessed in that review.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	3	1	0
Transparent	2	1	1
Context-appropriate	4	0	0
Valid	3	1	0
Reliable	3	1	0
Cogent	1	3	0

All studies in this group were focused on the United States, with 2 focused broadly on the national context and 2 on specific sub-national contexts (Kansas City and Pennsylvania). All studies were at the intersection of 2 themes: health policy and practice, and survivor engagement and support.

Hypothesis 35. Providing language support in healthcare settings improves identification and treatment of victims of modern slavery⁶²

Many studies across the review highlighted the role of language support in enabling identification of victims and ensuring access to appropriate support. The specific role of language support in healthcare settings was tested in 2 claims across 2 studies assessed. These studies considered the value of providing language-specific resources on human trafficking in healthcare settings as an effective way of getting information to survivors, the necessity of using interpreters in healthcare settings in enabling identification and treatment, and the barriers to accessing healthcare experienced by survivors that do not speak the local language.

⁶¹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [7], [38], [113], and [127].

⁶² Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [113] and [149].

[Return to Health policy and practice hypotheses](#)

1 claim in this group was considered to have been proved strongly, and the other was considered not to have been proved in the record assessed.

Both studies in this group were published, 1 in a peer-reviewed setting with academic authorship, and 1 in a non-peer reviewed setting authored by a non-governmental actor. 1 study was published in 2010, and 1 in 2019. 1 study involved primary data collection, adopting qualitative methods and with an observational design. This study involved a 12-item phone surveys conducted with 76 survivors (out of a total ample size of 170). The final study presented a non-empirical case study.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	1	1	0
Transparent	0	2	0
Context-appropriate	1	0	1
Valid	2	0	0
Reliable	1	1	0
Cogent	0	1	1

Studies were geographically bound, both focused specifically on the United States. Findings may be generalisable to other contexts, however understanding practice and outcomes of these interventions in diverse contexts requires further research. Both studies were at the intersection of 2 themes: health policy and practice and survivor engagement and support.

Hypothesis 36. International and regional instruments providing instruction about States’ health care obligations would help ensure survivors have access to the healthcare they need to support their recovery and reintegration⁶³

The potential value of international and regional instruments establishing States’ healthcare obligations towards survivors was captured in 1 claim, in 1 study assessed. This study highlighted current gaps in national provision of healthcare to survivors, particularly migrant survivors, and the role of legal, regulatory, and policy frameworks in ensuring access to appropriate healthcare. The record noted that the lack of international policy significantly hampers coordinated action to ensure healthcare for survivors. The other concluded that international standards providing specific and mandated instructions about States’ medical and healthcare obligations would increase the likelihood of States (in particular the UK) legislating for full access to care for survivors (and particularly non-resident survivors), and highlighted that States were unlikely to do so voluntarily in the absence of such frameworks.

The claim was considered to be proved strongly, with a clear research framework, and supported by evidence that was transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and somewhat cogent.

The study was published in a peer-reviewed setting in 2011 with academic authorship. It was a qualitative primary study adopting an observational design, which undertook 46 in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, including participants from civil servants, trafficking support providers, anti-trafficking advocates, lawyers, enforcement officials, and health care providers. This was supplemented by participant observation at 41 policy-relevant events.

The study was focused specifically on the United Kingdom, although findings may be relevant to other contexts. The study was at the intersection of three review themes: health policy and practice, survivor engagement and support, and international justice.

⁶³ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [157].

Annex 1. Search strategy

4.6. Table 1. Term harvesting template

Initial term	Term harvesting
Modern slavery	Slavery; antislavery; anti-slavery; modern slavery; contemporary slavery; contemporary forms of slavery; Servitude; involuntary servitude Forced labour; compulsory labour; forced work; coerced labour; unfree labour Institutions and practices similar to slavery; practices similar to slavery; slavery-like practices; serfdom; debt bondage; bonded labour; unfree labour; peonage; exploitative adoption Human trafficking; anti-trafficking; trafficking in persons; trafficking in human beings; trafficking in people; sex trafficking; labour trafficking; trafficking Worst forms of child labour; child exploitation; child labour; child slavery Forced marriage; servile marriage Exploitation; abuse
Survivor	Slavery survivor; slavery victim; survivor; survivors of slavery; survivors of trafficking; trafficking survivor; trafficking victim; victim; victims; victims of slavery; victims of trafficking
Criminal justice	Criminal law; criminal prosecution; crime; policing; law enforcement; penal law; law and order; incarceration; sentencing; criminal prosecution; policing
Civil justice	Civil remedies; civil compensation; civil claims; civil law; civil mechanisms; labour policy; labour regulation; employment policy; employment regulation; victim compensation
International justice	International law; international policy
Survivor engagement	Advocacy; engagement; involvement; participation; survivor engagement; survivor involvement; survivor participation; victim engagement; victim involvement; victim participation
Survivor support	Victim support; recovery; reintegration; support services; advocacy; reunification; rehabilitation; support; care; help; Aid; care; counselling; help; recovery; rehabilitation; reintegration; reunification; support; victim support; integration; education
Healthcare and health policy	Medical care; medical treatment; counselling; health services; psychological support; mental health; social health; post-traumatic stress; trauma; addiction; healthcare; health care; treatment
Policy	National policy; international policy; African Union; AU; bilateral; European Union; EU; International Labour Organisation; ILO; multinational policy; multi-national policy; UNODC; assess; evaluation; legislation

4.7. Table 2. Search tracking template with sample entries

Search #	Search string	Source	Yield	# Added	Reason for discounting	Date	Reviewer
1	("antislavery" OR "anti-trafficking") AND ("support" OR "healthcare")	NUSearch	2868	6	Too many results, first 30 reviewed and search terms narrowed	23/06/2020	SD
2	("antislavery" OR "anti-trafficking") AND ("support" OR "healthcare") AND "policy"	NUSearch	1884	3	Too many results, first 30 reviewed and search terms narrowed	23/06/2020	SD
3	("antislavery" OR "anti-trafficking") AND ("support" OR "healthcare") AND "national policy"	NUSearch	72	6	Irrelevant results excluded	23/06/2020	SD
...
18	("slavery victim" OR "trafficking victim") AND ("support" OR "care")	Google Scholar	3730	6	Too many results, first 30 reviewed and search terms narrowed	07/03/2020	OW
19	("slavery victim" OR "trafficking victim") AND ("support" OR "care") AND "policy"	Google Scholar	3300	8	Too many results, first 30 reviewed and search terms narrowed	07/03/2020	OW
20	("slavery victim" OR "trafficking victim") AND ("support" OR "care") AND "national policy"	Google Scholar	236	5	Irrelevant results excluded	07/03/2020	OW

Annex 2. Coding matrix

	Variable	Input options
1. Evidence source		
1.1	Citation	Free text
1.2	Year of publication (or completion)	Free text (date)
1.3	URL	Free text
2. Topic		
2.1	Claim tested	Free text
2.2	Finding on claim	Proven strongly; Proven weakly; Not proved; Disproved weakly; Disproved strongly
2.3	Domain(s)	Justice; Markets; Crisis
2.4	Theme(s)	Criminal justice; Civil justice; International justice; Survivor engagement and support; Health policy and practice; Economic policy; Trade policy; Financial policy; Development policy; Supply chains; Conflict; Humanitarian contexts; Displacement; Migration; Social policy; Education; Gender; Climate/environment
2.5	Other theme(s)	Free text
3. Source characteristics		
3.1	Study type	Primary study; Secondary study; Theoretical or conceptual source; Mixed; Unclear
3.2	Programme or project evaluation	Yes; No; Unclear
3.3	Research methods	Qualitative; Quantitative; Mixed methods; Non-empirical
3.4	Research design	Experimental; Quasi-experimental; Observational; Systematic Review; Unclear
3.5	Scale measure(s)	Countries; Communities; Individuals; Organisations; Other
3.6	Scale value(s)	Free text (numerical)
3.7	Geography	Free text (country/region)
4. Evidentiary quality		
4.1	Publication status	Published in a peer-reviewed setting; Published in a non-peer reviewed setting; Not published; Unclear
4.2	Clear research framework	Yes; Somewhat; No; Unclear
4.3	Transparent	Yes; Somewhat; No; Unclear
4.4	Context-appropriate	Yes; Somewhat; No; Unclear
4.5	Valid	Yes; Somewhat; No; Unclear
4.6	Reliable	Yes; Somewhat; No; Unclear
4.7	Cogent	Yes; Somewhat; No; Unclear

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