

What works to end modern slavery?

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

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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.

The past decade has experienced a boom in antislavery activity, with increasing visibility, coordination, and funding in the sector. From the release of the first Global Estimates of Modern Slavery by the Walk Free Foundation in 2013, and the founding of the Freedom Fund in 2013 and Global Fund to End Modern Slavery in 2016, to the adoption of the ILO's 2014 Protocol to the Forced Labour Convention, significant steps forward have been taken in the global fight against modern slavery. Moving beyond the criminalisation of trafficking in persons that was the focus of the first decade of the new millennium, recent years have seen a rise in holistic efforts to address human exploitation and trafficking.

In recent years the international community has rallied to strengthen the international response to trafficking in persons, including in conflict situations. In December 2018, the UN General Assembly adopted two distinct but complimentary approaches at the international level for coordinating efforts to address migration situations: The Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration ("Global Compact for Migration")¹ and the Global Compact on Refugees.² Although the compacts are non-binding on Member States, they reflect agreements between governments and stakeholders to establish comprehensive response frameworks for migrants and refugees, respectively. The Global Compact for Migration states among its objectives for safe, orderly and regular migration: "Provide access to basic services for migrants[.]"³ To this end, governments have committed themselves to ensuring "that all migrants, *regardless of their migration status*, can exercise their human rights through safe access to basic services."⁴ To realise this commitment, governments agreed to enact laws and take other measures to ensure that delivery service is not done in a discriminatory manner against migrants.⁵ The establishment and strengthening of "holistic and easily accessible service points at the local level that are migrant-inclusive [and] offer relevant information on basic services...

¹ U.N. General Assembly, Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, 73rd Sess., U.N. Doc. A/RES/73/195 (11 Jan. 2019).

² U.N. General Assembly, Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Part II: Global Compact on Refugees, G.A.O.R. Supp. 12, 73rd Sess., U.N. Doc. A/73/12 (Part II) (13 Sept. 2018). The Global Compact on Refugees is "grounded in the international refugee protection regime" and is "guided by relevant international human rights instruments, international humanitarian law, as well as other international instruments as applicable." *Id.* at para. 5 (citing *inter alia* the UDHR, CERD, ICCPR, ICESCR and CRC).

³ Global Compact for Migration, para. 16.

⁴ Global Compact for Migration, para. 31 (emphasis added).

⁵ Global Compact for Migration, para. 31(a).

and facilitate safe access thereto” was also identified as a concrete action to ensure the realisation of this objective.⁶

Other relevant objectives set forth in the Global Compact for Migration include: “[p]rovide accurate and timely information at all stages of migration,” “[e]nsure that all migrants have proof of legal identity and adequate documentation,” “[a]ddress and reduce vulnerabilities in migration,” “[f]acilitate fair and ethical recruitment and safeguard conditions that ensure decent work,” “[i]nvest in skills development and facilitate mutual recognition of skills, qualifications and competences,” and to “[e]liminate all forms of discrimination...”⁷

The Global Compact on Refugees addresses the issue of access to essential services for refugees upon reception as well as specialised services for vulnerable groups.⁸ The Compact recognises the following as persons with specific needs: “children, including those who are unaccompanied or separated; women at risk; survivors of torture, trauma, trafficking in persons, sexual and gender-based violence, sexual exploitation and abuse or harmful practices; those with medical needs; persons with disabilities; those who are illiterate; adolescents and youth; and older persons.”⁹ Specific protection needs include the identification and referral of victims of trafficking in persons “and other forms of exploitation to appropriate processes and procedures, including for identification of international protection needs or victim support[;]... identification and referral of stateless persons and those at risk of statelessness, including to statelessness determination procedures.”¹⁰ The need for further support for “appropriate care arrangements and other services” for children – including unaccompanied and separated children – was also recognized.¹¹

While it remains to be seen what the positive impacts have been of the development of the Global Compact, crisis situations will continue to occur, and prompt the mass displacement and migration of people in various regions of the world. Understanding what works in terms of policy for preventing modern slavery and protecting vulnerable persons and survivors during crises is essential to combating modern slavery.

1.1. Objectives of the study

The purpose of the study was to examine what is known about effective policy to achieve SDG Target 8.7 in the context of crisis, by: (1) collecting and collating existing evidence on what works; (2) identifying the range of hypotheses captured in academic and grey literature, and the evidentiary foundations of these claims; 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:

⁶ Global Compact for Migration, para. 31(c).

⁷ See Global Compact for Migration, para. 31.

⁸ Global Compact on Refugees, para. 54 (“In support of government strategies to manage arrivals, UNHCR, States, and relevant stakeholders will contribute resources and expertise to strengthen national capacities for reception, including for the establishment of reception and transit areas sensitive to age, gender, disability, and other specific needs . . . as well as to provide basic humanitarian assistance and essential services in reception areas.”); para. 76 (“In support of host countries, States and relevant stakeholders will contribute resources and expertise toward policies and programmes that take into account the specific vulnerabilities and protection needs of girls and boys, children with disabilities, adolescents, unaccompanied and separated children, survivors of sexual and gender-based violence, sexual exploitation and abuse, and harmful practices, and other children at risk. . . . [T]his will include resources and expertise to support integrated and age-sensitive services for refugee and host community boys and girls, including to address mental health and psychosocial needs, as well as investment in national child protection systems. . . .”).

⁹ Global Compact on Refugees, para. 59.

¹⁰ Global Compact on Refugees, para. 60.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

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

Crisis in this context is understood as encompassing conflict, humanitarian contexts, displacement, and migration. The study further considers additional cross-cutting themes (applicable in the context of crisis, but also in the parallel contexts of markets and justice), namely gender, education, social policy, and climate and environment.

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 crisis. 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 crisis.

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 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'.¹² 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).¹³ 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.¹⁴

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'.¹⁵ The definition of slavery is therefore presented as 'a state marked by the loss of free will in which a person is forced

¹² International Labour Organisation and Walk Free Foundation, 'Global Estimates of Modern Slavery' (Geneva, 2017) www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dqreports/@dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_575479.pdf

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ 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/>.

¹⁵ Kevin Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery* (University of California Press 2005), 9.

through violence or the threat of violence to give up the ability to sell freely his or her own labour power'.¹⁶

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

Modern slavery thrives in crisis situations. During conflicts, natural and man-made disasters, and humanitarian situations, adults and children are vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking. Conflict situations often exacerbate existing vulnerabilities to slavery, as well as cause new forms of exploitation to emerge.

A frequent consequence of crisis situations is the mass movement of people, both domestically, and in cross-border situations. Due to conflicts or disasters, people are forced out of their homes and endeavour to seek safety elsewhere. Displaced people will often travel long distances in order to find safe and secure accommodation, and employment opportunities. These migratory journeys may be short-term or long-term, with many people on the move traversing multiple transit countries and seeking asylum in a destination country. For others, displacement may mean seeking refuge in a different part of the country, or in a refugee camp within the national border or in neighbouring countries.

While it is not possible to estimate with accuracy the volume of human movement as a result of all crisis situations, we know that thousands of people have been displaced after the earthquakes in Haiti (2010) and Nepal (2015), and the Indian Ocean Tsunami (2010). Recent conflict situations including the wars in Yemen, Syria, Libya, and Iraq have also resulted in the mass displacement of people from those countries; many nationals of the countries have sought refuge in neighbouring countries or applied for asylum in destination countries in Europe and other regions of the world.

In crisis situations, people often have no choice but to migrate in order to survive. A key challenge in reaching a secure jurisdiction is that people on the move must often commit an immigration offence in order to reach safety. In fleeing across national borders, they become 'irregular' or 'illegal' migrants, and, due to their irregular status, are often denied access to government support mechanisms in transit and destination countries. Due to their irregular status, they are vulnerable to trafficking in persons in the destination country.

Mechanisms and processes to identify and support vulnerable persons in crisis settings are often weak. Government, and non-government agencies often lack the resources to reach the most rural areas of countries in order to identify vulnerable adults and children, provide holistic support, and prevent the exploitation of vulnerable persons. People who are trafficked often receive only limited reintegration support. Coordination of key players, such as police, immigration agencies, welfare agencies, and NGOs in many countries is weak. Systems struggle to deal with modern slavery in 'normal' times, therefore in crisis situations agencies quickly become overwhelmed, leaving many vulnerable persons unprotected.

¹⁶ Ibid, 57.

1.4. Hypotheses

This review identified 24 distinct hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery in the context of crisis. These are addressed in turn in Section 4. [Findings on what works](#). 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. 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 24 distinct hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery in the context of crisis identified in this review are:

Hypothesis 1. Addressing the root causes of modern slavery vulnerability reduces re-victimisation in crisis situations

Hypothesis 2. Community-based awareness raising helps to reduce human trafficking risks in crisis situations

Hypothesis 3. Establishing dedicated national anti-trafficking in persons task forces within the police helps to reduce trafficking in persons in crisis situations

Hypothesis 4. Access to economic and livelihood opportunities reduces trafficking in persons risks in crisis situations and normal times

Hypothesis 5. The establishment of transparent and fair recruitment practices prevents the trafficking of overseas migrant workers

Hypothesis 6. Long-term support for slavery survivors is essential for effective and sustained recovery

Hypothesis 7. Ensuring that migrant workers have labour rights is effective in reducing the exploitation of migrant workers and ensuring their access to justice

Hypothesis 8. Providing support services to people on the move helps to reduce trafficking in persons

Hypothesis 9. An effective response to trafficking in persons requires that counter-trafficking activities in crisis situations are embedded into wider labour programming

Hypothesis 10. Witness protection in criminal proceedings is essential for a strengthened response to human trafficking

Hypothesis 11. Agreement on definitions related to modern slavery is central to achieving a coherent and coordinated response to modern slavery

Hypothesis 12. The alignment of national legislation with key international instruments is essential for strengthening the response to trafficking in persons

Hypothesis 13. De-conflating sex work from sex trafficking will strengthen responses to preventing trafficking for sexual exploitation and extend protections to sex workers and trafficking victims

Hypothesis 14. De-criminalisation of sex work is crucial for the prevention of trafficking for sexual exploitation and the protection of sex workers

Hypothesis 15. Dismantling border controls and restrictive migration legislation is essential for improving migrant protection, particularly during times of crisis

Hypothesis 16. Amending policy that restricts the foreign migration of women is essential for preventing irregular migration and trafficking of women and girls

Hypothesis 17. Adopting a human rights based approach is effective in preventing human trafficking and protecting victims and vulnerable persons

Hypothesis 18. Gender-based approaches are effective in mitigating gender-based violence and trafficking

Hypothesis 19. A human security approach to understanding migration is effective in developing policy to reduce trafficking in persons

Hypothesis 20. A holistic approach to development – that incorporates the rule of law and community-based action - is essential for reducing crime in conflict areas

Hypothesis 21. A strengthened response to preventing modern slavery requires that agencies collaborate both within States and internationally

Hypothesis 22. Effective prevention of modern slavery requires that States commit additional financial and human resources to anti-slavery programming

Hypothesis 23. Capitalising on the use of technology during disasters is effective in protecting vulnerable persons and coordinating relief efforts

Hypothesis 24. A strengthened response to trafficking in persons requires that frontline staff receive regular training on identifying and protecting victims and investigating trafficking crimes

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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

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)¹⁹ of records varied across the body of evidence collected. However, no records were excluded for reasons of quality.²⁰ 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.²¹ 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

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ 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>> accessed 18 August 2020.

²¹ 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 78 Boolean searches were conducted, returning a total yield of 433,749. Of these, 8,059 records were screened for inclusion, and a total of 698 relevant records collected.

Manual and reference list searching were 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 387 records were collected from manual and reference searching.

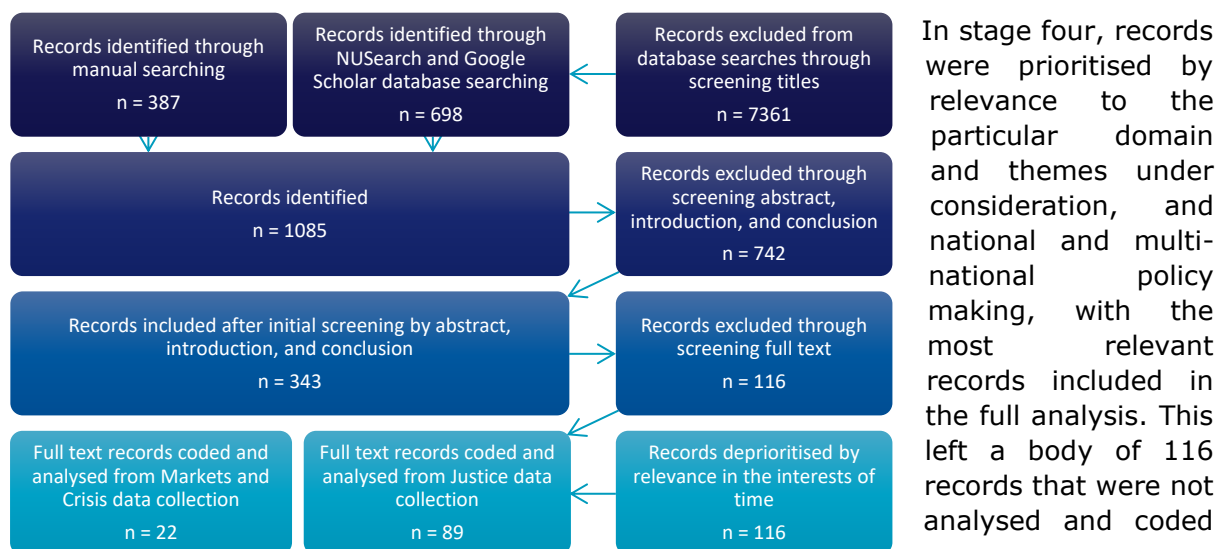
2.2. Literature selection

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 hypothesis, or hypotheses, 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 process²²



²² 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.*

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 111 records). 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 [Mapping the evidence base](#) below).²³ This coding matrix collected both qualitative and quantitative data, and enabled qualitative information to be transformed into quantitative data for quantitative analysis (quantitising).²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷

In this stage, the research team identified the core hypotheses relevant to the study being tested in each record. Relevance to the study in this case required that these hypotheses should be claims about what works to address modern slavery in the context of Crisis. These hypotheses 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 hypotheses served as the primary unit of analysis in the coding matrix, with all other variables being coded against particular hypotheses 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 Crisis. Each hypothesis represents a claim about a particular practice, policy, intervention, or approach to address modern slavery and its impacts.

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

²³ 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 17.

²⁴ Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, above n 23. See also Sandelowski et al, above n 17.

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ See RE Slavin, 'Best Evidence Synthesis: And Intelligent Alternative to Meta-Analysis' (1995) 48 *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology* 9.

²⁷ 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>>.

extracted and summarised, and preliminary critical analysis of records conducted independently, considering: (1) hypotheses and claims tested in the record; (2) testing methods; (3) findings on hypotheses; (4) strengths and shortcomings of evidence and methods in relation to specific hypotheses; and (5) strengths, shortcomings, and features of the record taken as a whole. This involved the transformation of quantitative findings into qualitative form (qualitising)²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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.³⁰

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 quantification of qualitative data for quantitative analysis across the evidence base collected, and qualification of quantitative data for qualitative analysis. The combination of both quantitative and qualitative measures for the hypotheses identified in the evidence base enabled more nuanced and holistic analysis of the evidence supporting each of these hypotheses than could be achieved with either taken alone.

Quantitative coding was used to underpin evidence mapping (see [Mapping the evidence base](#)), including basic quantitative analysis and descriptive statistics. This coding also supported mapping of sub-groupings of evidence by hypothesis theme, established through mixed quantitative and qualitative review (see [Findings on what works](#)). To support thematic analysis of the evidence base, the research team inductively developed thematic tags for the full set of hypotheses 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 hypotheses included in the group. These groupings formed the basis of critical thematic analysis, considering strengths, weaknesses, variation, and trends in hypothesis groupings. This included consideration of variation between quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, and non-empirical studies within hypothesis groupings, as well as mixed methods analysis of the evidence base, to avoid the risk noted by Rolfe in the context of

²⁸ Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, above n 23. See also Sandelowski et al, above n 17.

²⁹ This reflects the underpinning assumptions of integrated mixed research syntheses noted by Sandelowski et al., above n 17, 36. note that the integrated design is most appropriate when

³⁰ Ibid.

mixed research syntheses of erasing difference between qualitative and quantitative methods,³¹ through the 'one-way assimilation of qualitative data into quantitative data'.³²

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 crisis. 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 hypotheses 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 review is required to ensure confidence in the dataset.

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'.³³ 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.

³¹ G Rolfe, 'Faking a Difference: Evidence-Based Nursing and the Illusion of Diversity' (2002) 22(1) *Nurse Education Today* 3.

³² Sandelowski et al, above n 17, 33.

³³ 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

111 records were assessed and coded in this study. Of these, 68 (61%) were published in a peer reviewed context, 36 (32%) were published in a non-peer reviewed setting, and 2 (2%) were unpublished. Publication status was unclear in 5 cases. 5 records (5%) were programme or project evaluation reports. From these 111 records, 147 distinct hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery in the context of crisis were identified.

Note on the presentation of evidence

Analysis in this report adopts 2 distinct units of analysis: records and hypotheses.

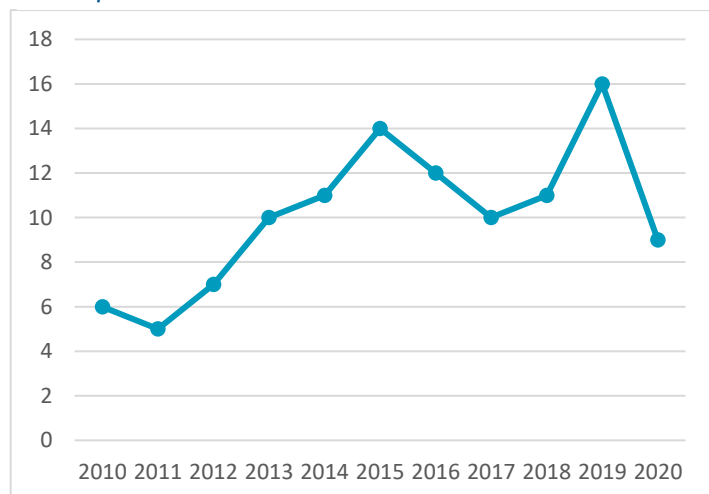
For each individual record assessed in this study, specific hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery in the context of crisis were identified. In some cases, a single hypothesis was identified for a record. In others, several hypotheses were drawn from a record (with the highest number of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

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 discussion analyses 'hypotheses', the unit of analysis is the discrete claims drawn from sources assessed.

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, with peaks in 2015 (with 14 records assessed) and 2019 (with 16 records). The lowest frequency occurs in 2011, with 5 records coded. The 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 major crises, such as the earthquake in Nepal (2015). 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.

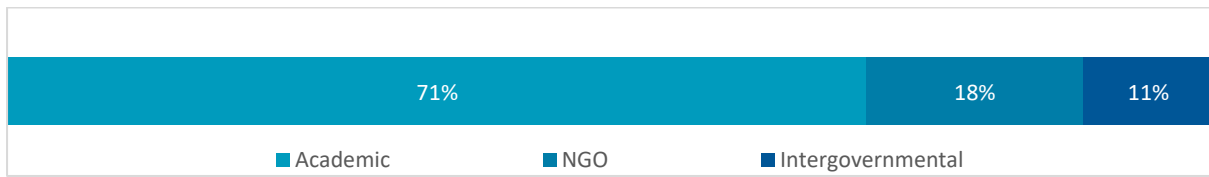
Figure 2. Frequency of coded records by year of publication or completion



3.2. Authorship

The majority of records assessed (n=79, 71%) were academic publications, although records collected in stage 2 were drawn from a variety of sources. 18% of records (n=20) were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 11% (n=12) by intergovernmental organisations. No records assessed in this study had governmental authorship.

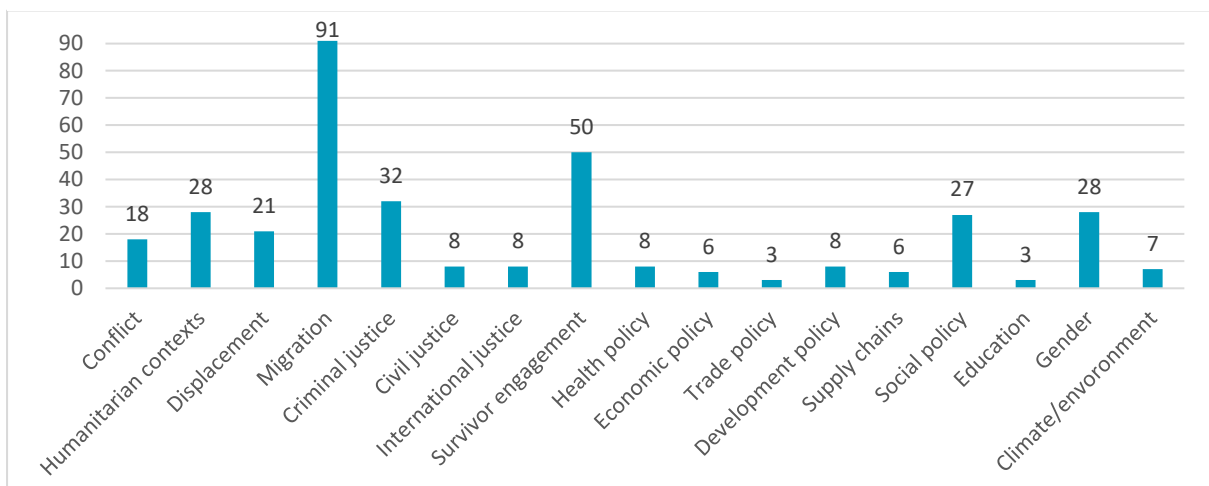
Figure 3. Distribution of records by authorship



3.3. Domains and themes

Claims assessed in this study traversed all five of the pre-defined Crisis themes, as well as linking to cross-cutting themes of gender, social policy, climate and environment, and education. Claims also intersected with themes under consideration in the parallel Markets and Justice reviews, most notably connecting to the survivor engagement and support theme. Migration was the most common theme identified by a significant margin, with 91 claims assessed as relevant to this theme (62% of all claims identified). This was followed by the Justice theme of survivor engagement and support, which was considered to relate to 50 claims (34%). Claims were identified in relation to all of the themes identified across the three parallel reviews, with 1 exception: no hypotheses relevant to the context of crisis were identified as related to the Markets theme of financial policy.

Figure 4. Number of hypotheses relevant to review themes



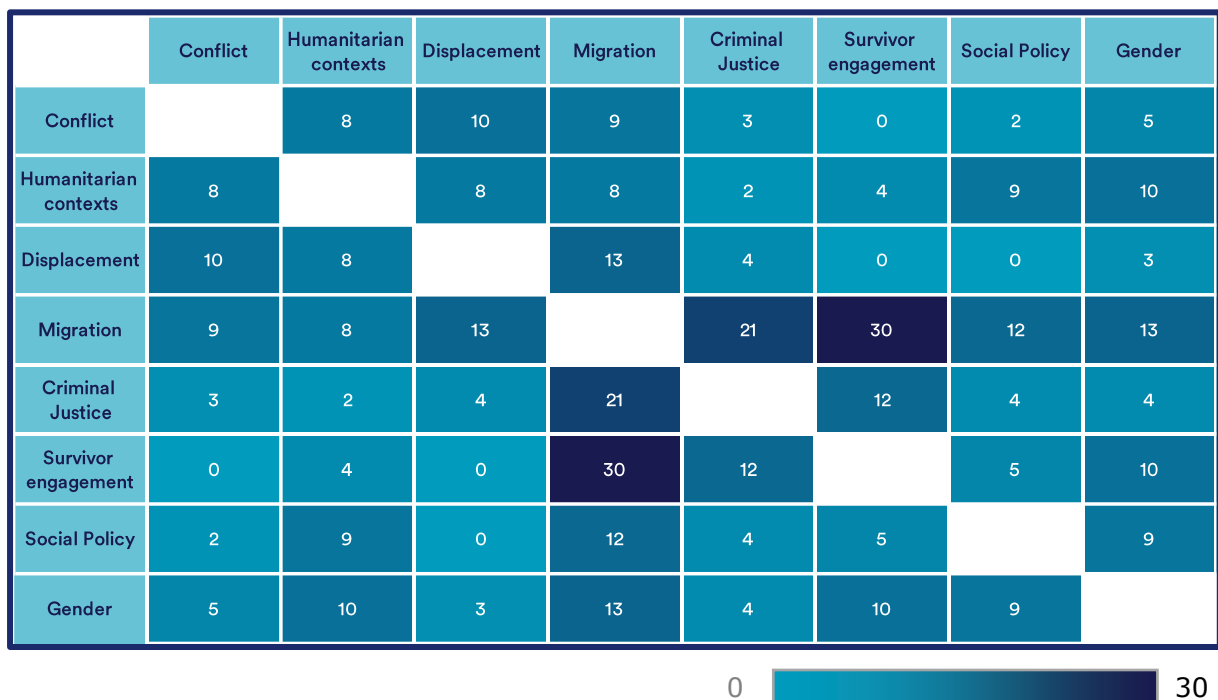
Relatively few claims relevant to the themes of conflict, displacement, and humanitarian responses were assessed in this study; most of the identified literature belongs in the 'migration' theme. However, further interrogation of the results shows that there is clear overlap between the themes. For example, studies that fit under the 'conflict' theme often discussed displacement and migration. Similarly, the humanitarian contexts theme material discusses displacement, migration, and conflict issues.

A significant proportion of claims assessed were relevant exclusively to the Delta 8.7 Policy Guide domain area of Crisis, representing 56 of the 147 hypotheses assessed (38%). 60 claims (41%) were at the intersection of Justice and Crisis, while 12 (8%) were relevant to both Crisis and Markets. 1 claim related to all three domains—Crisis, Justice, and Markets. A number of hypotheses coded in this study were not relevant to Crisis, but solely related to Markets or Justice (n=1 and n=17 respectively). These were nonetheless included in the study because they were drawn from records that were directly relevant to Crisis 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 Crisis and Markets were predominantly drawing connections between economic and development contexts and survivors’ needs, experiences, recovery, and sustainable reintegration. 1 claim was identified at the intersection of all 3 domains, at the intersection of migration, labour rights and protections (civil justice), and supply chains.

Of the 147 hypotheses coded, 36 (24%) were recorded as relevant to a single theme, 49 (33%) connected to 2 themes, 40 (27%) to 3 themes, 12 (8%) to 4 themes, and 10 (7%) to 5 themes. The most common intersections were all connections with migration, which is unsurprising given the relative frequency of hypotheses coded against these themes comparable to other themes studied. This included intersections between migration and survivor engagement and support with 29 intersecting hypotheses, criminal justice (21 hypotheses), and gender (13 hypotheses). This demonstrates the cross-sectoral relevance of considerations of migration and emphasises the importance of considering the perspectives of migrants 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 hypotheses at the intersections between themes³⁴



3.4. Source characteristics

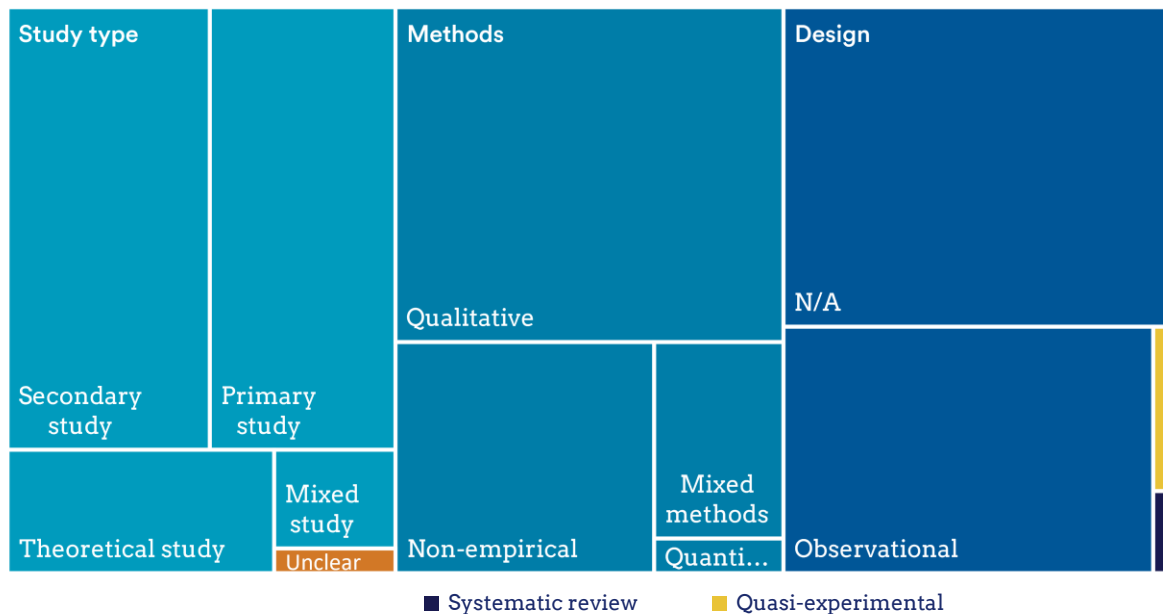
Claims assessed in this review were considered in studies adopting a variety of different methods, approaches, and research designs. The diversity of methods evidenced across the 111 records assessed strengthens the evidence base, with records often coalescing around shared conclusions even as they adopted substantially different approaches to assessing what works to address modern slavery in the context of Crisis. Study type was relatively evenly distributed between primary and secondary studies, which underpinned 55 (37%) and 60 (41%) claims assessed across this review respectively. This was followed

³⁴ All themes listed across the three Delta 8.7 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.

by theoretical or conceptual studies supporting 22 claims (15%) and mixed studies underpinning 8 claims (5%). Study type was unclear in 2 cases (1%)

Qualitative methods were favoured by a significant margin, underpinning 87 of the 147 claims assessed (59%). This was followed by non-empirical methods underpinning 40 claims (27%) and mixed methods approaches representing 17 claims (12%). Purely quantitative studies were uncommon in this review, underpinning only 3 hypotheses (2%). The preference for qualitative methods was coupled with a tendency towards observational research designs, with 61 claims (41%) supported by studies adopting this approach. No claims assessed were supported by studies with an experimental design, and quasi-experimental approaches were rare, representing only 2 claims (1%). 1 claim (1%) was supported by a systematic review. Qualitative methods appear to have been used as the authors were interested in interviewing survivors and vulnerable persons on the move to understand the challenges they face. The most appropriate approach to collecting this information was a qualitative one.

Figure 6. Distribution of hypotheses by research characteristics



3.5. Scope of application

Studies in this review were geographically diverse, with half of all studies considered (n=57, 51%) considering a single, specific national context. 20 studies (18%) were not geographically tied, adopting a generalised or international perspective. 8 studies (7%) considered particular geographic regions, covering The European Union and Europe (4), Latin America and the Caribbean (1), Southeast Asia (2), and a combination of the MENA region, Latin America, Arab States, and Southeast Asia (1). Several studies considered specific sub-national geographic contexts, from particular states within a federal country, to particular cities. 27 studies (24%) conducted comparative studies between States, with the number of countries considered in a single study ranging from 2 to 120 (although the majority considered 10 States or fewer). Overall, excluding international and regional studies and the 120 country comparative, 110 distinct national jurisdictions were considered in the studies assessed in this review. Somewhat surprisingly, few studies focused on countries that have recently experienced conflicts, such as Syria, and Iraq. However, this may be due to the lack of evidence on the nexus between conflict and

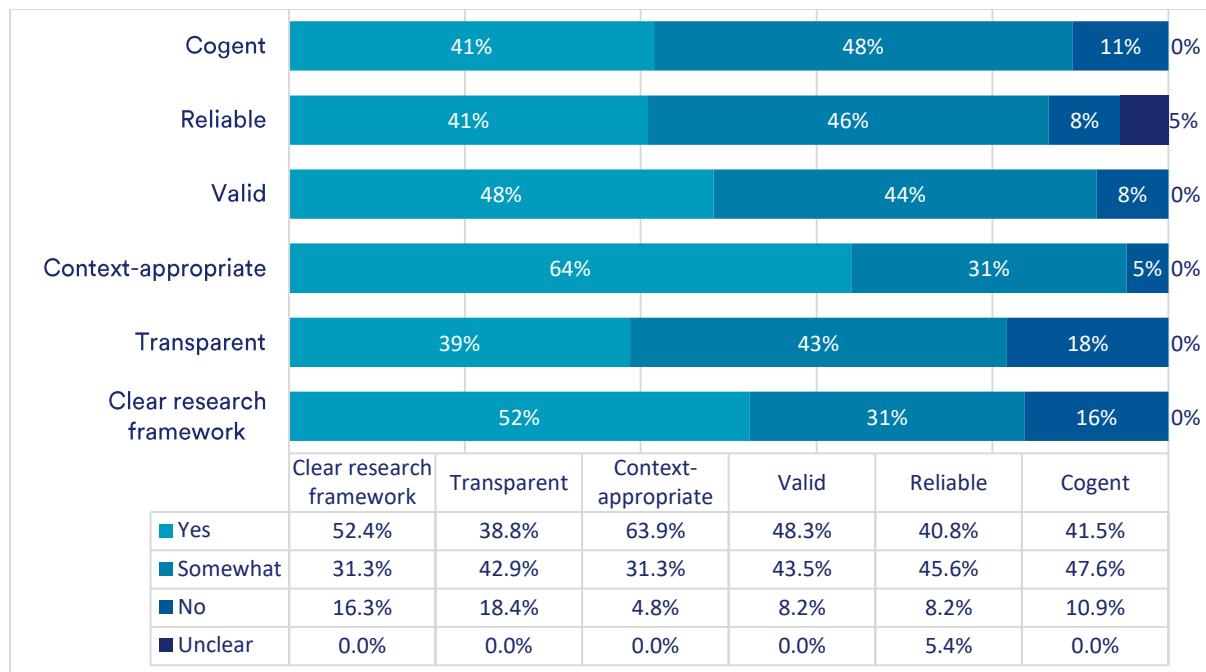
modern slavery in those countries, and the difficulties associated with collecting primary data in conflict zones.

While studies broadly traversed the globe, it is notable that no single country study 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 group of studies considering a single national context in the review, and likely a result of the language limitations of the review. However, countries from the region (and the region as a whole) were captured in studies adopting comparative and regional perspectives. The Nepal and the United Kingdom were the focus of the highest number of studies, with 6 studies (5%) considering each of these countries. This was followed by Thailand, which was the focus of 5 studies (4.5%), Nigeria in 4 studies (4%), the United States in 4 studies (4%), and Cambodia and Malaysia with 3 studies (3%) each.

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 hypotheses were considered not to satisfy these quality measures, with the measure considered not to have been satisfied in the highest number of cases being transparency (n=27; 18%).

Figure 6. Distribution of claims by evidentiary quality measures



Some research frameworks were considered unclear – this was largely due to the fact that some discussion papers did not provide any explanation about the sources of evidence used. 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 hypotheses in this review was assessed to be strong. This provides support for the conclusions drawn in the studies (and discussed further in [Findings on what works](#) below), as well as providing an indication of areas in need of development.

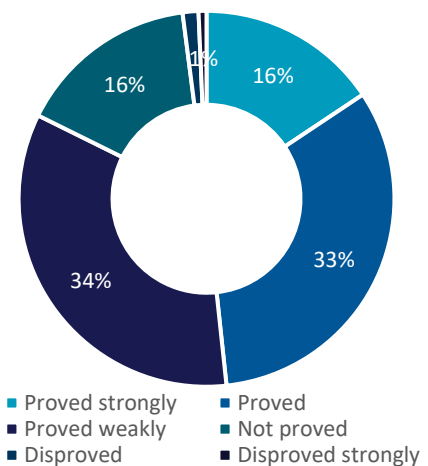
4. Findings on what works

Modern slavery thrives in crisis situations. The question of 'what works' in combating modern slavery was considered across four separate but often overlapping themes: migration, conflict, displacement, and humanitarian contexts.

The key narrative across the material reviewed in the Crisis domain is that crisis situations prompt significant levels of internal and cross-border migration. People on the move – internally and in cross-border situations – are vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking. A number of agencies (government, non-government, and inter-governmental) work on the issue of protecting vulnerable persons during crisis situations. The available evidence suggests that while these agencies often adopt different approaches to combating slavery in crisis situations, and protecting vulnerable persons, there are clear threads on 'what works' in combating slavery in crisis situations, such as coordinating efforts; increasing human and financial resources to respond to crisis situations; adopting non-crime and law enforcement approaches to the modern slavery issue during crisis situations, such as human-rights based approaches; strengthening victim identification procedures; strengthening protection systems and improving shelter conditions; ensuring the long-term protection of survivors; and strengthening legal frameworks.

Evidence underpinning claims within the Crisis review was broadly considered to support positive findings on the claims identified, although with varying levels of confidence in the strength of evidence. Overall, 121 claims were considered to have been underpinned by evidence supporting a positive finding, with 23 claims (16%) considered to have been proved strongly, 48 (33%) to have been proved, and 50 (34%) to have been proved weakly. In 23 cases (16%), the evidence brought to bear in testing claims identified was not considered to support a positive or negative finding. In 3 cases (2%) the evidence was considered to support a negative finding on the hypothesis, with 2 claims considered to have been disproved, and 1 to have been disproved strongly.

Figure 7. Findings on Crisis 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.

Ultimately, 15 hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery in the context of crisis were identified in this review:

Hypothesis 1. Addressing the root causes of modern slavery vulnerability reduces re-victimisation in crisis situations

Hypothesis 2. Community-based awareness raising helps to reduce human trafficking risks in crisis situations

Hypothesis 3. Establishing dedicated national anti-trafficking in persons task forces within the police helps to reduce trafficking in persons in crisis situations

Hypothesis 4. Access to economic and livelihood opportunities reduces trafficking in persons risks in crisis situations and normal times

Hypothesis 5. The establishment of transparent and fair recruitment practices prevents the trafficking of overseas migrant workers

Hypothesis 6. Long-term support for slavery survivors is essential for effective and sustained recovery

Hypothesis 7. Ensuring that migrant workers have labour rights is effective in reducing the exploitation of migrant workers and ensuring their access to justice

Hypothesis 8. Providing support services to people on the move helps to reduce trafficking in persons

Hypothesis 9. An effective response to trafficking in persons requires that counter-trafficking activities in crisis situations are embedded into wider labour programming

Hypothesis 10. Witness protection in criminal proceedings is essential for a strengthened response to human trafficking

Hypothesis 11. Agreement on definitions related to modern slavery is central to achieving a coherent and coordinated response to modern slavery

Hypothesis 12. The alignment of national legislation with key international instruments is essential for strengthening the response to trafficking in persons

Hypothesis 13. De-conflating sex work from sex trafficking will strengthen responses to preventing trafficking for sexual exploitation and extend protections to sex workers and trafficking victims

Hypothesis 14. De-criminalisation of sex work is crucial for the prevention of trafficking for sexual exploitation and the protection of sex workers

Hypothesis 15. Dismantling border controls and restrictive migration legislation is essential for improving migrant protection, particularly during times of crisis

Hypothesis 16. Amending policy that restricts the foreign migration of women is essential for preventing irregular migration and trafficking of women and girls

Hypothesis 17. Adopting a human rights based approach is effective in preventing human trafficking and protecting victims and vulnerable persons

Hypothesis 18. Gender-based approaches are effective in mitigating gender-based violence and trafficking

Hypothesis 19. A human security approach to understanding migration is effective in developing policy to reduce trafficking in persons

Hypothesis 20. A holistic approach to development – that incorporates the rule of law and community-based action - is essential for reducing crime in conflict areas

Hypothesis 21. A strengthened response to preventing modern slavery requires that agencies collaborate both within States and internationally

Hypothesis 22. Effective prevention of modern slavery requires that States commit additional financial and human resources to anti-slavery programming

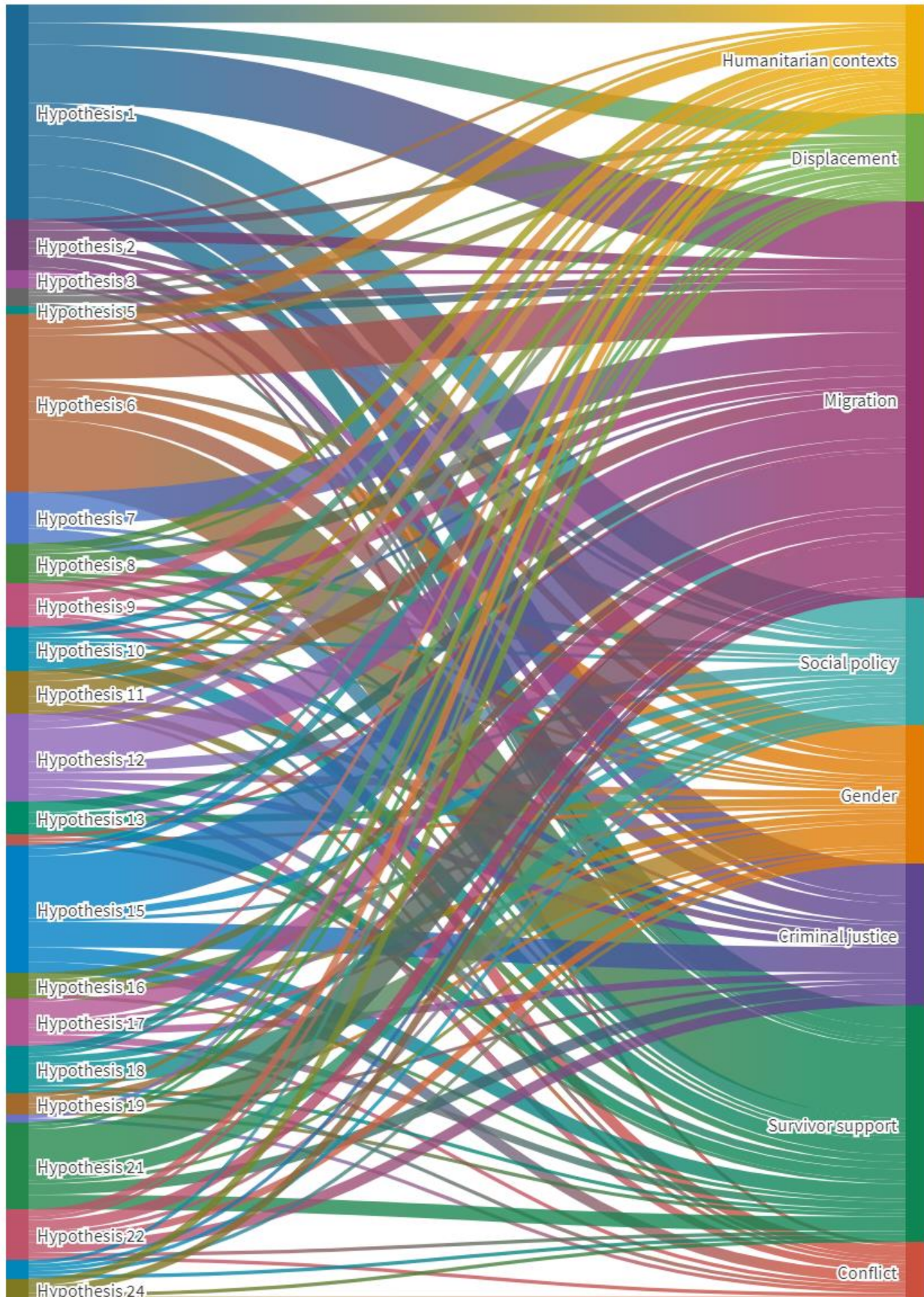
Hypothesis 23. Capitalising on the use of technology during disasters is effective in protecting vulnerable persons and coordinating relief efforts

Hypothesis 24. A strengthened response to trafficking in persons requires that frontline staff receive regular training on identifying and protecting victims and investigating trafficking crimes

Hypotheses constructed in this review could not easily be divided according to the pre-defined themes of conflict, humanitarian contexts, displacement, and migration. The dominance of the migration theme in the review presented an obstacle to delineating hypotheses by a primary theme—the result being that relatively few hypotheses would have been attributed to the conflict, humanitarian contexts, and displacement themes. Further, in several cases a dominant theme could not be identified as a result of the relatively balanced connections to multiple themes—with the four thematic areas often being discussed as connected, and in particular conflict and humanitarian conflicts being connected to movement of people. Hypotheses are therefore presented in the following analysis without being tied to a particular theme, although the connections to the various themes considered in the review are discussed in each case.

The evidence on what works in combating modern slavery in crisis situations includes evidence on the additional themes of: prevention of modern slavery; protection of vulnerable persons and survivors; the need for clear definitions, and robust legal frameworks; fair immigration measures; humanitarian, human-rights, and human security responses to modern slavery; and resourcing and coordination on modern slavery and related issues

Figure 8. Interconnections between hypotheses and themes



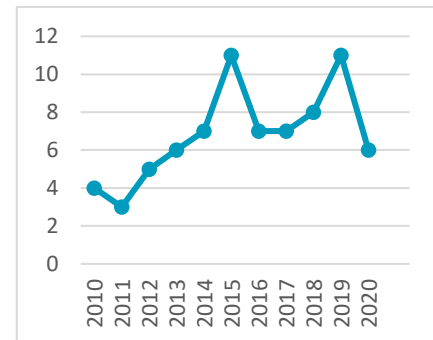
4.1. Migration

The most prominent theme in the Crisis domain was migration. The evidence reviewed discusses crises hand in hand with migration. Crises such as conflicts, and natural and man-made disasters, prompt significant numbers of people to migrate internally or in cross-border contexts.

Many of the records identified in the Crisis domain relate to domestic or international migration. The documents examine the migration issue from various perspectives – many articles and reports challenge the current law and policy framework surrounding migration and argue that strict border controls and restrictive migration policies render many people on the move vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Migration policy in many states makes the free movement of people across national borders extremely difficult. Asylum seekers and refugees are labelled ‘illegal’ migrants, and are denied State support services such as health care.

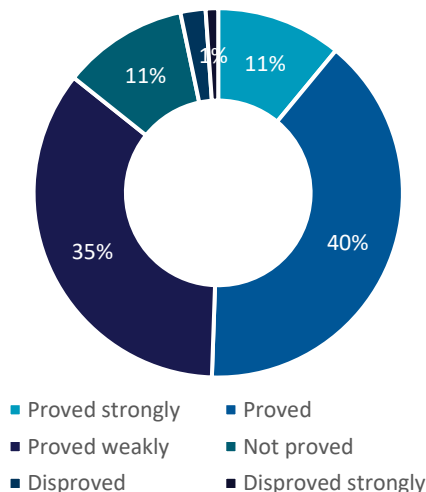
The literature argues that restrictive border mechanisms should be eased, and that States should adopt human-rights based approaches to managing migration, especially during times of crisis. ‘What works’ in the migration theme includes: Dismantling strict border measures; easing restrictive immigration laws and policies; providing comprehensive support services to all people on the move, albeit their legal status; intercepting vulnerable persons before they can be trafficked; and ensuring coordination and partnership of all key players both within States (government agencies, intergovernmental organisations, and NGOs) and in bilateral and regional settings.

Figure 9. Number of records related to migration over time



A relatively large and diverse set of claims were identified within the theme of migration. In total, 91 claims relevant to the theme were identified in the review, drawn from 75 records. The majority of studies were published, with 49 (65%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 25 (33%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. Publication status was unclear in 1 case. 53 studies (71%) had academic authorship, 16 (21%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 6 (8%) by intergovernmental agencies. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review, from 2010 to 2020, with peaks in 2015 and 2019 (n=11).

Figure 10. Findings on migration claims



Claims relevant to migration were considered to have been proved strongly in 10 cases, proved in 36 cases, proved weakly in 32 cases, and not proved in 10 cases. Claims in this theme were considered to have been disproved in 3 cases – with 1 disproved strongly.

Claims relevant to migration often connected to an additional theme, although 16 claims in this group (18%) were considered solely relevant to migration. 30 claims were considered relevant to survivor engagement and support, 21 to criminal justice, 13 to displacement, 13 to gender, 12 to social policy, 9 to conflict, and 8 to humanitarian contexts. Claims relevant to migration were also connected to civil justice (5), international justice (7), health policy and practice (5), economic policy (5), trade policy (3), development

policy (3), supply chains (6), education (2), and climate/environment (2). Migration therefore intersected with all other themes considered across the reviews, with the exception of financial policy.

Evidence underpinning migration claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be clear, context appropriate, and valid. The majority of claims were also considered to be underpinned by evidence that was transparent, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so. The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 4-18%, with transparency being the measure considered not to have been met in the highest number of cases.

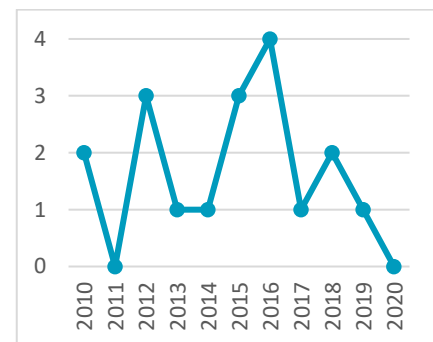
4.2. Conflict

A small number of documents identified in the crisis domain discuss the nexus between conflict and modern slavery. The available literature suggests that the generalised violence that characterises conflict areas can lead to various actors, such as members of armed groups, to force civilians into exploitation or trafficking situations. During conflicts, the socio-economic vulnerabilities of the local population affected are significantly increased. Furthermore, during conflicts, the rule of law is eroded, and State institutions that are designed to protect civilians are unable to perform that essential duty. Conflicts lead to significant levels of forced displacement. Those forcibly displaced must seek safety either in other parts of the conflict-affected country, or in other countries. Displaced persons often have very limited access to health care, education, and employment opportunities for income generation.

The evidence on 'what works' in preventing modern slavery and protecting vulnerable persons during conflicts is similar to the evidence on 'what works' in the migration, displacement, and humanitarian contexts themes: Relevant agencies must set aside adequate financial and human resources to respond to the mass movement of people from conflict zones; agencies must collaborate for a strengthened response; restrictive border measures should be overturned to ensure the safe passage of displaced persons; support services should be comprehensive; and displaced persons should be provided with employment and livelihood opportunities.

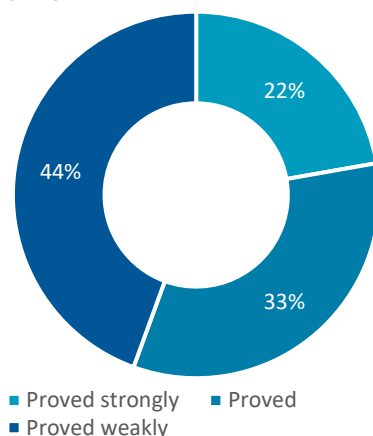
In total, 18 claims relevant to the theme of conflict were identified in the review, drawn from 18 records. The majority of studies were published, with 7 (39%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 10 (56%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 1 record (6%) was unpublished. 9 studies (50%) had academic authorship, 7 (39%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 2 (11%) by intergovernmental agencies. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review (with the exception of 2011 and 2020), from 2010 to 2019, with the highest concentration in 2016 (n=4).

Figure 11. Number of records related to conflict over time



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

Figure 12. Findings on conflict claims



Claims relevant to conflict often connected to an additional theme, with only 1 claim in this group (6%) considered solely relevant to conflict. 10 claims were considered relevant to displacement, 9 to migration, 8 to humanitarian contexts, and 5 to gender. Claims relevant to conflict also connected to climate/environment (4), criminal justice (3), social policy (2), economic policy (1), trade policy (1), and education (1).

Evidence underpinning conflict claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be underpinned by evidence that was context appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent. The majority of claims were also considered to be underpinned by evidence that was transparent, clear and

transparent, or somewhat so. The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 0-28%, with no studies considered not to be valid, but 5 assessed not to be transparent.

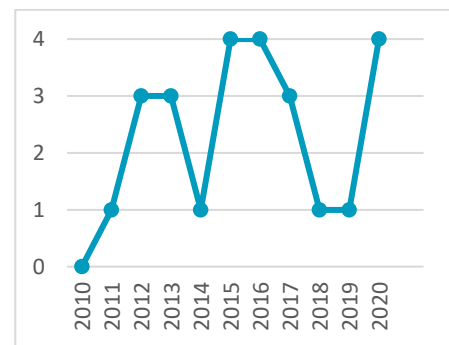
4.3. Humanitarian contexts

The humanitarian contexts theme overlaps with other themes in the crisis basket (migration, conflict, and displacement). The available evidence suggests that during crisis situations, existing vulnerabilities to trafficking in persons are exacerbated. Crisis-induced forms of trafficking can emerge.

Preventing modern slavery requires that State and non-State responses during humanitarian contexts are integrated and holistic. Prevention and protection activities should be integrated into wider development and humanitarian responses. Cooperation and partnerships between all relevant agencies need to be strengthened, and adequate human and financial resources set aside to protect all vulnerable persons during the crisis or disaster.

In total, 28 claims relevant to humanitarian contexts were identified in the review, drawn from 25 records. The majority of studies were published, with 11 (44%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 9 (36%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 2 records were unpublished, and publication status was unclear in 3 cases. 17 studies (68%) had academic authorship, 4 (16%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 4 (16%) by intergovernmental agencies. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review (with the exception of 2010), from 2011 to 2020, with the highest concentrations in 2015, 2016, and 2020 (n=4).

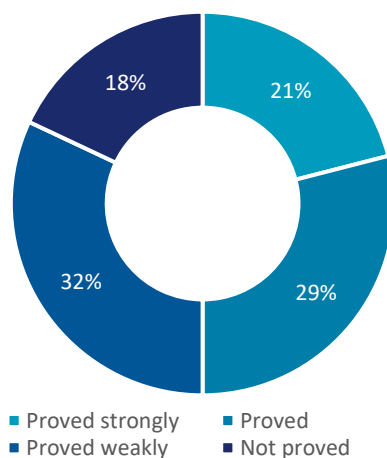
Figure 13. Number of records related to humanitarian contexts over time



Claims relevant to humanitarian contexts were considered to have been proved strongly in 6 cases, proved in 8 cases, proved weakly in 9 cases, and not proved in 5 cases. Claims in this theme were not considered to have been disproved in any cases.

Claims relevant to humanitarian contexts often connected to an additional theme, although 2 claims in this group (7%) were considered solely relevant to humanitarian contexts. 10 claims were considered relevant to gender, 9 to social policy, 8 to migration, 8 to conflict, and 8 to displacement. Claims relevant to humanitarian contexts were also connected to survivor engagement and support (4), development policy (4), climate/environment (3), criminal justice (2), economic policy (1), and education (1).

Figure 14. Findings on humanitarian contexts claims



Evidence underpinning humanitarian contexts claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be context appropriate. The majority of claims were also considered to be underpinned by evidence that was clear, transparent, transparent, valid, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so. The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 4-11%, with clarity of research frameworks considered not to have been met in the highest number of cases (n=3; 11%).

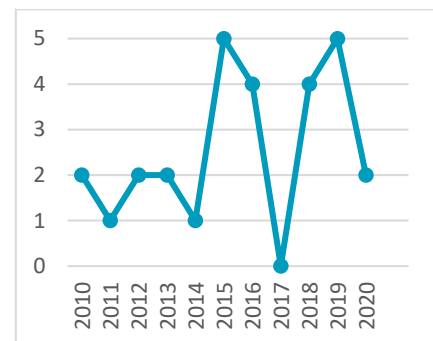
4.4. Displacement

Adults and children who have been displaced from their homes due to crisis situations are at heightened risk of trafficking in persons. Internally displaced persons often lack family and community networks, economic opportunities, education, and health care. In protracted situations of displacement, displaced persons become vulnerable to all forms of modern slavery, including child begging and forced marriage. Children are also vulnerable to being recruited to armed forces.

Protecting displaced persons requires that State agencies, and NGOs and intergovernmental organisations collaborate on responses to crises. Increased financial and human resources need to be set aside in order to meet displaced persons' most immediate needs (i.e. shelter, food), ongoing needs (health care, education, employment opportunities), and to protect them from trafficking in persons.

In total, 21 claims relevant to the theme of displacement were identified in the review, drawn from 21 records. The majority of studies were published, with 12 (57%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 7 (33%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 1 study (5%) was unpublished, and publication status was unclear in 1 case. 22 studies (79%) had academic authorship, 4 (14%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 2 (7%) by intergovernmental agencies. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review (with the exception of 2017), from 2010 to 2020, with peaks in 2015 and 2019 (n=5).

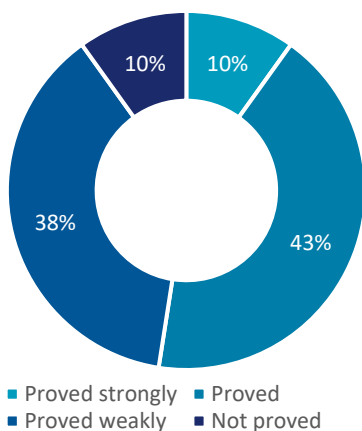
Figure 15. Number of records related to displacement over time



Claims relevant to displacement were considered to have been proved strongly in 2 cases, proved in 9 cases, proved weakly in 8 cases, and not proved in 2 cases. Claims in this theme were not considered to have been disproved in any case.

Claims relevant to displacement often connected to an additional theme, although 2 claims in this group (10%) were considered solely relevant to displacement. 13 claims were considered relevant to migration, 10 to conflict, and 8 to humanitarian contexts. Claims relevant to displacement were also connected to criminal justice (4), climate/environment (4), gender (3), trade policy (1), development policy (1), and education (1).

Figure 16. Findings on displacement hypotheses



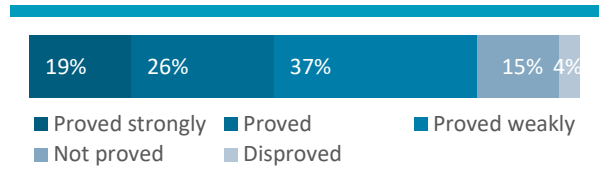
Evidence underpinning displacement claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be context appropriate and valid. The majority of claims were also considered to be underpinned by evidence that was clear, transparent, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so. The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 0-24%, with no claims considered to be underpinned by evidence that was at least somewhat valid and reliable, and 24% assessed not to be transparent.

4.5. Hypotheses identified and tested in this review

Hypothesis 1. Addressing the root causes of modern slavery vulnerability reduces re-victimisation in crisis situations

The need to address the root causes of modern slavery was captured in 27 distinct hypotheses across 27 records accessed.

Nearly all studies were published, with 16 (59%) published in peer-reviewed journals. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2020, with 21 (78%) authored by academics, 4 (15%) by NGOs, and 2 (7%) by intergovernmental organisations. Hypotheses within this group typically related to the 'migration' theme exclusively, although 8 hypotheses also connected to 'gender', and 7 to 'social policy'.



Claims under this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 5 cases, proved in 7 cases, proved weakly in 10 cases, not proved in 4 cases, and disproved in 1 case.

There was a near balance in this grouping with primary and secondary studies. 10 studies involved primary data collection, and 12 were secondary studies. The grouping also included 2 theoretical or conceptual documents, and 2 mixed methods studies. For 1 study the methodology was unclear.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	10 (37%)
Secondary study	12 (44%)
Mixed study	2 (7%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	2 (7%)
Unclear	1 (4%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	2 (7%)
Qualitative	16 (59%)
Mixed	2 (7%)
Non-empirical	7 (27%)
Research design	
Observational	11 (40%)
Systematic review	1 (4%)
N/A	15 (56%)
Programme or project evaluation	0 (0%)

Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method, with 7 studies utilising this method of data collection. Of the 7 studies, 5 involved interviews with survivors and vulnerable persons, and 7 involved interviews with both survivors and vulnerable persons, and representatives of organisations working on migration, modern slavery and related issues. Only one study used survey methods. Several studies involved reviews of legislation and policies on modern slavery and related issues, and of projects. For example, one study reviewed 20 multi-national European Commission funded projects about child trafficking, which addressed certain child

trafficking priorities outlined in the EU Anti-Trafficking Strategy (2012). Two studies drew on existing data sets, for example, UN estimates on displacement due to natural disasters and conflict.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	14 (52%)	8 (30%)	5 (19%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	13 (48%)	8 (30%)	6 (22%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	21 (78%)	5 (19%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)
Valid	11 (41%)	14 (52%)	2 (7%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	14 (52%)	11 (41%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)
Cogent	10 (37%)	14 (52%)	3 (11%)	0 (0%)

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be strong, with the majority of hypotheses recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid and reliable. Evidence underpinning the hypotheses 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. Authors often drew on international literature considering the causes of slavery globally, rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on multiple regions. 10 records focused on only one jurisdiction. All other articles and reports focused on regions, for example Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. Several documents discussed modern slavery globally.

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation and highlight the need to identify and address the factors that make people vulnerable to slavery in the first place, in order to put in place effective mechanisms to avoid re-victimisation. Studies considered both male and female survivors, and adults and children. Most studies focused on trafficking for labour or for sexual exploitation. Several studies focused on the vulnerabilities of children.

The root causes of modern slavery are complex and diverse. Poverty is a key vulnerability factor, but poverty is usually not the only factor that makes people vulnerable to slavery. Many other vulnerability factors come into play in addition to poverty, including debt, lack of decent employment opportunities, low pay, lack of regular migration channels, lack of education, lack of free health care, gender inequality, and discrimination. These factors are further exacerbated in situations of conflict, or during natural and man-made disasters.

Many survivors who are identified and receive reintegration support in either destination countries or countries of origin receive, in addition to shelter and protection, education and training; however, such training often does not equip them with the skills that they need to find decent employment when they leave the shelter or their reintegration support ends. In addition, most survivors come from developing countries where there is a dearth of decent employment opportunities, thus on their return to their home community, survivors often face challenges in finding employment with decent working conditions and adequate pay.

Migrants are particularly vulnerable to entering into cycles of re-trafficking. They may receive shelter and other support in the destination country and/or country of origin; however, when this support ends, they still face the difficult conditions that made them vulnerable to modern slavery in the first place, for example, family debt, poverty, and lack of employment opportunities. For these survivors, re-migrating to a neighbouring country or farther afield for the purpose of finding employment is often the only opportunity available to them.

Identifying and addressing the root causes of modern slavery requires identifying the complex reasons that adults and children leave home in the first place to find work, and the diverse reasons that they are exploited by unscrupulous employers. It also requires understanding the socio-economic situations faced by survivors. Best practice in addressing the root causes of modern slavery involves asking survivors what factors prompted them to migrate, what the impacts of the crisis were on them, what factors

made them vulnerable to trafficking, and what skills and other support would help them to achieve sustained liberation.

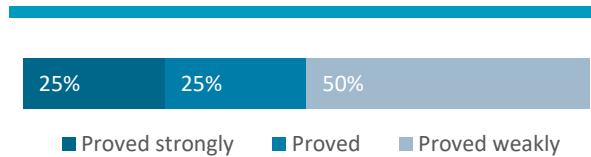
This grouping also emphasises the importance of States reviewing their migration policies and practices, as well as other internal laws and policies. A lack of regular migration opportunities forces migrant workers to enter States irregularly, and their irregular status in the destination country renders them vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking. A lack of employment opportunities, particularly in rural areas, exacerbates internal and cross-border migration, including irregular migration, and many of these domestic and/or cross-border irregular migrants are vulnerable to exploitation. Policies and programs to expand financial lending opportunities to the urban poor also need to be expanded, as it is high interest loans taken to money lenders that force many people to enter into debt bondage situations, or prompt them to migrate in search of employment in order to repay the exorbitant interest rates.

These findings were interconnected with consideration of the need for flexible, victim-centred, multidisciplinary, and holistic support, as well as access to justice. Studies therefore emphasised the importance of long-term support catering to survivors' changing needs over time, and highlighted the importance of employment skills, livelihood opportunities, legal support, and access to justice.

Hypothesis 2. Community-based awareness raising helps to reduce human trafficking risks in crisis situations

The key role of community-based awareness raising for preventing human trafficking was captured in 4 distinct hypotheses across 4 records assessed.

The 4 studies were published, with 1 (25%) published in a peer-reviewed journal and authored by academics, and 3 (75%) published by non-governmental organisations. It is not known if 1 NGO study (25%) has been published. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2017. 2 hypotheses within this group relate to the 'conflict' theme, 2 relate to the 'displacement' theme, and 2 relate to 'gender'. 1 study relates to the 'survivor engagement, 'migration', 'social policy', 'education', and 'climate' theme each.



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

The hypotheses in this grouping were tested through primary (n=1) or secondary (n=3) studies. The studies engage with existing literature, policies, laws and reports, for example by international and non-governmental organisations.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	1 (25%)
Secondary study	3 (75%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	3 (75%)
Mixed	1 (25%)
Non-empirical	0 (0%)
Research design	
Observational	2 (50%)
N/A	2 (50%)
Programme or project evaluation	0 (0%)

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with 1 considered to be clear, and 2 somewhat clear. 2 studies were considered to be transparent, and 2 studies were considered not transparent. 3 were considered context-appropriate, and 1 not. 1 was considered valid, and 3 somewhat valid.

The studies in this group highlight the importance of community-based approaches to prevent human trafficking. Those should include a participative examination of the key parameters of the problem; community perspectives involving critical analysis of political agendas; collective framing of strategic responses at the community level; evaluation of local outcomes; and lobbying for legislative change and implementation of strategic action in communities.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	2 (50%)	0 (0%)	2 (50%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	3 (75%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)
Valid	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)

1 study highlighted the link between domestic violence and child trafficking. Emphasising the need to address the root causes of human trafficking, it recommended using information campaigns for parents on the rights of the child and the types of exploitation that exist.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single country. One study was a worldwide study. The others focused on either one jurisdiction (Ghana, or Kenya), or on multiple jurisdictions (one study covered multiple regions of the world).

Another study highlighted that information provided by the

government or federally funded NGOs perpetuates ideas of victimisation and rescue that play on deep-seated gendered and racialised conceptions of global relations. They focus on individual responsibility and redemption as well as a benevolent state and fail to display the systemic issues and realities of migration. Consequently, there is a need for alternative counter-narratives that represent the realities of trafficking more accurately. These could be provided by non-federally funded NGOs.

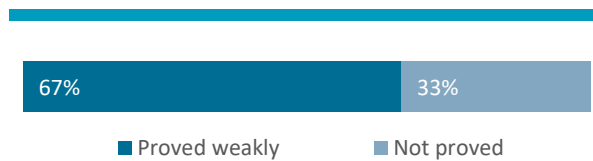
As 1 study recommended, information or awareness raising campaigns should include returnee migrants as change agents to effectively dissuade female migration and to help returnees reconnect with their communities and making them feel valued for sharing useful knowledge.

While the studies in this group highlighted the importance of community-based approaches to prevent human trafficking, the studies also emphasised that the public, humanitarian and development sectors still have a role to play. 1 study suggested that, based on reliable and comprehensive data, they should be responsible for setting up protection monitoring systems that includes coordination between protection monitors, schools, health services and psychosocial workers, and the establishment of referral mechanisms that respect confidentiality. In particular, they should and target the specific issues girls face and mitigate the disruption and trauma they suffer and protect their human rights. This also means to work in partnership with survivors and service providers to advance social, political and economic equality in the longer term. 1 study suggested that government programmes could be improved through a more consistent targeting approach focusing on women, gender-related community awareness activities and inter-sectoral coordination to link complementary services. 1 study stressed the need for better coordination and communication between sending and receiving states of victims of human trafficking to ensure adequate and continuous support.

Hypothesis 3. Establishing dedicated national anti-trafficking in persons task forces within the police helps to reduce trafficking in persons in crisis situations

The importance of dedicated anti-trafficking in persons task forces within the Police for preventing trafficking was captured in 3 distinct hypotheses across 3 records assessed.

2 studies assessed in this group were published in peer-reviewed journals with academic authorship. 1 study was published by an NGO. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2018. Most of the hypotheses within this group related to the 'criminal justice' theme (3), with one referring to 'survivor engagement and support', 1 to 'migration', and 1 to 'social policy'. 1 study in this group focused on a single jurisdiction covering Cambodia, 1 study focused on South Africa, and 1 was not geographically tied and was international in scope.



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

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	2 (67%)
Secondary study	1 (33%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	3 (100%)
Mixed	0 (0%)
Non-empirical	0 (0%)
Research design	
Observational	2 (67%)
N/A	1 (33%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

2 studies involved primary data collection and were of qualitative design. 1 was a secondary study.

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

The studies highlight the importance of specialised efforts for addressing human trafficking: while one of them was related to return and reintegration policies for survivors, the other specifically highlighted that having specialised law enforcement agencies would increase efficiency and therefore would prevent human trafficking.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	3 (60%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Hypothesis 4. Access to economic and livelihood opportunities reduces trafficking in persons risks in crisis situations and normal times

The need for States to provide decent economic and livelihood opportunities to citizens and non-citizens on the move in crisis situations and normal times, in order to prevent trafficking in persons, was captured in 5 hypotheses across 5 records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	3 (60%)
Secondary study	1 (20%)
Mixed study	1 (20%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	4 (80%)
Mixed	1 (20%)
Non-empirical	0 (0%)
Research design	
Observational	3 (60%)
Quasi-experimental	1 (20%)
Systematic	0 (0%)
N/A	1 (20%)
Programme or project evaluation	1 (20%)

These studies emphasised the need for strengthened efforts to provide economic and livelihood opportunities broadly (n=4), the need to strengthen opportunities in rural areas specifically (n=1), and the need to focus on youth employment and livelihood opportunities (n=1). All studies considered the lack of employment opportunities as a push factor for risky cross-border migration, which can lead to vulnerability to trafficking in persons.

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

All studies underpinning this hypothesis were published, with 2 published in peer reviewed journals and authored by academics, 1 NGO report, and 2 intergovernmental reports. Studies were published between 2011 and 2017. 3 were primary studies, 1 was a secondary study, and 1 was a mixed method study.

3 of the studies focused on just one State: Nigeria, the Philippines, or Benin. 1 study discussed modern slavery globally. One study considered the Europe region. The studies connected to the themes of 'migration' (n=3), and 'survivor engagement and support' (n=2). Studies also considered the themes of 'economic policy', 'development', 'humanitarian contexts', and 'displacement' each.

The studies emphasise that, due to the lack of attention from States, people from poor areas are locked in a circle of poverty. Lack of economic opportunities and high levels of unemployment result in poverty, lack of food, and lack of education, which result in increased vulnerability to human trafficking. The studies highlight the importance of ensuring that children have access to free education, and that adults have access to livelihood opportunities and decent wages. This is especially important for mitigating the risks of people being trafficked during conflicts or natural disasters – having work, and savings nets, may prevent people from being vulnerable to trafficking.

Hypothesis 5. The establishment of transparent and fair recruitment practices prevents the trafficking of overseas migrant workers

The value of ensuring transparent and fair recruitment practices is essential for preventing the trafficking of overseas migrant workers was captured in 2 hypotheses in 2 studies assessed. Studies noted that the lack of transparency in supply chains revealed an alarming lack of commitment to human rights, which poses major risks to child labour, forced labour and human trafficking. Both studies suggested the need for bottom-up interventions, community-based and comprehensive (industry-wide) approaches, based on authoritative international standards such as the due diligence throughout supply chains. 1 study specifically suggested that the human rights due diligence standard should be adopted in a particular robust way in companies sourcing from countries with high numbers of refugee and migrant workers.

Hypotheses in this group were considered to have been proved in all studies, although none of these were proved strongly.

All studies in this group were published, with 1 published in peer-reviewed contexts with academic authorship, and 1 published in a non-peer reviewed setting by an intergovernmental organisation. Studies were published in 2017, and 2019. One study involved primary research, and 1 was a secondary piece involving theoretical discussion and policy recommendations, thus providing useful insights into the extent of child labour, forced labour, and human trafficking in global supply chains. 1 study adopted qualitative methods and observational designs, combined with fieldwork, company surveys and a case study, thus strengthening the underpinning evidence.

One study in this group was international in scope, while the other was referred to a setting of four countries (Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Syria, Turkey). However, these findings were not tied to a specific context/group and policies on labour exploitation can be applied to other contexts.

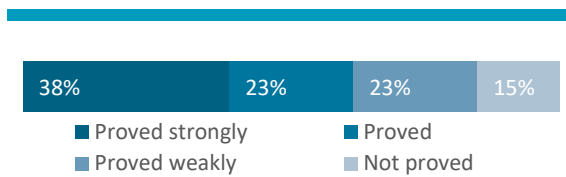
Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)

Hypothesis 6. Long-term support for slavery survivors is essential for effective and sustained recovery

The need for long-term support for slavery survivors for their effective and sustained recovery was captured in 13 distinct hypotheses across 21 records accessed.

All studies were published, with 8 published in peer-reviewed journals, 3 published by NGOs, and 2 by intergovernmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2011. Hypotheses within this group typically related to the 'survivor engagement and support' theme exclusively, although 9 hypotheses also connected to 'migration', and 4 to 'humanitarian contexts'.



Claims under this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 5 cases, proved in 3 cases, proved weakly in 3 cases, and not proved in 2 cases.

There was a balance between primary and secondary studies. 5 were primary studies, and 4 were secondary studies. 4 were theoretical or conceptual studies.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	5 (38%)
Secondary study	4 (31%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	4 (31%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	8 (62%)
Mixed	0 (0%)
Non-empirical	5 (38%)
Research design	
Observational	5 (38%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
N/A	8 (62%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method, with most studies utilising this method of data collection. Of the studies involving interviews, 4 involved face to face or phone interviews with survivors and vulnerable persons, and 5 involved interviews with both survivors and vulnerable persons, and representatives of organisations working on migration, modern slavery and related issues. One study also used Focus Group Discussions with survivors, in addition to interviews. No studies used survey methods. Several studies involved reviews of legislation and policies on modern slavery and related issues, and of projects. For example, one study reviewed 20 multi-national European Commission funded projects about child

trafficking, which addressed certain child trafficking priorities outlined in the EU Anti-Trafficking Strategy (2012).

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	11 (52%)	2 (10%)	8 (38%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	2 (10%)	12 (57%)	7 (33%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	10 (48%)	11 (52%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	4 (19%)	11 (52%)	6 (29%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	3 (14%)	10 (48%)	6 (29%)	2 (10%)
Cogent	7 (33%)	11 (52%)	3 (14%)	0 (0%)

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be fairly strong, with the majority of hypotheses recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid and reliable; however, a number of records were considered weak in terms of a clear research framework, transparency, validity, and reliability. Evidence underpinning the hypotheses

was considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent in the majority of 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. Authors often drew on international literature considering the support services provided to modern slavery survivors globally, rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on multiple regions. 8 records focused on only one jurisdiction (Pakistan, Nepal, Cambodia, Thailand, the United Kingdom, Austria, Australia). All other articles and reports focused on regions, for example Europe or Asia or modern slavery globally.

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation and highlight the need to provide survivors of modern slavery with long-term support in order to achieve effective and sustained recovery. Studies considered both male and female survivors, and adults and children. Most studies focused on trafficking for labour or for sexual exploitation. Several studies focused on the vulnerabilities and support needs of children.

The studies highlight the various challenges faced by service providers within government and non-government agencies in providing long-term and holistic support for survivors of modern slavery. These include 1) limited funding to provide support to survivors; 2) support is often only short-term; 3) there is very limited psychosocial care available; 4) shelter conditions are inadequate; 4) services do not cover the breadth of survivors' needs; 5) there is very limited free legal support available for survivors; 6) lack of coordination among service provider agencies. The studies also highlight the challenge of national visa regimes – many survivors, upon reaching the end of the stipulated support period, must leave the destination and return home. Upon their return home, the survivors face many of the same challenges as when they left, including poverty, debt, and a lack of decent employment opportunities.

The studies highlight, in particular, the plight of migrants who are trafficked in destination countries and receive only limited support in the host country. For example, some destination countries that experience a high volume of trafficking in persons, attempt to support a number of survivors in government shelters; however, the studies criticise the quality of support provided to survivors in these government institutions, the barriers to accessing justice in the destination country and receiving compensation, and the challenges faced by survivors when they return to their home countries.

The studies discuss the consequences of inadequate support for modern slavery survivors. For example, survivors who do not have a long reflection and recovery period remain traumatised after their trafficking experience, and shelter accommodation can lead to further traumatising when conditions are inadequate and survivors are unable to leave the shelters and see friends and family members. Survivors who receive inadequate support are at risk of entering cycles of re-trafficking, as they return to the same socio-economic conditions that made them vulnerable to exploitation in the first place.

The studies further emphasise the need for protection efforts to be combined with prevention mechanisms. The need for social workers and other front-line workers to identify vulnerable persons before they are trafficked is essential for supporting vulnerable adults and children and ensuring that they do not fall prey to traffickers.

The studies emphasise the need for long-term and holistic support in order to achieve effective and sustained recovery. Such support requires approximately two years of reintegration support, including skills training. The studies emphasise that while NGOs are

often at the forefront of survivor support, certain aspects of support must involve increased efforts from States. For example, the lack of employment opportunities, particularly in rural areas of countries must be addressed, in addition to increasing accessibility to free education and health care. The studies emphasise the need for States to move towards the development of National Referral Mechanisms for ensuring effective, coordinated, and holistic support for survivors of modern slavery.

Hypothesis 7. Ensuring that migrant workers have labour rights is effective in reducing the exploitation of migrant workers and ensuring their access to justice

The role of ensuring that migrant workers have labour rights were captured in 6 distinct hypotheses across 6 records assessed.

All studies published. 5 (83%) were published in peer-reviewed journals and authored by academics, and 1 (17%) study was published by an NGO. Publication dates extended from 2014 to 2020. The majority of hypotheses within this group related to the 'migration' theme (n=6), 2 connected to 'survivor engagement and support', and 2 connected to 'civil justice'. Separately, 1 connected to criminal justice, 1 to 'trade policy', 1 to 'supply chains', and 1 to 'gender'.

Hypotheses in this grouping were tested through mixed data collection, utilising mixed research methods and an observational design. 2 records were primary studies, and 2 were mixed methods studies. 1 was a theoretical study involving non-empirical research methods, and 1 was a secondary study. 4 studies involved interviews, all with a mixture of policy stakeholders and migrant workers. 1 study used a survey of solely survivors.

Table 1. Study characteristics

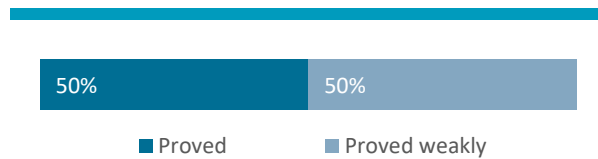
Study type	
Primary study	2 (33%)
Secondary study	1 (17%)
Mixed study	2 (33%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	1 (17%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	3 (50%)
Mixed	2 (33%)
Non-empirical	1 (17%)
Research design	
Observational	4 (67%)
N/A	2 (33%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

the underpinning evidence. There was a strong legislative basis in a majority of the records.

Table X. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	2 (33%)	4 (67%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	3 (50%)	2 (33%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)

The studies traversed legislative mechanisms designed to provide labour rights, the majority finding legislative gaps for migrant workers, leading to conclusions that there is a need for law and policy reform in protection of migrant workers and that comprehensive approaches are needed to eliminate labour and human rights violations of such workers. Legislation assessed included international, European and domestic instruments. It also



Claims under this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved in 3 cases and proved weakly in 3 cases. The hypothesis was not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

took different forms, including health and safety legislation in 1 study. Case-law was also assessed in 2 studies. In 1 study, the Sustainable Development Goals were assessed with a view to re-classify workers as labourers for reasons of protection under labour legislation.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction: Belgium, the United Kingdom, Cambodia, Slovakia, or Nepal. One study focused on the region of Southeast Asia.

Records also evaluated the position for different categories of migrant workers. The majority assess migrant workers as a general category, including under the heading of trafficking (= 4). 2 studies have a focus on migrant domestic workers and their surrounding legislative framework. Another has utilised the case study of sex workers, with a context in trafficking. 1 study looks in detail at temporary migrant workers, including their position in supply chains, and another addresses undocumented migrant domestic workers.

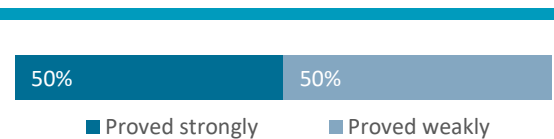
A lack of protection is connected to findings in the records such as employer disregard for migrant worker rights, migrant workers being treated as subjects and exploitative behaviour by transnational work agencies. They are found to be vulnerable to abuse and exploitation, and unable to access justice mechanisms.

Studies in this grouping highlighted the need to extend legal protection to migrant workers to protect from exploitation and ensure access to justice. Adjustment of labour and human rights legislation was a primary suggestion across the records. One study made suggestions based on the position of migrant workers with respect to health and safety protection, visas, and the regulation of domestic work. The position of migrant workers in recruitment was assessed in 3 studies, which suggested that there needed to be a change to the global recruitment industry, the accountability of stakeholders in the private recruitment industry and a strengthening of oversight of recruitment. One study assessed how changes might come about, in addition to the changes that are needed to legislation. It suggested that reforms need to take place in consultation with civil society representatives and migrant workers.

Hypothesis 8. Providing support services to people on the move helps to reduce trafficking in persons

The need for States and non-State agencies to provide support services to people on the move was captured in 2 distinct hypotheses across 2 records accessed.

All studies were published, with 1 (50%) published in a peer-reviewed journal, and 1 (50%) published by an NGO. Publication dates extended from 2016 to 2019. Hypotheses within this group were connected to the 'conflict', 'migration', 'social policy', 'gender', and 'climate' themes.



Claims under this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 1 case, and proved weakly in 1 case. The hypothesis was not considered to have been disproved in any cases.

1 (50%) was a primary study, and 1 (50%) was a secondary study.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	1 (50%)
Secondary study	1 (50%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	1 (50%)
Mixed	1 (50%)
Non-empirical	0 (0%)
Research design	
Observational	2 (100%)
Experimental	0 (0%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
N/A	0 (0%)
Programme or project evaluation	0 (0%)

1 study involved interviews with migrants and key informants working on migration and modern slavery issues.

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

Evidence underpinning the hypotheses was considered to be cogent or not cogent. Studies in this group were generally supported by the literature, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts. Authors drew on international literature discussing the challenges facing people on the move in the context of conflict and displacement, as well as the challenges faced by migrants in general as they attempt to

travel through traverse transit countries to destination countries.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)

During crises, people who have been displaced and are on the move are vulnerable to trafficking in persons. People on the move face a range of challenges during their migration journeys. The documents in this grouping discuss the challenges faced by displaced persons travelling in cross-border contexts. These challenges include: the inability to access health services; the inability to access decent, affordable and safe accommodation; arrest and detention; and the lack of psychosocial care available.

Improving the response to the lack of protection available to people on the move, and reducing the trafficking of migrants, requires: Increasing the financial and human resources available to provide support services to people on the move; improving the training of frontline personnel responsible for identifying and supporting vulnerable migrants and displaced persons; streamlining, and ensuring fairness in asylum procedures; applying gender-sensitive approaches to supporting migrants; and adopting a humanitarian approach to supporting migrants and displaced persons.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, focusing on multiple regions. 1 record focused on Eastern Europe, and the other considered 120 countries globally.

Hypothesis 9. An effective response to trafficking in persons requires that counter-trafficking activities in crisis situations are embedded into wider labour programming

The importance of embedding counter-trafficking activities in crisis situations into wider labour programming to develop effective responses to trafficking in persons was captured in 5 distinct hypotheses across 5 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 1 (20%) published in an academic journal, 3 (60%) published by NGOs, and 1 (20%) published by an intergovernmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2015 to 2019. 4 hypotheses within this group related to the 'conflict' theme, and 4 to the 'humanitarian contexts' theme. 2 hypotheses connected to the 'migration' theme, as well as 1 each to the themes 'economic policy', 'social policy', 'gender', and 'climate'.

The majority of hypotheses in this grouping were tested through primary (n=4) studies. 1 study was a secondary study. 4 studies adopted qualitative methods, and 1 study used mixed methods.

Study characteristics (claims)

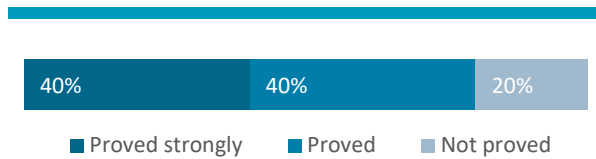
Study type	
Primary study	4 (80%)
Secondary study	1 (20%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	4 (80%)
Mixed	1 (20%)
Non-empirical	0 (0%)
Research design	
Experimental	0 (0%)
Observational	4 (80%)
N/A	1 (20%)
Programme or project evaluation	1 (20%)

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

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	3 (60%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	3 (60%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	4 (80%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)
Valid	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	4 (80%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)

The studies highlighted that risk of trafficking is grounded in continuous inequalities and exacerbated in times of disaster and crisis. 1 study identified both the presence of



The hypothesis was assessed to have been proved strongly in 2 cases, proved in 2 cases, and not proved in 1 case. The hypothesis was not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

The studies in this group included interviews with humanitarian staff, representatives of international organisations, members of local NGOs, community members, law enforcement and medical personnel, lawyers, journalists, independent experts, institutional stakeholders, and victims. In the case of the mixed method study, interviews were conducted in the field, in person and over the phone. The mixed method study also included focus groups with victims. The studies were grounded in the literature including reports from human rights organisations and UN specialised agencies and press articles.

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

peacekeepers as well as increased international attention on a conflict zone as aggravating factors. Another study focused on the breakdown in the rule of law and institutions, lack of economic opportunities, criminal networks that adapt to the new conflict situation, new demands for trafficked individuals and new opportunities to access them.

Considering that crisis is an aggravating factor rather than a root cause of risk of trafficking, the studies emphasised that measures to address it must go beyond aid programmes and prevention, protection and prosecution and focus on long-term development. The studies called on national governments, international and regional organisations, international donors and relevant stakeholders to conduct context-appropriate needs assessments to make their programmes more robust and effective. 1 study highlighted the need for better coordination and mainstreaming of responses of the humanitarian and donor community as well as the United Nations system. It also recommended a more focused, human-rights based approach to trafficking in human beings that is proactive, preventive and protective and includes continuous awareness raising.

Hypothesis 10. Witness protection in criminal proceedings is essential for a strengthened response to human trafficking

The importance of strengthening witness protection schemes in criminal proceedings for a more robust response to human trafficking was captured in 1 hypothesis in 1 study assessed. The study argues that measures which ensure both confidentiality and protection of witness in criminal proceedings raise the level of trust of trafficking victims towards the competent state institutions, ultimately ensuring an improving national response to human trafficking.

The hypothesis in this group is considered to have been proven weakly. The study was a secondary, non-empirical study.

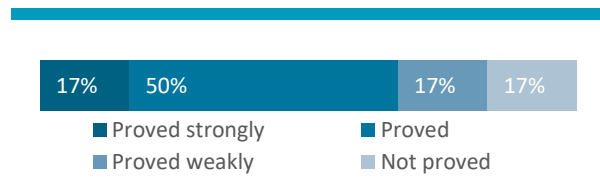
The study was published by an intergovernmental organisation in 2020 and focused on Ukraine. The study connected to the 'criminal justice', 'civil justice', and 'survivor engagement and support' themes.

The underpinning record was assessed not to have presented a clear research framework, and supporting evidence was considered to be context appropriate and cogent, and somewhat transparent, valid, somewhat reliable

Hypothesis 11. Agreement on definitions related to modern slavery is central to achieving a coherent and coordinated response to modern slavery

The importance of adequate labelling of modern slavery-related practices as an essential element for achieving an effective and coherent response to modern slavery was captured in 6 distinct hypotheses across 6 records assessed.

All studies assessed in this group were published, with 5 (83%) published in peer-reviewed journals with academic authorship, and the other 1 (17%) in non-peer reviewed settings by an NGO. Publication dates extended from 2014 to 2019. The hypotheses within this group largely related to the 'migration' theme, while 4 also related to 'survivor engagement and support', 3 to 'criminal justice', 2 to 'displacement', and 1 to 'humanitarian contexts'.



The hypothesis was assessed to have been proved strongly in 1 case, proved in 3 cases, proved weakly in 1 case, and not proved in 1 case. The hypothesis was not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	2 (33%)
Secondary study	2 (33%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	2 (33%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	4 (67%)
Mixed	0 (0%)
Non-empirical	2 (33%)
Research design	
Observational	2 (33%)
N/A	2 (67%)
Programme or project evaluation	0 (0%)

2 studies in this grouping included primary data collection from fieldwork, although they do not detail how analysis was designed or primary data collected. 2 studies were secondary studies, and 2 were theoretical pieces.

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the majority of hypotheses recorded as clear or somewhat clear, context-appropriate or somewhat context-appropriate, and valid or somewhat valid. Evidence underpinning the hypotheses was considered to be reliable or somewhat reliable in half of the cases, and somewhat cogent in the majority of cases.

Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. The possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts, however, was particularly hindered by national contexts. None of the studies relied on specific survivor engagement.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	4 (66%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	2 (33%)	3 (50%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	4 (67%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	1 (17%)	3 (50%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)
Cogent	1 (17%)	5 (83%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

The studies discuss the challenges associated with develop in a coordinated response to modern slavery, including in crisis situations, when there is broad disagreement about

many of key definitions. The lack of agreement regarding key definitions may lead to, for example, victims being mis-identified and denied support services.

One record involving primary and secondary research outlines the inadequacy of the organised crime paradigm as a framework for addressing the human trafficking phenomenon, since it does not reflect the complexities of the displacement of refugees. In this case, the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other conflict-related contexts are dependent on further research and consideration of different political, economic, and social settings.

Geographic distribution

Studies in the group crossed several national contexts, with 5 records focused on a single jurisdiction: The United States of America, Italy, England, Norway, and Canada. One study was not geographically tied, but was international in scope.

Hypothesis 12. The alignment of national legislation with key international instruments is essential for strengthening the response to trafficking in persons

The assessment of the importance of national legislation's alignment with key international instruments for strengthening the criminal justice response to trafficking in persons was captured in 11 distinct hypotheses across 11 records assessed.

The majority of studies assessed in this group were published, with 9 (82%) published in peer-reviewed journals and 2 (18%) in non-peer reviewed settings. 9 (82%) were authored by academics, and the remaining 2 (18%) by intergovernmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2011 to 2020. Hypotheses within this group typically related to the 'migration' theme. 3 were connected to the 'social policy' theme, and 'survivor engagement'. 2 were connected to 'criminal justice'; 2 to 'humanitarian contexts'; 2 to 'Gender'; 1 to 'Survivor'; and 1 to 'international justice'; 1 to 'trade policy'; 1 to 'supply chains'; and 1 to 'conflict'.

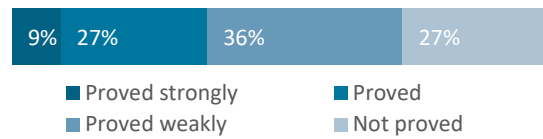
Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	3 (27%)
Secondary study	6 (55%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	1 (9%)
Unclear	1 (9%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	5 (45%)
Mixed	2 (18%)
Non-empirical	4 (37%)
Research design	
Observational	3 (27%)
Systematic	0 (0%)
N/A	8 (73%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	1 (9%)

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	6 (55%)	3 (27%)	2 (18%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	3 (27%)	5 (45%)	3 (27%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	5 (45%)	4 (36%)	2 (18%)	0 (0%)
Valid	7 (64%)	4 (36%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	4 (36%)	7 (64%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)
Cogent	7 (27%)	3 (64%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)

The quality of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be mixed, although overall supports a positive finding on the hypothesis. The majority of hypotheses were



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

6 of the studies were secondary studies, 3 were primary studies, 1 was a theoretical piece, and for 1 study the design was unclear. Hypotheses were tested through analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders, supplementing these interviews with additional data collection and analysis methods, such as focus group discussions, questionnaires, and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts. The secondary records were based mainly on secondary sources of information from international or domestic laws and policies, reports from NGOs and international organisations.

recorded as clear, transparent, valid, reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so, in all cases. However, while evidence underpinning the hypotheses was considered to be transparent or somewhat transparent in the majority of cases, on the whole the records satisfied this measure less definitively. Overall, studies in this hypothesis grouping combined multiple methods to produce a stronger evidentiary foundation for conclusions drawn, and evidence base often benefited from a wider consideration of statistical data from international organisations in several of the records assessed. Although survivors are included through the data of cases-studies, only two of the records relied on survivor engagement.

Criminalisation and an immigration-centred approach is highlighted as one of the main shortcomings in regional or national legislation and policies when wrestling with human trafficking. Records noted that asylum and migration restrictions increase vulnerability to exploitation and hamper victims' access to supportive frameworks.

Most of the analysis departed from the premise that international standards regarding human trafficking constitute an adequate threshold in terms of human rights. Thus, the analysis of domestic legislation and policies is conducted through assessing its alignment with international instruments in some of the studies.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction (the United States of America, Nigeria, Netherlands, Nigeria, Slovakia, Australia), or several jurisdictions (Colombia, Uganda, Afghanistan; Southeast Asia; Eastern Europe and Africa; South Asia). One study was not geographically tied, being international in scope.

Hypothesis 13. De-conflating sex work from sex trafficking will strengthen responses to preventing trafficking for sexual exploitation and extend protections to sex workers and trafficking victims

The importance of de-conflating sex work from sex trafficking to strengthen responses to preventing trafficking for sexual exploitation and extend protections to sex workers and trafficking victims was captured in 2 hypotheses across 2 studies assessed. Focusing on women, these studies highlighted that the conflation of sex work and sex trafficking leads to a narrow understanding of both, preventing appropriate research as well as prevention and protection measures. Moreover, it impacts law and policy making, leading to discriminatory migration laws that prevent women from travelling and laws on sex work that prevent women from reporting trafficking and other abuse. 1 study argued that it is crucial to understand sex workers’ varied experiences and to recognise them as well as their advocates as legitimate stakeholders in anti-trafficking work to address human rights violations they experience and to empower them to report and intervene in cases of human trafficking. 1 study found that prioritising an anti-trafficking perspective on sex work can lead to forms of worker re-classification and open up potential routes for sex workers to access labour rights. Considering a development-led approach to sex work, the study suggested that this is less likely to deliver justice for sex workers than alternative avenues for promoting women’s rights such as the CEDAW process.

1 hypothesis in this group was considered to have been proved, and 1 weakly proven in the study assessed.

All studies in this group were published in a peer-reviewed setting with academic authorship. 1 study was published in 2011 and 1 in 2019. 2 studies were qualitative studies; 1 with an observational research design.

1 study was framed in the global context; however a deeper exploration would have contributed to its validity and reliability. 1 study focused on South Africa. The hypotheses connected to the ‘survivor engagement and support’, ‘migration’, ‘gender’, and ‘social policy’ themes.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)
Valid	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	0(0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)

Hypothesis 14. De-criminalisation of sex work is crucial for the prevention of trafficking for sexual exploitation and the protection of sex workers

The importance to de-criminalising sex work for the prevention of trafficking for sexual exploitation and the protection of sex workers was captured in 1 hypothesis in 1 study. It found that criminalisation of sex work prevents sex workers from reporting trafficking and other forms of abuses which in turn prevents successful ending human trafficking. The study argued that it is crucial to understand sex workers' varied experiences and to recognise them as well as their advocates as legitimate stakeholders in anti-trafficking work to address human rights violations they experience and to empower them to report and intervene in cases of human trafficking.

The hypothesis was tested in a qualitative primary study with an observational research design involving interviews with members of national sex worker movements as well as current or former sex workers. The study was published in 2019 in a peer reviewed, academic setting.

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

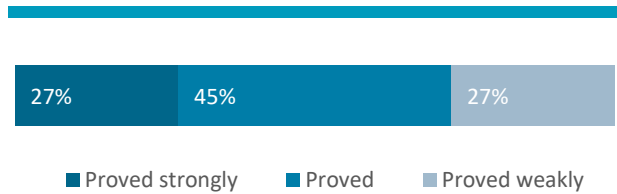
The study was geographically bound, with a focus on South Africa. It was at the intersection of 4 themes: 'survivor engagement', 'health policy and practice', 'migration' and 'gender'.

Hypothesis 15. Dismantling border controls and restrictive migration legislation is essential for improving migrant protection, particularly during times of crisis

The role of dismantling border controls and restrictive migration legislation in improving migrant protection was captured in 11 distinct hypotheses across 11 records assessed.

All records were published with 10 published in peer review settings, and 1 published in a non-peer review setting. 10 (91%) were published in peer-reviewed journals and authored by academics. 1 (9%) was published by an NGO. Publication dates extended from 2010-2019. The majority of hypotheses in this group related to the 'migration' theme (n=11).

5 related to 'criminal justice'. 2 each related to 'economic policy', 'supply chains', 'conflict', 'humanitarian contexts', and 'displacement'. 1 each related to 'international justice', 'survivor engagement and support', and 'social policy'.



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

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	4 (36%)
Secondary study	4 (36%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	3 (28%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	6 (55%)
Mixed	1 (9%)
Non-empirical	4 (36%)
Research design	
Observational	4 (36%)
Systematic Review	0 (0%)
N/A	7 (64%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

There was a near balance between primary, secondary, and conceptual studies. 4 of the studies involved primary data collection, and 4 were secondary studies. 3 studies were conceptual pieces. None of the studies adopted quantitative methods.

Legislation and policy was engaged with in all studies, often with a wide scope of secondary literature.

The majority of evidence supporting hypotheses were clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent. 1 (9%) study was found to lack a clear research framework, while 5 (45%) of studies were found to have a 'somewhat' clear research framework. 1 (9%) of studies was found to

lack transparency. 1 (9%) study was not context appropriate.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	5 (45%)	5 (45%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	7 (64%)	3 (27%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	8 (73%)	2 (18%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)
Valid	9 (82%)	2 (18%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	7 (64%)	4 (36%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	7 (64%)	4 (36%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

The findings across the studies proved the hypothesis positive. Current border controls and migration legislation were found to be too restrictive, leading to a lack of migrant protection. One study reflects this by describing the combining forces of pressures to both

control borders and manage trafficking. One study discussed a prosecution-led policy whereby services are only available to migrants once they put themselves at risk of being charged with immigration violations and held in detention. This is reflected in another study which emphasises the prioritisation of immigration controls over forced labour concerns. The consequence of increasingly restrictive borders was illustrated in another which found that measures attempting to reduce undocumented migration in fact increased risk of trafficking through more expensive and dangerous routes.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction: England, Thailand, Malaysia (2 studies), and the United Kingdom. 2 studies were global. For 1 study the geographic focus was unclear.

Resolving the issue was addressed in a number of the studies. A general consensus among the majority appears to be a need to facilitate legal immigration to ensure that it is easier and more affordable than illicit routes. This is with the aim of making trafficking less profitable and increasing methods of legitimate ways to obtain labour. One study points to enforcement measures on migration, asserting that those relying on criminalised migration mechanisms to fulfil mobility goals must be incorporated into current protection dialogues. Another study points to immigration policy solutions and temporary migration status for victims escaping forced labour, increased sanctioning of employers, improved access to information and ability to exercise rights. On the whole, studies advocate increasingly open borders for greater migration opportunities.

Hypothesis 16. Amending policy that restricts the foreign migration of women is essential for preventing irregular migration and trafficking of women and girls

The importance of amending policies that restrict the foreign migration of women as a means to prevent irregular migration and trafficking of women and girls was captured in 1 hypothesis across 1 study assessed. The study highlighted that patriarchal gender norms inform discriminatory migration laws that restrict women's travel, arguably to protect them from sexual exploitation. Narratives like these are present in government programmes and media information that conflate trafficking, people smuggling and irregular migration and focus on rescue from prostitution rather than realistic causes, prevention and protection through programmes that broadly tackle gender inequalities.

The hypothesis was considered to be proved.

The study was published in a peer-reviewed journal by academics in 2016. The study involved primary data collection through participant observation at a Nepalese NGO founded by and providing programming for returned migrant women. The study also collected 35 surveys administered to returned and departing women migrants. This was supplemented by more informal conversations with and shadowing of organisation staff. Secondary research was used to support the findings.

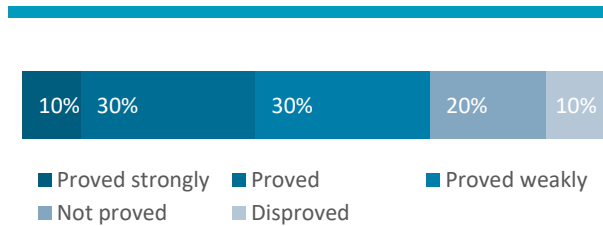
The study connected with the 'migration', 'social policy', and 'gender' themes.

The study was considered to have presented a clear research framework, and the underpinning evidence was assessed to be transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent.

Hypothesis 17. Adopting a human rights based approach is effective in preventing human trafficking and protecting victims and vulnerable persons

Tensions between crime-oriented and other approaches, and a human rights-based approach for preventing human trafficking and addressing vulnerabilities were captured in 10 distinct hypotheses across 10 records assessed.

All studies were published in peer-reviewed journals and authored by academics (10). Publication dates extended from 2012 to 2019. Hypotheses in this grouping were relatively homogeneous, with almost all connecting to the theme of 'migration' (9). 4 hypotheses connected directly to the theme of 'criminal justice', 4 to 'survivor engagement and support', and 1 each to 'international justice', 'conflict', 'humanitarian contexts', 'social policy' and 'gender'.



Claims under this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 1 case, proved in 3 cases, and proved weakly in 3 cases. Claims were considered not to have been proved in 2 cases, and to have been disproved in 1 case.

Study characteristics (claims)

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

4 of the studies involved primary data collection, and 4 were conceptual studies. 1 study was a secondary study, and 1 study used mixed methods. All records supplemented interviews with desk research, and one of them integrated participant observations from fieldwork in the analysis. 1 record relied on experience of practice, while 2 studies involved critical analysis of theoretical and normative frameworks.

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority considered to be clear or somewhat clear, transparent or somewhat transparent, context-appropriate, valid or somewhat valid, reliable or somewhat reliable, and cogent or somewhat cogent. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by supplementary desk research or literature review, strengthening the underpinning evidence. However, it should be noted that findings cannot be easily extrapolated to other contexts because they were heavily reliant on national legislative frameworks. There was only one study with clear survivor engagement.

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority considered to be clear or somewhat clear, transparent or somewhat transparent, context-appropriate, valid or somewhat valid, reliable or somewhat reliable, and cogent or somewhat cogent.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

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

Rather than focusing on the effectiveness of a human rights-based approach to prevent human trafficking, all studies focused on arguing that this approach reduces vulnerability of victims of trafficking, without making explicit or demonstrating that a lesser vulnerability will limit or eliminate the risk of being trafficked or re-trafficked.

The underlying assumption of all the

studies is that migration-centred approach is detrimental to the rights of survivors and victims of trafficking. However, when justifying the methodology used on the studies involving interviews, only one of the records is critically engaged with data gathering methods and with the research design, making the findings difficult to contrast in the remaining cases.

Regarding the existing international standards posed by either the UN Palermo Protocol or the 2011 European Union Anti-Trafficking Directive, 3 studies used them as a framework to assess domestic legislation and to establish if a human rights-based approach had been adopted by the States. By contrast, 3 records argued that a genuine human rights based approach in national legislation is hindered by either how the international standards are designed or because these standards collide with other principles underpinning conflicting regulatory frameworks. Thus, while one study proposes the development of further legal instruments within the human rights regime for complementing the criminal law approach of the UN Palermo Protocol, 2 records emphasise that the problem lies in the collision of regulatory frameworks with conflicting principles, namely migration law versus anti-trafficking law, and the fact that former is favoured over the latter.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with 2 adopting a global perspective. Most of the studies focused on a single jurisdiction: England, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Democratic Republic of the Congo, or Turkey. 1 study looked at Latin America and the Caribbean.

Hypothesis 18. Gender-based approaches are effective in mitigating gender-based violence and trafficking

The effectiveness of gender-based approaches in mitigating gender-based violence and trafficking was captured in 2 distinct hypotheses across 2 records assessed.

The 2 studies assessed in this group were published, with 2 (100%) published in peer-reviewed journals and authored by academics. Publication dates extended from 2013 to 2016. Hypotheses in this grouping were relatively diverse, with all connecting to the theme of 'gender', and 1 each to 'survivor engagement and support', 'development policy', 'humanitarian contexts', and 'social policy'. 1 to 'displacement' and 1 to 'conflict'.

100%

■ Proved

Claims under this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved in both cases. The hypothesis was not considered to have been disproved in any cases.

The hypotheses in this grouping were tested through secondary studies (n=2). 1 was a qualitative study of academic literature, policies and laws. And 1 was a quantitative quasi-experimental research design using the new 3P Anti-trafficking Policy Index. The 2 studies used literature reviews based on documents and reports provided by humanitarian agencies, international and local organisations and NGOs as well as media reports as the basis for a case study.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	0 (0%)
Secondary study	2 (100%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	1 (50%)
Qualitative	1 (50%)
Mixed	0 (0%)
Non-empirical	0 (0%)
Research design	
Quasi-experimental	0 (0%)
Observational	0 (0%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
N/A	2 (100%)
Programme or project evaluation	0 (0%)

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis. The majority of studies was also considered context-appropriate, somewhat valid, reliable or somewhat reliable and cogent. All studies combined evidence from multiple international and local sources to produce a stronger evidentiary foundation for conclusions drawn.

The studies identified women and girls as groups vulnerable to gender-based violence and human trafficking. The studies stressed that their everyday vulnerability is exacerbated in times of disaster and conflict. Consequently, it is crucial to not only address the disaster- or conflict-related risks but to tackle the root causes of gender inequality to mitigate gender-based violence and trafficking.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

The studies emphasised that this necessitates context-sensitive action by governments, civil society, international and community-based organisations. Social protection programmes such as cash transfer programmes can be effective, especially if they specifically target women, include gender-related community awareness activities and inter-sectoral coordination to link complementary services.

Geographic distribution

1 study focused on Nepal. 1 study was a global study, looking at 175 countries.

In the event of disaster, studies highlighted the crucial role of women as first responders and humanitarian and frontline workers and stressed the need for the humanitarian community, governments and policymakers to better understand women's grassroots leadership. National authorities and the humanitarian and development sectors also have a role to play in mitigating the disruption and trauma girls suffer during displacement. This includes continuously working with the affected population to intervene at the onset of humanitarian crises to protect their human rights. It also includes setting up protection monitoring systems that include coordination between protection monitors, schools, health services and psychosocial workers, and the establishment of referral mechanisms that respect confidentiality and target the specific issues girls face. Beyond the immediate disaster, the study again emphasises the need to work to advance social, political and economic equality in the longer term. All these measures must be based on reliable and comprehensive data, disaggregated by sex and age, and covering internally displaced persons in camps and those living with host communities. Data on separated and unaccompanied children is needed to identify those most likely to suffer abuse.

Hypothesis 19. A human security approach to understanding migration is effective in developing policy to reduce trafficking in persons

The effectiveness of a human security approach to understanding migration in developing anti-trafficking policies was captured in 2 hypotheses across 2 studies assessed. Both studies argued for a human security approach to irregular migration. 1 study found a human security approach to be more effective than narrow criminal justice or individualistic human rights perspectives that collide with notions of state sovereignty. It argued that the effectiveness of a human security approach lies in it attaching urgency to a problem that has great impact on peoples’ lives. Additionally, the other study argued that a human security approach can elucidate and better address the root causes and risks associated with the forced displacement and trafficking in people. Traditional security approaches, in comparison, frame involuntary human migration and trafficking as a threat to national security and propose policy remedies that focus on strict border control or restrictive migration policies and emphasise defence spending rather than social development and protection of marginalised groups.

The hypothesis was considered to be proved in both studies, with 1 considered to have been proved, and the other proved weakly.

Both studies underpinning this hypothesis were published in peer-reviewed settings and authored by academics. 1 study was published in 2015, and 1 in 2018.

1 study involved primary data collection. The study adopted an observational design and was mostly conceptual in its analysis and approach, while the other was a non-empirical theoretical or conceptual study. The primary study involved field research including interviews with 50 male and female victims of different forms of human trafficking as well as with 25 stakeholders, including representatives of relevant government agencies and nongovernmental organisations. The field research is supported by secondary desk-based research drawing on interdisciplinary literature, policies and practices on trafficking and forced migration in Pakistan and other countries. The primary study engages with conservative, liberal, critical and securitisation perspectives on migration and draws on recent examples from East Asia.

1 study focused specifically on Pakistan and illustrated its relevance in other contexts. 1 study focused on North Korea, Cambodia, Bangladesh and Japan. Both studies connected to the ‘migration’ theme. 1 study also related to the ‘survivor engagement’ and ‘gender’ themes and 1 to ‘criminal justice’, ‘development’ and ‘displacement’.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)

Hypothesis 20. A holistic approach to development – that incorporates the rule of law and community-based action - is essential for reducing crime in conflict areas

The importance of a holistic approach to development that incorporates the rule of law and community-based action for reducing crime in conflict areas was captured in 3 hypotheses across 3 studies.

1 study was written by an academic and published in a peer-review journal. 1 study was published by an NGO. 1 study was published by an intergovernmental organisation.

2 studies were secondary studies, and 1 study was a mixed methods study. The studies all connected to the 'conflict' theme. 2 connected to the 'displacement theme' and to 1 each of the 'criminal justice', and 'humanitarian contexts' themes.

The studies suggested that entry strategies that may help tackle transnational organised crime and reduce its impact on fragile and conflict-affected states include: co-operation and shared responsibility along the supply chain; concurrent macro and micro level development; combined top-down/bottom-up approach to development; better training and research to support peace operations; and standardising definitions and information across the supply chains. For them to be effective, they need to be based on solid empirical evidence and local realities and respect human rights. Additionally, relevant United Nations agencies need to develop and follow a consolidated strategic approach and make investment in governance a policy priority. International efforts can be combined with a bottom-up approach to take into account all actors involved in policy-making processes.

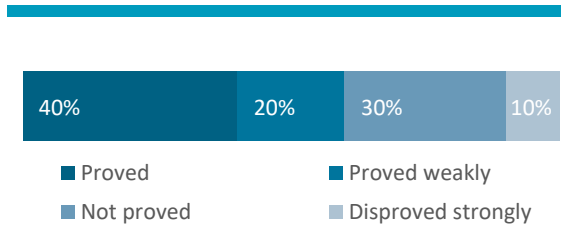
The hypothesis was considered to have been proved in 1 study, and proved weakly in 2 studies, with the underpinning evidence assessed as clear, context-appropriate and cogent, and somewhat transparent, valid and reliable.

The studies were geographically diverse. 1 study focused on Syria, Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. 1 study considered Spain, Italy, US, Greece, Australia, Senegal, Mauritania, Cape Verde, Gambia, Libya. And 1 study discussed El Salvador, Kenya and Tajikistan.

Hypothesis 21. A strengthened response to preventing modern slavery requires that agencies collaborate both within States and internationally

The need for State and non-State agencies to collaborate – both within States and internationally – for a strengthened response to preventing modern slavery and supporting survivors was captured in 10 distinct hypotheses across 10 records accessed.

All studies were published, with 7 (70%) published in peer-reviewed journals. 1 study (10%) was published by an NGO. 2 studies (20%) were published by intergovernmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2020. Hypotheses within this group typically related to the 'migration' theme, although 4 hypotheses also connected the 'social policy' theme, and 3 to the 'survivor engagement and support' theme. 2 connected to the 'criminal justice' theme, 2 to the 'international justice' theme, and 2 to 'health policy and practice'.



Claims under this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved in 4 cases, proved weakly in 2 cases, and not proved in 3 cases. The hypothesis was also considered to have been disproved strongly in 1 case.

Study characteristics (claims)

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

slavery and related issues.

Studies were equally balanced across primary and secondary studies. 4 (40%) of the studies involved primary data collection methods, and 5 (50%) were secondary studies. 1 study (10%) was a theoretical or conceptual piece.

Interviews were the most commonly utilised data collection method, with 4 studies utilising this method of data collection. Of the studies involving interviews, 2 involved face to face or phone interviews with survivors and vulnerable persons, and 2 involved interviews with representatives of organisations working on migration, modern slavery and related issues. One study used a survey methodology to survey 100 construction companies in the United Arab Emirates. Two studies involved reviews of legislation and policies on modern

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

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

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be fairly strong, with the majority of hypotheses recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid and reliable; however, 2 records had an unclear research framework.

Evidence underpinning the hypotheses was considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent in the majority of 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. Authors drew on international literature discussing the challenges facing agencies that work on modern slavery issues in terms of cross-border collaboration, and the consequences of the failure to collaborate.

These studies traversed various forms of exploitation, and highlight the need for agencies to collaborate, both within nation States, and in cross-border contexts, on modern slavery issues, particularly the identification and repatriation of survivors.

The lack of coordination of relevant State agencies on the modern slavery issue – within States, and in cross-border settings – significantly impedes the identification, repatriation, and reintegration of survivors. Neighbouring States have different identification tools, and this impedes the identification of victims; those survivors who are not formally identified are often denied support in the destination country. A lack of operational procedures between States means that repatriations are often very slow, with survivors left in shelters in the destination country for months while the destination and country of origin governments organise the repatriation of the survivor. A lack of Memoranda of Understanding, or Standard Operating Procedures greatly exacerbates the situation. The lack of international collaboration further impedes the implementation of activities and efforts to combat modern slavery. For example, one article discusses ASEAN, and suggests that the relative success of ASEAN in establishing policies at high level meetings has not been followed with success in policy implementation. This is reportedly because of a lack of commitment on the part of Member States to implement the agreed policies, and a lack of coordination between the Member States. A lack of coordination also impedes the identification and rescue of migrants in distress. One report discusses the challenges faced by EU countries in coordinating EU-wide identification, support and repatriation of migrants.

Good practice examples are shared. For example, Cambodia's National Committee for Counter Trafficking brings together stakeholders across government agencies, as well as NGO and IGO partners, to more effectively coordinate anti-slavery efforts and implement the National Plan of Action to address trafficking in persons. National Committees provide a good practice example of the impact that can be achieved when all the various stakeholders are brought together to use their strengths and resources to address the modern slavery issue through strategic collaboration.

Modern slavery is a global issue that cannot be successfully combated by one State, or by any individual agency within a nation State. The issue requires ongoing collaboration within States, and internationally. The development of Memoranda of Understanding and Standard Operating Procedures for cross-border collaboration on modern slavery will greatly improve the current uncoordinated response to modern slavery and migration issues. Cross-border agreement on the procedures for identifying and supporting

Geographic distribution

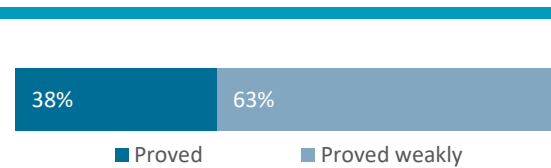
Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on multiple regions. 5 records focused on only one jurisdiction (Cambodia, Australia, The United States, Mexico, Nepal). All other articles and reports focused on regions, for example Europe, Asia, Africa, the Gulf region, or modern slavery globally.

vulnerable persons and survivors is further essential for responding to crises, such as conflict or natural disasters that lead to mass human displacement and require a coordinated regional response to supporting vulnerable persons on the move.

Hypothesis 22. Effective prevention of modern slavery requires that States commit additional financial and human resources to anti-slavery programming

The need for States to commit additional financial and human resources to anti-slavery programming was captured in 8 distinct hypotheses across 8 records accessed.

All studies were published, with 6 (75%) published in peer-reviewed journals, and 2 (25%) published by NGOs. Publication dates extended from 2012 to 2020. 3 hypotheses within this group connected to the 'criminal justice', and 'migration' themes. 2 connected to the 'humanitarian contexts' theme. 1 each connected to 'international justice', 'economic policy', 'development', 'conflict', 'displacement', 'social policy', 'gender', and 'climate' themes.



Claims under this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved in 3 cases, and proved weakly in 5 cases. The hypothesis was not considered to have been disproved in any cases.

Study characteristics (claims)

Study type	
Primary study	2 (25%)
Secondary study	4 (50%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	2 (25%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	5 (63%)
Non-empirical	3 (37%)
Research design	
Observational	2 (25%)
Experimental	0 (0%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
N/A	6 (75%)
Programme or project evaluation	0 (0%)

2 studies (25%) were primary studies, 4 studies (50%) were secondary studies, and 2 studies (25%) were theoretical or conceptual pieces.

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

literature discussing the challenges survivors and vulnerable persons, and the need for State and non-State agencies to dedicate more human and financial resources to combating modern slavery and protecting survivors and vulnerable persons.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

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

Trafficking in persons is a crime that is nearly always driven by the desire of perpetrators to make financial gain from the exploitation of others. More often than not, victims are recruited from poor countries, and exploited in wealthy countries where the profits are

high. Traffickers are simply able to fish from a pool of vulnerable migrants to find victims. A strengthened response to preventing modern slavery requires that States, as well as non-State agencies, dedicate increased human and financial resources to the fight against trafficking in persons.

Combating modern slavery requires significant human and financial

resources. As the crime affects nearly every country in the world, and agencies involved in preventing and combating trafficking include police, immigration and border control agencies, social welfare agencies, and many others, the fight against trafficking requires committed resources and coordination between concerned agencies.

An improved response to combating modern slavery requires that every suspected trafficking case receives a thorough investigation, involving cross-border police cooperation in trafficking cases spanning multiple countries. Trafficked persons require a range of support services, including accommodation, psychosocial care, education, skills training, and ongoing reintegration support. Trafficked persons should also have access to free legal aid, and receive compensation. Community outreach should be enhanced so that vulnerable persons are identified before they are exploited. Social workers should reach the most rural areas of countries to provide support to entire families, including children. Resources need to be set aside to combat corruption related to trafficking in persons crimes. Resources are also needed to facilitate cross-border cooperation, and the design of an array of policies and programs that serve to combat modern slavery.

One publication discusses the acute situation of vulnerable persons during the Covid-19 pandemic. The pandemic highlights the challenges associated with the lack of resources available to support vulnerable persons, especially migrants, during a health crisis. During the pandemic, millions of migrant workers have been left stranded, with no income, increasing levels of debt, and lack of access to support services. The pandemic has highlighted the need for States to dedicate additional resources to supporting vulnerable adults and children during the crisis, both in the immediate and long term. Similarly to the current health crisis, during conflict, and natural and man-made disasters, increased financial and human resources are needed to provide support to all vulnerable persons in order to prevent exploitation and trafficking in persons.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse. 4 records focused on only one jurisdiction (Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal). The other articles and reports focused on modern slavery regionally (Southeast Asia; and Africa and the Middle East) or globally.

Hypothesis 23. Capitalising on the use of technology during disasters is effective in protecting vulnerable persons and coordinating relief efforts

The value of using technology during crises to protect vulnerable persons and prevent trafficking in persons was captured in 1 hypothesis across 1 record assessed. The study emphasised the importance of using social media and technology to coordinate disaster relief efforts and support vulnerable persons during crises.

The hypothesis was considered to have been proved.

The study was published in a peer-review journal and authored by academics in 2016. The study focused on Nepal. The study connected to the 'survivor engagement and support', 'development', 'humanitarian contexts', 'social policy', and 'gender' themes.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat
Clear research framework	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Transparent	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Context-appropriate	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
Valid	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Reliable	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Cogent	0 (0%)	1 (100%)

Hypothesis 24. A strengthened response to trafficking in persons requires that frontline staff receive regular training on identifying and protecting victims and investigating trafficking crimes

The need for frontline staff to receive regular training on identifying and protecting victims and investigating trafficking crimes was captured in 3 hypotheses across 3 records assessed. These studies emphasised the need of regular and ongoing training in counter-trafficking efforts broadly, using simulation exercises in counter-trafficking training, focusing training efforts on the identification of trafficking victims, and adapting training to specific situations, such as identifying vulnerable persons during crises.

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, with 2 published in peer reviewed journals and authored by academics, and 1 NGO report. Studies were published in 2014, 2019, and 2020. 1 study was a primary study, 1 was a secondary study, and 1 was a theoretical/conceptual study.

Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis (claims)

	Yes	Somewhat
Clear research framework	2 (63%)	1 (37%)
Transparent	1 (37%)	2 (63%)
Context-appropriate	2 (67%)	1 (37%)
Valid	2 (67%)	1 (37%)
Reliable	2 (63%)	1 (37%)
Cogent	1 (37%)	2 (63%)

The studies each focused on 1 jurisdiction: The United Kingdom, the United States, and Italy. Studies connected to the themes of 'survivor engagement and support', 'health policy and practice', 'displacement', and 'migration'.

4 Conclusion

There is a high level of consensus in the crisis-related literature that vulnerability to modern slavery is significantly increased during times of crisis. Crisis situations can exacerbate existing vulnerabilities to slavery, as well as cause new forms of exploitation to emerge. Displacement and migration are key aspects of crisis situations. In crisis situations, people often have no choice but to migrate in order to survive. However, during crisis situations, processes to identify and support vulnerable persons are often weak as key agencies struggle to operate in conflict or disaster situations.

There is a strong body of evidence on what works in responding to modern slavery during times of crisis. The evidence suggests that legal frameworks and policy are important. The rights of persons displaced due to crises must be upheld – to achieve this, States must ratify key conventions and protocols, and align national legislation pertaining to migration and trafficking with key international instruments. Restrictive immigration legislation should be amended so that displaced persons and migrants are not classified as ‘illegal’ migrants who have committed immigration offences for crossing a national border in search of safety. Collaboration during crises is key to preventing modern slavery. Government, non-government, and inter-governmental organisations need to form partnerships for a strengthened response to protecting vulnerable persons during times of crisis. Sufficient human and financial resources need to be set aside. Efforts must be expanded to identify vulnerable persons and provide them with support – health care, education, psychosocial care, and employment and livelihood opportunities – to decrease their vulnerability to trafficking. Technology should be capitalised on to coordinate responses during crisis situations. Survivors should receive long-term, holistic reintegration support.

Annex 1. Search strategy

4.1 Table 1. Term harvesting template

Initial search term	Term harvesting
Modern slavery	Slavery; antislavery; modern slavery; contemporary slavery; contemporary forms of slavery Servitude; involuntary servitude Forced labour; compulsory labour; forced work; coerced 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; trafficking in persons; trafficking in human beings; trafficking in people; sex trafficking; labour trafficking Worst forms of child labour; child exploitation Forced marriage; servile marriage
Conflict	War; warfare; combat; armed combat; armed conflict
Humanitarian contexts	Conflict zones; armed conflict; war zones; combat zones; civil war; international conflict; domestic conflict Natural disasters; environmental disasters; environmental events; Emergencies; complex emergencies Political emergencies; political conflict
Displacement	Internal displacement; domestic displacement; domestic movements
Migration	Cross-border migration; international migration; domestic migration; internal migration Regular migration; legal migration; irregular migration; illegal migration; clandestine migration; migrant smuggling Asylum seeking; seeking refugee Forced migration Urban-rural migration

4.2 Table 2. Search tracking template with sample entries

Search #	Search string	Source	Yield	# Added	Reason for discounting	Date	Reviewer
2	("displacement") and ("slavery")	Google	22200	1	Too many results, first 30 reviewed and search terms narrowed	03/07/2020	MV
3	("displacement") and ("modern slavery")	Google	12500	6	Too many results, first 30 reviewed and search terms narrowed	03/07/2020	MV
4	("internal displacement") and ("modern slavery")	Google	228	9	Results reviewed, irrelevant results excluded	03/07/2020	MV
...
177	("modern slavery" OR "human trafficking") AND ("natural" OR "environmental") AND ("emergency" OR "disaster")	NUSearch	1150	1	Too many irrelevant results, first 30 reviewed and search terms refined	7/21/2020	SD
178	("modern slavery" OR "human trafficking") AND ("natural" OR "environmental") AND ("emergency" OR "disaster") AND ("policy")	NUSearch	902	0	Yields the same results, first 30 reviewed and search terms refined	7/21/2020	SD
179	("modern slavery" OR "human trafficking") AND ("natural" OR "environmental") AND ("emergency" OR "disaster") AND ("policy" OR "national policy" OR "international policy" OR "intranational policy")	NUSearch	902	0	Yields the same results, first 30 reviewed and search terms refined	7/21/2020	SD
180	("antislavery" OR "anti-trafficking") AND ("natural disasters" OR "environmental disasters")	NUSearch	93	4	Irrelevant results excluded	7/23/2020	SD

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	Hypothesis or claim tested	Free text
2.2	Finding on hypothesis	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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