

What works to end modern slavery?

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

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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 the context of Markets.

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 Markets, by: (1) collecting and collating existing evidence on what works; (2) identifying the range of claims 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:

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

Markets in this context is understood as encompassing economic policy, trade policy, financial policy, development policy, and supply chains. The study further considers additional cross-cutting themes (applicable in the context of Markets, but also in the parallel contexts of Justice and Crisis), 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 Markets. 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 Markets.

1.2. Summary of findings

The past decade has experienced a boom in antislavery activity, with increasing visibility, coordination, and funding in the sector. In this period, the role of private actors—corporations, employers, financial institutions—in combatting modern slavery has increasingly been brought into light, and in some cases embedded in the law. In 2011, the California Transparency in Supply Chains Act signalled a change in the way human trafficking and modern slavery in corporate supply chains would be dealt with, followed in 2015 by section 54 of the United Kingdom's Modern Slavery Act, in 2017 by France's Duty of Vigilance law, in 2018 by Australia's Modern Slavery Act, and in 2019 by the Dutch Child

Labour Due Diligence Law.¹ At the same time, the international community firmly embedded efforts to address modern slavery within the rubric of development, not only in SDG target 8.7, but in 5.3 (addressing child, early, and forced marriage), 8.5 (seeking to secure decent work), 8.8. (protecting labour rights), and 16.2 (addressing abuse, exploitation, trafficking, and all forms of violence against children), and the many other targets that intersect in the experiences of victims and survivors of modern slavery. This in conjunction with the development and endorsement of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights in 2011, and increasing global engagement with this framework. The steady increase in the number of studies assessed in the review period over time (see [Temporal trends](#)) move alongside these developments and speak to the growing international interest and attention on the intersections between markets and modern slavery.

The relative recency of attention on the nexus between these two areas, and the new framework within which they are connected, has opened new avenues of enquiry in the antislavery space, and provided the opportunity for significant diversification of the field. Yet, at the same time, this means that the evidence base underpinning conclusions on what works is relatively sparse. Few studies included in this review involved direct engagement with private sector organisations, creating a risk that these studies fail to accurately capture the nuances and dynamics of the current situation in private sector contexts, and what might be possible in the future. While a few studies included interviews with private firms, direct engagement and collaboration in research in this area is certainly an area for further development. Further under-represented areas include investigation of how private actors could consider links between negative environmental and social impacts occurring in their supply chains.

Only a small proportion of records assessed in this study addressed how markets, and market forces, can (and should) be called upon to provide remediation to victims. This leaves little available evidence of best practice and fails to provide a solid-foundation for advocacy in this area. This was connected to a lack of literature considering the need for businesses to get closer to worker voice and provide effective grievance mechanisms, leaving little interrogation of the role of participatory processes in supporting

Note on the presentation of evidence

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

For each individual record assessed in this study, specific claims about what works to address modern slavery in the context of Markets were identified. In some cases, a single claim was identified for a record. In others, several claims were drawn from a record (with the highest number of claims identified in a single source being 7).

These claims were grouped through inductive synthesis, producing the 15 hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery presented in this report. Claims grouped within a hypothesis all relate directly to the argument presented, in some cases mirroring the hypothesis as constructed, and in others presenting a more specific claim that nonetheless supports (or challenges) the broader hypothesis. Although discrete claims drawn from the records assessed also represent hypotheses on what works within the context of their studies, they are labelled separately throughout this report for clarity.

Discussion moves between these units depending on the variable under consideration. This is signalled in the text in each case. Where the text refers to 'records', 'studies', 'sources' or 'reports', the unit of analysis is the record taken as a whole. Where the text refers to 'claims', the unit of analysis is the 131 discrete claims drawn from the records assessed. Where the discussion analyses 'hypotheses', the unit of analysis is the broader argument about what works, constructed from the identified claims.

¹ Prior developments should also be noted, however, including the creation of the 'Dirty List' in Brazil in 2004 (MTE Decree No. 540/2004).

prevention and effective responses. Further research (and practice) is therefore required into avenues for the empowerment of vulnerable and exploited workers within market structures.

Overall, there is substantial room for growth and development in strengthening the underpinning evidence base for effective measures to address modern slavery in the context of Markets. Yet, the positive trajectory in international attention on the intersection between these two areas provides an opportunity for this strengthening. Maintaining this momentum should be a focus for those operating at the intersection between markets and modern slavery, but with a deeper underlying commitment to ensuring that efforts adopted are evidence-based and effective at addressing modern slavery and not merely at maintaining corporate reputations.

1.3. Hypotheses

This review identified 15 distinct hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery in the context of Markets. 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 15 hypotheses concerning what works to address modern slavery in the context of Markets identified in this review are:

Hypothesis 1. Open trade across borders increases economic opportunities and stability, resulting in a decrease in modern slavery and child labour

Hypothesis 2. Cooperation with civil society organisations improves business efforts to address forced labour and human trafficking in their business operations

Hypothesis 3. Collaboration with Government improves private sector efforts to eradicate forced labour and human trafficking

Hypothesis 4. Ultimate buying firms working in collaboration with other buyers and suppliers in their supply chains improves the effectiveness of efforts to reduce forced labour and human trafficking in supply chains

Hypothesis 5. Government enforced, mandatory corporate reporting on modern slavery helps to tackle modern slavery

Hypothesis 6. Increased corporate liability provisions and/or financial penalties or incentives improve the private sector's engagement in anti-slavery activity

Hypothesis 7. Corporate disclosure requirements on supply chains and supply chain risk are effective in improving the private sector's approach to tackling modern slavery

Hypothesis 8. Access to fair employment in the labour market and/or related skills training is effective in preventing forced labour and human trafficking or reducing the risk of survivors being re-trafficked

Hypothesis 9. There is a positive relationship between the economic health of a state and the reduction/prevention of modern slavery

Hypothesis 10. Data on the scale of forced labour and human trafficking and the effectiveness of existing interventions would improve private sector action on forced labour and human trafficking

- Hypothesis 11.** Increased state regulation of the labour market would help eliminate forced labour and human trafficking
- Hypothesis 12.** Firms at the top of a supply chain applying more scrutiny to, and taking responsibility for, the recruitment practices within their produce/ services/ supply chains would help reduce risks of modern slavery down the supply chain
- Hypothesis 13.** Grievance mechanisms to identify modern slavery when it occurs and compensation initiatives to remediate workers as a result (in addition to prevention policies) support holistic efforts to address modern slavery in the workplace
- Hypothesis 14.** Engagement of Union/Worker Associations and/or an increased focus on worker voice mechanisms result in better identification and prevention of modern slavery in the workplace
- Hypothesis 15.** Treating modern slavery and child labour as issues in silo from other socio-economic issues risks causing unintended negative consequences upon other socio-economic issues and does not tackle the issue in a sustainable way

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.² 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.³

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)⁴ of records varied across the body of evidence collected. However, no records were excluded for reasons of quality.⁵ 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.⁶ 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](#),

² 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.

³ Ibid.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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.

⁶ A full list of databases accessed through NUSearch can be found at <<https://nusearch.nottingham.ac.uk/primo-explore/dbsearch?vid=44NOTUK>>.

[Table 2. Search tracking template with sample entries](#)). Where search strings yielded high returns (>300 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 46 Boolean searches were conducted, returning a total yield of 106,246. Of these, 1,882 records were screened for inclusion, and a total of 439 relevant records collected.

Manual and reference list searching was used to complement this search strategy. A list of key sources was established *a priori* to be searched manually in their entirety for relevant records. Yields from manual searches, and where necessary key search terms used to refine the 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 258 records were collected from manual and reference searching.

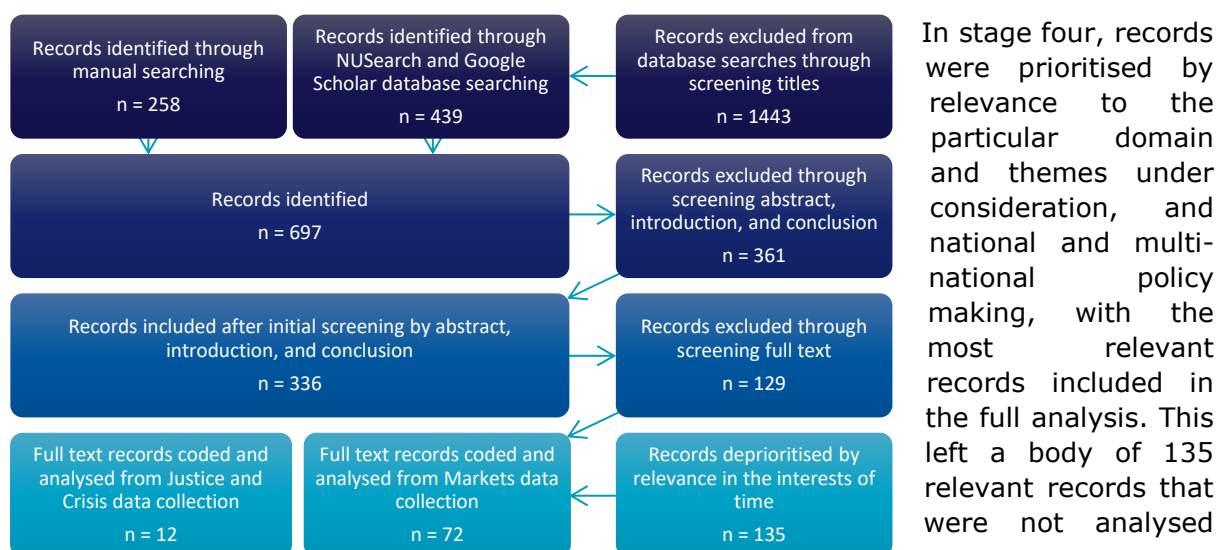
2.2. Literature selection

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

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

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

Figure 1. Screening and review process⁷



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

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

Justifications for exclusion were recorded throughout the review process.

2.3. Extracting data

Full-text analysis was conducted on all records that satisfied the inclusion criteria (total 84 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).⁸ This coding matrix collected both qualitative and quantitative data, and enabled qualitative information to be transformed into quantitative data for quantitative analysis (quantitising).⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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.¹²

In this stage, the research team identified the core claims relevant to the study being tested in each record. Relevance to the study in this case required that these claims should be claims about what works to address modern slavery in the context of Markets. These claims were framed inductively, drawn from the records without prescription as to content, beyond the requirement that these be relevant to the core research question and domain. These claims served as the primary unit of analysis in the coding matrix, with all other variables being coded against particular claims rather than the record as a whole. They also served as the primary unit of qualitative analysis, recognising the core objective of the study to determine the current state of evidence on what works to address modern slavery at the national and multinational policy levels in the domain of Markets. Each claim 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 extracted and summarised, and preliminary critical analysis of records conducted independently, considering: (1) claims tested in the record; (2) testing methods; (3)

⁸ 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 2.

⁹ Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, above n 8. See also Sandelowski et al, above n 2.

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ See RE Slavin, 'Best Evidence Synthesis: And Intelligent Alternative to Meta-Analysis' (1995) 48 *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology* 9.

¹² 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>>.

findings on claims; (4) strengths and shortcomings of evidence and methods in relation to specific claims; and (5) strengths, shortcomings, and features of the record taken as a whole. This involved the transformation of quantitative findings into qualitative form (qualitising)¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

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

Quantitative coding was used to underpin evidence mapping (see [Mapping the evidence base](#)), including basic quantitative analysis and descriptive statistics. This coding also supported mapping of sub-groupings of evidence by claim 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 claims identified, coding manually in Excel until saturation point was reached. On the basis of these codes, studies were clustered into hypothesis groupings, with a more general categorical hypothesis created that described the discrete claims included in the group. These groupings formed the basis of critical thematic analysis, considering strengths, weaknesses, variation, and trends in hypotheses. This included consideration of variation between quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, and non-empirical studies within hypotheses, as well as mixed methods analysis of the evidence base, to avoid the risk noted by Rolfe in the context of mixed research syntheses of erasing difference between qualitative and quantitative methods,¹⁶ through the 'one-way assimilation of qualitative data into quantitative data'.¹⁷

¹³ Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, above n 8. See also Sandelowski et al, above n 2.

¹⁴ This reflects the underpinning assumptions of integrated mixed research syntheses noted by Sandelowski et al., above n 2, 36. note that the integrated design is most appropriate when

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ G Rolfe, 'Faking a Difference: Evidence-Based Nursing and the Illusion of Diversity' (2002) 22(1) *Nurse Education Today* 3.

¹⁷ Sandelowski et al, above n 2, 33.

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 135 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 Markets.

The time and resource constraints set for the study necessitated records being analysed and coded by a single research team member, rather than the double-blind coding that would have provided the most solid foundation to support conclusions drawn on the evidence. Given the subjective nature of the process of constructing claims from records, as well as decisions on the relevant data extracted from these records, this creates risk of analysis and findings being skewed on the basis of differences between reviewers. Constructing claims from records requires reviewers to exercise a significant level of subjective judgement, identifying the claims advanced in the piece that are tested through the marshalling of evidence. Coding these claims against measures of evidentiary quality also involves subjective judgement.

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, deviation between reviewers was observed in those entries subject to quality assurance despite the guidelines provided. In particular, the construction of claims from records was noted to be a particularly difficult to standardise, with the potential for two reviewers to construct significantly different claims from the same record. Further review and analysis is therefore 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'.¹⁸ Given the constraints and parameters of this review, the interrogation of underlying paradigms and assumptions of

¹⁸ 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.

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.

1. Mapping the evidence base

84 records were assessed and coded in this study. Of these, 59 (70%) were published in a peer reviewed context, and 25 (30%) in a non-peer reviewed setting. 4 records (5%) were programme or project evaluation reports. From these 84 records, 131 distinct claims about what works to address modern slavery in the context of Markets were identified.

1.1. Temporal trends

In line with the parameters set for the research inquiry, all records assessed were published (or completed) in the period from 01 January 2010 to 01 July 2020. The highest number of records were analysed from the 2018 year, with 15 records, while the lowest frequency occurs in 2011, with 2 records coded. The study covered only 6 months of 2020, with 12 records assessed in this period. The number of records considered in the study increased steadily from 2011 onwards (although with a slight dip in 2019), indicating increased research and consideration of the intersections between markets and modern slavery. 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.

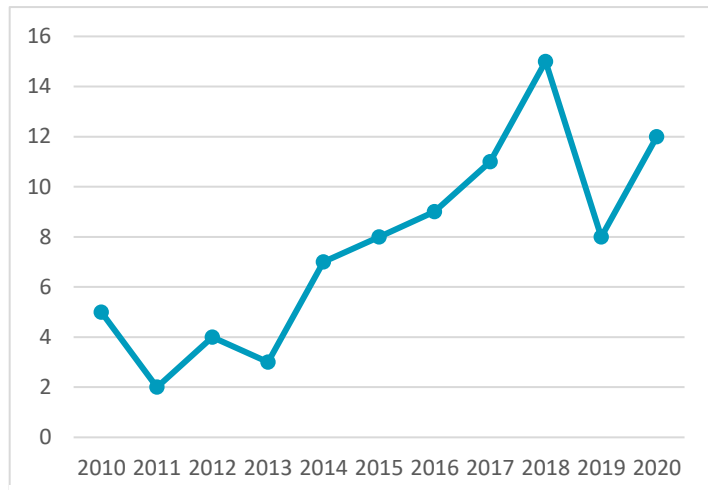
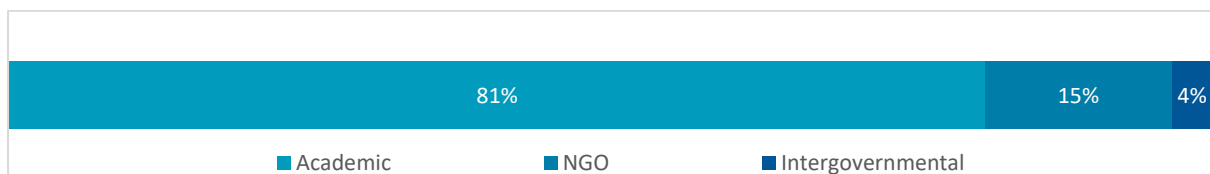


Figure 2. Frequency of coded records by year of publication or completion

1.2. Authorship

The majority of records assessed (81%) were academic publications, although records collected in stage 2 were drawn from a variety of sources. 15% of records were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 4% by intergovernmental organisations.

Figure 3. Distribution of records by authorship

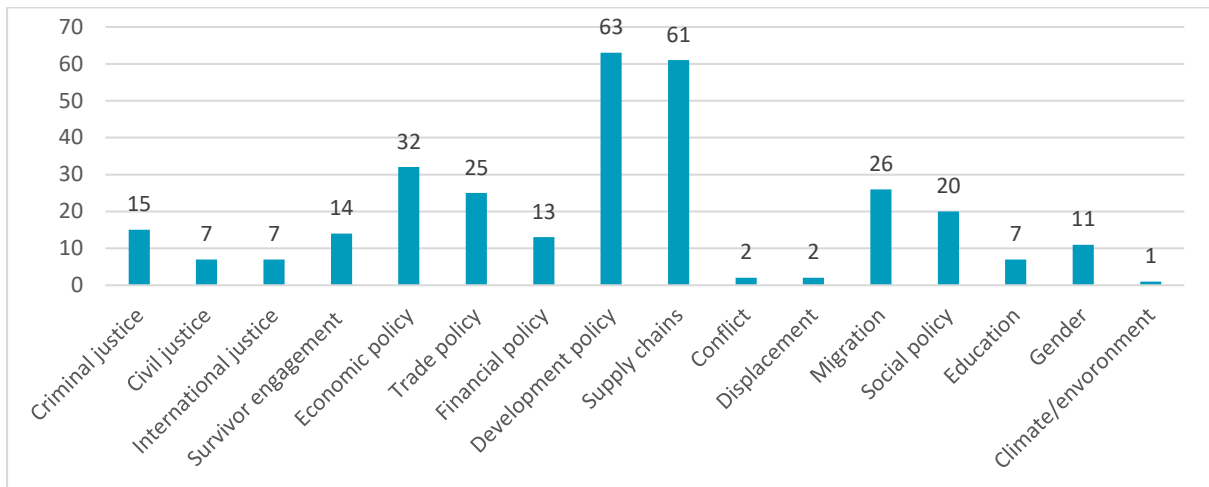


1.3. Domains and themes

Claims assessed in this study traversed all five of the pre-defined Markets themes, as well as linking to cross-cutting themes of social policy, gender, education, and climate/environment. Claims also intersected with themes under consideration in the parallel Justice and Crisis reviews, most notably connecting to the migration, criminal justice, and survivor engagement and support themes. Development policy and supply chains were the themes identified most often by a significant margin, with 63 and 61 claims assessed to be relevant to these themes respectively (48% and 47%). This was followed by economic policy, which was considered to relate to 33 claims (25%). Claims were identified in relation to all of the themes identified across the three parallel reviews,

with 2 exceptions: no claims relevant to the context of Markets were identified as related to the Justice theme of health policy and practice, or the Crisis theme of humanitarian contexts.

Figure 4. Number of claims relevant to review themes

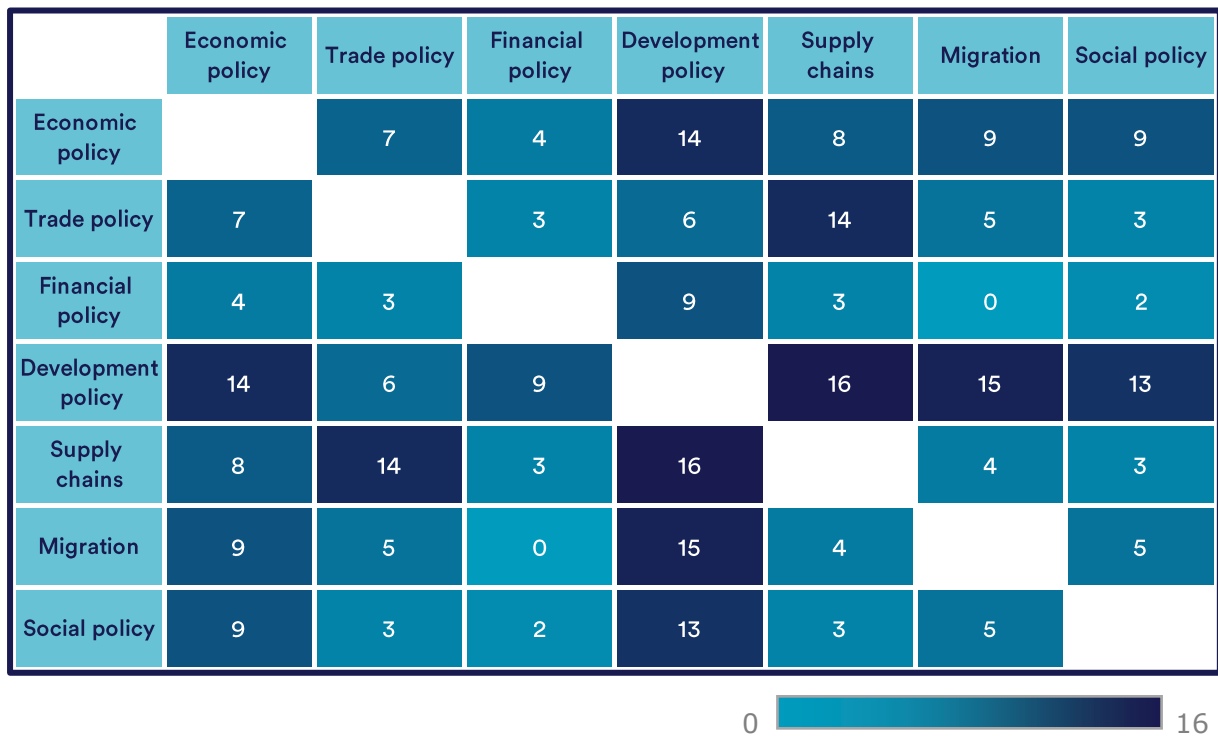


Relatively few records relevant to the theme of financial policy were assessed in this study, with 13 claims (10%) considered relevant to this theme. This reflects the relatively limited evidence base considering modern slavery in this context. However, further interrogation of research considering anti-money laundering and other related areas might yield more extensive results.

The majority of claims assessed were relevant exclusively to the UNU Policy Guide domain area of Markets, representing 87 of the 131 claims assessed (66%). However, 24 claims (18%) were at the intersection of Markets and Justice, while 18 (14%) were relevant to both Markets and Crisis. A small number of claims coded in this study were not relevant to Markets, but solely related to Justice (n=2; 2%) but were included in the study because they were drawn from records that were directly relevant to Markets, and contained claims within this domain. Claims at the intersection of Markets and Justice were predominantly drawing connections between economic and development contexts and survivors needs, experiences, recovery, and sustainable reintegration. Claims connecting Markets and Crisis typically considered approaches and policies relevant to migrant workers. No claims were identified at the intersection of all 3 domains.

Of the 131 claims coded, 26 (20%) were recorded as relevant to a single theme, 58 (44%) connected to 2 themes, 30 (23%) to 3 themes, 11 (8%) to 4 themes, and 6 (5%) to 5 themes. The most common intersections were all connections with survivor engagement and support, which is unsurprising given the relative frequency of claims coded against these themes comparable to other themes studied. This included intersections between survivor engagement and support and criminal justice with 64 intersecting claims, health policy and practice (45 claims), gender (44 claims), and migration (36 claims). This demonstrates the cross-sectoral relevance of considerations of survivor engagement and support and emphasises the importance of considering survivor experiences and perspectives in these various contexts. These connections are largely explained by the frequency of each of these themes in the study, although the substantive connections between themes were also clear from the literature.

Figure 5. Number of claims at the intersections between themes¹⁹



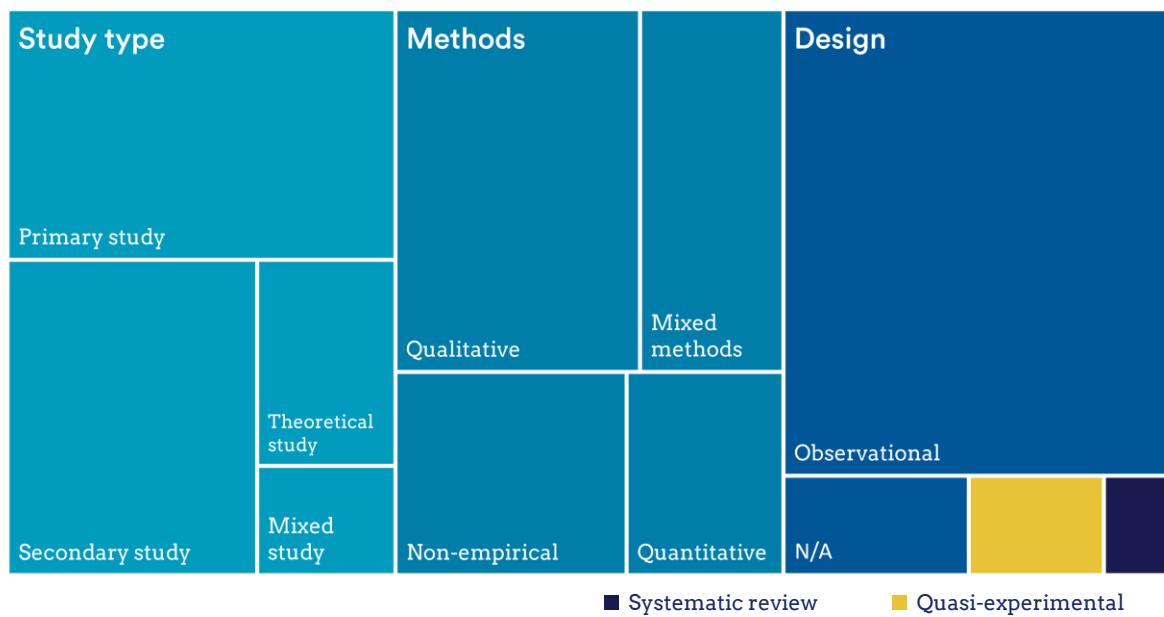
1.4. Source characteristics

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 84 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 Markets. Primary studies were the most common, underpinning 58 claims (44%) assessed across the review. This was followed by secondary studies supporting 47 claims (36%). Mixed and theoretical studies underpinned relatively few claims in this review, representing 9 (7%) and 17 (13%) claims respectively.

Qualitative methods were favoured, underpinning 53 of the 131 claims assessed (40%). The other research methods coded were distributed relatively evenly between the remaining claims, with 31 claims (24%) underpinned by mixed methods research, 19 (15%) by quantitative methods, and 28 (21%) by non-empirical methods. The preference for qualitative methods was coupled with a tendency towards observational research designs, with 108 claims (82%) supported by studies adopting this approach. Quasi-experimental approaches, and systematic reviews, were relatively rare, representing 8 (6%), and 4 (3%) claims respectively. No experimental studies were assessed in this review.

¹⁹ 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.

Figure 6. Distribution of claims by research characteristics



1.5. Scope of application

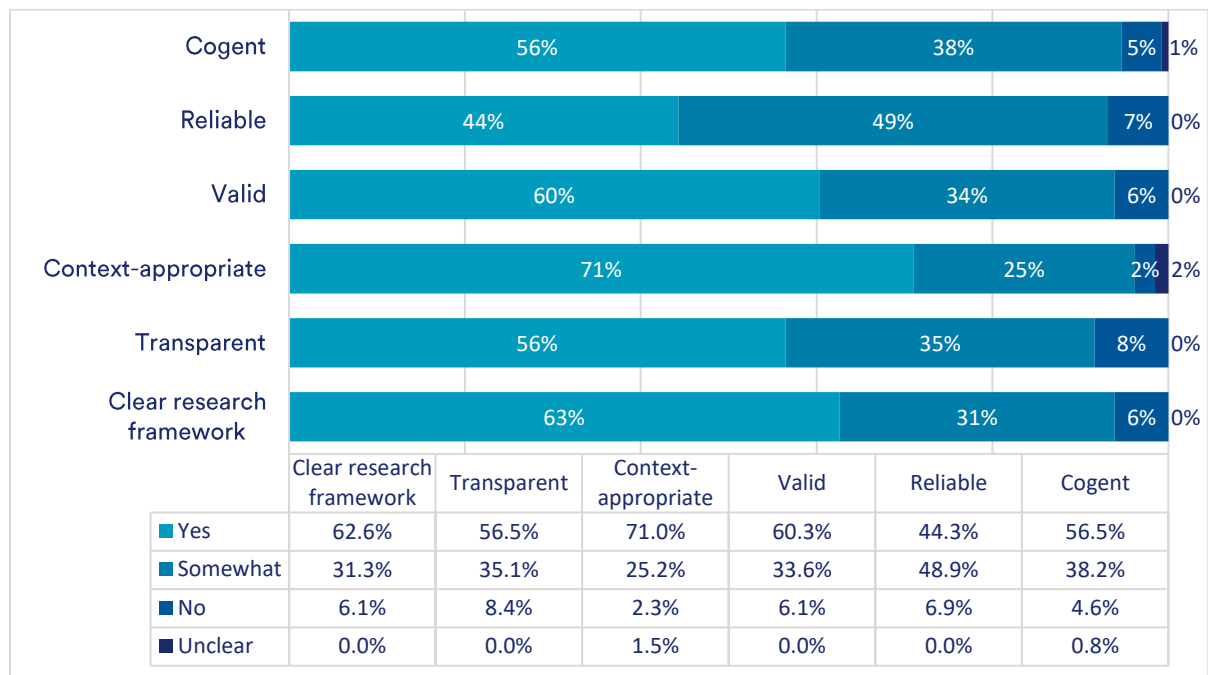
Studies in this review were geographically diverse, with the majority considering a single, specific national context (n=52, 60). 15 studies (17%) were not geographically tied, adopting a generalised international perspective. 4 studies (5%) considered particular geographic regions, covering Asia (2) – with 1 including Australia and New Zealand in this regional group, Europe (1), and Southern Africa (1). Several studies considered specific sub-national geographic contexts, from particular states within a federal country, to particular cities. Several studies conducted comparative studies, either within or between States, with 12 studies (14%) comparing more than 1 national jurisdiction. The number of countries considered in these comparative studies ranged from 2-20. The United Kingdom a focus country in the highest number of studies, with 15 records (17%) considering the country as a whole or a particular sub-national context within it. This was followed by the United States, which was the focus of 10 studies (12%), India in 7 studies (8%), Ghana in 4 studies (5%), and Indonesia in 4 studies (5%). In total, 74 distinct national contexts were specifically considered in studies assessed in this review.

1.6. Evidentiary quality

The evidence underpinning claims in this review was considered against 6 measures of quality, considering clarity of the research framework, transparency, context-appropriateness of the methods and approaches adopted, validity, reliability, and cogency. Overall, the majority of claims were considered to have satisfied each of these measures in whole or to some extent. Relatively few claims were considered not to satisfy these quality measures, with the measure considered not to have been satisfied in the highest number of cases being transparency (n=11; 8%).

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

Figure 7. Distribution of studies by evidentiary quality measures



1.7. Other trends

In addition to the distribution of claims and records considered above, and those considered in the hypotheses discussed below, a number of additional trends were observed in the evidence base.

Although most records addressed exploitation broadly, a number of claims considered particular forms of exploitation:

- **16 claims related specifically to child labour**
- **5 claims related to sexual exploitation, sex trafficking, or commercial sexual activity**
- **3 claims related to domestic work**

While many records considered did not limit their analysis to specific sectors, a number considered the issue of modern slavery in relation to a particular industry or product:

- **8 claims related specifically to the apparel sector**
- **3 claims related to brick kilns**
- **2 claims related to the cocoa industry**
- **6 claims related to fisheries and aquaculture**

A number of records also considered particular dynamics of vulnerability, or particularly vulnerable populations:

- **33 claims related to migrant workers**
- **11 claims drew a connection between poverty and modern slavery**
- **3 claims highlighted links between parental employment and child labour**

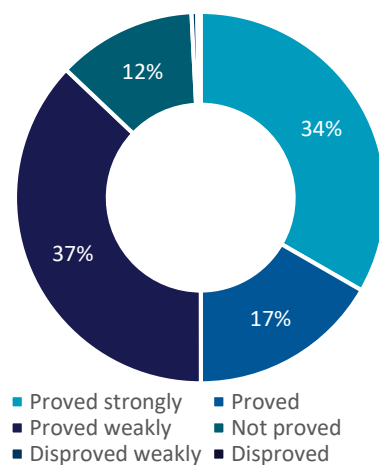
Recruitment was also identified as a key area of focus, with 26 claims considering recruitment practices and policies, and 9 claims addressing recruitment agencies specifically. The importance of **worker record keeping** was also emphasised in 8 claims.

1. Findings on what works

Markets have increasingly become the concern of antislavery action over the course of the past decade. Correlatively, the engagement of market actors—whether in businesses, financial institutions, development organisations, or trade contexts—in antislavery activities has also risen, with growing attention being paid to the need to address vulnerabilities, risks, and violations in these domains. These actors have a significant role to play in achieving SDG 8.7 and eradicating modern slavery. Yet, the literature on what works to effectively prevent and address exploitation in this domain is still in its nascency. The evidence captured in this review demonstrates some promising lessons learned over the course of the past decade. However, further evidence on the effectiveness of different policies and interventions—greater data collection, collation, analysis, synthesis, and sharing—is needed in order to understand what works to address modern slavery in the context of Markets.

Evidence underpinning claims within the Markets review was broadly considered to support positive findings on the claims identified, although with varying levels of confidence in the strength of evidence. Overall, 313 claims were considered to have been underpinned by evidence supporting a positive finding, with 45 claims (34%) considered to have been proved strongly, 22 (17%) to have been proved, and 48 (37%) to have been proved weakly. In 15 cases (11%), the evidence brought to bear in testing claims identified was not considered to support a positive or negative finding. In 1 case (0.8%) the evidence was considered to support a negative finding on the hypothesis, with 1 claim considered to have been disproved.

Figure 8. Findings on Markets 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.

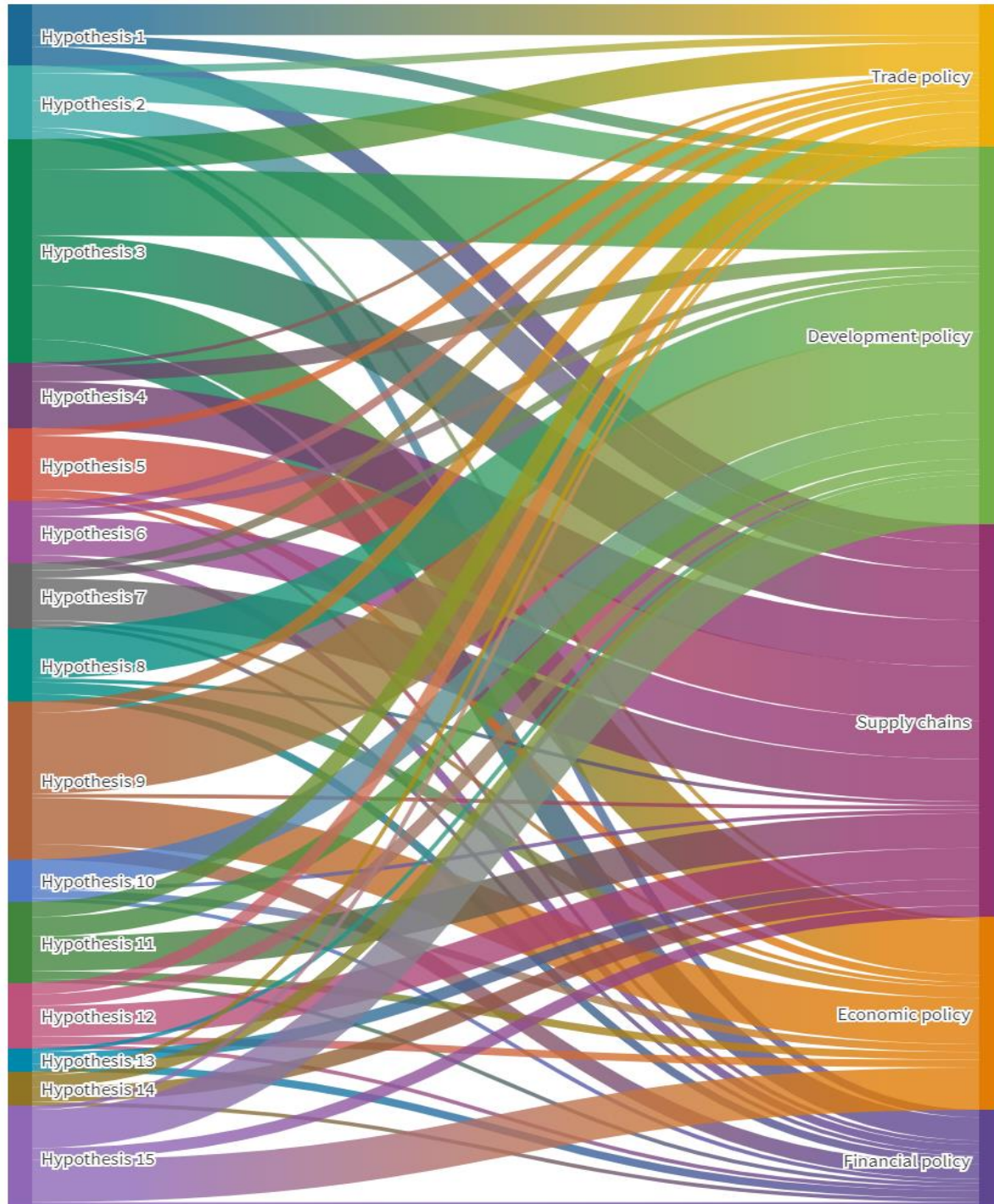
Ultimately, 15 hypotheses about what works to address modern slavery in the context of Markets were identified in this review:

- Hypothesis 1.** Open trade across borders increases economic opportunities and stability, resulting in a decrease in modern slavery and child labour
- Hypothesis 2.** Cooperation with civil society organisations improves business efforts to address forced labour and human trafficking in their business operations
- Hypothesis 3.** Collaboration with Government improves private sector efforts to eradicate forced labour and human trafficking
- Hypothesis 4.** Ultimate buying firms working in collaboration with other buyers and suppliers in their supply chains improves the effectiveness of efforts to reduce forced labour and human trafficking in supply chains
- Hypothesis 5.** Government enforced, mandatory corporate reporting on modern slavery helps to tackle modern slavery
- Hypothesis 6.** Increased corporate liability provisions and/or financial penalties or incentives improve the private sector's engagement in anti-slavery activity
- Hypothesis 7.** Corporate disclosure requirements on supply chains and supply chain risk are effective in improving the private sector's approach to tackling modern slavery
- Hypothesis 8.** Access to fair employment in the labour market and/or related skills training is effective in preventing forced labour and human trafficking or reducing the risk of survivors being re-trafficked
- Hypothesis 9.** There is a positive relationship between the economic health of a state and the reduction/prevention of modern slavery
- Hypothesis 10.** Data on the scale of forced labour and human trafficking and the effectiveness of existing interventions would improve private sector action on forced labour and human trafficking
- Hypothesis 11.** Increased state regulation of the labour market would help eliminate forced labour and human trafficking
- Hypothesis 12.** Firms at the top of a supply chain applying more scrutiny to, and taking responsibility for, the recruitment practices within their produce/ services/ supply chains would help reduce risks of modern slavery down the supply chain
- Hypothesis 13.** Grievance mechanisms to identify modern slavery when it occurs and compensation initiatives to remediate workers as a result (in addition to prevention policies) support holistic efforts to address modern slavery in the workplace
- Hypothesis 14.** Engagement of Union/Worker Associations and/or an increased focus on worker voice mechanisms result in better identification and prevention of modern slavery in the workplace
- Hypothesis 15.** Treating modern slavery and child labour as issues in silo from other socio-economic issues risks causing unintended negative consequences upon other socio-economic issues and does not tackle the issue in a sustainable way

Hypotheses constructed in this review could not easily be divided according to the pre-defined themes of economic policy, trade policy, financial policy, development policy, and supply chains. The dominance of the development policy and supply chains themes 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 economic, trade,

and financial policy themes. Further, in several cases a dominant theme could not be identified as a result of the relatively balanced connections to multiple themes. 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.

Figure 9. Interconnections between hypotheses and themes



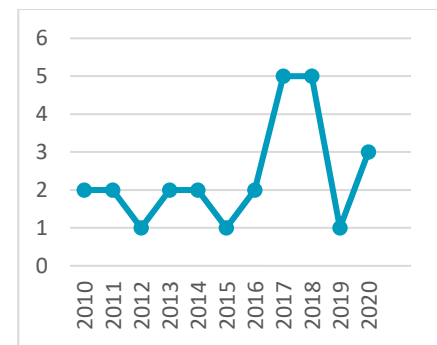
1.1. Economic policy

Studies and claims considered within the theme of economic policy shared a common concern: the relationship between countries' economic strength and the phenomena of trafficking and forced labour. This was not a simplistic or one-sided narrative, with studies considering how modern slavery may both hinder and help economic growth and strength. For some, the remittances received through migrant workers, who are often vulnerable to exploitation, were critical to a country's financial security. For others, the risk and reputational damage, in addition to the market imbalances that exploited labour causes, led to negative overall consequences for the economy. Studies in this theme further demonstrated divergence of opinion on the extent to which modern slavery impacts economies.

Relatively few studies considered in this theme considered the implications of the research for economic policy and leadership in detail. Value could therefore be added to the evidence base through studies the leverage findings into recommendations for anti-trafficking policy.

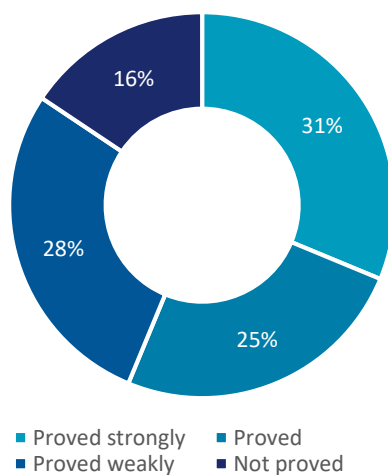
In total, 32 claims relevant to the theme of economic policy were identified in the review, drawn from 25 records. The majority of studies were published, with 17 (68%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 8 (32%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 20 studies (80%) had academic authorship, 4 (16%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 1 (4%) by an intergovernmental agency. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review, from 2010 to 2020, with a peak in 2017 and 2018 (n=6 in each case).

Figure 10. Number of records related to economic policy over time



Claims relevant to economic policy were considered to have been proved strongly in 8 cases, proved in 5 cases, proved weakly in 8 cases, and not proved in 4 cases. Claims in this theme were not considered to have been disproved in any of the cases assessed.

Figure 11. Findings on economic policy claims



Claims relevant to economic policy often connected to an additional theme, although 3 claims in this group (9%) were considered solely relevant to economic policy. 14 claims were considered relevant to development policy, 9 to migration, 9 to social policy, 8 to supply chains, and 7 to trade policy. Claims relevant to economic policy were also connected to financial policy (4), international justice (2), survivor engagement and support (2), gender (2), criminal justice (1), and education (1).

Evidence underpinning economic policy claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be clear, transparent, context appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent (satisfying all of the quality criteria). The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 3-13%, with the quality measure considered not to

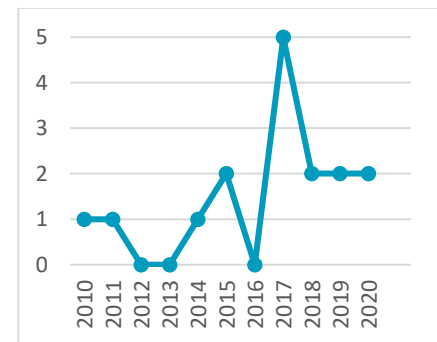
have been satisfied in the highest number of cases being clarity of research framework.

1.2. Trade policy

Studies and claims considered in relation to the theme of trade policy were diverse, and often intersected with those considered in the theme of economic policy. While studies tended to focus on distinct issues and areas of concern, a sub-set of claims within this group did converge in discussing the impacts of open and closed borders on trafficking, although without. While the majority of studies considered trade openness to produce a positive impact on the reduction of modern slavery, this was not a uniform position across records considered. Studies evidenced differing opinions on the impacts of increases in imported goods on demand for forced and child labour in the state under discussion, and the same of increased exported goods.

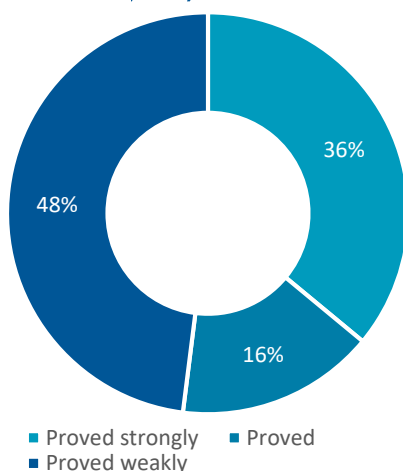
In total, 25 claims relevant to the theme of economic policy were identified in the review, drawn from 16 records. All studies were published, with 10 (63%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 6 (38%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 11 studies (69%) had academic authorship, 4 (25%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 1 (6%) by an intergovernmental agency. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review, from 2010 to 2020, with a peak in 2017 (n=5). Studies levelled off from 2018-2020, with 2 records considered for each of these years, although it should be noted that the period under consideration for 2020 was only 6 months.

Figure 12. Number of records related to trade policy over time



All claims relevant to trade policy were considered to have been proved—proved strongly in 9 cases, proved in 4 cases, and proved weakly in 12 cases. Claims in this theme were not considered to have been disproved in any of the cases assessed.

Figure 13. Findings on trade policy claims



Claims relevant to trade policy connected to an additional theme in every case, with no claim considered solely relevant to trade policy. 14 claims were considered relevant to supply chains, 7 to economic policy, and 6 to development policy. Claims relevant to trade policy were also connected to migration (5), criminal justice (4), financial policy (3), social policy (3), conflict (2), and displacement (2).

Evidence underpinning trade policy claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be clear, transparent, context appropriate, valid, and cogent. The majority of claims were also considered to be reliable, or somewhat so. The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 4-12%, with the quality measures considered not to have been satisfied in the

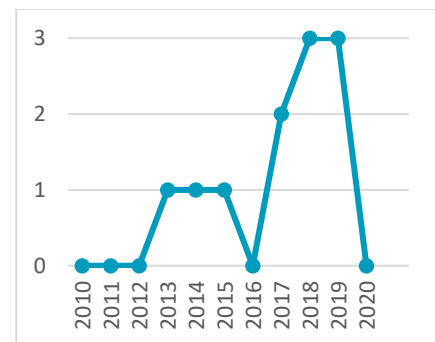
highest number of cases being transparency, and context appropriateness (n=3, 12% in each case).

1.3. Financial policy

Financial policy was the least represented theme considered in the review, which is unsurprising given the recency of attention on the financial sector, and financial sector organisations, in the antislavery space. Studies examined demonstrate that significant obstacles to sharing financial data remain, within private firms but also with public bodies and law enforcement. A key theme drawn out in this thematic group is therefore the need for more extensive and efficient sharing of financial data to ensure effective sectoral and multi-sectoral antislavery responses.

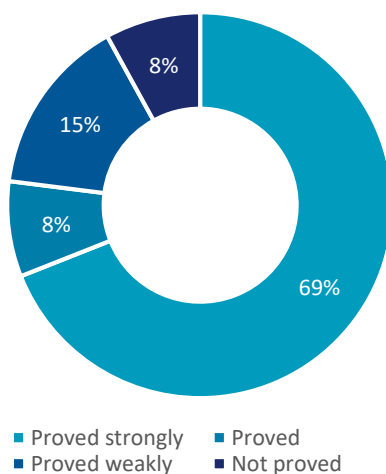
In total, 13 claims relevant to the theme of economic policy were identified in the review, drawn from 11 records. The majority of studies were published, with 7 (64%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 3 (27%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 8 studies (73%) had academic authorship, and 3 (27%) were authored by non-governmental organisations. No studies published in the first 3 years of the period under consideration were assessed in this theme, and no studies considered were published in 2020, although it should be noted that only the first 6 months of 2020 were considered in the review. Studies otherwise increased from 2013-2019, although with a dip in 2016, as interest in the intersections between financial policy and modern slavery more broadly increased.

Figure 14. Number of records related to financial policy over time



Claims relevant to economic policy were considered to have been proved strongly in 9 cases, proved in 1 case, proved weakly in 2 cases, and not proved in 1 case. Claims in this theme were not considered to have been disproved in any of the cases assessed.

Figure 15. Findings on financial policy claims



valid.

Claims relevant to financial policy connected to an additional theme in each case assessed, with no claims in this group considered solely relevant to financial policy. 9 claims were considered relevant to development policy, 4 to economic policy, and 4 to survivor engagement and support. Claims relevant to financial policy were also connected to criminal justice (3), trade policy (3), supply chains (3), and social policy (2).

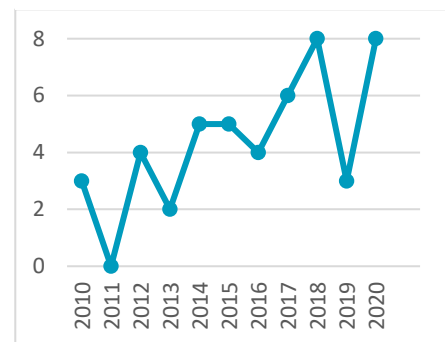
Evidence underpinning economic policy claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be clear, transparent, context appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent (satisfying all of the quality criteria). Claims in this theme were only considered not to have satisfied a quality measure in whole or in part in 1 case (8%), with the evidence underpinning 1 claim in this group not considered to be

1.4. Development policy

Development policy was the most frequently tagged theme across the Markets review (closely followed by supply chains). However, claims and records considered relevant in this theme also had the least exclusive or central relevance to the Markets domain. Claims considered in this theme were often equally (if not more) relevant to the parallel domains of Justice and Crisis and the cross-cutting themes considered in the review. These involved discussion of migrant rights, family dynamics that lead to forced labour or labour migration, education, gender, social conditions that increase risks of labour trafficking, and social policy, as well as law and policy in relation to these areas. Others were only peripherally relevant to a Markets discussion in that they referenced the context of exploitation being one of employment, and so the labour market of a given state or region was brought into the debate. What the labour market could learn from many of the sources however was rarely discussed, indicating that further work is needed to consider these specific dynamics in depth.

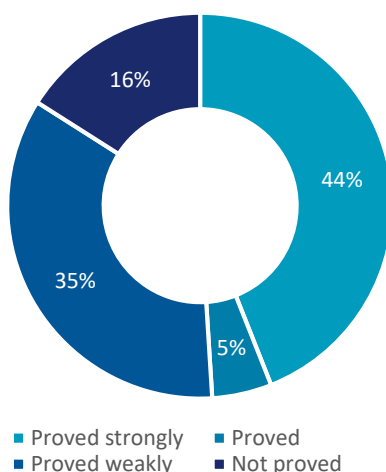
The development policy claims and studies considered most relevant to the domain of Markets interrogated how government and private sector actors need to work in partnership to bring about real change in all the areas above. The aspect of this which businesses were noted to be required to engage on most was provision of responsible work, skills, and education opportunities within industries. Studies highlighted that such efforts would improve the economic stability of the region they were operating in, in turn benefitting the private sector. Despite a large number of articles focusing on government/private sector collaboration, very few included case studies. Conclusions and recommendations were often, therefore, prospective and insufficiently tested to determine what works conclusively. Further evaluative research into examples of collaboration (as opposed to studies advocating the merits of partnership in the abstract) would therefore strengthen the evidence base underpinning this theme.

Figure 16. Number of records related to development policy over time



In total, 63 claims relevant to the theme of development policy were identified in the review, drawn from 48 records. The majority of studies were published, with 27 (56%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 21 (44%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 34 studies (71%) had academic authorship, 11 (23%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 3 (6%) by intergovernmental agencies. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review, from 2010 to 2020, with peaks in 2018 and 2020 (n=8 in each case). The period of 2020 under consideration in this study covered only the first 6 months, suggesting that the frequency of publications relevant to the theme taken in the year as a whole may be higher. However, no records assessed were published in 2011.

Figure 17. Findings on development policy claims



Claims relevant to development policy were considered to have been proved strongly in 28 cases, proved in 3 cases, proved weakly in 22 cases, and not proved in 10 cases. Claims in this theme were not considered to have been disproved in any of the cases assessed.

Claims relevant to development policy often connected to an additional theme, although 5 claims in this group (8%) were considered solely relevant to development policy. 16 claims were considered relevant to supply chains, 15 to migration, 14 to economic policy, 13 to social policy, and 10 to survivor engagement and support. Claims relevant to development policy were also connected to criminal justice (4), international justice (2), trade policy (6), financial policy (9), education (7), gender (8), and climate/environment (1).

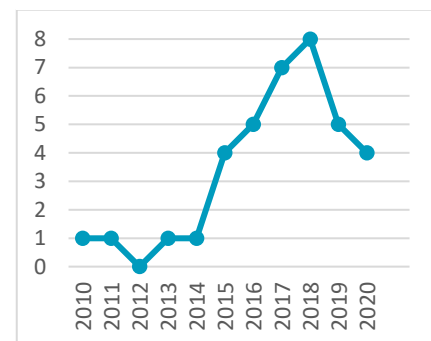
Evidence underpinning development policy claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be clear, transparent, context appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent (satisfying all of the quality criteria). The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 2-10%, with the quality measure considered not to have been satisfied in the highest number of cases being transparency (n=6, 10%).

1.5. Supply chains

The relationship between improved supply chain management and decreases in instances of forced labour was captured strongly across the literature collected and assessed in this review. This was the most consistent message across the records considered, both in terms of the number of studies directly considering the issue of supply chains, and in terms of issues discussed within the theme. Key concerns included the need for: increased scrutiny of supply chains by firms; increased corporate responsibility for forced labour occurring in supply chains; firms to reflect on purchasing and recruitment practices in their supply chains; and corporate reporting. The latter topic included interrogation of what worked, what did not, and what more was needed.

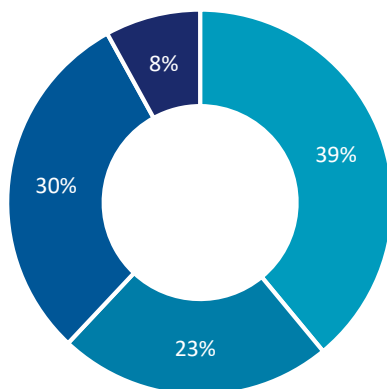
No single industry or sector was over represented in the studies considered, with at least 2 studies considering each of apparel, bricks, cocoa, and fisheries, and no industry covered in more than 8 studies (apparel being the most common, considered in 8 studies). Sex trafficking as an industry repeatedly emerged across this theme. However, learnings from other sectors and industries cannot often be extrapolated to this context given the significantly different nature of the work compared with manufacturing industries involving moving products and the legal status of sex work in many countries. While studies in this theme covered a variety of different supply chains, public procurement supply chains appeared only once as a focus of investigation. Further research on public supply chain management is therefore needed to strengthen the evidence base in this context.

Figure 18. Number of records related to supply chains over time



In total, 61 claims relevant to the theme of supply chains were identified in the review, drawn from 37 records. All studies were published, with 22 (59%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 15 (41%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 27 studies (73%) had academic authorship, 7 (19%) were authored by non-governmental organisations, and 3 (8%) by intergovernmental agencies. Studies were published throughout the period under consideration in the review, from 2010 to 2020, with a peak in 2018 (n=8). However, no studies assessed were published in 2012.

Figure 19. Findings on supply chains claims



■ Proved strongly
■ Proved weakly
■ Not proved

Claims relevant to supply chains were considered to have been proved strongly in 24 cases, proved in 14 cases, proved weakly in 18 cases, and not proved in 5 cases. Claims in this theme were not considered to have been disproved in any of the cases assessed.

Claims relevant to economic policy often connected to an additional theme, although 16 claims in this group (26%) were considered solely relevant to economic policy. 16 claims were considered relevant to development policy, 14 to trade policy, and 8 to economic policy. Claims relevant to supply chains were also connected to criminal justice (5), civil justice (5), international justice (4), migration (4), survivor engagement and support (3), financial policy (3), social policy (3), gender (2), and education (1).

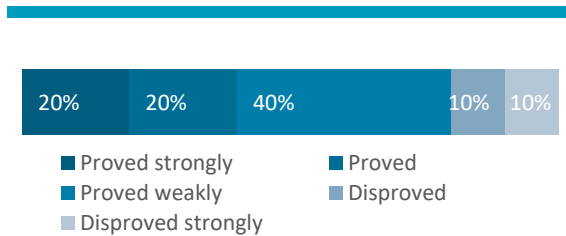
Evidence underpinning supply chains claims was broadly considered to support positive findings, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be clear, transparent,

context appropriate, valid, and cogent. The majority were also considered to be reliable, or somewhat so. The proportion of claims considered not to satisfy these quality measures ranged from 0-3%, with no claims underpinned by evidence that was considered not to be clear, context appropriate, and cogent. The quality measure considered not to have been satisfied in the highest number of cases was reliability (n=2; 3%).

1.6. Hypotheses identified and tested in this review

Hypothesis 1. Open trade across borders increases economic opportunities and stability, resulting in a decrease in modern slavery and child labour²⁰

The impact of open trade across borders on modern slavery was captured in 10 distinct claims across 7 records assessed. Claims in this hypothesis grouping considered the relationship international trade agreements, global economic openness, trade liberalisation across borders, and investment in neighbouring countries, and the impact of these frameworks on modern slavery and child labour. In two instances drawn from the same record, claims identified in the records assessed were considered to provide evidence against the hypothesis, finding increases in trafficking to result from policies promoting economic openness. This demonstrates the contested relationship between open trade and modern slavery, and the need for further interrogation to determine what works in this area of international and national policy to help reduce modern slavery and child labour.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 2 cases, proved in 2 cases, and proved weakly in 4 cases. 2 claims establishing the reverse of the hypothesis as constructed (a negative relationship between open trade and modern slavery) were found in this grouping. On their own terms, these claims were found to have been proved, and proved strongly, and are thus recorded as disproved, and disproved strongly, in relation to the hypothesis grouping.

Table 1. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	6 (60%)
Secondary study	4 (40%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	5 (50%)
Qualitative	4 (40%)
Mixed	0 (0%)
Non-empirical	1 (10%)
Research design	
Observational	7 (70%)
Experimental	0 (00%)
Quasi-experimental	1 (10%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
N/A	2 (20%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

All studies considered in this hypothesis were published, with 5 (71%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 2 (29%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 6 studies (86%) had academic authorship, and 1 (14%) was authored by a non-governmental actor. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2019, although no records assessed were published from 2011-2014. The study containing negative findings on this hypothesis was published in 2017.

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through primary studies (n=6; 60%) using mostly quantitative research methods (n=5; 50%) and observational research designs (n=7; 70%). Methods adopted in studies in this hypothesis were relatively

diverse, with quantitative data analysis the primary method in 2 studies, and 2 literature reviews. 2 studies included interviews, with 1 combining 23 interviews with workers with key stakeholder consultations, and the other combining 33 key informant interviews with document analysis and literature review.

²⁰ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [1], [16], [40], [42], [46], [59], and [65].

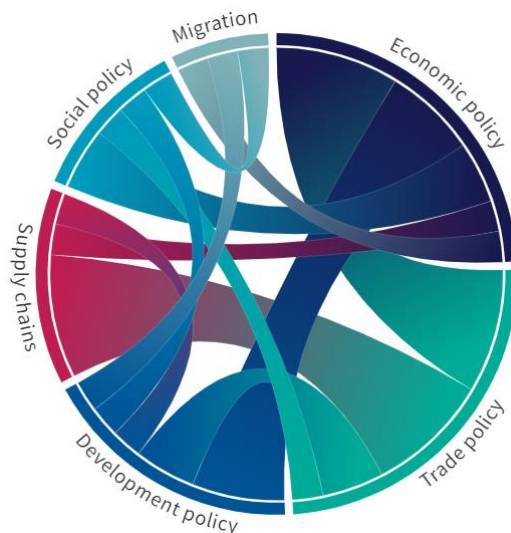
Table 2. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

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

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be strong, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent. In all cases, claims were considered to meet, or somewhat meet, the of clarity, transparency, reliability, and cogency measures. Claims were considered not to be supported by context appropriate or valid evidence in 1 case each. Quantitative studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews, and they mostly used well-established country-level variables, strengthening the underpinning evidence.

Claims considered in this hypothesis were typically positioned at the intersection of multiple review themes. Of the 10 claims, 7 connected to trade policy theme, 6 connected to economic policy, 5 connected to supply chains, and 3 connected to development policy. Additionally, 1 claim was connected to the Justice themes of international justice and 1 to criminal justice, and 1 connected to the Crisis theme of migration. 2 claims were related to the cross-cutting theme of social policy.

Figure 20. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 1



Studies in this group highlighted that open trade leads to new employment opportunities in producing countries which is likely to reduce labour exploitation. International trade relations in the form of foreign direct investment would reduce the risk of forced labour by improving economic stability and generating employment opportunities in countries associated to high risk of forced labour.

In contrast to the majority of the studies in this group, 1 study did not support the idea of the positive impact of open trade on reducing modern slavery and child labour, associated with 2 claims presenting the reverse of the hypothesis as constructed. Instead, it proposed that economic openness driven by neoliberal policies weakens labour rights regulations, such as minimum wage.

Geographic distribution

Studies were somewhat geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on country-level comparisons. One study considered the regional context of South-East Asia. 4 focused on a single national context, covering Vietnam, Malaysia, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The findings revealed that there is no definitive answer to the question of whether open trade inhibits or facilitates modern slavery and child labour. Further research is therefore needed to understand underlying mechanisms affecting the relationship between international trade and modern slavery.

Hypothesis 2. Cooperation with civil society organisations improves business efforts to address forced labour and human trafficking in their business operations²¹

The need for businesses to work with NGOs to effectively address modern slavery in relation to their business operations was captured in 9 distinct claims across 8 records assessed. These records emphasised the importance of multi-sector collaboration and coordination in addressing modern slavery in the private sector.

All studies were published, with 3 (38%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 5 (63%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 4 studies (50%) had academic authorship, 3 (38%) were authored by non-governmental actors, and 1 (13%) by an intergovernmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2013 to 2020, with at least 1 record published each year except 2014.

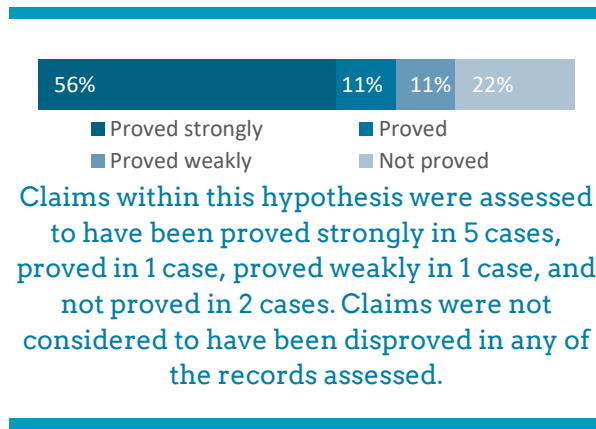


Table 3. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	7 (78%)
Secondary study	1 (11%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	1 (11%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	1 (11%)
Qualitative	4 (44%)
Mixed	3 (33%)
Non-empirical	1 (11%)
Research design	
Experimental	0 (0%)
Quasi-experimental	1 (11%)
Observational	8 (89%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
N/A	0 (0%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	1 (11%)

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs. Three records relied on theoretical discussion, drawing on evidence from extant literature. Interviews were the most utilised data collection method, with 3 studies analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders. 1 study used a questionnaire method for a state-wide survey of professionals identified as having the potential to come into contact with human trafficking through the commission of their job duties or as professionals formally participating in anti-human-trafficking activities. 3 studies adopted mixed methods approaches, including

key informant interviews, survey questionnaires and documentary analysis of key legislation and studies. The specific details of methods adopted were outlined for most sources, making the applied research framework clear.

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority of claims considered to be clear, transparent, context appropriate, valid, and cogent. Evidence was considered to meet the evidentiary quality criteria in whole or in part in all cases, with no claims considered to be underpinned by evidence that did not satisfy each of these measures at least to a moderate degree.

²¹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [2], [17], [35], [55], [62], [64], [67], and [76].

Table 4. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	7 (78%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	7 (78%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	8 (89%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	6 (67%)	3 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	4 (44%)	5 (56%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	7 (78%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. Authors often drew on international literature rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

The majority of claims within this group related to development policy (n=6), and supply chains (n=6). 2 claims related to financial policy, 2 to trade policy, and 1 to economic policy. 2 claims related to the Justice theme of survivor engagement and support, and 1 to the Crisis theme of migration. 2 claims also related to the cross-cutting theme of social policy, and 1 to education.

Many of the records in this group identified vulnerable worker groups facing high risk of forced labour and exploitation. Two studies focused on the experiences of female workers/labourers in high slavery risk contexts. One of the studies highlighted issues faced by female workers facing bonded labour at brick kilns, demonstrating how the payment and recruitment systems fuel slavery in the context of workers while the other identified the potential of professional training and microfinancing for increasing employment and entrepreneurship opportunities for female slave descendants.

One study examined labour issues throughout the value chain of canned tuna and shrimp

Figure 21. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 2



processing sectors, identifying children, particularly migrant children, as the most vulnerable worker group working long hours and at higher risk of facing occupational hazards. Another study focused on the plight of migrant workers from African nations to the Middle East, allowing for the research to provide specific recommendations and identify specific problems faced by these migrant workers.

Several studies (n=3) advocated for shared responsibility of civil society stakeholders (NGOs, CSOs and labour/trade unions) to help prevent slavery and identify vulnerable populations.

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with 2 global in nature. 1 study considered the regional context of Africa with a comparative of 6 countries (Ghana, Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, Zanzibar and Kenya), and another focused on developed countries (the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and New Zealand). 1 study considered the specific sub-national context of Michigan (United States). The remaining records were national studies, covering India, Mauritania, New Zealand, and Thailand.

One study reviewed existing supply chain transparency legislation in different countries and contexts and identified both what works and what is less effective. Civil society collaboration was highlighted as needing to be strengthened to better understand the efficacy of various prevention efforts, and to share that information across coalitions. However, one study highlighted that many organisations do not receive resources or funding for anti-human-trafficking inter-agency collaboration, leading to duplication of efforts, lack of alignment on mission, and fighting for resources.

One of the studies in New Zealand showed how firms and governments avoided doing anything decisive about labour abuse despite knowing about the problems for many years. The recognition that governance can shift allows for an understanding of how labour abuses in value chains can be addressed. There is a need for NGOs to expand significant resources on anti-slavery efforts including additional professional and relevant research, leveraging trade unions' line of sight into labour exploitation, and advocate for coalitions with government, corporations, and other civil society organisations.

Hypothesis 3. Collaboration with Government improves private sector efforts to eradicate forced labour and human trafficking²²

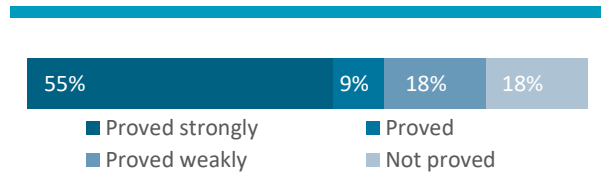
The shared interests of the private sector and governments in eradication of forced labour and human trafficking were highlighted in a significant number of records, considering various facets of the government’s role in engaging the private sector in antislavery action. The need for collaboration between government and the private sector, beyond the simple recognition of connections between public and private actors, was identified in 11 distinct claims across 10 records.

All studies were published, with 6 (60%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 4 (40%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. The majority of records (n=6; 60%) had academic authorship, with 2 (20%) authored by non-governmental actors and 2 (20%) by intergovernmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2019, with the highest concentration in 2016 (n=3). Although none of the records assessed were published in the period from 2011-2013, at least 1 record assessed was published in each year from 2014-2019.

Table 5. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	7 (64%)
Secondary study	3 (27%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	1 (9%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	1 (9%)
Qualitative	3 (27%)
Mixed Methods	6 (55%)
Non-empirical	1 (9%)
Research design	
Experimental	0 (0%)
Quasi-experimental	1 (9%)
Observational	9 (82%)
Systematic Review	0 (0%)
N/A	1 (9%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

repetition between studies in the overall research design and many studies combining a variety of methods in a single study. 2 studies combined legal or policy analysis with analysis of extant literature as the basis for conclusions drawn, and 1 conducted a scoping review of existing literature. Quantitative analysis of secondary data sets featured in 3 studies. 1 study conducted quantitative analysis of secondary data related to overseas development assistance of a number of States, and another combined quantitative analysis of secondary data with value chain analysis, literature review, and semi-



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

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection (n=7; 64%) while 3 claims were identified in secondary studies, and 1 was extracted from a theoretical or conceptual sources and 2 were mixed studies. Mixed research methods were most favoured in this hypothesis, supporting 6 claims (55%), while 3 claims (27%) were tested through qualitative research methods, 1 (9%) through quantitative research methods, and 1 (9%) through non-empirical methods. Observational research designs were adopted in virtually all cases, with only 2 exceptions.

Research methods and approaches adopted in the studies considered in this hypothesis grouping were relatively diverse, with little

²² Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [2], [10], [4][12], [13], [17], [35], [48], [49], [62], and [76].

structured key informant interviews. 1 study combined quantitative analysis of secondary data collected from Freedom of Information Act requests with a wide variety of other methods, including 105 semi-structured key-informant interviews, 6 roundtables involving 85 stakeholders, 62 interviews with migrants across Europe, 17 interviews with individuals in Vietnam (returnees from Europe, family members of migrants who went to Europe, and people intending to migrate to Europe), youth consultations with 27 participants, documentary analysis, participant observation, media analysis, case study analysis, and analysis of extant literature.

Surveys were utilised in 2 studies, in 1 case involving 296 responses from professionals identified as having the potential to come into contact with human trafficking in Michigan (United States), and in the other involving a survey of 46 brands combined with 25 interviews with brand and retailer representatives. Another study combined documentary analysis with 293 semi-structured interviews with migrant crew members. The final study drew on a baseline study interviewing over 3000 workers and a survey of 208 brick kilns, and combined this with a new study involving interviews with 383 workers across 3 Indian states, including 339 workers directly engaged in brick moulding in kilns.

Table 6. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

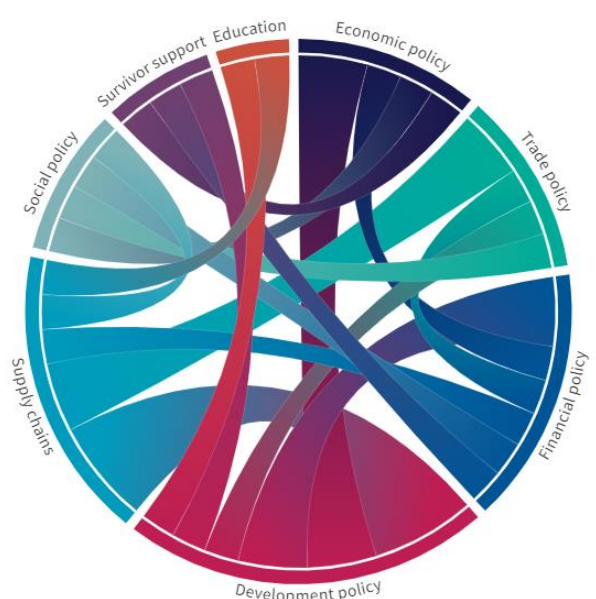
	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	9 (82%)	1 (9%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	9 (82%)	1 (9%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	10 (91%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	7 (64%)	3 (27%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	6 (55%)	4 (36%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	8 (73%)	2 (18%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be strong, with the majority of claims supported by evidence considered to meet each of the 6 evidentiary quality criteria. The quality of evidence was considered to meet, or somewhat meet, all the evidentiary quality criteria in the majority of cases, and to be context appropriate, or somewhat context appropriate, in all cases.

Development policy and supply chains were the most represented themes in this hypothesis, connected to 6 claims each. This was followed by economic policy representing 4 claims, 3 claims to financial policy, and 2 to trade policy. 1 claim connected to the Justice theme of survivor support, 2 to the cross-cutting theme of social policy, and 1 to education.

Several records in the group identified push and pull factors for exploitation of potential forced labour, particularly of women and children, by various businesses including transnational work agencies, which can exploit in grey areas left uncovered by national and international law (where no national or international body has both an incentive to and the ability to intervene). The record therefore emphasised the importance of multi-sectoral collaboration in tackling the challenge of exploitation.

Figure 22. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 3



1 study on the dynamics of migration between Vietnam and Europe identified strong socio-economic 'push and pull' factors that influence the decision of Vietnamese adults and children to leave Vietnam, heightening their vulnerability to being trafficked. Economic factors cannot be isolated from social, political, or cultural 'push and pull' factors. This study found that financial intelligence sharing measures involving cooperation between States, as well as between governments and the financial sector, would help to combat trafficking by facilitating the seizure of traffickers' assets.

Several records highlighted examples of international best practice and programmes for the prevention of labour exploitation in comparable country contexts and identified obstacles to effective responses. One obstacle identified in this group was the level of resourcing for international antislavery activities. The study focused on overseas development assistance found that ODA spending is not proportionate to the scale of the problem of modern slavery. This study noted that existing research suggests that 13.5 billion USD is needed to eradicate slavery. The study finds that, at the current ODA spending rate, it would take over 100 years to achieve that target and therefore concluded that combining ODA spending with private sector investment would help to achieve a level of resourcing proportionate to the scale of the problem.

Most studies advocated for a shared responsibility approach that involves all possible stakeholders (including for example NGOs and labour unions) and uses all possible systems by which different groups can be vigilant. Studies typically emphasised the need

Geographic distribution

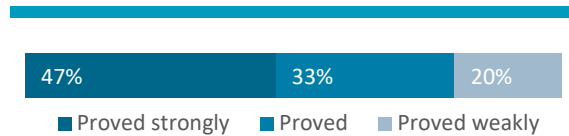
Studies in this hypothesis grouping were geographically diverse, although with a greater focus on developed countries. 2 records were not geographically tied, adopting a global perspective, and 4 records covering a collection of national contexts. These multi-national studies covered: (1) Asia, including Australia and New Zealand; (2) Germany, New Zealand, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States; (3) Australia, Austria, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States; and (4) Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, the United Kingdom, Ukraine, Vietnam. 1 study focused on a specific sub-national context, considering Michigan in the United States. The remaining studies focused on a single national jurisdiction, covering India, New Zealand, and Thailand.

for collaboration across the public, private, and third sectors, rather than focusing exclusively on collaboration between government and the private sector. This included specific reference to the need for a multi-stakeholder platform to address education of particularly vulnerable populations (in this case migrant workers). Another study advanced the need for this collaboration in relation to legislative corporate disclosure regimes, which were considered in that study to be more effective at eradicating exploitative practices from supply chains when the leverage of all interested stakeholders was engaged. Studies in this group highlighted the need for collaboration between government and the private sector at multiple levels, including local, national, and regional coordination.

Hypothesis 4. Ultimate buying firms working in collaboration with other buyers and suppliers in their supply chains improves the effectiveness of efforts to reduce forced labour and human trafficking in supply chains²³

The importance of collaboration between final buying firms and other suppliers in reducing instances of forced labour was captured in 15 distinct claims across 12 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 6 (50%) published in peer-reviewed settings and 6 (50%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 9 studies (75%) had academic authorship, 2 (17%) were authored by non-governmental actors, and 1 was authored by an intergovernmental actor. Publications dates extended from 2014-2020, with at least 1 record published in each year in this period. 2015 has the highest frequency, with 3 records assessed published in this year.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 7 cases, proved in 5 cases, and proved weakly in 3 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Table 7. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	8 (53%)
Secondary study	6 (40%)
Mixed study	1 (7%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	8 (53%)
Mixed	3 (20%)
Non-empirical	4 (27%)
Research design	
Observational	9 (60%)
Experimental	0 (0%)
Systematic review	1 (7%)
Quasi-experimental	0 (0%)
N/A	5 (33%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

The majority of claims were advanced in either primary (n=8) or secondary (n=6) studies. Only 1 study adopted a mixed study approach, and there were no theoretical or conceptual studies in this hypothesis group. 8 claims (53%) were tested with qualitative research methods, 3 (20%) through mixed methods, and 4 (27%) adopted non-empirical approaches.

Interviews were the most commonly utilised method of data collection to test claims in this hypothesis group, with 6 of the 12 records assessed undertaking interviews. Semi-structured interviews were favoured, and interviews were often combined with additional methods, including field observation in 1 case, documentary analysis in 1 case, consultation with key stakeholders in 1 case,

and a stakeholder survey in 1 case. In 1 study, key informant interviews were combined with value chain analysis, a literature review, and quantitative secondary data analysis. The number of interview participants sampled in these studies ranged from 21 to 293. Characteristics of interview samples varied significantly between studies. While one study focused on the textile industry and conducted interviews on various stakeholders in the knitwear supply chain in India, another conducted interviews exclusively with migrant crew members. The remaining studies were based on literature review (n=3), three surveys of companies (with 100, 28, and 38 respondents) combined with a field visit with refugee workers (n=1), and case studies (n=1). The final study undertook feminist participatory action research with trade unions, NGOs, and community workers.

²³ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [8], [10], [17], [31], [42], [46], [52], [55], [61], [68], [80], and [81].

The studies in this hypothesis grouping benefit from a high level of direct engagement with affected communities compared to other hypotheses. 5 studies included engagement directly with workers, and only 3 studies did not feature engagement with practitioners. Engagement with workers in these studies helps to strengthen the evidence on the final outcomes of measures adopted with regard to the experiences of those at risk of exploitation in supply chains.

Table 8. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

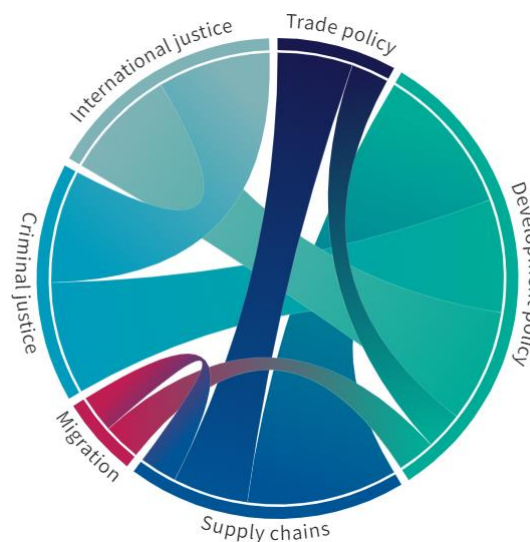
	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	12 (80%)	3 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	10 (67%)	5 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	12 (80%)	3 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	11 (73%)	4 (27%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	10 (67%)	5 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	8 (53%)	7 (47%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be strong, with the majority of claims recorded as supported by clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent evidence. All claims were underpinned by evidence considered to satisfy all of the evidentiary quality criteria, or somewhat satisfy the measures assessed; no claims were considered to be underpinned by evidence that failed to meet the criteria. Qualitative studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews, strengthening the underpinning evidence.

Of the 15 claims considered in this hypothesis, 14 connected to the supply chains theme, 5 connected to development policy, and 2 connected to trade policy. Additionally, 3 claims were connected to each of the Justice themes of international justice and criminal justice, and 2 connected to the Crisis theme of migration.

Some studies in this group highlighted limitations of traditional compliance mechanisms, especially in developing countries. They stressed the importance of trust and responsibility

Figure 23. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 4



for aligning supplier behaviour with buyers' codes of conduct. Others argued that collaboration with other stakeholders, such as trade unions, would help buying firms to improve labour standards in their suppliers. Similarly, rather than establishing arm's length relationship with suppliers, creation of a shared responsibility culture across supply chains was argued to foster higher standards for workers.

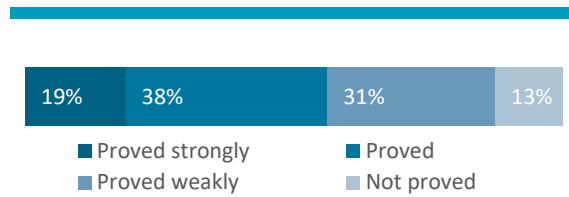
Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on one country. 1 study considered the regional context of Africa, and 1 considered supply chain relationships between Brazil and the United Kingdom. Others focused on a single national context, covering India, New Zealand, Vietnam, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Hypothesis 5. Government enforced, mandatory corporate reporting on modern slavery helps to tackle modern slavery²⁴

The role of mandatory reporting in tackling forced labour and human trafficking was captured in 16 distinct claims across 11 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 9 (82%) published in peer-reviewed settings and 2 (18%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. The majority of studies (n=9; 82%) had academic authorship, while 1 (9%) was authored by a non-governmental actor and 1 (9%) by an intergovernmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2015-2020, with at least 1 record assessed published in each of the years within this period. The highest concentration of records assessed were published in 2018 (n=4). The increased attention on corporate reporting from 2015 onwards is unsurprising given the passage of the UK Modern Slavery Act in 2015—the first national legislation mandating corporate reporting on modern slavery specifically—and subsequent global attention on this issue in policy discourse.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 3 cases, proved in 6 cases, proved weakly in 5 cases, and not proved in 2 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Table 9. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	2 (13%)
Secondary study	8 (50%)
Mixed study	1 (6%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	5 (31%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	3 (19%)
Qualitative	6 (38%)
Mixed	1 (6%)
Non-empirical	6 (38%)
Research design	
Observational	15 (94%)
Experimental	0 (0%)
Systematic review	1 (6%)
Quasi-experimental	0 (0%)
N/A	0 (0%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

Secondary studies were the most common in this hypothesis grouping, representing half of all claims considered (n=8). This was followed by theoretical or conceptual studies underpinning 5 claims (31%), primary studies supporting 2 claims (13%), and mixed studies supporting 1 claim (6%). Qualitative (n=6) and non-empirical methods (n=6) were equally favoured as the most common research methods adopted, with 3 claims supported by quantitative analysis and 1 claim by mixed methods analysis.

Research methods adopted in the studies in this group reflected the subject matter, and predominantly focused on analysis of the legal and regulatory frameworks in place, and corporate compliance with them.

6 studies in this group combined legal and policy analysis with literature review, with 1 of these studies also drawing on observations from consultations and engagements with key stakeholders and practitioners. 3 studies conducted content analysis on company reports and disclosures, considering 100, 105, and 204 companies respectively. 1 study combined documentary analysis with a survey of companies. In 1 case, the study engaged directly with workers, as well as key stakeholders, conducting interviews with sex workers (n=14),

²⁴ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [23], [28], [30], [35], [38], [45], [56], [63], [69], [73], and [83].

factory executives (n=8), NGOs (n=6), local workers (n=6), police (n=3) and military officials (n=2). This was combined with 2 focus groups of workers.

Table 10. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	10 (63%)	5 (31%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	11 (69%)	4 (25%)	1 (6%)	1 (6%)
Context-appropriate	10 (63%)	6 (38%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	13 (81%)	2 (13%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	5 (31%)	9 (56%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	5 (31%)	10 (63%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be strong, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, and valid. Cogency and reliability in these studies could have been improved, although the majority of claims were considered to be underpinned that was reliable and cogent, or somewhat so. Claims were considered not to meet the evidentiary quality criteria in 0-12% of cases, with reliability the measure most often considered not to have been satisfied.

Supply chains was the dominant theme connected to claims considered in this hypothesis grouping, although a number of claims also connect to a variety of other review themes. Of the 16 claims, 14 connected to the supply chains theme, 2 connected to trade policy, 1 to economic policy, and 1 to financial policy. Additionally, 3 claims connected to the Justice theme of criminal justice, 2 to civil justice, and 1 to survivor engagement and support. 1 claim related to the cross-cutting theme of social policy.

Legislation against modern slavery and human trafficking is mostly found in developed economies. Therefore, it is no surprise that most studies in this grouping had samples from developed countries for claim testing. Studies generally agreed on the positive impact of anti-slavery legislation in tackling forced labour and human trafficking. It was stated that legislation increased the number and quality of company disclosures. Similarities were observed among competing companies' reports.

Figure 24. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 5



Geographic distribution

Studies were not geographically diverse, with the majority focusing the United Kingdom (4) or the United States (2), and specifically in both US cases on the state of California. This is expected given the existence of transparency in supply chains provisions related specifically to modern slavery in both these contexts. The hypothesis grouping also includes 3 studies that were not geographically tied, adopting international perspectives, and 1 of the studies related to the UK also engaged a transnational perspective. While most of the studies focused on developed economies, including 1 study focused on Australia in addition to the above, one study focused on Sri Lanka.

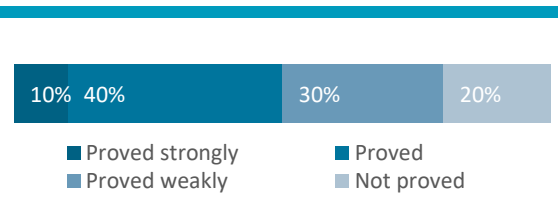
Although concluding a positive overall impact, studies in this group highlighted that there were still companies that did not include supply chain disclosures in compliance with the relevant legislation. Some studies also gave recommendations for improvement in disclosures. For instance, they suggested an inclusion of human rights due diligence and consequences of failure to comply for suppliers. Given the relative recency of supply chains reporting obligations with regard to modern slavery, it is unsurprising that the evidence base considered in this study was relatively exploratory, and focused on the basic regulatory frameworks, and corporate compliance with these.

While the dominant messaging of studies assessed in this hypothesis grouping reflected positively on modern slavery corporate reporting obligations, the focus on regulatory frameworks and corporate compliance in studies in this grouping does not provide strong evidence for the impacts of corporate reporting on individuals vulnerable to, or experiencing exploitation. Studies typically focused on changes in corporate behaviour as the mechanism for tackling modern slavery, rather than seeking to evaluate impacts for workers on the ground. It is notable that the only study in this hypothesis group that included engagement with workers recorded negative impacts of the UK Modern Slavery Act on sex workers in Sri Lanka, who were noted to have been fired from their work in factories because they also undertook part time sex work. This signals a need for further research and evidence on the ultimate impacts of these legal and policy frameworks on individual experiences of modern slavery in supply chains, as well as the potential negative externalities of these measures.

Hypothesis 6. Increased corporate liability provisions and/or financial penalties or incentives improve the private sector’s engagement in anti-slavery activity²⁵

The role of corporate liability provisions and financial penalties/incentives was captured in 10 distinct claims across 9 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 7 (78%) published in peer-reviewed settings and 2 (22%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 8 records (89%) had academic authorship, and 1 (11%) was authored by a non-governmental actor. Publication dates extended from 2014-2020, with the highest concentration in 2019 (n=3).



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 1 case, proved in 4 cases, proved weakly in 3 cases, and not proved in 2 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Table 11. Study characteristics by claims

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

Although studies within this grouping are not dominated by a particular study type, secondary studies were the most common (n=4; 40%). 2 claims (20%) were underpinned by each of the other study types—namely, primary studies, mixed studies, and theoretical or conceptual studies. 4 of the claims in this grouping (40%) were considered in studies that adopted qualitative research methods, 1 was supported by quantitative research, and 2 claims were underpinned by mixed methods analysis. The quantitative study limited its interrogation to descriptive analysis. 3 studies adopted non-empirical research methods.

Methods and approaches adopted varied substantially between studies in this hypothesis grouping, although 3 studies involved a combination of legal analysis and literature review, and 1 study was based solely on literature review. 4 studies undertook interviews, typically favouring a semi-structured qualitative approach. The number of interview respondents ranged from 20 to 105. 2 studies combined interviews with literature review and documentary analysis, and another combined key informant interviews with 6 roundtable discussions with migrants, media and case analysis, literature review, and quantitative secondary data analysis. 2 studies included interviews with individuals vulnerable to exploitation, producing findings relevant at the end of the supply chain where exploitation occurs rather than focusing only on corporate behaviour and regulatory frameworks. The final study undertook content analysis of company reports and disclosures on 204 companies.

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be strong, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, and cogent. Half of the claims considered were considered to be valid and reliable. Claims were considered to meet, or somewhat meet, all of the evidentiary quality criteria in all cases, with one exception: reliability. Evidence supporting claims was considered not to meet the

²⁵ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [4], [13], [30], [31], [35], [52], [66], [80], and [83].

evidentiary quality criteria of reliability in 2 cases—with the evidence underpinning 2 claims (20%) considered not to be reliable.

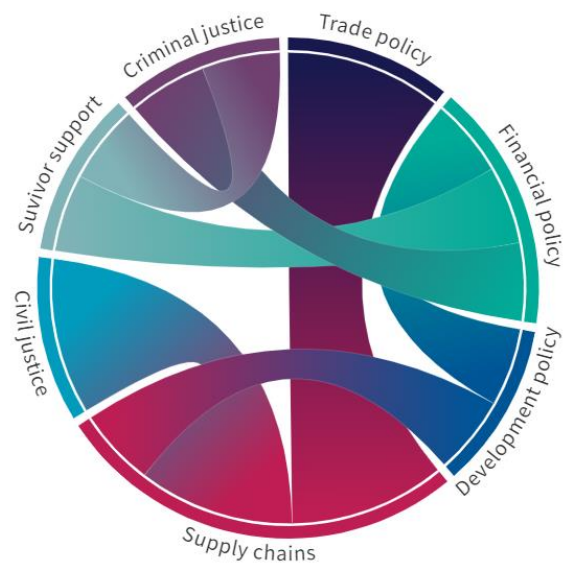
Table 12. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	9 (90%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	6 (60%)	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	5 (50%)	5 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	5 (50%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	6 (60%)	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Claims considered in this hypothesis group typically related to the supply chains theme, and a number of claims also connected to additional review themes. Of the 10 claims, 8 connected to the supply chains theme, 2 connected to trade policy, 2 to development policy, and 2 to financial policy. Additionally, 2 claims connected to the Justice theme of civil justice, 1 to survivor engagement and support, and 1 to criminal justice.

Studies in this grouping highlighted the importance of voluntary governance mechanisms in supply chains in response to labour exploitation risks. In this respect, they argued that financial incentives and penalties are one of the most used instruments in voluntary governance mechanisms. One study found that shared trust and support from buying firms make suppliers more responsive to financial incentives. Another stressed that awareness of corporate liability by employees increased firms' efforts to address forced labour and human trafficking in supply chains.

Figure 25. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 6



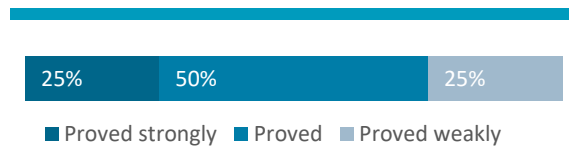
Geographic distribution

Studies were somewhat geographically diverse, with 2 adopting a global perspective not tied to a particular geography. 1 study focused on trafficking journeys from Vietnam to Europe, encompassing Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, the Netherlands, Poland, the United Kingdom, and Ukraine. Another focused on the specific sub-national context of California (United States), focusing on the application of the California Transparency in Supply Chains Act. The remaining studies focused on a single national context, including India, Slovakia, the United Kingdom (2), and the United States.

Hypothesis 7. Corporate disclosure requirements on supply chains and supply chain risk are effective in improving the private sector’s approach to tackling modern slavery²⁶

The role of corporate liability provisions and financial penalties/incentives was captured in 8 distinct claims across 7 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 5 (71%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 2 (29%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. 5 studies (71%) had academic authorship, while 2 (29%) were authored by non-governmental actors. Publication dates extended from 2015 to 2020, with the highest concentration in 2018 (n=3). No records assessed were published in the period from 2010-2014, nor were any records assessed published in 2017.



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

Table 13. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	1 (13%)
Secondary study	5 (63%)
Mixed study	1 (13%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	1 (13%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	2 (25%)
Qualitative	3 (38%)
Mixed	2 (25%)
Non-empirical	1 (13%)
Research design	
Observational	8 (100%)
Experimental	0 (0%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
Quasi-experimental	0 (0%)
N/A	0 (0%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through secondary studies (n=5; 63%). Qualitative research methods were the most common (n=3; 38%), followed by quantitative and mixed research methods (each n=2; 25%), and 1 claim was advanced in a study adopting a non-empirical approach (13%). Observational research designs were favoured, representing 5 claims (63%).

Studies considered in this hypothesis grouping adopted a variety of methods, with content analysis of company reports and disclosers the most commonly adopted approach, conducted in 3 studies. The number of companies investigated in these studies ranged from 100 to 204, and in 1 case the study specifically undertook quantitative content analysis. 1 study conducted quantitative analysis of

secondary data on 94 companies across 24 sectors, while another combined a survey of companies with documentary analysis. The final 2 studies combined legal analysis with literature review.

It is notable that no studies considered in this hypothesis group conducted interviews, not did any of the studies involve data collection with those individuals along the supply chains vulnerable to, or experiencing modern slavery. The pieces therefore focus more on the regulatory frameworks and corporate behaviour, than on the ultimate impacts on modern slavery. This signals a need for further research interrogating the ultimate impact of these measures on workers, to determine the impacts on experiences of modern slavery.

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be strong, with the evidence underpinning the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, and reliable. Half of the claims identified were considered to be supported by cogent

²⁶ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [6], [35], [38], [45], [63], [73], and [83].

evidence, and half by somewhat cogent evidence. Claims were considered to meet, or somewhat meet, all evidentiary quality criteria in all cases, with 1 exception. Evidence supporting 1 claim was considered not to be transparent.

Table 14. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	7 (88%)	1 (13%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	6 (75%)	1 (13%)	1 (13%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	7 (88%)	1 (13%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	8 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	5 (63%)	3 (38%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Unsurprisingly, supply chains was the dominant theme represented in this hypothesis group, connecting to all claims identified. Half of all claims identified related to supply chains exclusively, while the remaining 4 claims also connected to one additional theme each. 1 claims related to trade policy, 1 to development policy, 1 to financial policy, and 1 to the Justice theme of survivor engagement and support.

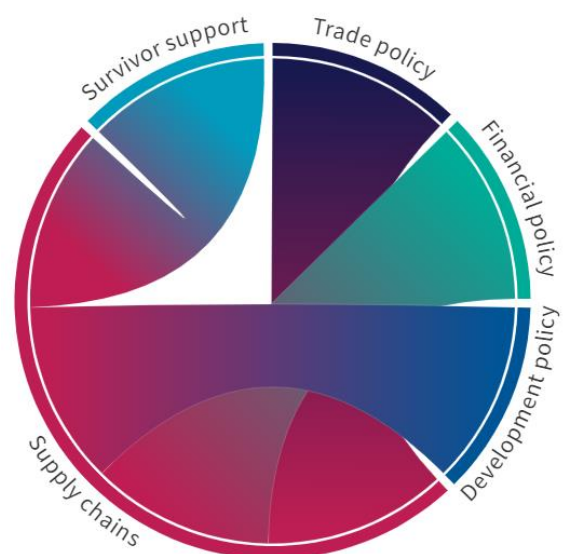
Studies highlighted the inability of traditional corporate social responsibility policies in tackling modern slavery. Thorough transparency combined with consumer pressure was argued to enhance private sector’s response to modern slavery risk. In relation to companies’ efforts to become more transparent, studies in this grouping stressed that giving companies clear guidance and requirements may help reporting corporate disclosures more consistent and systematic. If requirements are too broadly framed, reports may not make companies transparent enough that they could be held accountable.

Studies also stated that clear corporate disclosures are effective means for establishing common ground among business functions. For instance, sourcing and compliance departments have clashing priorities. While the former prioritises suppliers with high ethical conduct, the latter focuses on getting products faster, cheaper and at high quality. Having a clear disclosure document was argues to help company management better communicate its principles with employees.

Geographic distribution

Studies typically focused on contexts where there a requirement of corporate disclosure on supply chains specific to modern slavery already in existence, such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and California (United States) (2). However, 2 studies were not geographically tied, adopting a global perspective.

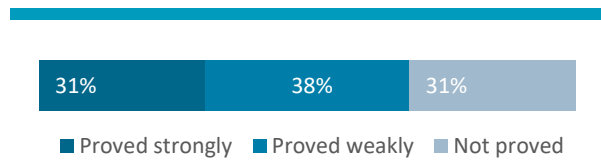
Figure 26. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 7



Hypothesis 8. Access to fair employment in the labour market and/or related skills training is effective in preventing forced labour and human trafficking or reducing the risk of survivors being re-trafficked²⁷

The need for access to fair employment in the labour market and/or related skills training for effectively preventing forced labour and human trafficking, or reducing the risk of survivors being re-trafficked, was captured in 13 distinct claims across 10 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 6 (60%) published in peer-reviewed settings with academic authorship, and 4 (40%) published in non-peer reviewed settings—2 authored by non-governmental actors and 2 by intergovernmental organisations. Publication dates extended from 2012 to 2019, although no records assessed were published in 2013.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 4 cases, proved in 0 case, proved weakly in 5 cases, and not proved in 4 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Table 15. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	7 (54%)
Secondary study	5 (38%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	1 (8%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	9 (69%)
Mixed methods	2 (15%)
Non-empirical	2 (15%)
Research design	
Experimental	0 (0%)
Quasi-experimental	3 (23%)
Observational	7 (54%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
N/A	3 (23%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	6 (46%)

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection (n=7; 54%) while 5 records conducted secondary studies, predominantly adopting observational designs. 1 record relied on theoretical discussion, drawing on evidence from extant literature. Interviews with direct survivors were used in one study while another utilised participant observation of 15 Nigerian women residing in the geographical focus area of the research. Most secondary studies used desk-based review, content analysis, and scoping review methods while one study undertook a review of existing studies. The specific details of methods adopted were outlined for 20% of claims, with the applied research framework only somewhat clear for the majority of claims.

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority of claims supported by evidence that was considered to be transparent, context appropriate, valid, and cogent. Evidence underpinning claims was considered to be clear and reliable, or somewhat so, in the majority cases. Evidence supporting claims was considered not to meet the evidentiary quality criteria in a small proportion of cases—with the evidence underpinning claims considered not to have a clear research framework in 2 cases (15%), and not to be transparent, valid, or cogent in 1 case each (8%).

²⁷ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [22], [24], [26], [27], [47], [49], [51], [56], [67], and [72].

Table 16. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

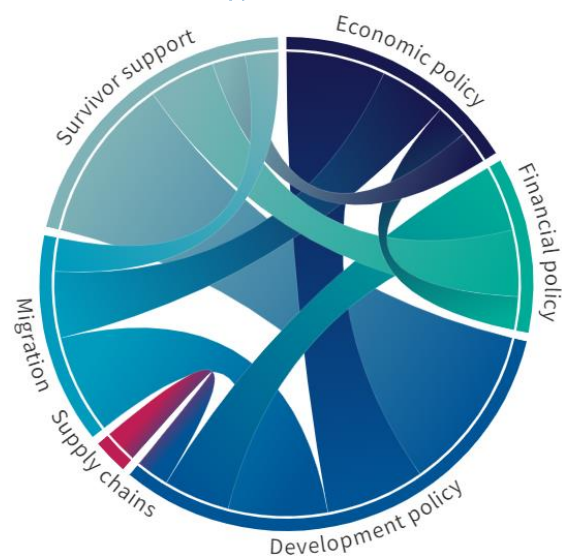
	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	4 (31%)	7 (54%)	2 (15%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	8 (62%)	4 (31%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	10 (77%)	3 (23%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	7 (54%)	5 (38%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	6 (46%)	7 (54%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	7 (54%)	5 (38%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)

Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. Authors often drew on international literature rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

All claims within this group related to the development policy theme (n=13), with 3 also connected to economic policy, 2 to financial policy, and 1 to supply chains. 6 claims also related to the Justice theme of survivor engagement and support, and 3 to the Crisis theme of migration. 2 claims related to each of the cross-cutting themes of social policy, education, and gender.

Several records in this group showed that for sustainable emancipation of people (especially women in situations of slavery or slavery like practices) it is imperative that livelihoods and resilience to exploitation be developed in a dignified manner. One study identified how trafficking was underpinned by the high demand for low-skilled, informal workers under flexible working arrangements. Another study highlighted how global supply chains (GSCs) are complex, diverse, dynamic, and continuously evolving structures. However, the solutions provided do not address all the challenges faced by workers especially in the extended tiers of these GSCs.

Figure 27. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 8



Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, with 1 global in scope. 1 study considered the regional context of South America with a comparative of 21 countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Haiti, Nicaragua, Peru, Costa Rica, Guyana, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Jamaica, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago and Guatemala), 1 focused on Asia (including Australia and New Zealand), and another on Southern Africa. The remaining records were national studies, covering Mauritania, Ghana, Italy, Nigeria, Indonesia, and Benin.

One study demonstrated common themes that should be considered in the development of effective survivor support programs: survivors were concerned about financial responsibilities, including towards their families; post-trafficking economic development opportunities were gendered and/or inadequate; and aftercare programs tended to focus primarily on socio-emotional rehabilitation, with little attention to the material realities of survivors.

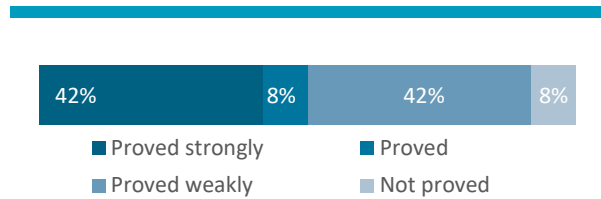
Most of the studies (n=5) called for the use of integrated and collaborative approaches between the public, private, social and/or civil society governance

actors to promote synergies between both economic upgrading and social upgrading of forced labourers and survivors. One study posited that human resource development (HRD) is an emerging tool used in developing countries for community development and can be effectively used in modern slavery prevention and resilience building contexts.

Hypothesis 9. There is a positive relationship between the economic health of a state and the reduction/prevention of modern slavery²⁸

The positive relationship between the reduction/prevention of forced labour and human trafficking and the economic health of a state was assessed in 12 distinct claims across 10 records.

The majority of studies were published, with 7 (70%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 3 (30%) published in non-peer reviewed settings. The majority of records had academic authorship (n=9; 90%) with 1 record (10%) authored by an intergovernmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2019, with the highest concentrations in 2012 and 2018 (n=3 each). No studies assessed were published in the period from 2014-2016.



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

Table 15. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	5 (42%)
Secondary study	7 (58%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	3 (25%)
Qualitative	4 (33%)
Mixed methods	4 (33%)
Non-empirical	1 (8%)
Research design	
Experimental	0 (0%)
Quasi-experimental	1 (8%)
Observational	10 (83%)
Systematic Review	0 (0%)
N/A	1 (8%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved secondary data (n=7), while 5 studies employed primary study methods. Observational research designs were heavily favoured, underpinning 10 claims (83%). Primary qualitative studies used methods ranging from interviews with survivors, participant observation, focus groups with migrant worker groups, and supplementary archival work at parliamentary and organisational archives. Secondary qualitative studies drew on extant secondary sources (mainly literature, international and domestic laws, UN webs, news and other reports) to support discussions. For instance, one study focused on the relationship between parental/family income and child labour. Four

studies applied quantitative analysis techniques to data collected from various sources including the Economic Freedom Index, Human Trafficking Indicators Database, Human Development Index (HDI), and World Bank Data.

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was broadly assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the half of the claims underpinned by evidence considered to be clear, context appropriate, and valid. Evidence was considered to meet, or somewhat meet, all evidentiary quality criteria in the majority of cases. Instances of evidence supporting claims not meeting the evidentiary quality criteria were recorded for all measures considered, with the evidence underpinning 3 claims (25%) considered not to be transparent, 2 cases each (17%) considered not to be clear or reliable, and 1 case each (8%) considered not to be context appropriate, valid, or cogent.

²⁸ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [3], [16], [39], [50], [51], [53], [56], [59], [75], [77], and [79].

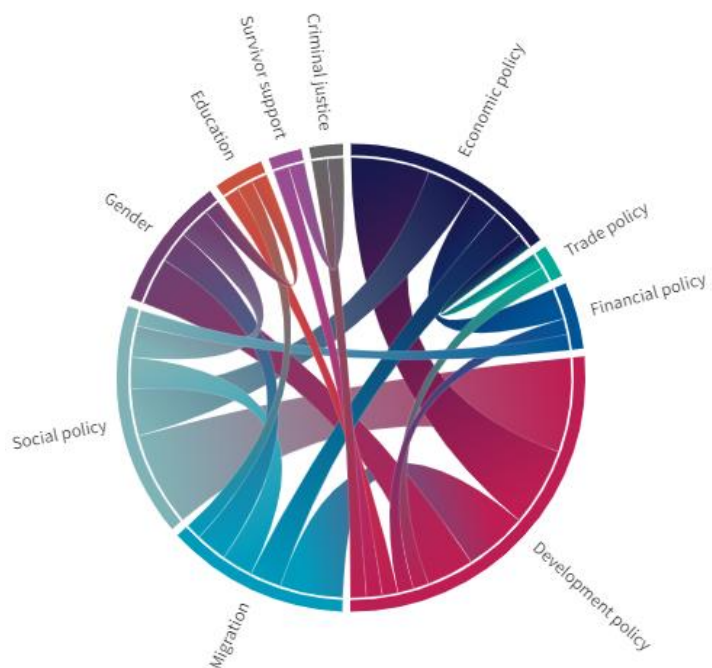
Table 18. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

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

Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. Authors often drew on international literature rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

All claims within this hypothesis grouping, with only 1 exception, were considered to be at the intersection of multiple themes, with several assessed as connecting to 3 (n=5) or 4 themes (n=4). The majority of claims within this group related to the development policy theme (n=10), while 7 related to economic policy, 2 to financial policy, and 1 to trade policy. Claims also related to a variety of other themes considered in this review, including 1 claim each related to the Justice themes of criminal justice and survivor engagement and support, and 4 to the Crisis theme of migration. Additionally, 6 claims related to the cross-cutting theme of social policy, 3 to gender, and 1 to education.

Figure 28. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 9



Most records in the group suggested when migration is reduced and remittances are no longer available, households attempt to compensate by introducing individuals into the labour force who were previously unattached. While these increases in labour force participation are realised through increases in both employment and unemployment, households appear unable to compensate for lost migration opportunities and engage in less desirable domestic labour market options. Specifically, child labour increased, under-employment increased, and more individuals engaged in short-term work. One of the studies indicated that existing evidence supports the conclusion that stable increases in family and parental income decreases child labour, but that transitory and temporary changes (as

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, typically focusing on a single national jurisdiction, although 3 studies were not geographically tied, adopting international perspectives. 1 study considered multiple countries, focused on 3 Southeast Asian countries (Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia). The remaining studies focused on the national contexts of Albania, Benin, India, Indonesia, Latvia, and Malaysia.

Most records in the group suggested when migration is reduced and remittances are no longer available, households attempt to compensate by introducing individuals into the labour force who were previously unattached. While these increases in labour force participation are realised through increases in both employment and unemployment, households appear unable to compensate for lost migration opportunities and engage in less desirable domestic labour market options. Specifically, child labour increased, under-employment increased, and more individuals engaged in short-term work. One of the studies indicated that existing evidence supports the conclusion that stable increases in family and parental income decreases child labour, but that transitory and temporary changes (as

well as drops in income) increase child labour. Another study on the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia emphasises that the principal reason women seek overseas employment is to obtain the means to pay for day-to-day familial needs, to alleviate poverty and meet healthcare and education costs, not to obtain the means to fund economic development.

1 study strongly demonstrated the relationship between slavery prevalence and the Human Development Index. Another noted that child labour typically declines as countries industrialise, because employment in the agricultural sector where child labour is concentrated declines. However, the latter study acknowledged that some countries with relatively low GDP per capita nonetheless maintain low rates of child employment, indicating that child labour can be addressed through other means than economic advancement. Hence, such comparisons can obscure the interlocking nature of the global economy wherein slavery elsewhere might be influenced by policies and actors in countries with higher HDIs and lesser slavery prevalence, for instance, one study suggests that market-friendly policies in general are likely to increase the probability of a country being involved with forced labour trafficking, whether as a source or destination country, as well as having internal trafficking.

Hypothesis 10. Data on the scale of forced labour and human trafficking and the effectiveness of existing interventions would improve private sector action on forced labour and human trafficking²⁹

The need for data on the scale of forced labour and human trafficking, and the effectiveness of existing anti-slavery interventions, in order for the private sector to meaningfully act on the issue was assessed in 7 distinct claims across 6 records.

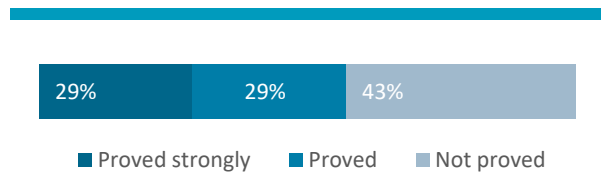
The majority of studies were published, with 4 (67%) published in peer-reviewed settings and 2 (33%) published in non-peer reviewed contexts. 4 studies (67%) had academic authorship, 1 was authored by a non-governmental actor, and 1 by an intergovernmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2014 to 2020, with the highest concentration in 2020 (n=2).

Table 19. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	1 (14%)
Secondary study	3 (43%)
Mixed	1 (14%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	2 (29%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	2 (29%)
Qualitative	0 (0%)
Mixed Methods	1 (14%)
Non-empirical	4 (57%)
Research design	
Experimental	0 (0%)
Quasi-experimental	0 (0%)
Observational	5 (71%)
Systematic Review	2 (29%)
N/A	0 (0%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

Similarly, 1 other record conducted theoretical discussion supported by extant literature. The remaining studies involved empirical research, in 1 case conducting a survey of Spanish-speaking undocumented migrants in San Diego (with 826 respondents), and 1 study combining a scoping review with 17 key informant interviews. The final study was based on the Walk Free Foundation’s Promising Practices Database, conducting quantitative analysis on the database created through systematic review.

The strength of evidence underpinning claims in this group was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis. The majority of claims were considered to be supported by clear, context appropriate, and cogent evidence. Evidence was also considered to be transparent or somewhat transparent, valid or somewhat valid, and reliable or somewhat reliable in all cases. The quality of evidence was considered to meet, or somewhat meet, all evidentiary quality criteria for all sources except one (where context-appropriateness



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

Study characteristics across this hypothesis grouping were distributed across approaches, with no particular approaches dominating the group. Secondary studies were the most common study type underpinning claims in the group (n=3; 43%), followed by theoretical or conceptual studies (n=2; 29%). 1 claim was underpinned by a primary study, and 1 by a mixed study (14%). Non-empirical research methods were favoured, underpinning 4 claims (57%), with 2 claims (29%) supported by quantitative analysis, and 1 by mixed methods research.

Approaches adopted in the studies in this hypothesis grouping were relatively diverse, with the only repetition in approaches being 2 studies which combined legal and policy analysis with analysis of existing literature.

²⁹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [37], [43], [56], [70], [73], and [84].

was unclear). No claim was underpinned by evidence assessed not to meet the evidentiary quality measures.

Table 20. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

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

Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. Authors often drew on international literature rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study, reflecting the global scope of the majority of the studies.

Development policy was the most dominant theme in this hypothesis grouping, representing 5 claims. 1 claim related to economic policy, 1 to financial policy, and 1 to supply chains. 2 claims related to the Crisis theme of migration, and 1 to the Justice theme of criminal justice. The cross-cutting theme of education was also connected to 1 claim.

3 records in this group identified the challenges faced by migrant workers, low-wage workers, and child labourers (respectively) in different socio-economic contexts. One study found 31% of undocumented Spanish-speaking migrant workers in San Diego to have experienced a human trafficking violation, either at the hands of smugglers or in the workplace. Other studies in the group examined best practices, initiatives, and programmes for the prevention of labour exploitation in comparable country contexts and highlighted obstacles to effective responses.

1 of the studies showcased how research on human trafficking has not sufficiently examined the factors that explain why some police agencies are more successful than others at developing organisational responses to human trafficking crimes. It highlighted some successful initiatives but noted that there remain many questions about the factors behind weak enforcement and prosecution practices and their poor results. Considering that, in most countries, law enforcement continues to struggle to identify cases, protect victims, and make it possible for them to collaborate with the authorities and dismantle the criminal groups and networks involved, research ought to focus not only on patterns of human trafficking, but also on the

Figure 29. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 10



Geographic distribution

Studies in this grouping were typically international in scope rather than adopting a focus on particular geographies. Of the 6 studies, 5 adopted a global perspective. The final study considered the specific sub-national context of San Diego (United States).

that, in most countries, law enforcement continues to struggle to identify cases, protect victims, and make it possible for them to collaborate with the authorities and dismantle the criminal groups and networks involved, research ought to focus not only on patterns of human trafficking, but also on the

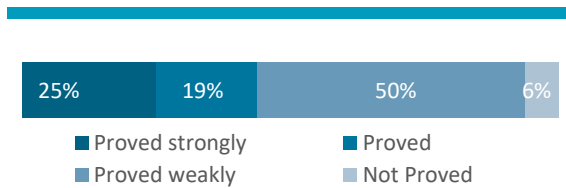
successes and failures of law enforcement strategies.

Two studies recognised that effective efforts to address child labour require a more robust evidence and knowledge base, encompassing information systems that record cases, monitor implementation of legislation, and provide reliable information on child labour, its evolution, the risks faced by children in work, its general impact on children, other family members or the whole economy, as well as expanding awareness of child labour and its consequences. It is important that the attitudes and mind-sets of people are changed to employ adults instead of children and allow all children to go to school and have the chance to learn, play and socialise as they should. Conversely, the lack of information on child labour issues is a barrier to changing attitudes and practices. They therefore highlight the importance of public information campaigns and awareness raising in addressing child labour.

Hypothesis 11. Increased state regulation of the labour market would help eliminate forced labour and human trafficking³⁰

The role of corporate liability provisions and financial penalties and incentives was captured in 16 distinct claims across 12 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 4 (33%) published in peer-reviewed settings and 8 (67%) published in non-peer reviewed contexts. 7 records (58%) had academic authorship, 4 (33%) were authored by non-governmental actors and 1 (8%) by an intergovernmental actor. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2020, with the highest concentration in 2017 (n=3).



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 4 cases, proved in 3 cases, proved weakly in 8 cases, and not proved in 1 case. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

Table 21. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	5 (31%)
Secondary study	3 (19%)
Mixed study	2 (13%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	6 (38%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	2 (13%)
Qualitative	2 (13%)
Mixed	6 (38%)
Non-empirical	6 (38%)
Research design	
Observational	11 (69%)
Experimental	0 (0%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
Quasi-experimental	3 (19%)
N/A	2 (13%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

Studies within this grouping were relatively well distributed across study types, with 6 claims (38%) underpinned by theoretical or conceptual studies, 5 (31%) by primary studies, and 3 (19%) by secondary studies. The remaining 2 studies (13%) adopted a mixed approach. Mixed and non-empirical research methods were the most commonly adopted approaches, underpinning 6 claims (38%) each. Quantitative and qualitative methods each supported 2 claims (13%). Observational research designs dominated, representing 13 claims (81%).

Methods varied between studies in this grouping, from discussion pieces drawing on extant literature (n=4) to quantitative analysis of secondary data sources (n=2) analysing employment surveys in India and

exiting global data sets on human trafficking and the Economic Freedom of the World dataset. 1 study conducted qualitative analysis on secondary data collected in London (United Kingdom), and another conducted content analysis on 10 international, regional, and national level anti-trafficking policies. 3 studies involved interviews as a data collection method, in 1 case combining interviews with 21 garment workers with stakeholder consultations, and in another combining worker and stakeholder interviews with literature review. The final interview study drew on a baseline study interviewing over 3000 workers and a survey of 208 brick kilns, and combined this with a new study involving interviews with 383 workers across 3 Indian states, including 339 workers directly engaged in brick moulding in kilns. The final study conducted 3 cross-section surveys of workers across a period of 4 years (with surveys administered in 2006, 2008, and 2009) across nine cities in South China, obtaining 2613, 2093 and 1721 observations respectively. This was combined with legal analysis.

³⁰ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [2], [16], [19], [20], [26], [42], [56], [59], [60], [64], [66], [77]and [82].

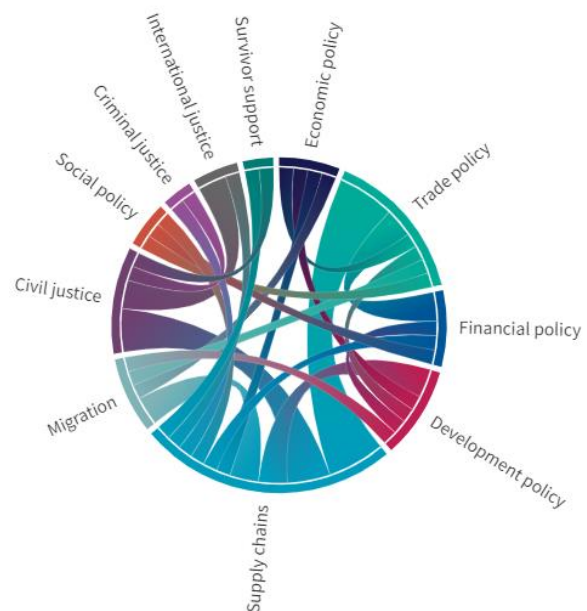
Table 22. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	9 (56%)	7 (44%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	7 (44%)	9 (56%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	12 (75%)	4 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	9 (56%)	7 (44%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	4 (25%)	12 (75%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	11 (69%)	5 (31%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding, with the majority of claims recorded as supported by evidence with a clear research framework that was context appropriate, valid, and cogent. All claims were considered to be supported by evidence that satisfied each of the evidentiary quality measures, or somewhat satisfied these measures. Conversely, in no case was the evidence underpinning claims considered not to meet the 6 criteria in whole or to some degree.

All claims considered in this hypothesis grouping, with only 1 exception, connected to more than 1 of the review themes. Claims also connected to 11 of the 18 review themes, making this a particularly intersectional hypothesis. The majority of claims (10) connected to the supply chains theme, followed by trade policy and development policy, each connected to 6 claims. 3 claims related to economic policy, and 2 to financial policy. Claims also connected to each of the Justice themes, with 4 claims related to civil justice, 2 to criminal justice, 2 to international justice, and 1 to survivor engagement and support. 3 claims connected to the Crisis theme of migration, and 1 to the cross-cutting theme of social policy.

Figure 30. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 11



Studies in this grouping generally agreed on the positive impact of state regulation on eliminating human trafficking and modern slavery. One study stated that the new contract labour law substantially increased the likelihood that migrant workers obtained a written contract. Moreover, it revealed that workers who gained a contract were more likely to have social insurance and hold a union membership at their workplace.

Geographic distribution

Studies in this group were relatively geographically diverse, and typically focused on a single national jurisdiction, although 3 studies were not geographically tied, adopting international perspectives, and 1 focused on southern Africa. The remaining studies covered the national contexts of China, India (2), Malaysia, Slovakia, the United Kingdom (2), and Vietnam.

Studies found that significant norm localisation occurred with regulations moving from the international level to the regional and national levels, which helped eliminate human trafficking and forced labour. For instance, one study stated that Africa-specific regulations and policies included the incorporation of traditional leaders into human trafficking programs, recognition of the impact of war and conflict on human trafficking.

Hypothesis 12. Firms at the top of a supply chain applying more scrutiny to, and taking responsibility for, the recruitment practices within their produce/ services/ supply chains would help reduce risks of modern slavery down the supply chain³¹

The value of firms at the top of supply chains, particularly global supply chains, in scrutinising and taking responsibility for the recruitment practices within their supply chains in reducing modern slavery risks was captured in 14 distinct claims across 10 records assessed.

All studies were published, with 5 (50%) published in peer-reviewed settings and 5 (50%) published in non-peer reviewed contexts. Half of the studies considered (n=5) had academic authorship, while 4 were authored by non-governmental actors, and 1 by an intergovernmental organisation. Publication dates extended from 2013 to 2019, with the highest concentrations in 2015 and 2018 (n=3).

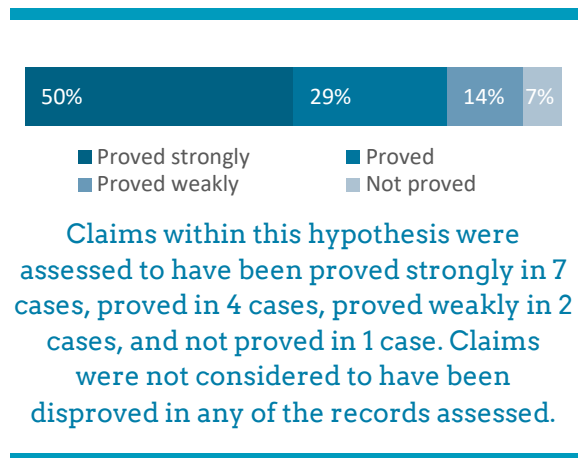
Primary studies were the most dominant in this hypothesis grouping, underpinning 7 claims (50%). Secondary studies were also relatively common, representing 5 claims (36%). Research methods adopted were relatively balanced between qualitative (43%), non-empirical (43%), and mixed methods (14%) approaches.

Table 23. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	7 (50%)
Secondary study	5 (36%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	2 (14%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	0 (0%)
Qualitative	6 (43%)
Mixed methods	2 (14%)
Non-empirical	6 (43%)
Research design	
Observational	8 (57%)
Experimental	0 (0%)
Systematic review	1 (7%)
Quasi-experimental	1 (7%)
N/A	4 (29%)
Programme or project evaluation	
	0 (0%)

secondary data with value chain analysis, literature review, and semi-structured key informant interviews. The final interview study drew on a baseline study interviewing over 3000 workers and a survey of 208 brick kilns, and combined this with a new study involving interviews with 383 workers across 3 Indian states, including 339 workers directly engaged in brick moulding in kilns.

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



Several studies based conclusions primarily on existing literature, with 2 studies presenting analysis and discussion based on existing literature, 1 literature review, and 1 combining legal analysis with literature review. 1 study presented 10 case studies of supply chains between the UK and Brazil. The remaining 5 studies all involved interviews as a data collection method, combined with additional research methods in each case. 1 study combined interviews with 21 brands and retailers with a survey of 51 companies, 1 study combined interviews with 21 garment workers with stakeholder consultations, and another combined 34 semi-structured key informant interviews with field observation. Adopting a more complex research design, 1 study combined quantitative analysis of

³¹ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [2], [8], [17], [30], [31], [42], [46], [61], [64], and [81].

underpinned by evidence assessed to satisfy all 6 of the evidentiary quality measures in whole or in part in every case, with 1 exception—1 claim was considered to be supported by unreliable evidence.

Table 24. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	10 (71%)	4 (29%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	7 (50%)	7 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	10 (71%)	4 (29%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	13 (93%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	8 (57%)	5 (36%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	10 (71%)	4 (29%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Supply chains was naturally the dominant theme connected to claims identified in this hypothesis grouping, relating to 13 claims. Other themes connected to claims in this group were less strongly represented, with 4 claims related to trade policy, 2 to development policy, 1 to economic policy, and 1 to financial policy. Additionally, 4 claims connected to the Justice theme of international justice, 3 to criminal justice, and 2 to civil justice. 1 claim connected to the cross-cutting theme of social policy.

Studies suggested that firms could negotiate contractual terms for greater control over foreign businesses in their value chains, using these approaches to decrease the risk of human trafficking violations. They also stated that leading firms should seek more in-depth

knowledge about the supply chain and parties involved, gain their recognition and motivate them towards the anti-slavery cause. One study highlighted the importance of end-to-end supply chain visibility for identifying and mitigating forced labour risk, and argued that it required engagement from the leadership of the firms at the top of the supply chain. Another study described multinational companies as ‘facilitators’ of international labour

Figure 31. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 12



standards. This study went on to argue that the absence of pressure exerted by international buyers in the shrimp industry has resulted in the industry being slower to adopt and enforce international standards for processes and labour conditions.

Geographic distribution

Studies in this hypothesis grouping were somewhat geographically diverse, although covering a relatively limited number of national contexts. 2 studies were not geographically tied, adopting international perspectives. 1 study addressed supply chains between 2 countries, namely Brazil and the United Kingdom. The remaining studies each considered a single national context, covering India (2), Thailand, the United Kingdom (2), the United States, and Vietnam.

Hypothesis 13. Grievance mechanisms to identify modern slavery when it occurs and compensation initiatives to remediate workers as a result (in addition to prevention policies) support holistic efforts to address modern slavery in the workplace³²

The need for prevention policies and grievance mechanisms to identify forced labour when it occurs, and compensation initiatives to remediate workers as a result, to holistically address forced labour in the workplace was assessed in 3 distinct claims across 3 records.

2 claims in this group were considered to have been proved, and 1 was considered not to have been proved based on the evidence brought to bear in the study.

All 3 studies considered under this hypothesis were published in peer-reviewed settings and authored by academics. Records were published in 2013, 2015, and 2019.

The hypothesis group included 1 mixed study adopting qualitative research methods and an observational design, 1 secondary non-empirical study, and 1 theoretical or conceptual study adopting non-empirical methods and an observational design. The mixed study conducted 20 semi-structured key informant interviews, with analysis of intelligence reports by the Metropolitan Police and extant literature. The secondary study was based on literature review, while the theoretical piece drew on extant literature for support for the claims advanced in the discussion of the need for legal and regulatory frameworks to support compensation for exploited workers.

The quality of evidence in each case was considered to support a positive finding, with no claim assessed not to be supported by evidence that met, or somewhat met, all of the quality criteria. Evidence was considered to be transparent in all cases, and the measure least satisfied was cogency.

Table 25. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis

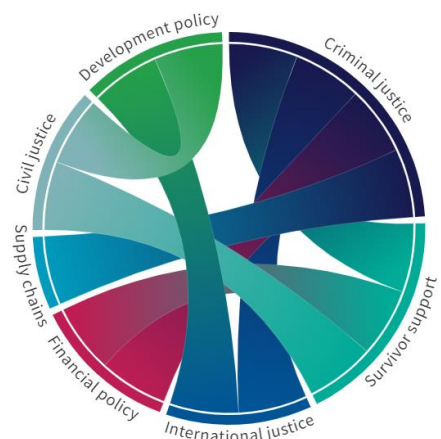
	Yes	Somewhat	No
Clear research framework	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)
Valid	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	0 (0%)

Each claim in this hypothesis grouping connected to three review themes, each with a unique combination. The supply chains theme connected to 2 of the identified claims, and development policy to 1 claim. Claims also connected to the Justice themes of criminal justice (2), survivor engagement and support (2), civil justice (1), and international justice (1).

Each study adopted a distinct geographic perspective, in 1 case focused on the United Kingdom, 1 on the United States, and 1 adopted an international perspective.

The study focused on the United Kingdom critically assessed the success of law and legislation on modern slavery. The 2015 Modern Slavery Act was found to be limited in its success in practice in financially investigating cases of human trafficking. Rather than confiscation, seizure, and compensation, more traditional methods were favoured. Some of the challenges facing financial investigations included: (a)

Figure 32. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 13



³² Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [4], [46], and [64].

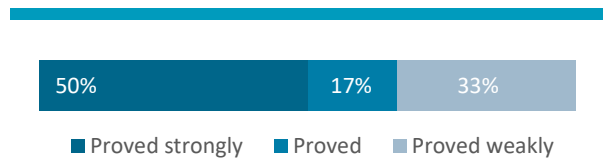
scarcity of resources and expertise; (b) focus on disruption and victims rather than financial aspects; (c) procedural complications and delays; and (d) low efficiency.

The record investigating the United States context noted that labour institutions such as unions allow workers and firms to join forces and pursue shared goals, which may include anti-trafficking oversight and action. The globally focused piece focused specifically on fishers and seafarers as workers particularly vulnerable to exploitation, suggesting that mechanisms to ensure compensation for victims are a deterrent to offending, as they impose additional costs on traffickers and ship owners. Noting that the fishing and seafaring sectors are profit-driven, the author suggests that imposing additional costs on exploitation would act as effective deterrents. The record further suggests that compensation also plays an important role in reintegration of victims when they are returned home. However, the record does not assess or evaluate existing interventions involving compensation, and conclusions are therefore speculative in nature despite being supported by some extant literature.

Hypothesis 14. Engagement of Union/Worker Associations and/or an increased focus on worker voice mechanisms result in better identification and prevention of modern slavery in the workplace³³

The importance of engagement of union/worker associations and/or an increased focus on worker voice mechanisms to identify and prevent forced labour in the workplace was assessed in 6 distinct claims across 6 records.

All studies in this hypothesis grouping were published, with 3 (50%) published in peer-reviewed settings and 3 (50%) published in non-peer reviewed contexts. The majority of studies had academic authorship (n=4; 67%), while 2 studies (33%) were authored by non-governmental actors. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2018, with 1 record assessed published in each year from 2014-2018.



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

Table 27. Study characteristics by claims

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

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection (n=4) while 2 studies were secondary in nature. 4 studies adopted mixed methods approaches, while 1 used qualitative methods and 1 adopted a non-empirical approach combining legal analysis with literature review.

Interviews were a common method adopted in this hypothesis group, with 4 of the 6 studies undertaking interviews, in each case including interviews with workers combined with other data collection and analysis methods. In 1

study, interviews with garment workers (n=21) were combined with stakeholder consultations, and in another study interviews with migrant crew members (n=293) were combined with documentary analysis. Another study combined interviews with sex workers with interviews with union organisations, participant observation, and analysis of survey responses, although data was collected in the context of another study. The final interview study drew on a baseline study interviewing over 3000 workers and a survey of 208 brick kilns, and combined this with a new study involving interviews with 383 workers across 3 Indian states, including 339 workers directly engaged in brick moulding in kilns. The final study conducted 3 cross-section surveys of workers across a period of 4 years (with surveys administered in 2006, 2008, and 2009) across nine cities in South China, obtaining 2613, 2093 and 1721 observations respectively. This was combined with legal analysis.

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with all claims considered to be supported by context appropriate approaches, and the half considered to be transparent and valid. All claims were considered to be underpinned by evidence that satisfied all of the evidentiary quality

³³ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [2], [10], [36], [42], [46], and [82].

measures, or somewhat satisfied these measures, with 1 exception. The evidence supporting 1 claim was not considered to be reliable.

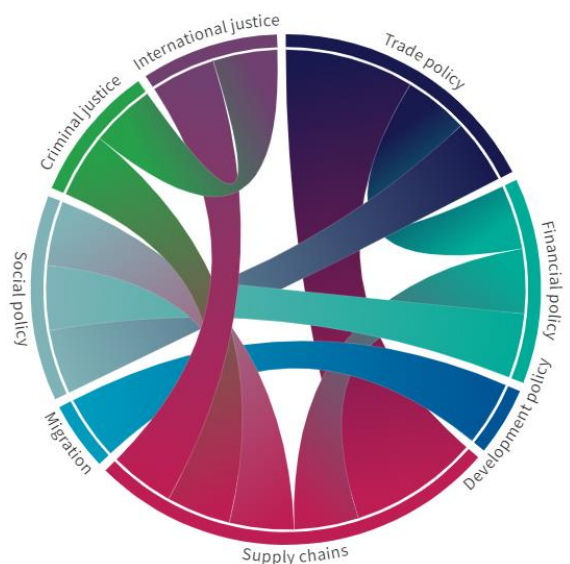
Table 28. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	2 (33%)	4 (67%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Valid	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	1 (17%)	4 (67%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	2 (33%)	4 (67%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence. Authors often drew on international literature rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study.

Supply chains was the most dominant theme in this hypothesis grouping, connecting to 4 of the claims assessed. Claims also intersected with a variety of other themes, including trade policy (2), development policy (2), and financial policy (1). Claims also connected to the Justice themes of criminal justice (1) and international justice (1), as well as the Crisis theme of migration (1). 1 claim connected to the cross-cutting theme of social policy. Claims were typically considered to relate to 1 or 2 themes (n=2 each), although 1 claim was assessed to be at the intersection of 3 themes, and 1 connected to 4.

Figure 33. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 14



In a study conducted in the United States, the role of labour institutions such as unions in allowing workers and firms to join forces and pursue shared goals was acknowledged, which may include anti-trafficking oversight and action. Similarly, the study in China showed, despite the generally weak implementation of labour laws, the 2007 Contract Labour Law had some of its desired effect for migrant workers. Though tied to the specific context in which the study was conducted, this study provided valuable cross-section analysis that included baseline measures established prior to the enactment of the 2007 law, and two rounds of evaluation after enactment. The study found that workers who gained a contract were more likely to have social insurance and a union active in their workplace, and less likely to experience wage arrears. While the study generated important insights relevant to workers vulnerable to exploitation, it did not directly consider risks of severe labour exploitation such as modern slavery, and whether the impacts of the law might differ in these extreme cases.

Geographic distribution

Studies were relatively geographically diverse, with each focusing on a distinct national context. These national studies covered Argentina, China, India, New Zealand, the United States, and Vietnam.

While regulations empowering worker voice were noted to be important in this hypothesis grouping, the study on Vietnam emphasised that national laws and

regulations alone were not sufficient to tackle risks of exploitation, finding that poor enforcement and implementation resulted in serious abuses against garment workers and a culture of fear, intimidation and control. Lack of viable alternatives were found to leave workers in particularly vulnerable positions, where abuse was more likely. Mechanisms to engage union and worker organisations and empower worker voice therefore need to be adequately supported and enforced by external mechanisms, and workers protected from retribution. The study focused on New Zealand likewise highlighted the need for both action to be leveraged by other actors (including unions and worker organisations) asserting pressure on the government, noting both private sector and governmental inaction in the absence of such pressure.

In 1 study in this group, gender disparities were highlighted, finding that workers in Indian brick kilns were often hired as family units with wages paid exclusively to the male head of the household. This resulted in female workers not receiving wages, and not being formally registered on the employment roll as workers. The importance of workers being registered and treated as such on an individual basis was therefore emphasised.

Hypothesis 15. Treating modern slavery and child labour as issues in silo from other socio-economic issues risks causing unintended negative consequences upon other socio-economic issues and does not tackle the issue in a sustainable way³⁴

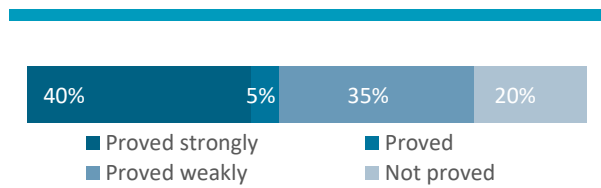
The importance of addressing forced labour, human trafficking, and child labour connection with other socio-economic issues (rather than in silos) in facilitating sustainable antislavery and avoiding negative consequences on socio-economic issues was captured in 20 distinct claims across 16 records.

All studies were published, with 11 (69%) published in peer-reviewed settings, and 5 (31%) published in non-peer reviewed contexts. The majority of studies were authored by academics (n=14; 88%), with 1 authored by a non-governmental organisation and 1 by a non-governmental actor. Publication dates extended from 2010 to 2020, with the highest concentration in 2020 (n=6).

Table 29. Study characteristics by claims

Study type	
Primary study	9 (45%)
Secondary study	11 (55%)
Mixed study	0 (0%)
Theoretical or conceptual study	0 (0%)
Research methods	
Quantitative	5 (25%)
Qualitative	9 (45%)
Mixed Methods	4 (20%)
Non-empirical	2 (10%)
Research design	
Observational	20 (100%)
Experimental	0 (0%)
Quasi-experimental	0 (0%)
Systematic review	0 (0%)
N/A	0 (0%)
Programme or project evaluation	0 (0%)

forced labourers, community stakeholders, decision-makers/ policymakers, activists, etc. Other studies focused on documentary analysis of key databases like the Human Development Index and Slavery Prevalence Data, Environmental Performance Index, administrative datasets from the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency (POEA) and the Overseas Worker Welfare Administration (OWWA). One study conducted a theoretical discussion using existing secondary literature on economic theory, labour markets, and migration as well as assessment of existing criminal-based governmental and EU policies on irregular migration.



Claims within this hypothesis were assessed to have been proved strongly in 8 cases, proved in 1 case, proved weakly in 7 cases, and not proved in 4 cases. Claims were not considered to have been disproved in any of the records assessed.

The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through secondary studies (n=11; 55%), while 9 (45%) were supported by primary studies. 5 studies employed quantitative methods, including cross-section surveys of migrant workers, employment surveys and community-based surveys. 4 studies employed mixed methods, with qualitative and quantitative surveys with 210 families in the brick kiln sector in Tamil Nadu (India), all of whom are landless labourers and who constitute 25% of all families from the 10 villages identified. Qualitative research methods were the most common in this hypothesis grouping, representing 9 claims assessed (45%), including outreach visits, consultations, observations, and interviews with survivors,

³⁴ Records related to this hypothesis in [Annex 3. Reference list](#): [3], [5], [9], [11], [15], [25], [50], [51], [56], [57], [58], [59], [60], [69], [74], and [77].

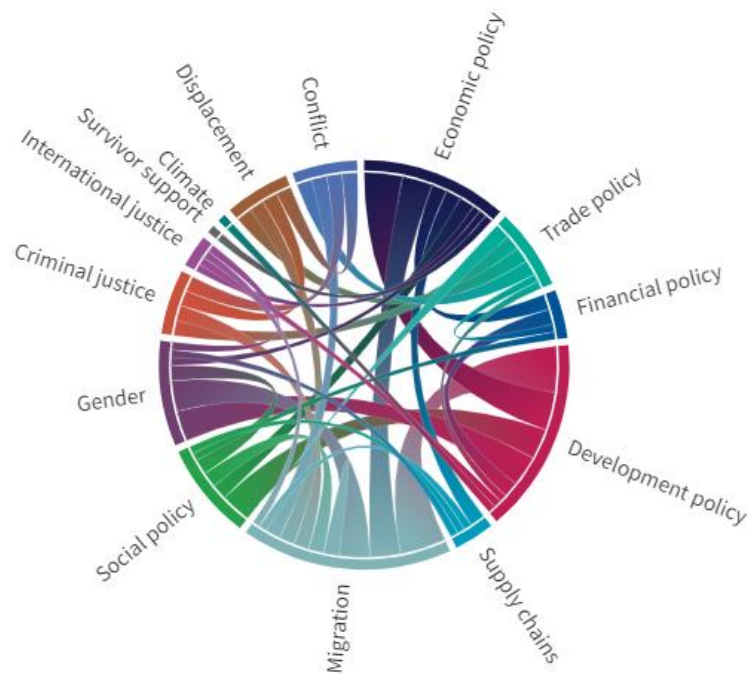
Table 30. Quality of evidence underpinning the hypothesis by claims

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Unclear
Clear research framework	11 (55%)	4 (20%)	5 (25%)	0 (0%)
Transparent	11 (55%)	2 (10%)	7 (35%)	0 (0%)
Context-appropriate	11 (55%)	7 (35%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)
Valid	11 (55%)	6 (30%)	3 (15%)	0 (0%)
Reliable	7 (35%)	10 (50%)	3 (15%)	0 (0%)
Cogent	9 (45%)	8 (40%)	3 (15%)	0 (0%)

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was broadly assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis. The majority of claims were supported by evidence considered to be clear, transparent, context appropriate, and valid. Further, the majority of claims were supported by evidence considered to be reliable, and cogent, or somewhat so. The quality of evidence was considered to meet, or somewhat meet, all the evidentiary quality criteria in the majority of cases. However, evidentiary quality criteria were considered not to have been met in a higher proportion of cases than in relation to any other hypothesis. The proportion of claims considered not to meet the evidentiary quality criteria ranged from 10-35%. 7 claims were considered to be underpinned by evidence that was not transparent, 5 by studies that did not clearly articulate their research framework, and 3 in each case considered not to be valid, reliable, and cogent.

Claims within this hypothesis grouping related to a diverse range of review themes, and crossed 14 of the 18 themes considered. Development policy (n=11), economic policy (n=10), and the Crisis theme of migration (n=10) were the most represented across the group. 3 claims were also considered to connect to each of the remaining Markets themes, trade policy, financial policy, and supply chains. Claims also connected to the Justice themes of criminal justice (2), international justice (1), and survivor engagement and support (1), as well as the Crisis themes of conflict (2) and displacement (2). 5 claims connected to the cross cutting theme of social policy, 5 to gender, and 1 to climate and environment.

Figure 34. Intersections between themes in hypothesis 15



Most records in this group identify the complex relationship between modern slavery and human trafficking and socio-economic and environmental contexts, and the need to acknowledge this interconnectedness. One study identifies pull factors relating to perceived economic opportunities in Malaysia and push factors to economic disparity, violence, ethnic conflict, and displacement in source countries, in addition to demand for cheap labour in certain economic sectors, and governmental corruption for potential forced labourers. 1 study found correlation between HDI scores and slavery prevalence, where a 1% increase in the prevalence of slavery is associated with a 0.045 percent decrease in

human development.’ However, such comparisons should be viewed cautiously given the interlocking nature of the global economy wherein slavery elsewhere might be influenced by policies and actors in countries with higher HDIs and lesser slavery prevalence. One study also defined a positive relationship ($R^2=0.401$) between stronger environmental protections and lower estimated cases of slavery.

Several studies demonstrated the limitations of legal prohibitions and attempts to eradicate what are socially complex practices. For instance, debt bondage is primarily an economic issue that requires building the economic resiliency of households so that they are not beholden to creditors, whether they be formal or informal, moneylenders or community members. One study suggests that when migration is reduced and remittances are no longer available, households attempt to compensate by introducing individuals into the labour force who were previously unattached. While these increases in labour force participation are realised through increases in both employment and unemployment, households appear unable to compensate for lost migration opportunities and engage in less desirable domestic labour market options. Specifically, child labour increased, under-employment increased, and more individuals engaged in short-term work. Another study in India found that after the ban, wages for child labourers decreased, prompting impoverished families to send more of their children into child labour. In a similar study in Thailand, migration policies that have sought to reduce the number of undocumented migrant workers have increased risk of trafficking through more expensive and dangerous migration routes.

Another study highlighted the role of international cotton prices in the local experiences of people in the villages studied, identifying links between fluctuations in the international market and household vulnerability to exploitation. It therefore suggested the need for

Geographic distribution

Studies were geographically diverse, covering a variety of national contexts, as well as 2 studies that were not geographically tied but adopted international perspectives. 2 studies conducted analysis on several States, covering Australia, Cape Verde, Gambia, Greece, Italy, Libya, Mauritania, Senegal, Spain, and the United States in 1 case, and Brazil, Ghana, Indonesia, and Mozambique in the other. 1 study considered 2 specific sub-national contexts, covering Yorkshire and the Humber in the United Kingdom. The remaining studies considered a single national jurisdiction in each case, encompassing Benin, Ghana, India (2), Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the United Arab Emirates.

macro-level efforts, although respondents interviewed appear to have expressed wide scepticism of the feasibility and likelihood of such measures occurring.

Policy makers must see not only a trade-labour nexus, but a trade-labour-development nexus. The means of promoting both migrant return and pro-development labour migration is highly contextual with push factors varying in sending States. Therefore, a set of principles can be used in both guiding and assessing any temporary migration programmes that just have as their fundamental aim sustainable return.

Annex 1. Search strategy

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
Economic policy	Economic growth; GDP
Trade Policy	Movement of goods; movement of goods and services; trade tariffs; trade agreements; trade deals; free trade; cross border trade
Financial Policy	Anti-money laundering (or AML); financial resilience;
Development Policy	employment; unemployment; employment rates; unemployment rates; job market; labour/labor market
Supply chains	Global supply chains; global value chains; value chains; supply chain resilience

Table 2. Search tracking template with sample entries

Search #	Search string	Source	Yield	# Added	Reason for discounting	Date	Reviewer
5	'economic growth' and 'modern slavery'	NUSearch	7,565	2	Too many results, first 30 reviewed and search terms refined	7/16/2020	IK
6	'economic growth' and 'modern slavery' and 'anti slavery'	NUSearch	4,590	8	Too many results, first 30 reviewed and search terms refined	7/16/2020	IK
7	('economic growth' or 'GDP') and ('modern slavery' and 'anti slavery' or 'contemporary slavery')	NUSearch	328	4	Completed, 328 records reviewed	7/16/2020	IK
4
16	'Movement of goods' and 'human trafficking'	NUSearch	2,864	5	Too many results. First 30 reviewed and search terms refined.	08/07/2020	IK
17	'Movement of goods and services' and 'human trafficking' or 'sex trafficking'	NUSearch	647	15	Too many results. First 30 reviewed and search terms refined.	08/07/2020	IK
18	'Movement of goods and services' or 'cross border trade' and 'human trafficking' or 'sex trafficking' or 'labour trafficking'	NUSearch	163	7	All results reviewed.	08/07/2020	IK

Annex 2. Coding matrix

Variable	Input options
1. Evidence source	
1.1	Citation Free text
1.2	Year of publication (or completion) Free text (date)
1.3	URL Free text
2. Topic	
2.1	Claim tested Free text
2.2	Finding on claim Proven strongly; Proven weakly; Not proved; Disproved weakly; Disproved strongly
2.3	Domain(s) Justice; Markets; Crisis
2.4	Theme(s) Criminal justice; Civil justice; International justice; Survivor engagement and support; Health policy and practice; Economic policy; Trade policy; Financial policy; Development policy; Supply chains; Conflict; Humanitarian contexts; Displacement; Migration; Social policy; Education; Gender; Climate/environment
2.5	Other theme(s) Free text
3. Source characteristics	
3.1	Study type Primary study; Secondary study; Theoretical or conceptual source; Mixed; Unclear
3.2	Programme or project evaluation Yes; No; Unclear
3.3	Research methods Qualitative; Quantitative; Mixed methods; Non-empirical
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