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DELTA 8.7 JUSTICE POLICY GUIDE



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THE JUSTICE POLICY GUIDE: INTRODUCTION

Justice, in its broadest sense, is the foundation on which efforts to tackle modern slavery internationally, nationally and locally rest. For Target 8.7 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to be fully realized, it is clear that effective measures in the context of justice require serious consideration of *how* interventions are delivered, and not only what measures are adopted. As such, States may seek guidance on effective implementation of justice policies to support the achievement of the commitments to which they have agreed. The role of Delta 8.7's Justice Policy Guide is to assist policymakers in assessing “what works” to end modern slavery in the context of justice.

The importance of implementing a strong justice response

It has been 20 years since the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Human Beings, Especially Women and Children¹ (the Palermo Protocol) entered into force and five years since the UN Member States committed to taking action against modern slavery and human trafficking by 2030, and the worst forms of child labour by 2025. Despite this ambitious goal, the problem of modern slavery and human trafficking remains entrenched. In 2016, the International Organization for Migration and Minderoo Foundation's Walk Free Initiative estimated that 40.3 million people² were living in situations of modern slavery. Whilst States are gradually engaging with the issue of modern slavery in their legal frameworks, significant implementation and policy gaps persist, as was recently revealed by the Antislavery Legislation Database³. The database's analysis highlighted, *inter alia*, widespread gaps in States' domestic implementation of their international obligations to prohibit exploitation, thereby placing many

States in potential breach of international law. These gaps are also resulting in inadequate redress for many victims and survivors within their domestic legal systems, as well as having significant implications for effective cooperation, enforcement and protection.

Defining justice

For the purposes of this Policy Guide, justice covers the wide-ranging themes of criminal, civil and international justice; survivor engagement and support; and finally, health policy and practice. The expert Working Group that came together to compile this Policy Guide was tasked with reviewing the available research conducted to date related to modern slavery in the context of justice. The Policy Guide details key hypotheses, identified by the Working Group, that could help policy actors working within the context of justice to accelerate progress towards Target 8.7.

Key findings

IT IS CLEAR THAT JUSTICE FRAMEWORKS MUST PRIORITIZE AN EVIDENCE-BASED, VICTIM-CENTERED APPROACH.

There must be legal and policy frameworks in place that ensure that victims are not criminalized for offences committed in connection to their experiences of modern slavery. This will allow both for increased victim identification and participation as well as for prosecution of actual offenders. Studies demonstrated that it is necessary not only to not criminalize victims but also to ensure their access to effective counselling, rehabilitation and other services in order to ensure strong survivor outcomes, especially for children. Policies geared towards flexible, victim-centred and survivor- and/or child-centric

models of support are crucial towards recovery and reintegration. Additionally, long-term support — including, financial, educational and employment — and access to free legal aid are all significant forms of support that have a direct link towards recovery and reintegration, and thereby reduce chances of re-trafficking. It is also crucial to ensure that survivors have long-term, age-appropriate mental and physical health care, as evidence has demonstrated the need for dedicated health care that addresses specific experiences of modern slavery and trafficking.

JUSTICE EFFORTS MUST FOCUS ON APPROPRIATE AND ADEQUATE TRAINING.

Specialized law enforcement and criminal justice actors who are well trained on modern slavery and human trafficking; cross-sectional coordination and collaboration to improve investigation, arrests and prosecutions; as well as ensuring that survivors receive support, and that the justice system is victim-centred, are all crucial. For children specifically, there is a need for policies that ensure child-centric access to justice mechanisms, which will guarantee that child victims receive remedy through the State criminal justice system. In regard to the health of the victim, it is of utmost importance to provide health-care workers with modern slavery training that is cognizant of the needs of adults and children, thus allowing for targeted and appropriate intervention.

THERE NEEDS TO BE A CLEAR LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK.

Given the complex nature of human trafficking and modern slavery, States ought to have clear and comprehensive legislative definitions of

modern slavery offences to support effective anti-slavery responses. Legislative definitions should, therefore, continue to be redefined on the basis of case law as the courts adjudicate on such matters. Monitoring and oversight mechanisms, such as a national rapporteur or a national watchdog system, will help to ensure that laws addressing modern slavery are fully implemented. They can also support the State to develop good practices and national action plans, amongst many other initiatives.

POLICES MUST PRIORITIZE CROSS-SECTORAL COLLABORATION.

Cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration between anti-slavery actors at all levels, including between community and transnational actors, are important as they improve victim identification, investigation, arrests, prosecution, survivor support and engagement, and the overall implementation of laws. It is also important to coordinate at operational levels, including collaboration between various law enforcement agencies and offices.

Commitment to evidence-based, victim-centred anti-slavery efforts necessitates reflection and dedication to ensure that policy is translated into practice, and that this practice produces positive outcomes for those experiencing, or who are vulnerable to, exploitation. We hope that this Policy Guide shines a light on some of these policies and assists States in achieving Target 8.7

In addition to this Policy Guide, there are various other frameworks that can be used as guidance. They include the model legislative provisions on trafficking in persons⁴, adopted in 2020, as well as the Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking⁵.

THE POLICY GUIDE PROCESS

In 2015, 193 Member States pledged their commitment to Target 8.7 of the SDGs. Target 8.7 commits Member 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.

Between April 2020 and March 2021, [Delta 8.7](#) convened global expert Working Groups to produce three Policy Guides to address “what works” to achieve Target 8.7 in three broad domains: [Justice](#), [Crisis](#) and [Markets](#).

The purpose of these Policy Guides is to provide a highly credible and current articulation of what we know about the global and national policies needed to accelerate progress towards Target 8.7 in a format that is useful for policy actors. They provide a snapshot of “what works” to achieve Target 8.7.

The specific audience for these Guides is multilateral and national-level policymakers. The Guides do not seek to dictate to policymakers how they should organize to achieve Target 8.7 — because that requires an understanding of the specific challenges in each country, the available resources and other contextual factors. Instead, they aim to provide an evidence-based policy resource that is useful across contexts and to policy actors around the world, including those thinking about multilateral policy frameworks.

The Policy Guides prioritize scientifically rigorous information regarding what works. As a result, the guidance offered is neither comprehensive nor definitive. It is thorough and deep in areas where evidence is comprehensive and robust, while in other cases it is patchier and more speculative. This will, however, help to highlight areas where evidence is strong and areas where it is lacking. The deliberative process by which the Policy Guides are formulated is designed to

be replicable. The aim is to capture the current state of knowledge on what works and allow future editions of these Policy Guides to reflect changes in the underlying state of knowledge.

The Working Group

Delta 8.7 convened a [global expert Working Group](#) to produce the Justice Policy Guide.

Members were selected following an open call for nominations, with members appointed to bring together a diverse group with reference to gender, geographic, age, institutional, stakeholder group and discipline. The process endeavoured to include one or more survivor voices in each Working Group consultation process, either through having a survivor member of the Working Group, or through bespoke consultations on the draft Policy Guide documents. Working Group members were allocated into subgroups based on their expertise and asked to assess the two research inputs for the hypotheses linked to their respective “sub-theme”.

Research Inputs

I. ASSEMBLING THE EVIDENCE

Between July and September 2020, Delta 8.7 assembled a database of evidence on what works to achieve Target 8.7. This was achieved through two processes: a public submission of evidence and a non-comprehensive evidence review carried out by Rights Lab, University of Nottingham.

Both of these processes sought to identify sources and bodies of evidence that are based on rigorous scientific methods and/or have been tested through government implementation. For each piece of evidence submitted, information on over 20 different data points was collected. This database enables the Working Group to map the contours of bodies of evidence relating to specific thematic areas and specific hypotheses about what works to achieve Target 8.7.

II. MAPPING THE BODIES OF EVIDENCE

The database was mapped in two ways: qualitatively and quantitatively. Both approaches offered assessments of the strength of evidence associated with specific themes and, where possible, specific hypotheses. The strength of evidence was broken into three components:

1. **Diversity of evidence** – indicates the variety of type, methods and design of the evidence associated with different themes and hypotheses. This data allowed each Working Group to distinguish themes and hypotheses that have been explored through a variety of research and implementation approaches from those that are backed by less diverse evidence.
2. **Size of the body of evidence** – quantifies the size, scale and geographic reach of evidence associated with a theme or hypothesis. This helped the Working Group identify themes and hypotheses that have been more extensively tested.
3. **Technical quality of evidence** – derives from data provided by submitters related to “Evidentiary Quality”. This allowed the Working Group to understand both which themes and hypotheses were backed by evidence that is perceived to be of high quality.

Please see the [technical note](#) for a detailed breakdown of the process.

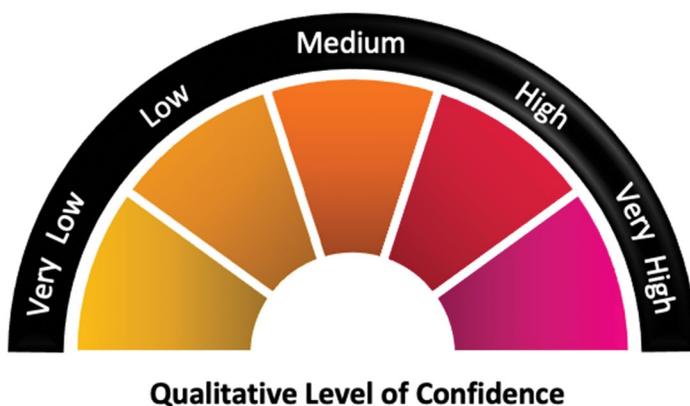
III. ASSESSING THE EVIDENCE

The Working Groups considered these background documents – Rights Lab’s non-comprehensive evidence review, the underlying database and the Delta 8.7 quantitative assessment – and reworked them using a shared template into a Policy Guide aimed at providing a snapshot of evidence on what *may* work to achieve Target 8.7. Some of their duties included:

1. Identifying evidentiary sources that were missing and needed to be incorporated;
2. Discussing the strength of evidence associated with each theme and/or hypothesis;
3. Identifying other interventions or hypotheses that were not reflected in evidence but may be promising;
4. Assigning a confidence score to each hypothesis.

UNDERSTANDING AND INTERPRETING CONFIDENCE SCORES

Working Groups were asked to indicate their level of confidence in the effectiveness of an intervention or the validity of the hypothesis using a prescribed scale. Confidence in the certainty of a finding is based on the **strength of evidence** – this is assessed on the: a) diversity of evidence; b) size of the body of evidence and; c) technical quality of the evidence and on the experience of Working Group members. The strategy of the Justice Policy Guide Working Group was developed



upon a more inclusive and shared narrative about labour exploitation, forced labour, and modern slavery that was based on the available evidence examined but also — and very importantly — on a synthesis involving the diverse personal, research and practical (criminal justice system, NGO, policymaking) experience of the Working Group’s members. The evidence base was not used as the sole indicator of the strength of a hypothesis but a starting point in a multi-stage, “adaptive” process towards setting and refining policy parameters.

The Confidence Score created a metric for the Working Group to discuss, consider and validate the two primary research inputs into the Policy Guides: Rights Lab evidence review and the Delta 8.7 Quantitative Score. The evaluation to obtain a confidence score acts as an additional quality check, allowing the Working Group to assess bodies of evidence that the two research inputs

may have struggled to recognize or map. The degree of *certainty* in key findings is therefore based on the Working Group’s evaluations of the two primary research inputs. In the Policy Guide documents, it is expressed as a qualitative level of confidence from “very low” to “very high”.

Implementation notes

Delta 8.7 assembled these Working Groups to include practitioners and policy actors precisely because it aims to bridge the research-to-policy divides. With this in mind, Working Groups were able to include an “implementation note” in cases where a hypothesis may seem to have contradicted their own experience of practice/policy implementation, or if they felt it necessary to include a comment that provides additional nuance or shading to a conclusion.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY

Slavery and slavery-like practices are crimes. This simple truth has only been globally accepted in relatively recent times, giving rise to an historic opportunity to end the enslavement of people. The modern criminalization of slavery and slavery-like practices brings the power of criminal justice systems to bear on the problem. Justice responses disrupt, deter and punish offenders, and rescue

and rehabilitate victims. As the hypotheses below highlight, a strong criminal justice response is also one that prioritizes victim protection and support. As these criminal justice responses continue to improve, the space for slavery and slavery-like practices to thrive in the world will continue to shrink.

HYPOTHESIS 1

Legal and policy frameworks and practice that ensure survivors are not criminalized for offences committed in connection to their experiences of modern slavery are critical to effective victim identification, survivor participation and well-being, and the prosecution of offenders.

Very High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies supporting this hypothesis, though fewer in number, were strongly persuasive and of high quality. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

It is essential that survivors are not criminalized for offences committed in connection with their experiences of modern slavery. Studies demonstrated that not criminalizing victims and ensuring access to effective counselling, rehabilitation, and other services were essential to strong survivor outcomes – especially for children. Training for law enforcement focusing on restorative approaches and how to connect victims to appropriate services is essential. Non-liability regimes to protect survivors from criminalization exist in many legal systems though still not in all, and some non-liability regimes are inadequate. Most studies point to failures in the implementation of non-liability provisions. Specifying exempt crimes, for instance, can lead to unhelpful concepts of the “perfect victim”. Unjustifiably narrow interpretations of modern slavery definitions (e.g., requiring use of physical

force to establish coercion) lead to failures to identify genuine victims and result in victims being seen as “culpable and complicit actors”. Similarly, creating too onerous a standard of proof at the identification stage (e.g., using small inconsistencies in the victim’s account to question the credibility of the whole account, or rejecting claims because of a lack of corroborative evidence) can open the door to victim criminalization.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

Most studies used primary data collection through qualitative research and observational designs. Interviews were the most common data collection method, including with key informants and stakeholders, survivors, focus groups, and case analysis (including from government data). Some

papers were theoretical discussions, drawing on either primary or secondary resources or a combination, or literature reviews.

SIZE

Studies were only somewhat geographically diverse, as a large majority were from the UK. Other jurisdictions covered were Spain and the US, and one study was international in scope. The predominant focus on the UK's legal and policy framework may hinder the possibility of extrapolating findings to other national contexts without further research. Some lessons may be

extrapolated to countries with similar criminal justice systems.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The quality of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was relatively strong. Most studies were clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent or somewhat cogent. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence.

Evidence Base
Alinka Gearon, " Child Trafficking: Young people's experiences of front-line services in England ," <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> 59, 2 (2019): 481-500.
Carolina Villacampa and Núria Torres, " Human Trafficking for Criminal Exploitation: The Failure to Identify Victim ," <i>European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research</i> 23 (2017): 393-408.
Carolina Villacampa and Nuria Torres, " Trafficked Women in Prison: The Problem of Double Victimization ," <i>European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research</i> 21 (2014): 99-115.
Urrelo Huapaya and Giuliana Belissa, " How united states immigration laws enable modern slavery ," <i>Lumen</i> 14, 2 (2019): 319-333.
Iffat Idris, <i>Interventions to Support Victims of Modern Slavery</i> (Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2017).
Jennifer E. O'Brien, Brooke Jordan, Nina Honeycutt, Catherine Wilsnack and Clara Davison, " It's All about Breaking down Those Barriers...: Exploring Survivors' Perspectives on Services and Treatment Needs following Commercial Sexual Exploitation during Childhood ," <i>Journal of Evidence-based Social Work</i> 16, 2 (2019): 160-177.
Julia Muraszkiwicz, " Protecting Victims of Human Trafficking from Liability: An Evaluation of Section 45 of the Modern Slavery Act ," <i>The Journal of Criminal Law</i> 83, 5 (2019): 394-405.
Lorena Arocha, <i>Wrong kind of victim? One year on: an analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons</i> (London: Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group and Anti-Slavery International, 2010).
Rachel Annison, <i>Hidden in plain sight: Three years on: updated analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons</i> (London: The Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group, 2013).
Ryan T. Shields and Elizabeth J. Letourneau, " Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and the Emergence of Safe Harbor Legislation: Implications for Policy and Practice ," <i>Sexual Disorders</i> 17, 11 (2015): 10-15.

HYPOTHESIS 2

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

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: A large number of studies supported this hypothesis. The studies were of high quality and, in most cases, used good sample sizes. The studies covered a diverse geographical area. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

There is a clear need for specialized human trafficking and modern slavery training for a wide variety of criminal and public justice officials, including police officers, prosecutors, and border guards. This was highlighted in the sources as key to ensuring criminal justice actors were equipped with requisite knowledge and skills to appropriately deal with cases. Recommendations for training areas included: definitions and elements of offences, dynamics of offending and victimhood, avoiding the criminalization of survivors, victim-centred and trauma-informed processes, different forms of exploitation, and spotting the signs and the nuances of consent and coercion. Stereotypes and presumptions about human trafficking and its survivors were highlighted as impeding identification and response measures, including notions of “ideal victimhood”, “prostitution myths”, and incorrect assumptions that sexual exploitation is the primary form of trafficking. The need for training to be institutionalized and ongoing was also highlighted.

adopting qualitative research methods and observational designs.

SIZE

The studies related to this hypothesis were geographically diverse national studies covering Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, Finland, Mexico, the Philippines, Serbia, Spain, the UK and the US. Interviews were the most common data collection method, and the number of respondents ranged from 18-90 for interviews. Surveys were also common in this hypothesis group, and survey participant numbers ranged from 7-302. Case data analysis supplemented key informant interviews in three cases, with one of these studies also conducting surveys with stakeholders and statistical analysis of secondary data sets. The number of cases reviewed in case analysis ranged from 175-390.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis supports a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority considered to be clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent. Overall, methodologies were robust and well-articulated, combining multiple methods to produce a strong evidentiary foundation for conclusions. The evidence base benefits from a wider consideration of statistical and case data in several of the records assessed, strengthening the evidence through a more expansive review and supporting findings from interviews with smaller sample groups. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence underpinning this hypothesis is varied; amongst the evidence base, a diverse range of research and implementation approaches were used. Most claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, predominantly

research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts. Authors often drew on international literature rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study. Several studies demonstrated a measurable positive impact of training in addition to merely identifying training needs and were more compelling for this reason.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Training is of greatest value and impact when it is provided at various levels and to all relevant stakeholders. Training should identify each actor's role in the broader context to promote an understanding of the implications of their responses beyond their individual function in the justice system.

Evidence Base
Anita Franklin and Lisa Doyle, <i>Still at risk: A review of support for trafficked children</i> (London: The Children's Society and The Refugee Council, 2013).
Arun Kumar Acharya, Armando Moctezuma Suarez and Francisco de Jesus Gomez Ontiveros, "Trafficking of Women and Children in Mexico: An Assessment of Anti-Trafficking Laws," <i>Revista de Cercetare si Interventie Sociala</i> 53 (2016): 5-21.
Biljana Simeunovic-Patic and Sanja Copic, "Protection and Assistance to Victims of Human Trafficking in Serbia: Recent Developments," <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> 7, 1 (2010): 45-60.
Carolina Villacampa and N�ria Torres, "Human Trafficking for Criminal Exploitation: The Failure to Identify Victim," <i>European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research</i> 23 (2017): 393-408.
Carolina Villacampa and Nuria Torres, "Trafficked Women in Prison: The Problem of Double Victimization," <i>European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research</i> 21 (2014): 99-115.
Claire M. Renzetti, Amy Bush, Marissa Castellanos and Gretchen Hunt, "Does training make a difference? An evaluation of a specialized human trafficking training module for law enforcement officers," <i>Journal of Crime and Justice</i> 38, 3 (2015).
Holly Burkhalter, "Sex Trafficking, Law Enforcement and Perpetrator Accountability," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 1 (2012).
Jennifer E. O'Brien, Brooke Jordan, Nina Honeycutt, Catherine Wilsnack, and Clara Davison, "It's All about Breaking down Those Barriers...": Exploring Survivors' Perspectives on Services and Treatment Needs following Commercial Sexual Exploitation during Childhood," <i>Journal of Evidence-Based Social Work</i> 16, 2 (2019): 160-177.
Johanna Niemi and Jussi Aaltonen, "Tackling Trafficking by Targeting Sex Buyers: Can It Work?" <i>Violence Against Women</i> 13, 10 (2017): 1228-1248.
Katarina Schwarz and Jing Geng, "Reasserting Agency: Procedural Justice, Victim-Centricity, and the Right to Remedy for Survivors of Slavery and Related Exploitation," <i>Journal of Modern Slavery</i> 4, 2 (2018): 93-120.
Lisa R. Mufti�, "Attitudes Regarding Criminal Justice Responses to Sex Trafficking among Law Enforcement Officers in Bosnia and Herzegovina," <i>Journal of Criminal Justice and Security</i> , 15, 2 (2013): 177-189.
Lorena Arocha, <i>Wrong kind of victim? One year on: an analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons</i> (London: Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group and Anti-Slavery International, 2010).
Naomi L. Svensson, <i>From Inside Prison Walls: Interviews with Incarcerated Brothel Owners and Human Traffickers in Cambodia</i> (Phnom Penh: International Justice Mission, 2011).

Peter Williams, *Labor Trafficking in Cambodia: A Review of the Public Justice System's Response* (Washington DC: International Justice Mission, 2016).

Susan Mapp, Emily Hornung, Madeleine D'Almeida and Jessica Juhnke, "Local Law Enforcement Officers' Knowledge of Human Trafficking: Ability to Define, Identify, and Assist," *Journal of Human Trafficking* 2, 4 (2016): 329-342.

The Freedom Fund, *Literature review: Behavior change communications campaigns targeting the demand-side of exploitation* (London: The Freedom Fund, 2019).

HYPOTHESIS 3

Cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration between anti-slavery actors at all levels improve investigations, arrests, prosecutions, survivor participation and survivor care outcomes.

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The evidence supporting this hypothesis was strong, with a significant quantity of relevant data, though many of the studies were small in scale and geographically limited. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

Cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration are important at all levels – from local community actors to transnational cooperation – in supporting effective law enforcement and survivor engagement. Investigations, arrests, and prosecutions were found to benefit from effective coordination and suffer in its absence. Multi-agency collaboration is a force-multiplier for the justice sector’s modern slavery and anti-trafficking responses. Several studies noted the need for coordination at the operational level as well as at higher levels, and that rank, diplomacy, and formalities often hinder effective collaboration. Collaboration between different law enforcement agencies and offices (domestically and transnationally) results in police and prosecutors working together to ensure necessary evidence is collected to secure prosecutions, improving arrest and conviction rates. There is evidence for the need to collaborate with local community police in order to improve the chances of victim identification and enhance evidence gathering. Coordination between law enforcement and social services, other survivor services (including NGOs) and survivors themselves was found to be essential in securing positive survivor engagement in criminal justice processes, increasing survivors’ willingness to participate in prosecutions, and successful prosecution and survivor care outcomes.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

Most studies involved primary data collection and adopted qualitative research methods and observational designs. Interviews were the most common method of data collection, with eight studies conducting interviews with key informants, including police, prosecutors, magistrates, governmental actors, civil society, intergovernmental and international organizations.

SIZE

Studies were geographically diverse, including five studies focused on subnational locations in the Netherlands and the US and the remaining studies focused on the national level in Cambodia, India, Mexico, Nepal the Philippines, Portugal and Thailand. Many studies were context-dependent and not generalizable. The number of interview respondents in a single study ranged from 17-121. Key informant focus groups or surveys gathered data from 58 respondents. One study surveyed 175 service providers and combined this with secondary data from an independent survey of 206 respondents for comparative analysis. One study conducted secondary data analysis on a range of data, and another was a non-empirical study involving law and policy analysis.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis supports a positive finding. All studies were assessed to be clear and context-

appropriate, or somewhat so, and the majority were considered to be transparent, valid, reliable and cogent, or somewhat so. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts. Interviews were often supplemented with additional data collection and analysis methods. The authors found studies that included government data to be particularly compelling.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Multidisciplinary coordination and collaboration are essential but will not, on their own, ensure

positive outcomes or effective responses. Collaboration requires purpose, direction and impetus and often this means individuals or entities must take a leadership role within cross-disciplinary groups. Participants should be solely focused on the overall objective of the multi-agency efforts and not see collaboration as the end in itself.

Interdisciplinary approaches can lead to innovation in how the justice system operates. For example, the financial sector can help identify ways to prosecute traffickers for financial crimes such as tax evasion and help develop approaches to using financial evidence in trials, reducing the burden on victim testimony.

Evidence Base
Benjamin Perrin, " Just Passing Through? International Legal Obligations and Policies of Transit Countries in Combating Trafficking in Persons ," <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> 7, 1 (2010): 11-27.
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Maite Verhoeven and Barbra van Gestel, " Human trafficking and criminal investigation strategies in the Amsterdam Red Light District ," <i>Trends in Organized Crime</i> 14, 2/3 (2011): 148-164.
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The Freedom Fund, *Literature review: Behavior change communications campaigns targeting the demand-side of exploitation* (London: The Freedom Fund, 2019).

HYPOTHESIS 4

Creating specialized law enforcement and other criminal justice processes to address modern slavery improves the criminal justice response.

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies were diverse and of moderately high quality. Some resources lacked exploration of causal pathways or were prospective. The practical experience of the reviewers supports the hypothesis.

Description

The complexity of modern slavery offences makes specialization necessary and beneficial for effective law enforcement, successful prosecutions and multi-agency collaboration. Studies demonstrated that specialized anti-trafficking law enforcement units or task forces comprising officers with knowledge and training on trafficking and modern slavery offences improved the quantity and quality of victim identification, investigations and arrests. Reducing officer transfers allows expertise and technical skills to be built, through casework, to effectively combat multiple forms of modern slavery. Improved quantity and quality of evidence from specialized law enforcement units, along with targeted training for prosecutors and other officials, results in better prosecution outcomes.

Multi-agency and multidisciplinary task forces were shown to improve responses in modern slavery cases, and studies highlighted the need for local, national and international collaboration between agencies. Specialized procedures, protocols, policies, training and funding within existing institutional structures were highlighted as increasing the likelihood of victims being identified and improved the quality and quantity of investigations. Victim identification tools, for example, improve law enforcement officers' ability to identify (and avoid criminalizing) victims and expand the reach of those who serve victims and those who investigate and prosecute trafficking cases. Data management, tracking and monitoring systems for modern slavery cases result in improvements to criminal justice processes, resource allocation and understandings of the changing dynamics of trafficking over time.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

Most studies involved primary data collection using qualitative research methods and observational designs. Qualitative interviews were the most common data collection method, with nine studies conducting interviews with key informants, and several combining key informant interviews with survivor interviews. Some studies supplemented interviews with case file reviews, focus group discussions, stakeholder focus groups, and/or case analysis. Two records conducted non-empirical discussions based on extant literature, several involved program evaluations, one involved a survey of police officers and another adopted a quantitative secondary data analysis involving descriptive statistics and logistic regression.

SIZE

Studies evidenced some geographic diversity, although the largest number focused on the US (5), with three of those studies further focused on subnational locations within the US. Other studies were focused on Cambodia (2), the Philippines (3), Portugal, South Africa and one on Amsterdam in the Netherlands. One study adopted an international perspective. The number of respondents in these studies ranged from 18-121.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

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

were also considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent, with only one study assessed not to have satisfied this measure in whole or in part. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Clarity in respective roles and functions of counter-trafficking processes streamlines investigations. Having specific policies in place makes interdisciplinary collaboration more focused and meaningful, and survivors receive

better services. A lack of clear policy guidance can result in issues that diminish the potential for positive outcomes for survivors.

Specialization does not remove the need for non-specialized units to receive basic training on human trafficking and modern slavery. It is important for officials who work as first responders or those who may interact with possible victims.

Specialized expertise is enhanced through building ongoing relationships within multi-agency and multidisciplinary task forces. Relationships, for example, between law enforcement and social services are enhanced through frequent positive interaction.

Evidence Base
Andrew Jones, Rhonda Schlangen and Rhodora Bucoy, <i>An Evaluation of the International Justice Mission's "Project Lantern" Assessment of Five-year Impact and Change in the Public Justice System</i> (Manila: International Justice Mission, 2010).
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Geneva Brown, "Women and Children Last: The Prosecution of Sex Traffickers and Sex Offenders and the Need for a Sex Trafficker Registry," <i>Boston College Third World Law Journal</i> 31, 1 (2011): 1-41.
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Laura Simich, Lucia Goyen, Andrew Powell and Karen Mallozzi, <i>Improving Human Trafficking Victim Identification – Validation and Dissemination of a Screening Tool</i> (Washington DC: VERA Institute of Justice, 2014).
Lin Huff-Corzine, Sarah Ann Sacra, Jay Corzine and Rachel Rados, "Florida's task force approach to combat human trafficking: an analysis of county-level data," <i>Police Practice and Research</i> 18, 3 (2017):245-258.
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Margaret Chambeshi, Amanda Eckhardt, Xinyi Wang and Chris Muller, <i>Healthcare Access for Foreign-National Survivors of Trafficking</i> (New York: Restore NYC, 2019).
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Olivier Thévenon and Eric Edmonds, "Child labour: Causes, consequences and policies to tackle it," <i>OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers</i> 235 (2019).

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Peter Williams, <i>Labor Trafficking in Cambodia: A Review of the Public Justice System's Response</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission, 2016).
Robin Haarr, <i>Evaluation of the Program to Combat Sex Trafficking of Children in the Philippines: 2003-2015</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission, 2017)
Robin Haarr, <i>External Evaluation of IJM's Program to Combat Sex Trafficking of Children in Cambodia, 2004-2014</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission, 2017).
Progress Inc, <i>Evaluation of the Central Nepal hotspot project using the process tracing methodology</i> (London: Freedom Fund, 2019).
The Freedom Fund, <i>Literature review: Behavior change communications campaigns targeting the demand-side of exploitation</i> (London: The Freedom Fund, 2019).

HYPOTHESIS 5

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

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: A moderate number of studies supported this hypothesis and were variable in quality. The practical experience of the reviewers was a strong factor in the confidence expressed in this hypothesis.

Description

Survivor participation is often critical to the success of investigations and prosecutions, but survivors' willingness and ability to engage in these processes is undermined when they do not receive appropriate support and/or when practices are not victim-centred. It must be emphasized, however, that providing care and support to survivors must never be made contingent on participation in criminal justice processes.

If survivors are not given clear information about criminal justice processes, and/or if the trust is not established, survivors are less likely to report to law enforcement or participate throughout the process. Survivors often fear being criminalized for immigration offences or other crimes committed as a result of their exploitation, so they avoid reporting to law enforcement. Studies highlighted the need for law enforcement agents to account for immigration status, fear of reprisals, trauma, language barriers, gender, and cultural background (which can all act as barriers to survivors' cooperation) when engaging with potential victims.

When survivors receive appropriate support – particularly psychological support and counselling – and when criminal justice processes are victim-friendly, the quality of survivor participation increases. Appropriate support mitigates, for instance, the negative impact of trauma on a person's ability to recall and relate experiences of abuse during testimony. When processes are not tailored to support survivors, secondary victimization and re-traumatization can occur. Survivor-friendly practices include training on

survivor engagement, diversity in law enforcement teams, forensic interviewing, and allowing survivors to testify by video, from private rooms or closed courtrooms. Studies also highlighted the potential for positive participation to be empowering for survivors, as well as improving the quality of their testimony.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

Most studies involved primary data collection with qualitative research methods and observational designs. Interviews were the most common data collection method, with seven studies analysing interviews with key informants and stakeholders, and three analysing data collected from interviews with survivors. Three records relied on theoretical discussion based on evidence in the literature. Several sources made no reference to methodology, and this ambiguity undermined confidence in the strength of the claims made in those studies. There was a lack of quantitative evidence.

SIZE

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on a single jurisdiction. One study considered the regional context of Europe with a comparison of six countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, the Netherlands and Serbia), and two studies were not geographically tied. The remaining records were national studies, covering Cambodia (2), the Philippines, Portugal, Thailand (2) and the US (3). The number of respondents in these studies ranged from 18-121.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

Whilst the evidence supported the hypothesis, the body of evidence was only moderately strong here. Most studies were clear and context-appropriate, whilst only half provided cogent evidence in support of the hypothesis, with an additional 17 per cent considered somewhat cogent. The evidence tended to be either transparent or somewhat transparent, valid or somewhat valid, and reliable or somewhat reliable in most cases, however several studies fell short of some or all of these quality measures. Primary studies in

this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts. Authors often drew on international literature rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study. Two studies combined interviews with both survivors and key informants. One study supplemented key informant interviews with stakeholder focus groups, and two combined stakeholder interviews with analysis of case records and statistics on human trafficking cases.

Evidence Base
Abigail Swenstein and Kate Mogulescu, " Resisting the Carceral: The need to align anti-trafficking efforts with movements for criminal justice reform ," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 6 (2016): 118-122.
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Iffat Idris, <i>Interventions to Support Victims of Modern Slavery. Knowledge, Evidence and Learning for Developments</i> (Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2017).
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Katarina Schwarz and Jing Geng, " Reasserting Agency: Procedural Justice, Victim-Centricity, and the Right to Remedy for Survivors of Slavery and Related Exploitation ," <i>Journal of Modern Slavery</i> 4, 2 (2018): 93-120.
Marlene Matos and Mariana Gonçalves, " Human trafficking and criminal proceedings in Portugal: Discourses of professionals in the justice system ," <i>Trends in Organized Crime</i> 21, 4 (2018): 370-400.
Robin Haarr, <i>External Evaluation of IJM's Program to Combat Sex Trafficking of Children in Cambodia, 2004-2014</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission, 2017).

HYPOTHESIS 6

Clear and comprehensive legislative definitions of modern slavery offences support effective anti-slavery responses.

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies in support of this hypothesis were of moderate quality. The hypothesis lends itself more to theoretical papers than qualitative and/or quantitative studies. The reviewers' practical experience allowed for confidence in this hypothesis.

Description

National and international definitions of modern slavery offences and their interpretation can and do suffer from two potential problems: either being too broad and lacking clarity or too narrow and not providing comprehensive coverage of the offence and victimhood. Both are problematic as they result in failures to identify and protect victims of modern slavery, and difficulties in prosecuting offenders.

Some studies discussed the fact that overly broad, insufficiently clear definitions can result in, for instance, criminalizing migrants or identifying commercial sex workers, instead of focusing on individuals experiencing force, fraud or coercion. Domestic legislation therefore must be sufficiently clear and bounded to avoid such applications. Most studies, on the other hand, argued that overly narrow definitions or interpretations of trafficking or its elements (e.g., coercion), lead to missed identification and treatment of victims as culpable and complicit actors. Jurisdictions with more comprehensive legislation against trafficking tend to more accurately identify trafficking cases than those with basic legislation against trafficking or no anti-trafficking legislation.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

Most studies were theoretical or examined secondary evidence and involved analysis of international and domestic laws and policies — which is perhaps not surprising given the technical legal nature of the hypothesis. Two

records also conducted case studies, with one carrying out a theoretical analysis of screening mechanisms used by law enforcement agencies at the US-Mexico border. Four studies involved primary data collection, using qualitative research and observational designs. Interviews were the most common data collection method, including interviews of key informants, survivors, focus groups, police and other stakeholders. One study also used case file reviews.

SIZE

Studies were geographically diverse. One theoretical study was international in scope and one focused specifically on states within the US. The remaining records were national studies, covering Bulgaria, Canada, Eritrea, Thailand (2), Mexico, Portugal, the UK, and the US (3). The findings were tied to the specific legal systems on which they were conducted, and extrapolation to other geographies would therefore require further research. Authors often, however, drew on international literature rather than focusing exclusively on the jurisdictions under consideration in the study. The number of respondents ranged from 20-166 for interviews. One study drew upon 166 interviews and 140 case file reviews from police and court records.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

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

extrapolating findings to other contexts. There was a general lack of empirical evidence supporting conceptual discussions.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Given the complexity of modern slavery offences, legislators should strive for clarity and avoidance of ambiguity wherever possible. Laws should cover all manifestations of modern slavery and therefore need to be comprehensive. Guidelines to interpretation and/or clarifying subordinate legislation or common law decisions are frequently helpful in the development of best practices in the

application of laws with a given context. Legislative definitions should continue to be refined based on case law as modern slavery cases are considered by courts.

Overly narrow or inappropriately specific definitions and interpretations are the most frequently encountered problems in practice: policy responses can be inhibited by such definitions. Strict definitions can provide avenues for states to claim that they have no modern slavery whilst accepting the presence of, for example, “indentured labour”. The process of developing definitions should always include survivors.

Evidence Base
Alinka Gearon, "Child Trafficking: Young people's experiences of front-line services in England," <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> 59, 2 (2019): 481-500.
Amy Farrell, Colleen Owens and Jack McDevitt, "New laws but few cases: understanding the challenges to the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases," <i>Crime, Law and Social Change</i> 61 (2014): 139-168.
Arun Kumar Acharya, Armando Moctezuma Suarez and Francisco de Jesus Gomez Ontiveros, "Trafficking of Women and Children in Mexico: An Assessment of Anti-Trafficking Laws," <i>Revista de Cercetare si Interventie Sociala</i> 53 (2016): 5-21.
Brittany Warren, "If You Have A Zero-Tolerance Policy, Why Aren't You Doing Anything?": Using the Uniform Code of Military Justice to Combat Human Trafficking Abroad," <i>The George Washington Law Review</i> 80, 4 (2012).
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Olivier Thévenon and Eric Edmonds, "Child labour: Causes, consequences and policies to tackle it," <i>OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers</i> 235 (2019).
Vladislava Stoyanova, "The Crisis of a Definition: Human Trafficking in Bulgarian Law," <i>Amsterdam Law Forum</i> 5, 1 (2013): 64-79.
Hannah Thinyane, Francisca Sasseti, Don Rodney Junio, Michael Gallo and Silvia Mercia, <i>Use of New Technologies for Consistent and Proactive Screening of Vulnerable Populations</i> (Macau: United Nations University Institute in Macau, 2020).

HYPOTHESIS 7

Prevention, identification and support should be given equal priority in criminal justice mechanisms, and criminal justice responses must incorporate victim-sensitive practices and integrate effectively with other responses.

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: A large number of studies supported this hypothesis; however few studies came from practitioners (most were academic papers). The strongest evidence was in favor of a balanced response with the best interests of the victim at the centre, which is also supported by the reviewers' practical experience.

Description

The importance of criminal justice mechanisms to the modern slavery response is well established. However, work to improve criminal justice responses should not come at the expense of equally critical interventions like prevention and protection. Criminal justice approaches that fail to integrate well with prevention efforts and survivor services, and/or are not victim-sensitive or trauma-informed, can cause further harm, lead to poor outcomes and reduce trust.

The provision of services to formally identified victims should never be contingent on participation in criminal justice processes. For many reasons, there are victims who cannot or will not participate in the process. Victims are entitled to and in need of services and support, whether or not they participate in criminal justice proceedings. Victim services and criminal justice responses must be sufficiently resourced, supported by policy and effectively integrated. The risk of re-traumatization from participation in criminal justice processes highlights the need for victim-friendly and trauma-informed criminal justice practices and long-term survivor care.

An over-emphasis on criminal justice and misunderstandings of victimization in modern slavery result in survivors not being identified, and/or being unlawfully criminalized for acts committed as a result of their victimization. Several studies suggested shifting the discourse

and resources to broader conceptions of justice (including, for instance, public health responses), and embedding criminal justice within this framework. Whilst not suggesting the abandonment of criminal justice, these studies highlighted the need to balance criminal justice measures with protection and prevention efforts.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The studies on this hypothesis employed diverse methods, including qualitative interviews, key informant interviews, survivor interviews, focus groups, participant observation, qualitative ethnographic research, case studies, interpretive analysis, and law and policy analysis. Several secondary or theoretical discussion papers were also included. Notable for this hypothesis was the predominance of work from academics rather than practitioners or NGOs (all but one study).

SIZE

Studies were geographically diverse, with the majority focusing on single jurisdictions, namely Australia, Austria, China, England, India, Italy, Norway, Singapore, South Africa or the US (2). One study considered three specific contexts (Myanmar, South Asia with a focus on India, and the Middle East), and three studies were not geographically tied. The number of participants ranged from 1-80.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The strength of evidence supports a positive finding on the hypothesis, with most studies being clear, valid, transparent and cogent, though in

some studies reliability was questionable. Whilst there was some variability in quality, the large majority of studies showed strong proof for the claims within the hypothesis.

Evidence Base
Abigail Swenstein and Kate Mogulescu, "Resisting the Carceral: The need to align anti-trafficking efforts with movements for criminal justice reform," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 6 (2016): 118-122.
Alinka Gearon, "Child Trafficking: Young people's experiences of front-line services in England," <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> 59, 2 (2019): 481-500.
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Aziza Ahmed and Meena Seshu, "We have the right not to be 'rescued'...": When Anti-Trafficking Programmes Undermine the Health and Well-Being of Sex Workers," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 1 (2012).
Beate Andrees, "Defending Rights, Securing Justice: The International Labour Organization's Work on Forced Labour," <i>Journal of Criminal Justice</i> 14, 2 (2016): 343-362.
Cathy Zimmerman and Nicola Pocock, "Human Trafficking and Mental Health: 'My Wounds are Inside; They are Not Visible,'" <i>The Brown Journal of World Affairs</i> 19, 2 (2013):265-280.
Elena Shih, "Health and Rights at the Margins: Human trafficking and HIV/AIDS amongst Jingpoethnic communities in Ruili City, China," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 2 (2013).
Emma George, Darlene McNaughton and George Tsourtos, "An Interpretive Analysis of Australia's Approach to Human Trafficking and Its Focus on Criminal Justice Over Public Health," <i>Journal of Human Trafficking</i> 3, 2 (2017): 81-92.
Evelyn Probst, "Victims' protection within the context of trafficking in human beings and European Union standards," <i>Academy of European Law</i> 19 (2018): 357-367.
Hanna Love, Jeanette Hussemann, Lilly Yu, Evelyn McCoy and Colleen Owens, <i>Justice in Their Own Words: Perceptions and Experiences of (In)Justice among Human Trafficking Survivors</i> (Washington DC: National Institute of Justice, 2018).
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Letizia Palumbo, "Protection of trafficked people in Italy: policies, limits and challenges," <i>Journal of Money Laundering Control</i> 18, 1 (2015).
Louise Gomez-Mera, "Regime Complexity and Global Governance: The case of trafficking in Persons," <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> 3, 4 (2017): 303-326.
Ntokoza Yingwana, Rebecca Walker and Alex Etchart, "Sex Work, Migration, and Human Trafficking in South Africa: From polarised arguments to potential partnerships," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 12 (2019): 74-90.

HYPOTHESIS 8

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

High Confidence

Reasons for confidence score: The studies included both theoretical papers and empirical research. The evidence was limited, however, in geographical scope. The practical experience of some reviewers supported the hypothesis.

Description

Independent monitoring systems, such as a national rapporteur or a “national watchdog”, help ensure that government anti-trafficking, child labour and modern slavery policy is being correctly and effectively implemented. A national rapporteur, for example, can help ensure good practice in the prevention, detection, investigation and prosecution of modern slavery offences and the identification of victims. Comprehensive and coordinated child labour monitoring systems are needed to ensure effective efforts to address child labour. Quality control processes within National Referral Mechanisms can help improve the quality of services such as interpretation for victims, avoiding loss of evidence and negative decisions leading to poor survivor outcomes.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The studies supporting this hypothesis involved primary data collection, primary and secondary data analysis, and theoretical discussions. Methods employed included case analysis, interviews, focus group discussions, quantitative data analysis and desk research.

SIZE

Three of the four studies focused on the UK, with the fourth being international in scope. Findings may be generalizable to other contexts, however, understanding practice and outcomes of these interventions in diverse contexts requires further research. None of the studies involved direct survivor engagement.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

Most of the studies were clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent or somewhat so.

Evidence Base

Amy Weatherburn, “[Using an integrated human rights-based approach to address modern slavery: the UK experience](#),” *European Human Rights Law Review* 2 (2016): 184-194.

Lorena Arocha, *Wrong kind of victim? One year on: an analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons* (London: Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group and Anti-Slavery International, 2010).

Olivier Thévenon and Eric Edmonds, “[Child labour: causes, consequences and policies to tackle it](#),” *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers* 235 (2019).

Rachel Annison, *Hidden in plain sight: Three years on: Updated analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons* (London: The Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group, 2013).

HYPOTHESIS 9

Widening investigative focus to include alternative forms of evidence to survivor testimony would increase success rates.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies, though small in number, covered a variety of locations and types of modern slavery. Many studies were theoretical, rather than demonstrating success of suggested approach. The reviewers' practical experience supports the hypothesis.

Description

Several studies have pointed to the need to widen evidence gathering in modern slavery cases. There is a tendency to rely heavily on survivor testimony and unwillingness to support the submission of other types/classifications of evidence, such as digital forensic evidence and financial evidence, amongst others. There is a need for stronger evidence in prosecutions of modern slavery offences generally, and strategies that rely too heavily on survivor testimony can hinder effective prosecution. Testimony is often difficult for survivors and can be re-traumatizing. Lack of survivor-friendly and trauma-informed approaches to testimony and other barriers between law enforcement and survivors reduce trust and hinder survivors' engagement with criminal justice processes.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

All three studies were primary studies with observational designs, adopting qualitative methods or combining quantitative and qualitative analysis. Each of the studies used key informant interviews. One study supplemented initial surveys with participatory analysis and a small set of follow-up surveys, and another conducted in-depth case file analysis.

SIZE

Each study focused on a national context, covering the Philippines, Portugal and the US.

Study size ranged from 12 to 166 respondents, and the case file analysis considered 140 human trafficking cases.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The hypothesis was considered to have been proved in all cases, though with varying strength. Whilst studies were tied to the particular contexts in which they were conducted, it may be possible to extrapolate to additional contexts, and the robust methods adopted in the studies provide a good foundation for further analysis and research.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Whilst there is a clear need to widen evidence gathering beyond survivor testimony, using evidence from financial transactions can be challenging because many transactions are carried out informally by organized criminal groups. Survivor testimony remains essential evidence, and often central to prosecutions — but other evidence can and should be added to support and corroborate testimony and strengthen the prosecution case. Overreliance on survivors can create extra pressure on them, and sometimes require them to remain in the location of exploitation for longer than otherwise necessary. Practices that support the best interests of the survivor and improve their experience of giving evidence are essential to a well-integrated and effective prosecution practice. States should consider adopting policies to include the use of victimless prosecutions where appropriate, as in the UK.

Evidence Base

Amy Farrell, Colleen Owens and Jack McDevitt, "[New laws but few cases: understanding the challenges to the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases](#)," *Crime, Law and Social Change* 61 (2014): 139-168.

International Justice Mission, *Online Sexual Exploitation of Children in the Philippines: A Review of the Criminal Justice System's Response* (Washington DC: International Justice Mission and U.S. Department of State, 2018).

Marlene Matos and Mariana Gonçalves, "[Human trafficking and criminal proceedings in Portugal: Discourses of professionals in the justice system](#)," *Trends in Organized Crime* 21, 4 (2018): 370-400.

HYPOTHESIS 10

The prevalence of modern slavery can be reduced through an effective, victim-centred criminal justice response that is well integrated within survivor protection and identification and community engagement.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies, though few in number, include some empirical (qualitative and quantitative) research that supports the hypothesis. There is a need for more studies demonstrating prevalence reduction through effective interventions.

Description

Many studies refer to the hypothesis that successful prosecution of modern slavery perpetrators acts as an effective deterrent to future offending and reduces prevalence. Whilst there is a large body of evidence supporting the deterrent impact of effective law enforcement and prosecutions on crime in general, relatively few studies have specifically tested this claim with regard to modern slavery offences. Those that have done so have identified some key themes:

- Where more frequent and effective prosecutions are located within a multidisciplinary response that supports survivors and builds community trust in the criminal justice system, the prevalence of, for example, child sex trafficking, has been shown to reduce dramatically.
- Industries and locations with high levels of impunity (e.g., the fishing industry) are areas in which prosecutions had a significant role to play in deterring modern slavery.
- Prosecution is necessary for any long-term strategy to sustainably reduce prevalence and attempting to avoid prosecutions through out-of-court settlements risks failing to deter abuses.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

One source was a mixed-methods observational study involving key informant interviews, surveys and case file reviews. Another was also a mixed study adopting qualitative methods, synthesising data from key informant interviews, casework data, a desk review of programme evaluations, empirical studies, and relevant literature. Other approaches included an observational study and a brief theoretical discussion in response to a debate (lacking the presence of robust evidence).

SIZE

Two studies in this group were international in scope, one focused on Cambodia and one on the Philippines. Two considered the issue of modern slavery broadly, whilst one focused specifically on the exploitation of fishers and seafarers at sea, and one focused on child sex trafficking.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The studies were variable in technical quality, with the Philippines study meeting each of the quality criteria (clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent), whilst others met or somewhat met some criteria and did not meet others. Overall, further high-quality research is needed to support the initial findings of some of these studies.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Whilst studies on this point are sparse, the Israeli experience with sex trafficking strongly supports this hypothesis. Prosecution efforts – in addition to strong victim support and prevention efforts – that comprehensively targeted major trafficking rings and issued appropriate sentences effectively stopped the severe form of trafficking that had been dominant in the early 2000s.

Likewise, the significant decline in the prevalence of child sex trafficking in Cambodia from the early 2000s to today is attributed to a strong prosecutorial response coupled with survivor-centric and trauma-informed best practices and improved survivor care services.

Evidence Base
Peter Williams, <i>Labor Trafficking in Cambodia: A Review of the Public Justice System's Response</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission, 2016).
Rebecca Surtees, "Trapped at Sea: Using the Legal and Regulatory Framework to Prevent and Combat the Trafficking of Seafarers and Fishers," <i>Groningen Journal of International Law</i> 1, 2 (2013): 91-151.
Victor Boutros and John Cotton Richmond, "Investments in Human Trafficking Prosecutions are Indispensable," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 6 (2016): 107-110.
Robin Haarr, <i>External Evaluation of IJM's Program to Combat Sex Trafficking of Children in Cambodia, 2004-2014</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission, 2017).

HYPOTHESIS 11

Basing policy development on robust evidence improves the effectiveness of anti-slavery policy.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The evidence was limited in quantity though supportive of the hypothesis. The hypothesis seems intuitively correct and is supported by the reviewers' practical experience.

Description

Robust evidence is a powerful counter to false assumptions and misunderstandings in creating and implementing anti-slavery policy. Inflated statistics and an over-emphasis on sex trafficking can, for example, lead to damaging generalizations about sex workers and a lack of resources to combat labour slavery. Policies that are based on solidly established facts are typically more nuanced and credible, ultimately more effective and therefore more likely to garner political support for ongoing resources. This is particularly the case when evidence identifies best practices to be scaled up, which can then be translated into legislation and bring about sustainable change. Anti-trafficking policy can and should also be informed by studies on the individual and societal harms caused by trafficking.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

One study was a quantitative and qualitative mixed methods primary study with an observational design, one was a non-empirical secondary study that conducted a keyword analysis and content analysis of federal legislation, and one study was a non-empirical theoretical systematic review.

SIZE

One study had an international focus, and two studies focused on national contexts, namely Belgium and the US — though it may be possible to extrapolate to additional contexts.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

Overall, robust methods were adopted in the studies, providing a good foundation for further research. The studies were clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent or somewhat so.

Evidence Base

J. Taylor Scott, Alexandra M. Ingram, Shannon L. Nemer and D. Max Crowley, "[Evidence-Based Human Trafficking Policy: Opportunities to Invest in Trauma-Informed Strategies](#)," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 64, 3-4 (2019): 438-358.

Ronald Weitzer, "[Sex Trafficking and the Sex Industry: The Need for Evidence-Based Theory and Legislation](#). The *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 101, 4 (2015): 1337-1370.

Victoria A. Greenfield, Letizia Paoli and Andries Zoutendijk, "[The harms of human trafficking: demonstrating the applicability and value of a new framework for systematic, empirical analysis](#)," *Global Crime* 17, 2 (2016): 152-180.

HYPOTHESIS 12

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

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The supporting studies, though few in number, were of high quality. The reviewers' practical experience strongly supports this hypothesis.

Description

Access to interpreters is essential in anti-slavery criminal justice responses, particularly with first responder's engagement with victims, because modern slavery so frequently involves actors from different countries, cultures and language backgrounds. Providing for high-quality interpretation throughout investigations and court proceedings is a relatively straightforward measure with significant positive impact. The corollary is also true – lack of sound interpretation is a significant impediment to a fair and just criminal process.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY AND SIZE

The single study considered under this hypothesis was focused on Cambodia. The hypothesis was tested in a qualitative primary study with an observational research design involving interviews with 57 prisoners at an all-female prison who were incarcerated for human trafficking or the commercial sexual exploitation of children; 48 of the women also participated in six focus group discussions.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

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

Evidence Base

Naomi L. Svensson, *From Inside Prison Walls: Interviews with Incarcerated Brothel Owners and Human Traffickers in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: International Justice Mission, 2011).

PROMISING HYPOTHESES NOT YET REFLECTED IN THE EVIDENCE

HYPOTHESIS 13

Implementation of specialized, child-centric access to justice mechanisms which are developmentally appropriate will ensure child victims receive remedy through state criminal justice systems and justice in modern slavery cases.

Whilst not formally identified during the non-comprehensive evidence review, carried out by Rights Lab, the Working Group felt strongly that the above hypothesis should be included in the Justice Policy Guide. Supplementary evidence was provided by the Working Group to support the inclusion of this hypothesis. Records noted the importance of implementing specialized, child-centric access to justice mechanisms, highlighting its role in empowering children to

be active agents in their own protection and in so doing helping to identify their specific recovery and reintegration needs. Across the evidence submitted by the Working Group, records cited the importance of implementing child-centric access to justice mechanisms such as: special protective measures in courts and tribunals, developmentally appropriate psycho-social support and access to suitable trained and experienced lawyers.

HYPOTHESIS 14

Simplifying international trafficking in persons definitions would reduce the level of specialization needed and improve identification, protection and prosecution outcomes.

One of the aforementioned hypotheses: “clear and comprehensive legislative definitions of modern slavery offences support effective anti-slavery responses” calls for clear and comprehensive definitions of modern slavery to support responses. The proposed hypothesis is, by way of distinction, a suggestion that the international

legal framework (now in its third decade) could be improved through simplification.

Clarifying the boundaries and overlaps between terms such as “modern slavery”, “trafficking in persons”, “forced labour”, “slavery-like practices” and others would help to align research and policymaking globally.

The definition of trafficking in persons under the Palermo Protocols, whilst comprehensive, continues to give rise to confusion and ambiguity as criminal justice officials, policymakers, and those working in victim protection seek to apply it in various contexts. Confusion and differing interpretations exist around concepts such as coercion, volition/consent, criminal intent, and the need (or otherwise) for movement/travel.

These and other ambiguities often prompt investigators and prosecutors to seek alternate charges or abandon the case altogether, as they are uncertain of being able to prove the elements of trafficking offences. This in turn results in misleadingly low conviction numbers and an inability to embed trafficking laws within common practice in criminal justice systems.

This undermines the public's perception of the true scale of the trafficking problem in their country.

Modern slavery is an inherently complex criminal activity, so the need for specialization will remain. A simpler definition brought about as a refinement of best practices and a result of the great advances in anti-slavery work the Palermo Protocol has generated may, however, reduce the level of specialization required and make it easier to train front-line responders and non-specialized officials.

The hypothesis suggests consideration be given to whether a critical analysis and possible revision to the Protocol would be warranted. The existing wealth of practical experience with the Protocol affords an opportunity to make evidence-based, well-reasoned and practical definition decisions⁶.

CIVIL JUSTICE POLICY

For the purposes of the Policy Guide process, civil justice policy encompasses civil remedies; civil compensation; civil claims; civil law; civil mechanisms; labour policy; labour regulation; employment policy; employment regulation and

victim compensation. Civil justice mechanisms are hugely important in ensuring victims and survivors can navigate immigration processes and receive compensation.

HYPOTHESIS 15

Ensuring that survivors of modern slavery have access to robust and enforced labour rights laws and regulations effectively supports protection efforts.

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies were diverse and of high quality. The practical experience of the reviewers supports the hypothesis.

Description

Research for this hypothesis emphasized the need to ensure labour protections extend to vulnerable groups in order to ensure access to labour interventions and programming, as well as civil remedies. Also, there was an emphasis on the need for greater ratification of international labour treaties, and compliance with these frameworks at a national level, for domestic legislation and regulation. The main areas looked into were domestic workers, fishers, and seafarers, as well as emphasis on the need to regulate recruitment practices. The overarching narrative of this group focused on the need to embed modern slavery responses in labour justice, including embedding criminal justice and immigration frameworks in this context, to ensure that systemic root causes are addressed.

supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

SIZE

Studies in this group were geographically diverse, although with a strong focus on Asia. Six studies considered a single national jurisdiction (Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Nepal, Turkey and the US), one study considered two regions and one country (South Asia, with a particular focus on India, the Middle East and Myanmar), whilst another considered four national contexts (Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore). One study focused on three subnational contexts in India (Bangalore, Tirupur and Delhi National Capital Region), and two were not geographically tied but global in scope. The research methods included interviews with migrant workers (26-54 respondents), as well as interviews with key informants (7-62). There were also 226 case data analyses.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence for this hypothesis is varied. Studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent,

context-appropriate, valid, and reliable. Evidence underpinning the claims was also considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent in the majority of cases. All studies were considered to satisfy

quality measures of transparency, context appropriateness, validity, and reliability, in whole or in part.

Evidence Base
Beate Andrees, " Defending Rights, Securing Justice: The International Labour Organization's Work on Forced Labour ," <i>Journal of Criminal Justice</i> 14, 2 (2016): 343-362.
Beatriz Camargo Magalhães, " Mind the Protection (Policy) Gap: Trafficking and Labor Exploitation in Migrant Domestic Work in Belgium ," <i>Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies</i> 15, 2 (2017): 122-139.
Frances Simmons and Fiona David, " The Road to Effective Remedies: Pragmatic reasons for treating cases of 'sex trafficking' in the Australian sex industry as a form of 'labour trafficking' ," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 1 (2012): 60-79.
Marley S. Weiss, " Human Trafficking and Forced Labor: A Primer ," <i>American Bar Association Journal of Labor & Employment Law</i> 31, 1 (2015): 1-52.
Mia Mahmudur Rahim and Sk Samidul Islam, " It isn't 'help,' it's work': Legal regulation of domestic work in Bangladesh ," <i>Common Law World Review</i> 47, 4 (2018): 272-289.
Olivier Thévenon and Eric Edmonds, " Child labour: Causes, consequences and policies to tackle it ," <i>OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers</i> 235 (2019).
Rebecca Surtees, " Trapped at Sea: Using the Legal and Regulatory Framework to Prevent and Combat the Trafficking of Seafarers and Fishers ," <i>Groningen Journal of International Law</i> , 1, 2 (2013): 91-151.
Sallie Yea, " Human Trafficking and Jurisdictional Exceptionalism in the Global Fishing Industry: A Case Study of Singapore ," <i>Geopolitics</i> (2020).
Sanjai Bhatt, <i>Not Made by Children Project: An Impact Assessment Study</i> (The Hague: Global March Against Child Labour, 2013).
Sarah Paoletti, Eleanor Taylor-Nicholson, Bandita Sijapati and Bassina Farbenblum, " Migrant Workers' Access to Justice at Home: Nepal ," <i>Faculty Scholarship at Penn Law</i> 1326 (2014).
Stephanie J. Nawyn, Nur Banu Kavakli, Tuba Demirci-Yılmaz and Vanja Pantic Oflazoğlu, " Human Trafficking and Migration Management in the Global South ," <i>International Journal of Sociology</i> 46, 3 (2016): 189-204.

HYPOTHESIS 16

Ensuring both adult and child survivors have access to compensation and civil remedies that support their recovery and reintegration is important to address trafficking and modern slavery.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies were diverse, and of moderately high quality. The practical experience of the reviewers supports the hypothesis.

Description

Studies pointed to the important role of compensation and civil remedies in addressing trafficking and modern slavery. This was highlighted not only in supporting recovery and reintegration, but also in preventing re-trafficking since the lack of material support becomes a vulnerability factor for those already victimized. ‘Economic empowerment’ was identified by one study as the primary need for survivors, as it counters the poverty and deprivation that are often push factors in trafficking. Providing survivors with the financial means to support themselves and their families makes them less likely to pursue risky job opportunities. Studies pointed towards the specific harms associated with trafficking and modern slavery, highlighting the complexities of these cases and stressing that more generalized crime compensation schemes do not take those into account, hence the need for specialized ones.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence for this hypothesis is varied, with a range of research and implementation methods. The majority of claims

in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection.

SIZE

Whilst the studies in this hypothesis group crossed several national contexts, most records focused on a single jurisdiction covering Australia (2), Cambodia, Serbia, Thailand and the UK. One study was not geographically tied but was international in scope. Interviews were the most commonly used data collection, and the number of respondents ranged from 20-27 for interviews.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

Evidence underpinning this claim was broadly considered to be strong, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be clear, transparent, context appropriate, valid, and reliable. The majority of claims were also considered to be cogent, or somewhat cogent, although overall this quality measure was satisfied in fewer cases. Overall, methodologies in this hypothesis grouping were robust and well-articulated, combining multiple methods to produce a stronger evidentiary foundation for the conclusions drawn. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

Evidence Base

Ben Middleton, Georgios A. Antonopoulos and Georgios Papanicolaou, "[The Financial Investigation of Human Trafficking in the UK: Legal and Practical Perspective](#)," *The Journal of Criminal Law* 83, 4 (2019).

Biljana Simeunovic-Patic and Sanja Copic, "Protection and Assistance to Victims of Human Trafficking in Serbia: Recent Developments," *European Journal of Criminology* (2010).

David Rousseau, " From Passive Victims to Partners in Their Own Reintegration: Civil society's role in empowering returned Thai fishermen ," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 10 (2018).
Frances Simmons, " Money Matters: Material justice for survivors of slavery and human trafficking ," <i>Precedent</i> 115 (2013).
Frances Simmons and Fiona David, " The Road to Effective Remedies: Pragmatic reasons for treating cases of 'sex trafficking' in the Australian sex industry as a form of 'labour trafficking' ," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 1 (2012): 60-79.
Peter Williams, <i>Labor Trafficking in Cambodia: A Review of the Public Justice System's Response</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission, 2016).
Rebecca Surtees, " Trapped at Sea: Using the Legal and Regulatory Framework to Prevent and Combat the Trafficking of Seafarers and Fishers ," <i>Groningen Journal of International Law</i> 1, 2 (2013): 91-151.

HYPOTHESIS 17

Having in place and enforcing robust labour rights regulation and enforcement mechanisms supports prevention efforts.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies were diverse, and of high quality. The practical experience of the reviewers supports the hypothesis.

Description

Education on and enforcement of robust labour policies, such as ensuring that recruitment fees (where permitted) are borne by employers and not employees, can lead to prevention of exploitation. The findings in this grouping showed that, although necessary, labour protections were not sufficient in and of themselves to ensure protection of vulnerable workers. These needed to be accompanied by education for workers on labour laws, workers' rights, and rights more broadly. These pointed to a connection between increased education and awareness with self-identification and reporting. Also, evidence looked at key roles, such as the role of "union stewards" – leaders trained in labour laws and schemes relevant to work context – in reaching out to large numbers of workers and to provide labour rights education and found that union stewards themselves were empowered by this role to speak up about abuses with management.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence for this hypothesis is varied. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the

underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

SIZE

Studies in this group were geographically diverse, although with a strong focus on Asia. Six studies considered a single national jurisdiction (Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Nepal, Turkey and the US), one study considered two regions and one country (South Asia, with a particular focus on India, the Middle East and Myanmar), whilst another considered four national contexts (Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore), one study focused on three subnational contexts in India (Bangalore, Tirupur and Delhi National Capital Region), and two were not geographically tied but global in scope. The research methods included interviews with migrant workers (26-54 respondents), as well as interviews with key informants (7-62). There were also 226 case data analyses.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, and reliable. Evidence underpinning the claims was also considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent in the majority of cases. All studies were considered to satisfy quality measures of transparency, context appropriateness, validity, and reliability, in whole or in part.

Evidence Base

Beate Andrees, "Defending Rights, Securing Justice: The International Labour Organization's Work on Forced Labour," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 14, 2 (2016): 343-362.

<p>Beatriz Camargo Magalhães, "Mind the Protection (Policy) Gap: Trafficking and Labor Exploitation in Migrant Domestic Work in Belgium," <i>Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies</i>, 15, 2 (2017): 122-139.</p>
<p>Frances Simmons and Fiona David, "The Road to Effective Remedies: Pragmatic reasons for treating cases of 'sex trafficking' in the Australian sex industry as a form of 'labour trafficking'," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 1 (2012): 60-79.</p>
<p>Marley S. Weiss, "Human Trafficking and Forced Labor: A Primer," <i>ABA Journal of Labor & Employment Law</i> 31, 1 (2015): 1-52.</p>
<p>Mia Mahmudur Rahim and Sk Samidul Islam, "It isn't 'help,' it's work': Legal regulation of domestic work in Bangladesh," <i>Common Law World Review</i> 47, 4 (2018): 272-289.</p>
<p>Olivier Thévenon and Eric Edmonds, "Child labour: Causes, consequences and policies to tackle it," <i>OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers</i> 235 (2019).</p>
<p>Rebecca Surtees, "Trapped at Sea: Using the Legal and Regulatory Framework to Prevent and Combat the Trafficking of Seafarers and Fishers," <i>Groningen Journal of International Law</i> 1, 2 (2013): 91-151.</p>
<p>Sallie Yea, "Human Trafficking and Jurisdictional Exceptionalism in the Global Fishing Industry: A Case Study of Singapore," <i>Geopolitics</i> (2020).</p>
<p>Sanjai Bhatt, <i>Not Made by Children Project: An Impact Assessment Study</i> (The Hague: Global March Against Child Labour, 2013).</p>
<p>Sarah Paoletti, Eleanor Taylor-Nicholson, Bandita Sijapati and Bassina Farbenblum, "Migrant Workers' Access to Justice at Home: Nepal," <i>Faculty Scholarship at Penn Law</i> 1326, (2014).</p>
<p>Stephanie J. Nawyn, Nur Banu Kavakli, Tuba Demirci-Yılmaz and Vanja Pantic Oflazoğlu, "Human Trafficking and Migration Management in the Global South," <i>International Journal of Sociology</i> 46, 3 (2016): 189-204.</p>

HYPOTHESIS 18

Requiring perpetrators to compensate or pay civil remedies to both adult and child victims serves as a deterrent to trafficking activity.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: A moderate number of studies supported this hypothesis and were variable in quality. The practical experience of the reviewers was a strong factor in the confidence expressed in this hypothesis.

Description

Studies backing this hypothesis show that compensation for survivors can have an important deterrent role by imposing economic costs on perpetrators, with implications for deterring offending – particularly by economically-motivated actors. The studies also looked at the important role of compensation and civil remedies in addressing trafficking and modern slavery, in general. Also, one of the reviewed studies focused on financial investigations and the confiscation and seizure of assets of perpetrators as an avenue for securing compensation for survivors.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence for this hypothesis is weakly varied, with the majority of claims in this grouping analysing secondary data.

SIZE

The supporting evidence base cannot be considered geographically diverse, with the studies in this group extending over two national contexts – Serbia and the UK. One study used non-empirical methods, whilst the other one used qualitative research.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

Evidence underpinning this claim was broadly considered to be strong, with the majority of claims in this group considered to be somewhat clear, transparent, context appropriate, valid, and reliable. One study was a literature review of existing articles, whilst the other was an analysis of legal frameworks.

Evidence Base

Ben Middleton, Georgios A. Antonopoulos and Georgios Papanicolaou, "[The Financial Investigation of Human Trafficking in the UK: Legal and Practical Perspective](#)," *The Journal of Criminal Law* 83, 4 (2019).

Biljana Simeunovic-Patic and Sanja Copic, "[Protection and Assistance to Victims of Human Trafficking in Serbia: Recent Developments](#)," *European Journal of Criminology* 7, 1 (2010): 45-60.

INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE POLICY

International justice encompasses both law and policy used to achieve Target 8.7. Whilst international justice plays a vital role in ensuring rights and protection, interestingly in the non-comprehensive evidence review, carried out by Rights Lab, University of Nottingham, very few records were included that were relevant to international justice. This is due in part to

the difficulty of assessing impacts of policy and interventions developed at this level, but also indicates a need for further robust research into the impacts of what works to address modern slavery in the context of international justice. This explains the slightly lower confidence scores attributed to the following hypotheses.

HYPOTHESIS 19

Transnational coordination between governments in anti-slavery legislation and enforcement improves countries' commitment to responding to human trafficking.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies supporting this hypothesis, though fewer in number, were persuasive and of moderate quality. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

Looking at the efficacy of cooperation and coordination between governments was the primary focus of this evidence base. The areas considered were detection, support and justice, with sources also noting the importance of collaboration to connect both governmental and non-governmental actors transnationally, in order to ensure effective protection. Apart from opportunities for sharing of skills between different actors, and combining capacity to improve responses overall, open lines of communication, trust, and a strong ability to collaborate on a detailed level were indicated to be required. Cooperation could also play a role in international advocacy for improved laws and policies addressing trafficking and modern slavery. Also, bilateral and multilateral Memorandums of Understanding were considered

a valuable framework within which cooperation could be organized, but that lack of guidance and unclear procedures for their implementation impeded their success.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence for this hypothesis is somewhat varied. Studies were relatively diverse in their content, each emphasizing the critical role of international and transnational cooperation and coordination, but often in different ways and with different points of focus. The majority of claims in this group were tested through secondary or theoretical studies, with four claims tested in three studies that involved primary data collection.

SIZE

Studies in this group were geographically diverse. Several of the studies in this group adopted an international perspective and were not geographically tied to particular contexts, and one study considered the development of an international tool modelled after a US framework. Geographically tied studies all focused on the Asia-Pacific region. All primary studies used key informant interviews, with each supplementing these interviews with additional data collection and analysis methods. Casework data analysis,

focus groups, and participant observation and process tracing were also used. Participant numbers varied between 22-121.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

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

Evidence Base
Andreas Schloenhardt and Mark Loong, " Return and Reintegration of Human Trafficking Victims from Australia ," <i>International Journal of Refugee Law</i> 23, 2 (2011): 143-173.
Benjamin Perrin, " Just Passing Through? International Legal Obligations and Policies of Transit Countries in Combating Trafficking in Persons ," <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> 7, 1 (2010): 11-17.
Deanna Davy, " Responding to Child Sex Trafficking: Transnational Advocacy Networks in the Greater Mekong Subregion ," <i>Women and Criminal Justice</i> 23, 4 (2013): 304-325.
Geneva Brown, " Women and Children Last: The Prosecution of Sex Traffickers and Sex Offenders and the Need for a Sex Trafficker Registry ," <i>Boston College Third World Law Journal</i> 31, 1 (2011): 40.
Peter Williams, <i>Labor Trafficking in Cambodia: A Review of the Public Justice System's Response</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission, 2016).
International Justice Mission, <i>Online Sexual Exploitation of Children in the Philippines: A Review of the Criminal Justice System's Response</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission and U.S. Department of State, 2018).
James Sinclair, " Strategic Litigation as a Tool to Combat Modern Slavery ," <i>Journal of Modern Slavery</i> 4, 2 (2018): 47-65.
Louise Gomez-Mera, " Regime Complexity and Global Governance: The case of trafficking in Persons ," <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> 3, 4 (2017): 303-326.

HYPOTHESIS 20

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

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies supporting this hypothesis, though fewer in number, were relatively strong. Further research is needed to confirm the efficacy of restrictive immigration policies and strict border controls in different parts of the world.

Description

This grouping has quite opposing evidence on the effect of restrictive immigration and strict border controls. On the one hand, it points to how restrictive immigration policies and approaches do not prevent disclosure of experiences of abuse nor guarantee intervention. Other findings point towards States' perception that border control is an important element of anti-trafficking intervention. Other studies identify ways to improve victim identification and protection in the context of restrictive immigration policies such as strengthening capacity of immigration officials to support victims, maximizing resources for border control and immigration as part of a multifaceted approach to combat trafficking and basing policies on empirical evidence. Some studies noted that law enforcement and immigration officials often focused on immigration instead of trafficking, resulting in the consideration of victimhood through the lens of the individual's immigration status, hence creating a 'culture of disbelief' towards migrants' and victims' experiences. This would then lead to punitive approaches that resulted in punitive measures against victims, including criminalization, detention and deportation. Also analysed were the tied visa systems, which were noted to increase opportunities for exploitation of migrant workers and decrease likelihood of reporting.

DIVERSITY

Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and

supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts, and the collection of studies was relatively diverse. There was a relatively high proportion of theoretical and conceptual studies for this grouping.

SIZE

Studies were geographically diverse, with several adopting international perspectives that were not geographically tied. One study focused on the European Union as a whole; one considered Europe as a whole and Syria and Eritrea as countries; and another included Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore. Two studies adopted more specific, subnational perspectives, whilst the remaining records were national studies, covering Belgium, the UK, Italy, Malaysia, Nepal, the Netherlands and the US (2). Qualitative research methods were the most common in primary studies, whilst non-empirical methods were also common given the relatively high proportion of theoretical or conceptual studies. All empirical studies adopted observational designs. Interviews were the most commonly utilized data collection method, with the number of participants ranging from 7-85.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The quality of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be relatively strong, with the majority considered to be clear, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent. The majority were also considered to be transparent or somewhat transparent.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Evidence across a variety of geographic contexts highlights the interconnections between modern slavery, immigration policy and border control. Connections are identified between immigration and border control and modern slavery risks and vulnerabilities, the dynamics of trafficking and slavery, the likelihood of identification, and the treatment of victims and survivors. However, the interactions between these issues are complex, contested and context specific. In some instances, particular approaches to immigration and border control are found to exacerbate risks and vulnerabilities, and potentially result in direct harm to victims. In others, immigration and border enforcement mechanisms are identified as supporting efforts to address modern slavery.

It is not possible to formulate a clear, singular message about the impacts of immigration policy and border control on modern slavery from the evidence base considered. This means that this Policy Guide cannot provide simple guidance for policymakers on how immigration policy and border enforcement should be structured to address modern slavery effectively. However, policymakers should carefully consider the intersections between these policy areas and seek to ensure that both policy and enforcement are structured in ways that facilitate victim identification and support, and avoids making modern slavery victims more vulnerable or exposing them to additional harms.

Evidence Base
Alinka Gearon, " Child Trafficking: Young people's experiences of front-line services in England ," <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> 59, 2 (2019): 481-500.
Annie Wilson, " Notes from the Field: Trafficking Risks for Refugees ," <i>Societies Without Borders</i> 7, 1 (2012): 100-118.
Beatriz Camargo Magalhães, " Mind the Protection (Policy) Gap: Trafficking and Labor Exploitation in Migrant Domestic Work in Belgium ," <i>Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies</i> 15, 2 (2017): 122-139.
Benjamin Perrin, " Just Passing Through? International Legal Obligations and Policies of Transit Countries in Combating Trafficking in Persons ," <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> 7, 1 (2010): 11-17.
Cathy Zimmerman and Nicola Pocock, " Human Trafficking and Mental Health: 'My Wounds are Inside; They are Not Visible' ," <i>The Brown Journal of World Affairs</i> 19, 2 (2012): 265-280.
Iffat Idris, <i>Interventions to Support Victims of Modern Slavery</i> (Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2017).
Katherine Solits and Rebecca Walters, " 'What's in a Name?': Mislabelling, misidentification, and the US government's failure to protect human trafficking survivors in the Central American refugee crisis ," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 11, (2018).
Lenore Lyons and Michele Ford, " Trafficking Versus Smuggling: Malaysia's Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act ," <i>Human Trafficking in Asia: Forcing Issues</i> ed. Sallie Yea (New York: Routledge, 2014).
Letizia Palumbo, " Protection of trafficked people in Italy: policies, limits and challenges ," <i>Journal of Money Laundering Control</i> 18, 1 (2015): 52-65.
Louise Gomez-Mera, " Regime Complexity and Global Governance: The case of trafficking in Persons ," <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> 3, 4 (2017): 303-326.
Lucrecia Rubio Grundell, <i>EU Anti-Trafficking Policies and Crime Control to Prevention and Protection</i> (Florence: European University Institute, 2015).

Margaret Chambeshi, Amanda Eckhardt, Xinyi Wang and Chris Muller, <i>Healthcare Access for Foreign-National Survivors of Trafficking</i> (New York City: Restore NYC, 2019).
Masja van Meeteren and Ellen Wiering, "Labour trafficking in Chinese restaurants in the Netherlands and the role of Dutch immigration policies. A qualitative analysis of investigative case files," <i>Crime, Law and Social Change</i> 72 (2019): 107-124.
Rebecca Miller and Sebastian Baumeister, "Managing Migration: Is border control fundamental to anti-trafficking and anti-smuggling interventions?," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 2 (2013): 15-32.
Sallie Yea, "Human Trafficking and Jurisdictional Exceptionalism in the Global Fishing Industry: A Case Study of Singapore," <i>Geopolitics</i> (2020).
Sarah Paoletti, Eleanor Taylor-Nicholson, Bandita Sijapati and Bassina Farbenblum, "Migrant Workers' Access to Justice at Home: Nepal," <i>Faculty Scholarship at Penn Law</i> 1326, (2014).
Toni Schofield, Julie Hepworth, Mairwen Jones and Eugene Schofield, "Health and community services for trafficked women: an exploratory study of policy and practice," <i>Australian Journal of Social Issues</i> 46, 4 (2016): 391-410.
Tuesday Reitano, "A Perilous but Profitable Crossing: The Changing Nature of Migrant Smuggling through sub-Saharan Africa to Europe and EU Migration Policy (2012-2015)," <i>The European Review of Organised Crime</i> 2, 1 (2015): 1-23.

HYPOTHESIS 21

Harmonization of national laws and policies addressing modern slavery with other countries and international law improves countries' obligations to respond to human trafficking.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: A moderate number of studies supported this hypothesis and were variable in quality. The practical experience of the reviewers was a strong factor in the confidence expressed in this hypothesis.

Description

The sources backing this hypothesis looked at several issues, including: the need for transnational coordination of corporate regulation (the absence of which results in companies simply moving headquarters to the country with the least restrictive frameworks); the need for coordination of penalties between countries and protection guarantees for victims; the importance of coordinating legislation across countries, including transit countries (often excluded from international collective policies and agreements); the need for harmonization of various domestic laws intersecting with modern slavery issues (lack of internal consistency could create new vulnerabilities to trafficking) and; the need for considering in particular the intersection with immigration law and policy.

in 2010, 2013, 2015, 2018, and 2020. Studies in this group were all theoretical or secondary research, primarily doctrinal legal and policy analysis.

SIZE

Studies were primarily focused on the European context, covering the national contexts of Bulgaria, Russia, and the UK. One study focused broadly on the European Union, and the final study was not geographically tied but international in scope. No other information was provided regarding size.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

All studies underpinning this hypothesis were published, with four published in peer-reviewed settings with academic authorship, and one published in a non-peer reviewed setting by an NGO. The hypothesis was considered to be proved in two cases, proved weakly in one case, and not proved in two cases.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence for this hypothesis somewhat lacked variety. Studies were published

Evidence Base
Benjamin Perrin, "Just Passing Through? International Legal Obligations and Policies of Transit Countries in Combating Trafficking in Persons," <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> 7, 1 (2010): 11-17.
Irina Molodikova, "One Step Forward and Two Steps Back: Migration Policy and Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation since the Palermo Protocol of 2020," <i>Journal of Human Trafficking</i> 6, 2 (2020): 141-155.
James Sinclair, "Strategic Litigation as a Tool to Combat Modern Slavery," <i>Journal of Modern Slavery</i> 4, 2 (2018): 47-65.

Lucrecia Rubio Grundell, *EU Anti-Trafficking Policies and Crime Control to Prevention and Protection* (Florence: European University Institute, 2015).

Vladislava Stoyanova, "The Crisis of a Definition: Human Trafficking in Bulgarian Law," *Amsterdam Law Forum* 5, 1 (2013): 64-79.

HYPOTHESIS 22

Capacitating non-traditional actors (i.e., people who do not have a direct role in tackling human trafficking) who are community pillars, at a local level, increases the number of identified victims of human trafficking.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: Only one source supported this hypothesis. The practical experience of the reviewers was a strong factor in the confidence expressed in this hypothesis.

Description

When identification of trafficking cases by police is lacking, non-traditional actors can contribute to identification and notification of human trafficking cases as an adjacent solution to increase the number of victims identified. Also, since recruitment and sometimes exploitation happen within victims' communities, building resilient networks of informal stakeholders to act as intervention points can lead to identification of both victims and vulnerable persons at risk of exploitation. Key community figures, such as clergy or educators, can play a role both in education and awareness, as well as in identification and notification of cases. If this can be expanded to other categories of stakeholders (beauticians, drivers, delivery personnel), wider populations can be covered and, potentially, more victims identified.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence for this hypothesis is limited, the only literature reviewed being a project note. This sole piece of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the claim recorded as context-appropriate and reliable, and somewhat clear, transparent, valid, and cogent.

SIZE

The study is limited to Romania, with 718 participants trained, categorized as 327 priests and 391 professors.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support the hypothesis, with the claim recorded as context-appropriate and reliable, and somewhat clear, transparent, valid, and cogent, but limited to one country.

Evidence Base

Ongoing unpublished project with eLiberare, UK Embassy in Bucharest, the US Embassy in Bucharest, the National Agency Against Trafficking in Persons, and the Romanian Orthodox Church.

SURVIVOR ENGAGEMENT POLICY

Survivors of slavery and human trafficking are often marginalized or tokenized in the anti-slavery movement and for the most part excluded from policy development. This exclusion is detrimental to the goal of achieving Target 8.7. Having lived experience of modern slavery and human trafficking, survivors have invaluable insights into how these human rights violations manifest and the impact they have on individuals and communities. There is no one policy or model of support and care that fits all survivors of forced labour, human trafficking and child labour. The needs of the individual vary drastically based on their experiences, histories and environment. Nonetheless, there are overarching principles and approaches for policy and practical assistance that are based on the primacy of victim protection and the inclusion of victim and survivor voices.

The following section categorizes three key aspects of survivor engagement policy to be considered by Policy Actors — survivor voice, types of support and collaboration, and partnerships. As previously discussed, these Policy Guides are thorough and

deep in areas where evidence is comprehensive and rigorous, while in some cases it is patchier and more or less speculative. Working Groups were asked to indicate their level of confidence in the effectiveness of an intervention or the validity of the hypothesis, using a prescribed scale based on the strength of evidence.

Research on the impact of survivor engagement is relatively new, and as such the confidence scores assigned below may not be as high as one might expect bearing in mind the importance of survivor inclusion. This is highlighted in the Rights Lab evidence review — “While many studies conducted evaluations of existing policy and interventions, the evidence underpinning this theme tends to focus on assessing support needs and looking forward to the requirements of best practice rather than evaluating the impacts of particular approaches.” This evaluation of impact is key to an assessment of certainty in a finding/hypothesis and thus reflects the slightly lower confidence levels assigned by the Working Group.

I. SURVIVOR VOICE

HYPOTHESIS 23

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

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies included both theoretical papers and empirical research. Whilst the practical experience of reviewers supported the hypothesis, a lack of geographical diversity in this body of evidence raises the question of universality and objectivity when drawing conclusions and formulation of proposals for applications in other varying contexts. Further research is needed.

Description

Across the evidence base, the need to develop more nuanced and evidence-based conceptions and representations of victimhood in modern slavery cases, and the harms of stereotypes and inaccurate imagery, were identified. Dominant stereotypes identified in anti-slavery and anti-trafficking campaigning include but are not limited to the “image” of the trafficking victim. Stereotypes include inter alia images of a women or child, typically sexually exploited and without agency in their victimization, or pervasive racialized victimhood narratives. These stereotype-based definitions of victimhood focus on physical (as opposed to psychological) abuse and on an apparent lack of consent to migration, or to the victim’s belief that they were migrating for other work but were forced into sexual exploitation. Male victims were often excluded from this narrative, with vulnerability associated with femininity. Stereotypes of offenders were also investigated, with an emphasis on offenders as males organized criminals who were unknown to the victims.

These stereotypes of victim and perpetrator were noted to have several ramifications for identification and treatment of victims, and on criminal justice processes. The criminalization of

victims was noted in several studies to arise where law enforcement officers did not have a nuanced and complex understanding of victimhood, resulting in re-victimization of survivors and reluctance to self-report to authorities. Several records noted the role of campaign imagery in shaping and perpetuating these images, and therefore indicated a need for a change of imagery at this level to improve anti-trafficking responses.

DIVERSITY

Studies in this group adopted relatively diverse methods. The majority undertook secondary studies based on extant literature involving primarily theoretical or conceptual analysis.

SIZE

Whilst studies were geographically diverse, sources tended to focus on the European and American contexts. National studies included Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, Indonesia, the UK and the US. Primary data collected ranged from 33–362 individuals. Case data analysis ranged from 2,210–2,606. However, samples are not sufficiently representative due to no disaggregation of data related to gender, race/ethnicity, or socioeconomic status.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The evidence underpinning this hypothesis is assessed to be strong with the majority of claims recorded as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, and reliable, and all cases satisfied these measures in whole or in part. The majority of cases are also considered to be cogent or somewhat cogent. Limitations of this body of evidence include an over-reliance on theoretical/conceptual and non-empirical studies. Additionally, many of the sources were not peer-reviewed.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

When considering this hypothesis, it is important to note that significant demographic information is missing from the data and may not include the specific perspective of people experiencing hereditary servitude, or discrimination based on work and descent. A lack of geographical diversity in this body of evidence raises the question of universality and objectivity when drawing conclusions and formulation of proposals for applications in other varying contexts.

Evidence Base
Ann De Shalit, Robert Heynen and Emily van der Meulen, " Human Trafficking and Media Myths: Federal Funding, Communication Strategies, and Canadian Anti-Trafficking Programs ," <i>Canadian Journal of Communication</i> 39 (2014): 385-412.
Erlend Paasche, May-Len Skilbrei and Sine Plambech, " Vulnerable Here or There? Examining the vulnerability of victims of human trafficking before and after return ," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 10 (2018).
Jasmine Phillips, " Black Girls and the (Im)Possibilities of a Victim Trope: The Intersectional Failures of Legal and Advocacy Interventions in the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Minors in the United States ," <i>UCLA Law Review</i> (2015).
Katarina Schwarz and Jing Geng, " Reasserting Agency: Procedural Justice, Victim-Centricity, and the Right to Remedy for Survivors of Slavery and Related Exploitation ," <i>Journal of Modern Slavery</i> 4, 2 (2018): 93-120.
Letizia Palumbo, " Protection of trafficked people in Italy: policies, limits and challenges ," <i>Journal of Money Laundering Control</i> 18, 1 (2015): 52-65.
Lisa R. Muftić, " Attitudes Regarding Criminal Justice Responses to Sex Trafficking among Law Enforcement Officers in Bosnia and Herzegovina ," <i>Journal of Criminal Justice and Security</i> 15, 2 (2013): 177-189.
Lorena Arocha, <i>Wrong kind of victim? One year on: an analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons</i> (London: Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group and Anti-Slavery International, 2010).
Mariyana Radeva Berke, " Labour exploitation and trafficking for labour exploitation – trends and challenges for policy-making ," <i>Academy of European Law</i> 16 (2015): 359-377.
Michael Wilson and Erin O'Brien, " Constructing the ideal victim in the United States of America's annual trafficking in persons reports ," <i>Crime, Law and Social Change</i> 65, 1 (2016): 2-32.
Ronald Weitzer, " Sex Trafficking and the Sex Industry: The Need for Evidence-Based Theory and Legislation. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology ," <i>Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology</i> 101, 4 (2015): 1337-1370.
Samantha Lyneham and Jacqueline Joudo Larsen, " Exploitation of Indonesian trafficked men, women and children and implications for support ," <i>Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice</i> 450 (2013).

HYPOTHESIS 24

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

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: Whilst this hypothesis is supported by the practical experience of reviewers the evidence base for this hypothesis was somewhat lacking, and the majority of studies have been undertaken only in the US. More research is still needed before a greater confidence can be assigned.

Description

Trauma-informed care for survivors of modern slavery and human trafficking plays an essential role in survivors' recovery and reintegration. Studies noted that trauma-informed approaches reduced severe risks of re-victimization and re-traumatizing in a variety of contexts, and that these also connected to the need for individualized, flexible, survivor-informed, culturally appropriate, and evidence-based approaches. Various approaches to trauma-informed care were discussed across this group, with several studies considering traditional clinical approaches. One study considered the effectiveness of therapeutic yoga, expressive arts, and sensory-based interventions (breathing techniques, aromatherapy, animal-assisted therapy, mindfulness), finding these approaches to have significantly positive impacts on survivors' recovery, wellbeing, and reintegration (including the rebuilding of trust and social bonds) within the confines of the study.

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

DIVERSITY

Most of the studies only incorporated evidence from the US. The majority of data supporting this hypothesis was either qualitative or non-empirical. When regarding a topic such as psychological support, empirical data could be vital to proving such claims. There was no disaggregation of individuals by gender, race/ethnicity, indigenous status, or socioeconomic status.

SIZE

The sizes of the studies were inconsistent and inadequate. Samples were mostly very small, but there were a few very large outliers, such as one study with 100 individuals in the Philippines and 1,000 individuals in the US.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The quality of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to be mixed, although overall supports a positive finding on the hypothesis. Primary studies in this group were often supported by comprehensive literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts. However, the extent of support for some of the hypothetical and conceptual studies is less clearly established.

Evidence Base

Antonio Pascual-Leone, Jean Kim and Orrin-Porter Morrison, "[Working with Victims of Human Trafficking](#)," *Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy* 47 (2017): 51-59

<p>Cathy L. Miller, Gloria Duke and Sally Northam, "Child Sex-Trafficking Recognition, Intervention, and Referral: An Educational Framework for the Development of Health-Care-Provider Education Programs," <i>Journal of Human Trafficking</i> 2, 3 (2000): 177-200.</p>
<p>Cathy L. Miller, Makini Chisolm-Straker, Gloria Duke and Hanni Stoklosa, "A Framework for the Development of Healthcare Provider Education Programs on Human Trafficking Part Three: Recommendations," <i>Journal of Human Trafficking</i> 6, 4 (2020): 425-434.</p>
<p>Dorothy Neriah Muraya and Deborah Fry, "Aftercare Services for Child Victims of Sex Trafficking: A Systematic Review of Policy and Practice," <i>Trauma, Violence, and Abuse</i> 17 (2015): 204-220.</p>
<p>Hanni Stoklosa, Marti MacGibbon and Joseph Stoklosa, "Human Trafficking, Mental Illness, and Addiction: Avoiding Diagnostic Overshadowing," <i>AMA Journal of Ethics</i> 19, 1 (2017): 23-24.</p>
<p>International Justice Mission, <i>Online Sexual Exploitation of Children in the Philippines: A Review of the Criminal Justice System's Response</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission and U.S. Department of State, 2018).</p>
<p>J. Taylor Scott, Alexandra M. Ingram, Shannon L. Nemer and D. Max Crowley, "Evidence-Based Human Trafficking Policy: Opportunities to Invest in Trauma-Informed Strategies," <i>American Journal of Community Psychology</i> 64, 3-4 (2019): 438-358.</p>
<p>Jennifer E. O'Brien, Brooke Jordan, Nina Honeycutt, Catherine Wilsnack and Clara Davison. "It's All about Breaking down Those Barriers...: Exploring Survivors' Perspectives on Services and Treatment Needs following Commercial Sexual Exploitation during Childhood," <i>Journal of Evidence-based Social Work</i> 16, 2 (2019): 160-177.</p>
<p>Laura C. Palombi, Hannah Van Ochten and Caroline Patz, "The Pharmacists' Role in Identifying and Supporting Victims of Human Trafficking," <i>Journal of Human Trafficking</i> 5, 3 (2019): 255-266.</p>
<p>Polaris, <i>Promising Practices: An Overview of Trauma-Informed Therapeutic Support for Survivors of Human Trafficking</i> (Washington DC: Polaris and Sanar, 2015).</p>
<p>Wendy Macias-Konstantopoulos, "Human Trafficking: The Role of Medicine in Interrupting the Cycle of Abuse and Violence," <i>Annals of Internal Medicine</i> 165 (2016): 582-588.</p>
<p>Hannah Thinyane, Francisca Sasseti, Don Rodney Junio, Michael Gallo and Silvia Mercia, <i>Use of New Technologies for Consistent and Proactive Screening of Vulnerable Populations</i> (Macau: United Nations University Institute in Macau, 2020).</p>
<p>Karen Albright, Jordan Greenbaum, Sherry A. Edwards and Carmelle Tsai, "Systematic review of facilitators of, barriers to, and recommendations for healthcare services for child survivors of human trafficking globally," <i>Child Abuse & Neglect</i> 100 (2020).</p>

II. TYPES OF SUPPORT

HYPOTHESIS 25

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

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: A large number of studies supported this hypothesis. The studies were of high quality and in most cases used good sample sizes. The studies covered a diverse geographical area. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

Sources noted that victims/survivors must be afforded proper access to legal advice and support services to ensure effective recovery. Effective survivor support can include a number of services — adequate long-term shelter, access to lawyers, support from local government authorities, protection from abuse and exploitation, specialized foster care (for children), psychological support, rehabilitation support, access to food, etc. Studies noted that without access to these support services there can be detrimental effects not only on the victim/survivor but also the court proceedings. Lack of funding and inconsistency in the implementation of support services is a concern highlighted by many studies in the database.

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence underpinning this hypothesis is varied with data collected from a diverse set of stakeholders including service

providers, trafficking survivors and law enforcement personnel.

SIZE

Whilst the studies in this hypothesis group were geographically diverse, the majority focused on a single jurisdiction. National studies covered Austria, Nigeria, Serbia, the UK, the US and Viet Nam. Primary data collected in all the studies under this hypothesis were small in scope, relying on very small data set sizes. Studies were limited in their representation of disaggregated social groups and representation of social contexts, which can impact an individual's ability to access support services for recovery and rehabilitation.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding, with the majority considered to be clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent. Half of the studies were published in a non-peer reviewed setting.

Evidence Base

Adejumo Gbadebo Olubunmi, E. Olu-Owolabi Fadeke and O. Fayomi Oluyemi, "[Perceived Satisfaction and Effectiveness of Rehabilitation of Victims of Human Trafficking in Nigeria: Implications for Political and Psychological Interventions](#)," *British Journal of Education, Society and Behavioral Science* 6, 3 (2015): 218-226.

Anita Franklin and Lisa Doyle, <i>Still at risk: A review of support for trafficked children</i> (London: The Children's Society and The Refugee Council, 2013).
Biljana Simeunovic-Patic and Sanja Copic, "Protection and Assistance to Victims of Human Trafficking in Serbia: Recent Developments," <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> 7, 1 (2010): 45-60.
Evelyn Probst, "Victims' protection within the context of trafficking in human beings and European Union standards," <i>Academy of European Law</i> 19 (2018): 357-367.
Iffat Idris, <i>Interventions to Support Victims of Modern Slavery</i> (Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2017).
Laura Simich, Lucia Goyen, Andrew Powell and Karen Mallozzi, <i>Improving Human Trafficking Victim Identification – Validation and Dissemination of a Screening Tool</i> (Washington DC: VERA Institute of Justice, 2014).
Rachel Annison, <i>Hidden in plain sight: Three years on: updated analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons</i> (London: The Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group, 2013).
Thanh Hung Tran, Tien Hoang Le and Thi Phuong Diep Tran, "Support Trafficking Victims through Inter-Agency Cooperation in Vietnam: Achievements and Limitations," <i>Asian Journal of Criminology</i> 15 (2019): 321-344.

HYPOTHESIS 26

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

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: Whilst the hypothesis is consistent with reviewer's practical experience, the evidentiary base supporting this hypothesis is somewhat lacking, the sources were of moderate quality and lacked a large geographical reach.

Description

Records noted the need for and benefit of access to safe accommodation for ensuring effective survivor protection, recovery and reintegration. Appropriate, safe and supervised access to accommodation not only benefits adult survivors but also child survivors. Lack of funding and proper procedural standards can hamper access to safe accommodation for victims/survivors. However, safe accommodation must be central to the recovery and reintegration process. It is clear that further research is needed to gather disaggregated data that takes into consideration the intersections of identities and their effect on long-term support for survivors. Also, focusing and prioritizing victim/survivor voices in the collection of evidence would be beneficial to this hypothesis.

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence underpinning this hypothesis is varied, a diverse range of research and implementation approaches used.

SIZE

Geographically, the body of evidence supporting this hypothesis was not diverse, with most research focused on the US. Studies in this group were small in size.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to not entirely support a positive finding on the hypothesis. Some studies lacked in being clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and/or cogent.

Evidence Base

Adejumo Gbadebo Olubunmi, E. Olu-Owolabi Fadeke and O. Fayomi Oluayemi, "[Perceived Satisfaction and Effectiveness of Rehabilitation of Victims of Human Trafficking in Nigeria: Implications for Political and Psychological Interventions](#)," *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioral Science* 6, 3 (2015): 218-226.

Amy Farrell, Colleen Owens and Jack McDevitt, "[New laws but few cases: understanding the challenges to the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases](#)," *Crime, Law and Social Change* 61 (2014):139-168.

Anita Franklin and Lisa Doyle, *Still at risk: A review of support for trafficked children* (London: The Children's Society and The Refugee Council, 2013).

Iffat Idris, *Interventions to Support Victims of Modern Slavery* (Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2017).

International Organization for Migration, *Report on the contribution of the NCATS to the identification and assistance for victims of trafficking* (Paris: International Organization for Migration, 2010).

Joanne Van Selm, *Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Measures for the Integration of Trafficked Persons* (Paris: International Organization for Migration, 2013).

Jodi L. Williams, *Human Trafficking Survivors, After Care Services, and Institutional Betrayal: A Qualitative Perspective on the Effectiveness of a Victim Advocacy Program* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri-Columbia, 2017).

Miriam Potocky, "Effectiveness of Services for Victims of International Human Trafficking: An Exploratory Evaluation," *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 8, 4 (2015): 359-385.

Vicky Brotherton, *Time to Deliver: Considering pregnancy and parenthood in the UK's response to human trafficking* (London: The Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group, 2016).

HYPOTHESIS 27

Immediate assistance, including health care and material support, is critical to enabling recovery and reintegration for survivors of modern slavery.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: Whilst the practical experience of reviewers supported this hypothesis, the evidence base is limited in its actual impact assessment of the benefits of immediate assistance. For a higher confidence score to be assigned, further research that assesses the effectiveness of short-term assistance needs to be conducted.

Description

Studies highlighted the critical importance of ensuring survivors' immediate needs are met, including access to emergency health care and material support. These immediate and short-term needs of survivors could include immediate accommodation and food, physical and mental health care, safety services, case management, and legal advocacy. Studies emphasized the importance of ensuring safety and protection for survivors. It should be noted that the value and necessity of immediate support were highlighted in a large number of studies considered in this review. This was often taken for granted and served as a shared premise on which authors advanced their arguments. In several cases, the need for long-term support (considered above) was presented as a requirement *in addition* to immediate assistance. However, the importance of immediate support was not specifically tested in many of the records assessed.

DIVERSITY

The group included two primary studies, involving semi-structured key informant interviews with support providers, and a combination of a survivor surveys and survivor interviews in the other. One mixed-methods

study was also included in this group, involving semi-structured interviews with key informants, surveys with anti-trafficking professionals, and a desk review of extant literature. Another study in this group was a non-systematic literature review.

SIZE

The majority of studies were limited to a specific geographical context and in certain circumstances limited to one organization or a specific area within a country.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The majority of the studies had a clear research framework, were cogent and context appropriate, but some lacked transparency, reliability and validity. In addition, the majority of studies were published in a non-peer reviewed setting.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

A medium confidence score was given as the hypothesis was proven to some extent by the identified body of evidence. However, practitioners in the field would assign a higher confidence score to this hypothesis based on their experience. Considerations should be given to the specific cultural context and lived realities of communities that survivors belong to as this can affect access to support.

Evidence Base

Adejumo Gbadebo Olubunmi, E. Olu-Owolabi Fadeke and O. Fayomi Oluyemi, "[Perceived Satisfaction and Effectiveness of Rehabilitation of Victims of Human Trafficking in Nigeria: Implications for Political and Psychological Interventions](#)," *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioral Science* 6, 3 (2015): 218-226.

Iffat Idris, [Interventions to Support Victims of Modern Slavery](#) (Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2017).

Naomi M. Twigg, "[Comprehensive Care Model for Sex Trafficking Survivors](#)," *Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 49, 3 (2016).

Vicky Brotherton, [Time to Deliver: Considering pregnancy and parenthood in the UK's response to human trafficking](#) (London: The Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group, 2016).

HYPOTHESIS 28

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

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The evidence supporting this hypothesis was strong, with a significant quantity of relevant data and strong geographic reach. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

Records noted that victims/survivors did not receive adequate long-term support to enable recovery and reintegration. Priority was given to prosecution and criminal proceedings over support to victims/survivors. Even if State mechanisms were in place to provide the required support, in many cases authorities and service providers did not use the available mechanisms. Short-term support was often provided, but there was also a lack of consistency in support that was provided. Without proper aftercare, survivors potentially faced mental health issues. Long-term aftercare and support for recovery and reintegration should include a diverse variety of services, such as crisis safety services, crisis shelter services, emergency medical care, basic necessities, and initial case management. Additional recommended services included emergency substance abuse services, emergency mental health services, and family reunification.

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was varied in terms of methods (qualitative and quantitative) and data (primary and secondary). Amongst the evidence base, a diverse range of research and implementation approaches were used. The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, and several different countries were represented in the evidence base.

SIZE

Whilst the studies in this hypothesis group were geographically diverse, the majority focused on a single jurisdiction. National studies covered Albania, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Indonesia, Moldova, Nepal, Pakistan, the UK, and the US. Interviews were the most commonly used for data collection, and the number of interviewed respondents ranged from 5-108.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority considered to be clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent. Overall, methodologies in this hypothesis grouping were robust and well-articulated, combining multiple methods to produce a stronger evidentiary foundation for the conclusions drawn. The evidence base benefits from a wider consideration of statistical and case data in several of the records assessed, strengthening the evidence through a more expansive review and supporting findings from interviews with smaller sample groups. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

Evidence Base
Carole Murphy, <i>A Game of Chance? Long-term Support for Survivors of Modern Slavery</i> (London: Saint Mary's Centre for the Study of Modern Slavery, 2018).
Emma George, Darlene McNaughton and George Tsourtos, "An Interpretive Analysis of Australia's Approach to Human Trafficking and Its Focus on Criminal Justice Over Public Health," <i>Journal of Human Trafficking</i> 3 (2017): 81-92.
Evelyn Probst, "Victims' protection within the context of trafficking in human beings and European Union standards," <i>Academy of European Law</i> 19 (2018): 357-367.
Farhan Yousaf, "Forced migration, human trafficking and human security," <i>Current Sociology Monograph</i> 66, 2 (2018): 209-225.
Iffat Idris, <i>Interventions to Support Victims of Modern Slavery</i> (Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2017).
International Organization for Migration, <i>Report on the contribution of the NCATS to the identification and assistance for victims of trafficking</i> (Paris: International Organization for Migration, 2010).
Laura Cordisco Tsai, Vanntheary Lim and Channtha Nhanh, "I Feel Like We Are People Who Have Never Known Each Other Before': The Experiences of Survivors of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation Transitioning from Shelters to Life in the Community," <i>Forum: Qualitative Social Research</i> 21, 1 (2020).
Lauren A. McCarthy, "Life after Trafficking in Azerbaijan: Reintegration experiences of survivors," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 10 (2018): 105-122.
Naomi M. Twigg, "Comprehensive Care Model for Sex Trafficking Survivors," <i>Journal of Nursing Scholarship</i> 49, 3 (2016).
Nicolae V. Ostrovschi, Martin J. Prince, Cathy Zimmerman, Mihai A. Hotineanu, Lilia T. Gorceag, Viorel I. Gorceag, Clare Flach and Melanie A. Abas, "Women in post-trafficking services in moldova: diagnostic interviews over two time periods to assess returning women's mental health," <i>British Medical Council Public Health</i> 11, 232 (2011).
Pranab Dahal, Sunil Kumar Joshi and Katarina Swahnberg, "'We are looked down upon and rejected socially': A Qualitative Study of the Experiences of Trafficking Survivors in Nepal," <i>Global Health Action</i> 8, 1 (2015).
Rachel Annison, <i>Hidden in plain sight: Three years on: updated analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons</i> (London: The Anti Trafficking Monitoring Group, 2013).
Rebecca J. Macy and Natalie Johns, "Aftercare Services for International Sex Trafficking Survivors: Informing U.S. Service and Program Development in an Emerging Practice Area," <i>Trauma, Violence and Abuse</i> 12, 2 (2011): 87-98.
Rebecca Surtees, "Trapped at Sea: Using the Legal and Regulatory Framework to Prevent and Combat the Trafficking of Seafarers and Fishers," <i>Groningen Journal of International Law</i> 1, 2 (2013): 91-151.
Rebecca Surtees, <i>Our Lives: Vulnerability and Resilience Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims</i> (Washington DC: NEXUS, 2017).

HYPOTHESIS 29

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

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: A large number of studies supported this hypothesis. The studies were of high quality and covered a diverse geographical area. However, in some cases studies required larger sample sizes of data and better quality of data. The studies' findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

Records noted the need for economic development of survivors as part of the recovery and reintegration process. Whilst certain jurisdictions provided financial support, there was inconsistency in the implementation and reception of such schemes. Furthermore, there is a need for support of vocational skill training and employment along with basic necessities like shelter, food, and clothing. The financial and psychological benefits of asset development included increased hope for the future, self-sufficiency, increased agency and improved household stability against income shocks.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence underpinning this hypothesis is varied in terms of methods (qualitative and quantitative) and data (primary and secondary). Amongst the evidence base a diverse range of research and implementation approaches were used. The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, and several different countries were represented in the evidence base.

SIZE

Some studies required larger sample sizes of data and better quality of data. There is potential for the hypothesis to be further delineated or further hypotheses generated to take into account different types of exploitation and geographical contexts as well as to identify specific types of financial and employment support that are more beneficial for specific cohorts and in different geographical contexts. Whilst the studies in this hypothesis group were geographically diverse, the majority focused on a single jurisdiction. National studies covered Thailand, the Philippines and Viet Nam. Few studies were termed as international, and few studies analysed data from several geographical contexts.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to not entirely support a positive finding on the hypothesis, and some studies lacked being clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and/or cogent. The evidence base would benefit from a wider consideration of statistical and case data in several of the records assessed, strengthening the evidence through a more expansive review and supporting findings from interviews with smaller sample groups. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts.

Evidence Base
Chloé Bailey, <i>Her freedom, her voice: Insights from the Freedom Fund's work with women and girls</i> (London: The Freedom Fund, 2017).
David Rousseau, "From Passive Victims to Partners in Their Own Reintegration: Civil society's role in empowering returned Thai fishermen," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 10 (2018).
David Rousseau, <i>Review of Models of Care for Trafficking Survivors in Thailand</i> (Washington DC: Winrock International, 2019).
David Trees, Vu Pham Thi Nguyen Thanh and Tran Ban Hung, <i>Assessment Report on Reintegration Support Models for Victims of Trafficking in Vietnam</i> (Hanoi: International Organization for Migration, Mission to Viet Nam 2012).
Iffat Idris, <i>Interventions to Support Victims of Modern Slavery</i> (Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2017).
Joanne Van Selm, <i>Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Measures for the Integration of Trafficked Persons</i> (Paris: International Organization for Migration, 2013).
Laura Cordisco Tsai, Ivy Flor Seballos-Llena and Rabia Ann Castellano-Datta, "Participatory Assessment of a Matched Savings Program for Human Trafficking Survivors and their Family Members in the Philippines," <i>Forum: Qualitative Social Research</i> 18, 2 (2017).
Laura Cordisco Tsai, "The Process of Managing Family Financial Pressures Upon Community Reentry Among Survivors of Sex Trafficking in the Philippines: A Grounded Theory Study," <i>Journal of Human Trafficking</i> 3, 3: (2017): 211-230.
Martina Angela Caretta and Casa Rut, "A Multilevel Analysis of a "Good Practice" in the Social Assistance of Sexually Trafficked Nigerian Women," <i>Affilia</i> 30, 4 (2015): 546-559.
Meghan A. Camp, John R. Barner and David Okech, "Implications of human trafficking in Asia: a scoping review of aftercare initiatives centered on economic development," <i>Journal of Evidence-Informed Social Work</i> 15,2 (2018): 204-214.
Thanh Hung Tran, Tien Hoang Le and Thi Phuong Diep Tran, "Support Trafficking Victims through Inter-Agency Cooperation in Vietnam: Achievements and Limitations," <i>Asian Journal of Criminology</i> 15 (2019).

III. COLLABORATION AND PARTNERSHIPS

HYPOTHESIS 30

Cross-sectoral coordination and collaboration between anti-slavery actors at all levels improve identification and support for victims.

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: This hypothesis is supported by a strong evidence base and supported strongly by practical experience.

Description

Records noted that cross-sectoral and multi-sectoral approaches to identifying victims/survivors and providing support is the most effective for reintegration and recovery. There must be more dialogue between government agencies, CSOs, NGOs and private actors to ensure the best possible method of combatting modern forms of slavery. Active engagement with a multi-sectoral approach must be included in the training that service providers receive. Collaboration offers the opportunity to include multiple perspectives on the situation, thereby allowing for an improved course of action. Inter-organizational and inter-stakeholder dialogue is key in developing innovative and effective strategies when looking at identification and support for victims.

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was varied in terms of methods (qualitative and quantitative) and data (primary and secondary). Amongst the evidence base, a diverse range of research and implementation approaches were used. The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, and several

different countries were represented in the evidence base.

SIZE

The studies in this hypothesis group were geographically diverse, and the majority focused on a single jurisdiction. National studies covered Cambodia, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, the UK and the US. Notably, a few studies were multi-jurisdictional, comparing practices in several different countries, with two studies being worldwide. However, in most studies, the interview sample size was limited, with a majority of the studies including fewer than 50 subjects and the maximum of 175.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The strength of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was assessed to support a positive finding on the hypothesis, with the majority considered to be clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable, and cogent. Overall, methodologies in this hypothesis grouping were robust and well-articulated, combining multiple methods to produce a stronger evidentiary foundation for the conclusions drawn. The evidence base benefits from a wider consideration of statistical and case data in several of the

records assessed, strengthening the evidence through a more expansive review and supporting findings from interviews with smaller sample groups. Primary studies in this group were generally supported by literature reviews and supplementary desk research, strengthening the underpinning evidence and the possibilities of extrapolating findings to other contexts. However, many of the studies under this hypothesis were not peer-reviewed.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

In considering implementation of this hypothesis, one should take into consideration the intersections of identities and their effect on a multi-sectoral approach for survivors. Social hierarchy can possibly play a role in terms of barriers that advocates and survivors face in accessing a holistic/multi-stakeholder approach to victim/survivor identification and support.

Evidence Base
Anita Franklin and Lisa Doyle, <i>Still at risk: A review of support for trafficked children</i> (London: The Children's Society and The Refugee Council, 2013).
David Okech, Whitney Morreau and Kathleen Benson, " Human trafficking: Improving victim identification and service provision ," <i>International Social Work</i> 55, 4 (2012): 488-503.
David Rousseau, <i>Review of Models of Care for Trafficking Survivors in Thailand</i> (Washington DC: Winrock International, 2019).
David Trees, Vu Pham Thi Nguyen Thanh, Tran Ban Hung, <i>Assessment Report on Reintegration Support Models for Victims of Trafficking in Vietnam</i> (Hanoi: International Organization for Migration, Mission to Viet Nam (2012).
Dorothy Neriah Muraya and Deborah Fry, " Aftercare Services for Child Victims of Sex Trafficking: A Systematic Review of Policy and Practice ," <i>Trauma, Violence, and Abuse</i> 17 (2015): 204-220.
Hea-Won Kim, Taekyung Park, Stephanie Quiring, and Diana Barrett, " The anti-human trafficking collaboration model and serving victims: Providers' perspectives on the impact and experience ," <i>Journal of Evidence-Informed Social Work</i> 15, 2 (2018): 186-203.
Peter Williams, <i>Labor Trafficking in Cambodia: A Review of the Public Justice System's Response</i> (Washington DC: International Justice Mission, 2016).
Jennifer E. O'Brien, Brooke Jordan, Nina Honeycutt, Catherine Wilsnack and Clara Davison, " It's All about Breaking down Those Barriers...": Exploring Survivors' Perspectives on Services and Treatment Needs following Commercial Sexual Exploitation during Childhood ," <i>Journal of Evidence-based Social Work</i> 16, 2 (2019): 160-177.
Jordan J. Steiner, Jamie Kynn, Amanda M. Stylianou and Judy L. Postmus, " Providing services to trafficking survivors: Understanding practices across the globe ," <i>Journal of Evidence-Informed Social Work</i> 15 (2018): 151-169.
Kathleen Turner, Michelle Anderson and Stefanie Lopez-Howard, <i>Assessing the Scope and Availability of Services for Human Trafficking Victims Among Georgia's Victims' Services Providers</i> (Atlanta: Georgia Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, 2014).
Nöel Busch-Armendariz, Maura Busch Msonwu and Laurie Cook Heffron, " A Kaleidoscope: The Role of the Social Work Practitioner and the Strength of Social Work Theories and Practice in Meeting the Complex Needs of People Trafficked and the Professionals that Work with Them ," <i>International Social Work</i> 57, 1 (2014): 7-18.
Ntokozi Yingwana, Rebecca Walker and Alex Etchart, " Sex Work, Migration, and Human Trafficking in South Africa: From polarised arguments to potential partnerships ," <i>Anti-Trafficking Review</i> 12 (2019): 74-90.

Rachel Annison, <i>Hidden in plain sight: Three years on: updated analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons</i> (London: The Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group, 2013).
Rebecca Surtees, <i>Beyond trafficking. The re/integration of trafficking victims in the Balkans, 2007 to 2014</i> (Washington DC: NEXUS Institute, 2015).
Rebecca Surtees, "Trapped at Sea: Using the Legal and Regulatory Framework to Prevent and Combat the Trafficking of Seafarers and Fishers," <i>Groningen Journal of International Law</i> 1, 2 (2013): 91-151.
Thomas B. Hofmann and Yaroslaba Garcia, "Partnership, the Fourth P, Enhances HT Service Efforts in Prevention, Protection and Prosecution Areas," <i>Slavery Today</i> 2, 2 (2015): 1-15.
Victoria Rietig, "Prevent, Protect, and Prosecute Human Trafficking in Mexico-Policy and Practical Recommendations," <i>International Migration</i> 53, 4 (2014): 9-24.
Walk Free, <i>Protecting People in A Pandemic</i> (Sydney: Walk Free Foundation, 2020).
Hannah Thinyane, Francisca Sassetti, Don Rodney Junio, Michael Gallo and Silvia Mercia, <i>Use of New Technologies for Consistent and Proactive Screening of Vulnerable Populations</i> (Macau: United Nations University Institute in Macau, 2020).

HYPOTHESIS 31

Providing appropriate specialized modern slavery training to service providers and care workers improves the quality of care for modern slavery survivors.

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The studies supporting this hypothesis, though fewer in number and less geographical diverse, were strongly persuasive and of high quality. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

There is significant value in providing appropriate specialized modern slavery training to service providers and care workers to improve the quality of care for modern slavery survivors. Studies emphasized that service providers, social workers, medical, and legal professionals should be trained to work with all types of trafficking victims and support their reintegration without discrimination and following ethical guidelines to improve their holistic care. Training should include how to provide victim-centred services including counselling, psychosocial, and life skills training; how to identify, receive, treat, protect and advocate for victims; how to build trusting relationships; and case management. It should also include training on the definition and effects of trafficking.

DIVERSITY

Many of the studies were mixed methods including qualitative and quantitative data and primary sources.

SIZE

The research mainly consisted of studies from the UK and US and therefore would benefit from greater diversity including studies from a wider number of global regions and reflecting a diverse range of survivors. The samples were diverse with only half the studies including more than forty participants. In addition, all of the studies only incorporated evidence from one country.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The studies were of strong technical quality. The studies were contextually appropriate, with a clear framework, valid, reliable, transparent and to a level cogent. However, not all the studies had been peer-reviewed.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Practitioners recognized that whilst training is part of improving quality of care, the standard of training (including minimum training standards), having minimum standards of care, and a framework for monitoring and evaluation are all vital aspects of improving the quality of care of survivors and should be considered with this hypothesis.

Evidence Base

David Trees, Vu Pham Thi Nguyen Thanh and Tran Ban Hung, *Assessment Report on Reintegration Support Models for Victims of Trafficking in Vietnam* (Hanoi: International Organization for Migration, Mission to Viet Nam, 2012).

Emily H Novak, *Vagrants, Vixens, and Victims: Exploring the Limitations of Human Trafficking Victim Recognition Criteria in Texas* (Denton, TX: Texas Woman's University, 2016).

Lillian Chang, <i>An Education for Mental Health Care Providers: Sex Trafficking Victim Identification</i> (Phoenix, AZ: Arizona State University, 2018).
Rachel Annison, <i>Hidden in plain sight: Three years on: updated analysis of UK measures to protect trafficked persons</i> (London: The Anti Trafficking Monitoring Group, 2013).
Rebecca Surtees, <i>Our Lives: Vulnerability and Resilience Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims</i> (Washington DC: NEXUS, 2017).
Hannah Thinyane, Francisca Sasseti, Don Rodney Junio, Michael Gallo and Silvia Mercia, <i>Use of New Technologies for Consistent and Proactive Screening of Vulnerable Populations</i> (Macau: United Nations University Institute in Macau, 2020).



HYPOTHESIS 32

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

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The evidence supporting this hypothesis was strong, with a significant quantity of relevant data. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

Studies identified the necessity of holistic, multidisciplinary support for survivors of modern slavery to support recovery and reintegration. In particular, one study highlighted the need for recovery and reintegration support for survivors of modern slavery to be tailored to each trafficked individual. Records found that support programmes have to be multidisciplinary, multi-agency and multinational. They should include counsellors, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, medical personnel, and legal professionals who conduct a comprehensive needs assessment, ensure safety and confidentiality, provide comprehensive case management, practice trauma-informed care, speak the survivor's native language, offer culturally appropriate services and provide specialized shelter for survivors. Emphasis was placed on the need for support to be continuous to address immediate and crisis needs, ongoing needs, and long-term needs. The core service areas within this continuum are basic necessities; secure, safe shelter, and housing; physical health care; mental health care; legal and immigration advocacy; job and life skills training; and substance abuse services.

DIVERSITY

The diversity of evidence underpinning this hypothesis was varied in terms of methods (qualitative and quantitative) and data

(primary and secondary). Amongst the evidence base, a diverse range of research and implementation approaches were used. The majority of claims in this grouping were tested through studies that involved primary data collection, and several different countries were represented in the evidence.

SIZE

Many of the studies in the hypothesis were limited to one specific country. However, two of the studies featured a broad-spectrum geographical area, thus providing a sound basis for the hypothesis. Particular consideration could have been included for disaggregated social groups like indigenous peoples, individuals and communities discriminated against on the basis of work and descent, persons with disabilities, or disaggregation by gender identity, as these intersectional identities affect needs for holistic multidisciplinary support for survivors of modern slavery. Despite the limited size, one can observe that the evidence is gathered from diverse geographical locations therefore providing an important observation that the hypothesis is not limited to one country or continent.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

Most studies have a clear research framework and are context appropriate. However, the majority of studies are somewhat lacking in terms of being transparent, reliable and valid.

Evidence Base

Adejumo Gbadebo Olubunmi, E. Olu-Owolabi Fadeke and O. Fayomi Oluyemi, "[Perceived Satisfaction and Effectiveness of Rehabilitation of Victims of Human Trafficking in Nigeria: Implications for Political and Psychological Interventions](#)," *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioral Science* 6, 3 (2015): 218-226.

Dorothy Neriah Muraya and Deborah Fry, "Aftercare Services for Child Victims of Sex Trafficking: A Systematic Review of Policy and Practice," <i>Trauma, Violence, and Abuse</i> 17 (2015): 204-220.
Iffat Idris, <i>Interventions to Support Victims of Modern Slavery</i> (Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2017).
Rebecca J. Macy and Natalie Johns, "Aftercare Services for International Sex Trafficking Survivors: Informing U.S. Service and Program Development in an Emerging Practice Area," <i>Trauma, Violence and Abuse</i> , 12, 2 (2011): 87-98.
Rebecca Surtees, <i>Our Lives: Vulnerability and Resilience Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims</i> (Washington DC: NEXUS, 2017).
Danny Burns, Pauline Oosterhoff, Anusha Chandrasekharan and Rituu Nanda, <i>Evaluation Report on the Results of the Interventions to Reduce the Prevalence of Bonded Labour in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh</i> (Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2020)
University of Hong Kong and The Freedom Fund, <i>Pathways for children to exit commercial sexual exploitation in Kathmandu</i> (London: Freedom Fund, 2018).
Jewel Gausman, Miriam Chernoff, Angela Duger, Jacqueline Bhabha, and Hillary Chu, <i>When we raise our voice: The challenge of eradicating labor exploitation</i> (Boston: François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights, 2016).
The Freedom Fund, <i>Literature review: Behavior change communications campaigns targeting the demand-side of exploitation</i> (London: The Freedom Fund, 2019).

HYPOTHESIS 33

Having globally agreed minimum standards coupled with a monitoring and evaluation framework for identification, recovery, reintegration and training would aid survivor recovery and create more consistent practices.

Medium Confidence

Reasons for confidence score: The evidence was limited in quantity though supportive of the hypothesis. The hypothesis seems intuitively correct and is supported by the reviewers' practical experience.

Description

Definitions can be a contentious issue amongst survivors and practitioners, especially the term “rescue”. Globally, understanding of “recovery” and “reintegration” is diverse and dependent on the socio-legal and cultural context, as well as a survivor’s unique journey of identification, recovery and reintegration. Emphasis must be placed on multidisciplinary and multi-agency approaches. Survivor care standards should ensure a monitoring and evaluation framework underpins consistent approaches to identification, recovery and reintegration. Foundational to consistent practices are setting minimum standards of care and practice with a monitoring and evaluation framework. One study found that increased global coordination with regard to the foundational concepts of survivor support (in this case with regard to child victims) would improve consistency, and ultimately survivor recovery. The study highlighted that comprehensive and coordinated case management, as well as rights-based and trauma-informed care, were essential.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

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

SIZE

The supporting body of evidence was relatively geographically diverse, with sources covering contexts in Romania, Thailand and the UK.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

Technical quality of evidence was considered to be strong with the underpinning evidence assessed as clear, transparent, context-appropriate, valid, reliable and cogent.

Evidence Base

Dorothy Neriah Muraya and Deborah Fry, "[Aftercare Services for Child Victims of Sex Trafficking: A Systematic Review of Policy and Practice](#)," *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse* 17 (2015): 204-220.

HEALTH POLICY AND PRACTICE

Health care offers a unique opportunity for those with an experience of trafficking to access critical resources. In recent years, the body of literature that supports the role of the health sector in responding to trafficking has grown, giving support to the following hypotheses. Of note, most

of the evidence was gathered from the US and UK contexts. Findings may be generalizable to other contexts, though understanding practice and outcomes of these interventions in diverse contexts requires further research.

HYPOTHESIS 34

Providing health-care workers with modern slavery training, which is cognizant of the needs of both children and adults, would increase identification of victims and provide an opportunity for appropriate intervention.

Very High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: Whilst most studies were limited to the US, the studies were of high quality and in most cases used good sample sizes. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

The knowledge and behaviour change that results from training health-care workers can improve the identification of victims and lead to appropriate interventions. Studies in this group emphasize the unique position that health-care practitioners and workers hold in regard to identifying potential victims of human trafficking. They note that health-care workers are well-placed to identify because victims often come into contact with the health-care system, and because patient interactions involve building a relationship of trust (although one study highlights the importance of hospital and practice systems ensuring sufficient time can be spent building rapport and trust with patients who are potential victims). Studies further note that health-care workers are well-placed to provide potential victims with information about their rights, entitlements and support available, and to connect them to relevant services. Several studies note, however, that current awareness and training

of human trafficking amongst health-care workers is limited.

Several studies emphasize the importance of training and education focused specifically on understanding trafficking and spotting its signs, highlighting the potential for increased identification in health-care contexts. Studies also emphasized the importance of training being evidence-based, survivor-informed and trauma-informed, and that this should also include training on appropriate care for survivors. Several sources highlighted the importance of clear curricula satisfying these standards. They further noted that health-care workers required training on diverse and culturally sensitive situations so that a range of victims with different experiences could be identified and treated appropriately. One study also highlighted potential deficits in training in rural areas, noting the importance of ensuring training reaches rural as well as urban settings. Most studies were limited to the US context, and there was a disproportionate focus on sex trafficking, rather than all forms of modern slavery.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

The majority of studies assessed in this group were published, with most in peer-reviewed journals. Primary studies were the most common means of testing claims in this group, predominantly adopting qualitative research methods. Observational designs were the most common, although this group also included studies adopting experimental and quasi-experimental designs, which were uncommon throughout the review.

SIZE

Studies in this section were not geographically diverse: with one exception (conducted in the UK), all studies were conducted in, or specifically considered, the US context. Most studies considered a specific state within the US (Arizona, New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin). The remaining studies considered the US broadly. Surveys were the most common method of primary data collection in this group, the majority of which adopted quantitative methods. The number of respondents to surveys ranged from 9 to 1648, with most studies in the range of 70-170 respondents.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

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

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Health-care workers in many settings are routinely trained on addressing issues of safety and violence, such as intimate partner violence and suicide.

This information is included in the curriculum of medical schools, nursing schools and training for other health-care workers. However, training for health-care workers on the topic of modern slavery is very limited. This leaves providers and staff without the necessary knowledge and skills to identify and respond to victims of both sex trafficking and labour trafficking. Trainings that include the perspective of survivors of trafficking have been found to be particularly effective. By providing training, health-care staff gain the confidence to intervene appropriately and are better able to care for their patients. Minimum standards for components of a basic training on trafficking for health professionals are captured in the [HEAL Trafficking Assessment Tool for Health Care Provider Human Trafficking Training](#).

Clinical responses to human trafficking are complex and nuanced. Therefore, it is not enough for all health professionals to be simply aware of trafficking, but rather they must be empowered with skills to assess trafficking and to care for trafficked persons. Educating clinicians about trafficking is about training them to translate knowledge into practice with the ultimate goal of improving the health and wellbeing of trafficked persons. Given the judgement and fear that trafficked persons have expressed in the health-care setting, implicit bias training and trauma-informed care training is important for health workers. Moreover, all forms of trafficking should be included in any training for health professionals.

Evidence Base

Amber Egyud, Kimberly Stephens, Brenda Swanson-Bierman, Marge DiCuccio and Kimberly Whiteman, "[Implementation of Human Trafficking Education and Treatment Algorithm in the Emergency Department](#)," *Journal of Emergency Nursing* 43, 6 (2017): 526-531.

Cathy L. Miller, Makini Chisolm-Straker, Gloria Duke and Hanni Stoklosa, "[A Framework for the Development of Healthcare Provider Education Programs on Human Trafficking Part Three: Recommendations](#)," *Journal of Human Trafficking* 6, 4 (2020): 425-434.

Clydette Powell, Kirsten Dickins and Hanni Stoklosa, “ Training US health care professionals on human trafficking: where do we go from here? ” <i>Medical Education Online</i> 22, 1 (2017).
Frances H. Recknow, Gretchen Gemeinhardt and Beatrice J. Selwyn, “ Health-care provider challenges to the identification of human trafficking in health-care settings: A qualitative study, ” <i>Journal of Human Trafficking</i> 4, 3 (2018).
Georgia Tortolero, <i>Human Trafficking Victim Identification and Response Within the United States Healthcare System</i> (Chicago: The International Association for Healthcare Security and Safety Foundation, 2020).
Hannah Fraley, Teri Aronowitz and Hanni Stoklosa, “ Systematic Review of Human Trafficking Education Interventions for Health Care Providers, ” <i>Western Journal of Nursing Research</i> 42, 2 (2019): 1-25.
Jamie Shandro, Makini Chisolm-Straker, Herbert C. Duber, Shannon Lynn Findlay, Jessica Munoz, Gillian Schmitz, Melanie Stanzer, Hanni Stoklosa, Dan E. Wiener and Neil Wingkun, “ Human Trafficking: A Guide to Identification and Approach for the Emergency Physician, ” <i>Annals of Emergency Medicine</i> 68, 4 (2016).
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HYPOTHESIS 35

Ensuring survivors have access to consistent, long-term, age-appropriate and developmentally appropriate mental and physical health care is necessary to support recovery and reintegration.

Very High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: A large number of studies supported this hypothesis. Studies were of high quality, geographically diverse and in most cases used good sample sizes. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of the reviewers.

Description

Survivors experience lifelong mental and physical health impacts from the trauma of trafficking. Addressing these impacts through consistent, long-term, age-appropriate and developmentally appropriate mental and physical health care is necessary to support recovery and reintegration. Studies in this group emphasized the health-care needs of survivors of modern slavery and human trafficking, and the critical role of access to appropriate health care in supporting recovery and reintegration, as well as supporting survivors' feelings of safety and security. All studies highlighted the importance of mental health and psychological support services, whilst some also underscored the need for appropriate physical health care. Several studies highlighted the need for ongoing and long-term support, both for mental health and for chronic physical health issues arising from experiences of exploitation, as well as immediate and emergency care.

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

coordination between government agencies was noted to impede access to health care for survivors in one study, whilst several highlighted the importance of collaboration between various actors to ensure access to appropriate and consistent support.

The need for resource allocation to ensure immediate and long-term access to health-care services was emphasized in multiple studies. One study found cases where health-care providers denied access to identified victims who were entitled to support, highlighting the connection with the need for appropriate and sustained training for health-care providers. Several studies highlighted the need for structural change and support, with one emphasizing the role of structural health-care access in improving individual and community resilience to modern slavery. Studies further noted the importance of health-care access not being tied to participation in criminal justice processes. One study also noted the need for more supportive international policy, noting that the absence of such inhibited effective, coordinated support to ensure survivors' access to health care and therefore recovery and reintegration.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

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

SIZE

Studies in this group were geographically diverse, with the majority focused on a single national jurisdiction. Two studies were not geographically tied, but international in scope, whilst one focused on a group of European countries (Belgium, France, Hungary, Italy and the UK). Two studies considered specific subnational contexts, covering the Greater Sydney region in Australia and Kansas City in the US. The remaining studies covered the national contexts of Moldova, Nepal, Nigeria, the UK, the US (3) and Viet Nam. Semi-structured interview designs were favoured, and the number of respondents interviewed in a single study ranged from 5-112.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

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

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Social determinants, alongside physical and mental health vulnerabilities, increase

susceptibility to labour and sex trafficking at the individual level. Ecological models of care alongside a public health approach to anti-trafficking efforts suggest that primary prevention may mitigate these determinants and vulnerabilities to exploitation. Secondary prevention, including identification of trafficked persons, reduces longitudinal harm if access to care is available. Trafficked persons may be identified outside health-care systems by NGO or legal partners and referred to health-care providers. Alternatively, health-care systems may identify trafficked persons. Numerous medical sequelae of trafficking have been identified, including but not limited to acute and chronic injuries, disease exacerbation due to neglect of care, chronic pain syndromes, traumatic brain injuries and headaches, musculo-skeletal diseases, pelvic disorders, reproductive health, sexually transmitted infections including HIV, and facial/dental disease. Mental health sequelae including but not limited to anxiety, depression, substance use disorders, psychosis, and post-traumatic stress disorder may also result from labour and sex trafficking. Access to care should be available, integrated between all health-care providers, de-fragmented between social and legal needs, with a focus on acute stabilization of mental health conditions such that other medical and service needs can be addressed. Providers should also give special attention to physical, psychiatric or developmental disabilities, which might make an individual more vulnerable to trafficking. Improved health may decrease risk for re-trafficking and modify long-term prognosis.

Evidence Base
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HYPOTHESIS 36

In a health-care setting, trauma-informed universal education and specialized screening with linkages to appropriate services can improve identification of and intervention for potential victims of modern slavery.

Very High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The evidence supporting this hypothesis was strong, with a significant quantity of relevant data, though many of the studies were small in scale and geographically limited. The study findings were consistent with the practical experience of reviewers.

Description

If health professionals properly inquire about a trafficked patient's trafficking experience, it may lead to connection with the care the victim is seeking. Studies noted that health-care workers were well-placed to support victim identification and connect them to services, given that victims often come into contact with the health-care system. A couple of studies considered the specific application of an intervention (screening tool) in a particular context, in both cases finding that the application of these tools improved identification. Studies also noted particular questions and factors that ought to be considered in these tools. All studies in this group were published and focused on the US. Additional studies from the intimate partner violence literature support non-disclosure-based screening, and a universal education model which empowers victims with information and is trauma-informed.

DIVERSITY

All studies in this group were published, with three published in peer-reviewed contexts with academic authorship, and one published in a non-peer-reviewed setting by an NGO. Studies were published between 2014 - 2019. Two studies involved primary data collection, with one study adopting quantitative methods and a quasi-experimental design, and one qualitative and observational. One study presented a systematic review, and the final piece involved a theoretical discussion based on experience in practice.

SIZE

The body of evidence supporting these hypotheses was not geographically diverse. All studies in this group were focused on the US, with two focused broadly on the national context and two on specific subnational contexts (Kansas City and Pennsylvania).

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

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

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

It is important to note that screening in some contexts can actually result in more harm to the patient. Care must be taken to do no harm. Negative repercussions from inappropriate screening may include decreased access to health-care services, loss of other services, increased isolation and increased violence from the trafficker. This is why it is critical to follow some key steps. The first step in the process is to provide privacy in order to ensure safety for the patient and confidentiality of the information that is being exchanged. The second step is to educate the patient. Ideally, this education will be provided universally to every patient. After providing education, the next step is to ask questions

through a specialized screening and give patients an opportunity to share. Health-care treatment and linkages to resources can be provided without the patient disclosing that they are a victim of trafficking, and sometimes disclosure may not be in the patient's best interest at that time. The final step is to respect the patient's wishes and respond to their requests and needs. If the patient is open to receiving additional services, health-care workers should link the patient with available

resources through an immediate direct referral. Connecting a victim with a survivor advocate can increase engagement in services.

All of these steps should be implemented with a trauma-informed approach. Trauma-informed care is an approach, based on knowledge of the impact of trauma, aimed at ensuring environments and services are welcoming and engaging for service recipients and staff.⁸

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HYPOTHESIS 37

Providing language support in health-care settings improves the identification and treatment of victims of modern slavery.

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: A moderate number of studies supported this hypothesis and were variable in quality. Whilst the evidence presented only includes one study with a proven claim relating to patients who are victims of human trafficking, there is plenty of additional evidence on the need for language access in a health-care setting in general.

Description

When victims of modern slavery are not able to communicate in their preferred language whilst accessing health care, critical opportunities are missed. Therefore, the provision of those services can lead to increased identification of victims. Many studies across the review highlighted the role of language support in enabling identification of victims and ensuring access to appropriate support. Studies considered the value of providing language-specific resources on human trafficking in health-care settings as an effective way of getting information to survivors, the necessity of using interpreters in health-care settings in enabling identification and treatment, and the barriers to accessing health care experienced by survivors that do not speak the local language. Studies included research from non-human trafficking contexts (refugee health), given the applicability to trafficking survivors.

Strength of evidence

DIVERSITY

Two studies involved primary data collection, both adopting qualitative methods and with observational designs. One study combined semi-structured key informant interviews with a survey of key informants and a policy review. The other conducted surveys with 76 survivors. The final study presented a non-empirical case study.

SIZE

Studies were geographically bound, with one focused on the UK and two specific to the US. Findings may be generalizable to other contexts; however, understanding practice and outcomes of these interventions in diverse contexts requires further research.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

Two studies in this group were published, one in a peer-reviewed setting with academic authorship, and two in non-peer reviewed settings authored by NGOs.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Barriers to screening for, and identification and disclosure of, all forms of human trafficking in health-care settings are driven by both patients and providers. Access to language services in a health-care setting (either via tele-services or in-person interpretation) improves communication between patients and providers. Improvement in communication strengthens the therapeutic alliance between patients and providers. Patients are less likely to be declared poor historians if their histories are accurately translated to their providers. Providers can ask nuanced questions to inquire about labour and sex trafficking if clinical risk factors are present. Interpreters should communicate exactly what is asked by providers and disclosed by patients without changing the meaning or summarizing. Interpreters should be trauma-informed and not known to the patient to decrease the risk of shame or identification,

both of which may deter accurate disclosure. Interpreters who are culturally sensitive can act as a cultural mediator between the provider and patient if they come from different backgrounds. Training for interpreters to work with victims of abuse, neglect and trauma can be made available

by associations of health-care translator agencies or health-care systems. Identification enhanced by an accurate interpretation may improve the likelihood of a patient receiving health services and trafficking-specific social and legal resources.

Evidence Base
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HYPOTHESIS 38

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

Medium Confidence

Reason for confidence score: The evidence was limited in quantity though supportive of the hypothesis. Whilst this is a critical issue for policymakers, it is unclear whether the proposed intervention will work in other contexts. Please view both the description and implementation notes for detail on the nuances of this hypothesis.

Description

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

DIVERSITY

Both studies underpinning this hypothesis were published in peer-reviewed settings and authored by academics. One study was published in 2011, and the other in 2013. One study was a qualitative primary study adopting an observational design, whilst the other presented a mixed-methods systematic review. The primary study undertook 46 in-depth interviews with key stakeholders,

including participants from civil servants, trafficking support providers, anti-trafficking advocates, lawyers, enforcement officials, and health care providers. This was supplemented by participant observation at 41 policy-relevant events.

SIZE

One study was focused specifically on the UK, whilst the other adopted an international perspective not geographically tied.

TECHNICAL QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

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

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

UN Member States' provision of health care to trafficked persons should include primary prevention health efforts to mitigate vulnerabilities to trafficking at the individual, community and systems level. Prevention should address all forms of trafficking, all genders and all ages at risk. State-supported obligations would improve epidemiological understanding of trafficking and access to interdisciplinary health-care solutions. Obligations should include at minimum a commitment to education, interdisciplinary clinical care, research on best practices, health-care providers as advocates, and experts to guide improvement in such policies. Survivor leaders should be equipped to partner in efforts to educate stakeholders, shape policy and shift cultural norms.

Evidence Base

Siân Oram, Cathy Zimmerman, Brad Adams and Joanna Busza, "[International law, national policy-making, and the health of trafficked people in the UK](#)," *Health and Human Rights* 13, 2 (2013).

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ADDITIONAL HYPOTHESES ADDED BY WORKING GROUP MEMBERS

HYPOTHESIS 39

Health systems with policies and procedures to identify and care for trafficked persons result in increased identification and improved outcomes for trafficked persons.

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: A large number of studies supported this hypothesis. The studies were of high quality and in most cases used good sample sizes. The study findings were consistent with the practice experience of the reviewers.

Description

Health systems should take a proactive rather than reactive approach to trafficking survivor care by having plans in place for identifying and caring for trafficked persons. Contained within this body of evidence were nine articles, all of which were published in peer-reviewed literature. They are from a combination of human trafficking-specific and intimate partner violence literature. Suggestions from the studies include health-care settings' need to implement protocols for care with mechanisms of referral to vetted community resources for victims who decide to leave their traffickers.

Establishing institutional task forces or committees that are responsible for monitoring, evaluating, refining, and maintaining human trafficking protocols on behalf of a health-care organization has the benefit of ensuring that a diverse set of stakeholders are included in those processes and that there is an ongoing institutional commitment to the issue. Health-care organizations that have already established

human trafficking committees have included representatives of the following specialties: pediatrics, emergency medicine, social work, domestic- or sexual-violence services, behavioural health, and security. Representation from additional medical specialties, departments, local community-based organizations, and human trafficking advocacy groups is also encouraged.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Whilst institutions may adopt a setting-specific or patient population-specific protocol, such as for a general provider/practitioner audience (i.e., all staff of a health-care institution), a specific setting (i.e., emergency-department personnel), or a specific patient population (i.e., children), health-care settings should be encouraged to think about establishing an organization-wide protocol as well so that victims can be identified and helped no matter where or why they are seeking health-care treatment. Without protocols in place, unintended harm can befall victims through the health-care setting, including possible arrest or deportation. Health system protocols should address the needs

of all trafficking survivors and not be limited to sexual exploitation. One guide for health system policy implementation is the HEAL Trafficking's Protocol Toolkit⁷.

Providing high-quality services to victims of trafficking on a consistent basis requires sustained commitment from a health-care organization. In order for training to result in the

desired outcomes, policies and procedures are needed to support health-care workers in their role. Policies should address safety for patients and staff, mandatory and regular training for all staff who have patient contact, applicable laws and regulations, tools for staff to use, emotional support for staff who may experience vicarious trauma, documentation, reporting procedures, and local resources for referrals.

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HYPOTHESIS 40

Access to affordable health care mitigates the risk of trafficking by decreasing out-of-pocket health-care expenses that lead to debt and impoverishment.

High Confidence

Reason for confidence score: Whilst a moderate number of studies supported this hypothesis. The studies were of high quality. The study findings were consistent with the practice experience of the reviewers.

Description

Access to affordable health care mitigates economically-driven trafficking risk. This hypothesis relates as well to SDG Target 3.8: “Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health-care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all.” In these nine published papers, many of which are peer-reviewed, the connection between health-care expenses and trafficking risk is established.

IMPLEMENTATION NOTES

Whilst health care serves an important role in caring for victims who are in a trafficking situation and during recovery afterwards, it also has an important role in preventing trafficking. When health care is not universally available at an affordable rate, individuals may face catastrophic health-care costs due to an injury or illness. Individuals may enter into a bonded labour agreement in order to obtain the necessary funds that may be required prior to treatment. Alternatively, they may have health-care debt after the treatment and then enter trafficking to repay the loan. Access to affordable health care mitigates this risk, especially for vulnerable populations.

Evidence Base

Charu C. Garg and Anup K. Karan, “[Catastrophic and Poverty Impact of Out-of-Pocket Payment for Health Care in India: A State-Level Analysis](#),” *Health Policy and Planning* 24, 2 (2009): 116-128.

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ENDNOTES

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- ⁵ United Nations Office of the High Commissioner For Human Rights, “Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking, 20 May 2002, E/2002/68/ADD <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Traffickingen.pdf>.
- ⁶ “there is as yet no common understanding of the trafficking phenomenon”. “Borg Jansson postulates a modernized legal definition that encapsulates all contemporary forms of slavery, including human trafficking. ... Dominika Borg Jansson, *Modern Slavery: A Comparative Study of the Definition of Trafficking in Persons* (Upsala: Brill Nijhoff, 2014).
- ⁷ Heal Trafficking, *HEAL Trafficking and hope for Justice’s Protocol Toolkit for Developing a Response to Victims of Human Trafficking in Health Care Settings*, (Heal Trafficking and Hope for Justice) <https://healtrafficking.org/2017/06/protocol-toolkit/>.
- ⁸ Trauma-informed care incorporates the six principles as defined by the US federal Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). These include: (1) safety; (2) trustworthiness and transparency; (3) peer support; (4) collaboration and mutuality; (5) empowerment, voice and choice; and (6) cultural, historical and gender issues.



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