

# Index

- abolition of the slave trade. *See also*  
     Wilberforce, William, *See also* Slave  
     Trade Act 1807 (UK)  
     bicentenaries, 43, 148, 150–151, 211  
     Britain's role in, 161, 195, 199, 211
- Abu Dhabi, Emirate of, 30
- Afghanistan, 51, 158
- Africa, 1, 43, 50, *See also* Eritrea, *See also*  
     Nigeria, *See also* West Africa
- Albania, 192
- Allain, Jean, 47
- Alliance 8.7, 92–93
- All-Party Parliamentary Group (UK), 165, 173,  
     175, 178–180
- Amnesty International, 20, 125, 149
- Amsterdam Treaty 1997, 102, 106, 135
- Anglosphere, 101, 188
- antislavery governance network. *See* global  
     antislavery governance network
- Anti-Slavery International, 47, 60, 124–125,  
     143, 149, 158
- antislavery organisations, 44–45
- antislavery rhetoric, 4
- Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group (ATMG),  
     156–157, 170
- antitrafficking, a moral crusade, 150–160
- antitrafficking organisations, 35
- Arkless, David, 176
- Asia, 51, 73, *See also* Bangladesh, *See also*  
     Rana Plaza collapse, *See also* China
- Asia-Pacific region, 52, 57
- assemblage, 7–8
- asylum, 135–136, 143, 156, 172  
     Asylum and Immigration Act 2004 (UK),  
     143, 158
- Immigration, Asylum and Nationalities Act  
     2006 (UK), 147–149  
     Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act  
     2002 (UK), 142
- asylum seekers, 136, 162, 191, 197–198
- austerity, 166, 168, 196, 215
- Australia, 42, 51, 54, 59
- C. de Baca, Luis, 32
- Bahrain, Kingdom of, 206
- Bales, Kevin, 44, 47–48, 52–53, 79, 100, 195,  
     208
- Bali Process Government and Business Forum,  
     52
- Bangladesh, 87, 121
- Bauder, Harald, 218
- Bellagio-Harvard Guidelines on the Legal  
     Parameters of Slavery* (Allain ed.), 48, 100
- Bernards, Nick, 215
- Beutin, Lyndsey, 5
- Biden, Joe, 36–37
- Biden administration, 36–38, 94
- biopower, 133, 160
- Blair, Tony, 133, 135, 146–147, 153
- Blunkett, David, 131, 139
- bonded labour, 72, 77
- borders,  
     *Controlling Our Borders: Making Migration  
         Work for Britain* (UK Home Office), 146  
     demarkating the inside and outside of the  
         EU, 129  
     fortifying the US's, 205  
     guises of, 131–132, 218  
     jurisdiction and, 10–12  
     management of, 210

- borders (cont.)
  - movement and, 128
  - Nationality and Borders Act 2022 (UK), 196
  - othering and, 13
  - Schengen Agreement, 128, 132
  - sovereignty and, 58, 161–162, 214
  - ‘Take Back Control’ slogan, 166, 168
  - territoriality, 11, 21–22
  - United Kingdom and, 135, 145, 152, 157
- Borders Act 2007 (UK), 152, 157
- Bradley, Karen, 178
- Braverman, Suella, 197–198, 214
- Brexit, 166–169
- British exceptionalism, 167, 169
- British radicalism, 166
- British sovereignty, 132, 161–162, 166–169, 211–212
- Brown, Gordon, 133, 153, 162
- Bruggeman, Jean, 35
- Brussels Declaration on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, 110
- Bulgaria, 146
- Bunting, Annie, 3–4
- Bush (G. W.) administration, 25–26, 45, 76, 155, 205, 209
- Bush, George W., 13, 24
- Butler-Sloss, Elizabeth, 175–176
- Cameron, David, 167–169, 179, 182
- Canada, 2, 36, 63, 101
- capitalism, 6, 12, 71, 203–204, 218–219, *See also* neoliberal capitalism, *See also* global capitalism, *See also* philanthrocapitalism
- carceral feminists, 18
- Catholic Church, 45, 47, 52, 125, 178–179
- Centre for Social Justice, 174–176, 182, 195
  - It Happens Here*, 174–175
  - A Modern Approach to Slavery*, 182
- chattel slavery, 2, 46, 53
- child labour. *See also* children, *See also* child trafficking
  - Alliance 8.7 report 2019, 93
  - in the Asia Pacific region, 52
  - Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work 1998 (ILO), 71
  - gangmasters and, 145
  - International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO), 74
  - proposed cuts to US agencies countering, 34
  - UN Sustainable Development Goals, target 8.7, 39, 51
- child trafficking, 37, *See also* children, *See also* child labour
  - Clinton administration’s policies, 17
  - criminal law and, 15
  - cross-border movement and, 101
  - for domestic service, 143
  - human rights of victims, 28, 111
  - International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, 18
  - media portrayals of, 25
- children. *See also* child labour
  - county lines and, 191
  - Modern Slavery Bill, 177
  - sexual abuse of, 190
  - sexual exploitation of, 25–26, 93, 111
  - in slavery-like practices, 49
  - statistics on victims, 33, 75, 104
- China, 69–70, 157
- Christian abolitionists, 46, 179, *See also* Catholic Church
- Christian charities, 155
- Christian evangelicals, 19, 44–45, 165–166, 171
- Christian philanthropy, 41
- Christianity, 166, 173, 175, *See also* Catholic Church
- Chuang, Janie, 20, 23, 208
- Clark, Charles, 146
- Clinton administration, 17, 23
- Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, 19, 76, 103
- coercion against undesirable migrants, 146
  - cannabis cultivation, 191
  - The Cost of Coercion* (ILO), 74
  - discrimination and, 203
  - forced labour and, 76–77
  - free labour and, 216
  - human trafficking and, 19–20, 103, 139–140, 209
  - labour exploitation, 180, 184
  - labour trafficking in UK, 143
  - legal terms, 209
  - by the military, 75
  - Modern Slavery Bill and, 176–177
  - prostitution and, 76, 138
  - sexual exploitation, 200
- colonialism, 83, 208, 218–219

- Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR), 29, 76–77
- Conference of Parties, 27–28
- Connarty, Michael, 173, 176
- consent: forced labour and, 97
- human trafficking and, 19
  - illegal migration and, 108
  - prostitution and, 18–19, 25
  - as regulative ideal, 217
  - relevance of, 20
  - severe labour exploitation, 119
- Conservative Party (UK) 2010 campaign
- promise, 162
  - crack down on exploitation, 182
  - Eurosceptic faction, 134, 167–168, 173
  - on migrants' use of public services, 168
  - on UK's modern slavery strategy, 189, 195, 197
- contemporary globalism, 6, 218
- Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and, 14, 27
- Convention for the Abolition of Slavery 1926, 47–48
- Coroners and Justice Act 2009 (UK), 160
- Council of Europe, 100–102, 111, 155
- Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Human Trafficking, *See also* United Kingdom
- All-Party Parliamentary Group (UK) and, 165
- compelling circumstance test, 193
  - demand centred approach to trafficking, 152
  - gateway to assistance and protection, 111–114
  - human rights protection, 213
  - knowledge of exploitation in relation to prostitution, 154
  - reflection periods, 149–150, 156, 196
  - United Kingdom not meeting its commitments under, 156
  - UK's need to enforce its prohibition against labour trafficking, 158
  - United Kingdom's ratification of, 149–150, 156, 160
  - United Kingdom's reluctance to sign, 148
  - United Kingdom's signing of, 149, 165
  - victim protection, 113, 116
  - victim's rights and, 114
- Council of the European Union, 101, 109
- country lines, 191–192
- criminal law: concerns about prostitution and migration, 18
- Directive 2011/36/EU, 116–118
  - human rights, 114
  - human trafficking and, 38
  - indicators of governmental progress and, 51
  - labour exploitation and modern slavery and, 174
  - 'rescuing' women and girls from prostitution, 18
  - sexual exploitation, 15, 115
- criminalisation of forced labour and domestic servitude, 114, 159
- of human trafficking, 171
  - of prostitution, 77, 106, 153–155, 179, 210
- critical political-economy, 42, 60
- Crown Prosecution Service, 158
- cultural political economy, 8, 161, 166, 210, 212–213
- Davies, Nick, 154–155
- debt bondage, 5, 49–50, 77, 85
- decent work *A Blueprint for Mobilizing Finance against Slavery and Trafficking* (FAST), 54
- alliance building, 87–90, 94
  - the G 20, 206
  - global supply chains and, 55, 98
  - UN Sustainable Development Goals, target 8.7, 39, 54, 125
- Decent Work in Supply Chains* (ILO), 87
- democracy, 203
- Denmark, 108
- Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (UK), 144, 149
- discrimination, freedom from, 71
- Dodd–Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, 32, 34
- domestic servitude, 73, 114, 142–143, 158–159, 172, 174–175, 190
- domestic workers, 97, 142–144, 181, 185
- Duncan–Smith, Iain, 47, 175
- economic exploitation, 44, 75
- economic globalisation, 133, 201
- economic liberalisation, 71, 73
- economic liberalism, 133, *See also* neoliberalism, *See also* international economic liberalisation
- embedded liberalism, 69–70

- Employers' Group decent work in supply chains, 88–90
- Fair Recruitment Initiative and, 85–86
- IOE and, 69
- reluctance to endorse binding labour standard, 70
- resistance to new due diligence standards, 67–68, 80–82, 93–94
- on transnational labour standards for supply chains, 84, 86, 89–92
- employment and labour law, 36, 145, 150, 184
- England, 177–180
- Eriksson, Marianne, 105
- Eritrea, 51, 208
- ethical-business alliance, 48, 55–60, 173, 206, 208
- ethico-managerial strategy, 60
- EU Framework Decision on Human Trafficking 2002, 106–107, 139, 143–144
- Eurofound, 120
- European Commission, 78, 99, 112
- corporate sustainability due diligence, 126
- European Labour Authority created, 121
- Experts Group on Trafficking in Human Beings 2004, 110–111, 130
- Experts Group on Trafficking in Human Beings 2008, 116
- role in European Union, 101
- unhappiness with 2011 antitrafficking directive, 118
- victim-oriented human rights approach to trafficking, 114
- European Convention on Human Rights: Article 4 incorporation in UK Legal instruments, 143, 160, 179
- criminalisation of forced labour and domestic servitude, 114, 159
- protection of illegal migrants' rights, 214
- rights of victims of modern slavery, 198
- United Kingdom's Coroners and Justice Act 2009 and, 160
- European Court of Human Rights 2012–2016 antitrafficking strategy, 117–118
- approach to addressing human trafficking, 99–102, 110–111
- border management, 107
- Brexit, 166–169
- competence over criminal and immigration matters, 104
- defining exploitation, 107
- defining scope of slavery, 121, 159
- Directive 2011/36/EU, 116–118, 123–125, 127
- European Union and, 100–102
- human rights due diligence, 62, 94, 125–128
- jurisdiction, 101
- protection of victims' rights, 107–108
- relationship with UK, 134–135, 166, 170
- Residence Permit Directive, 107–109, 113, 117, 150
- on sex work as exploitative or form of labour, 209
- Siliadin v. France*, 114
- on supply chain governance, 88
- United State's antitrafficking regime and, 75
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 115, 119–121
- European Women's Lobby, 103
- Euroceptics, 134, 167–168, 173, 215
- Ewins, James, 176, 181, 185
- exploitation. *See also* labour exploitation, *See also* sexual exploitation, *See also* economic exploitation
- defined in Britain and Wales, 143
- defined in European Convention on Human Rights, 143
- defined in the Trafficking Protocol, 19–20, 209
- described not defined, 136
- EU's definition, 107
- involuntary servitude and, 24
- most commonly reported forms of, 192
- the 'no name' problem, 119
- smuggling and, 142
- types experienced by migrant workers, 144
- types of covered by modern slavery, 5
- victim's consent and, 19–20, 119, 136
- exploitation creep, 208
- Fair Recruitment Initiative, 85, 90–92
- faith-based groups, 44–45, 52, 164, 171, 173, 176, 178–179, 211, *See also* Catholic Church, *See also* Christianity, *See also* Christian evangelicals
- feminism, 19, 103, *See also* women's rights
- feudalism, agrarian, 73
- Field, Frank, 164, 175, 178, 180, 193
- Finance Against Slavery and Trafficking (FAST), 53–55
- A Blueprint for Mobilizing Finance against Slavery and Trafficking*, 54

- forced labour. *See also* labour exploitation  
 building a global alliance, 87  
 causes of, 75–76  
 coercion and, 76–78, 152  
 ‘consent’ to, 119  
*The Cost of Coercion* (ILO), 74  
 cross-border migration and, 79  
 Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998), 71  
 defining, 66, 75, 77, 81, 152  
 the economic cost of, 77, 79  
 in European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR), 143  
*Global Alliance against Forced Labour* (ILO), 74  
 governance of, 68  
 import bans, 37, 63–64  
 indicators of forced labour, 78, 159  
 labour market approach to, 79  
 labour market regulation, 30  
 labour market structures, 29  
 labour trafficking and, 80  
 military coercion and, 75  
 obligation to take preventative measures, 121–122  
 part of modern slavery, 46  
 resources for prevention vs prosecution, 78, 81  
 statistics on, 1, 29, 75, 78  
 ‘Tackling Exploitation in the Labour Market’, 184  
 traditional and ‘modern’ forms of, 72  
 transnational recruiters, 84–86  
 in the UN Protocol, 19–20  
 unfree labour and, 2  
 in the United States, 33–35, 37  
 victim protection, 81, 83–84  
 visas and, 36  
 Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (ILO), 66, 81, *See also* Protocol of 2014 to the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (ILO)  
 forced marriage, 1, 93, 128  
 Forrest, Andrew, 41, 48, 52, 54, 57–58, 60, 188  
 Forrest, Grace, 206  
 Forrest, Nicola, 41  
 Foucault, Michel, 2, 57, 133, 160  
 France, 125  
 Francis (pope), 52  
 free labour, 216–219  
 freedom, legal conception of, 53, 216  
 Freedom Network, 35  
 freedom of association, 64, 69, 71, 83, 91, 95  
 freedoms, conception of, 216–217  
 G20 countries, 55–57, 62, 93  
 Gangmasters (Licensing) Bill (UK), 144–145  
 Gangmasters Labour Abuse Authority (UK), 185–187, 197, 201  
 Gangmasters Licencing Authority (UK), 149, 158, 171, 174, 176–178, 181, 183–185  
 gangs, trope of, 13, 16, 35  
 Geddes, Andrew, 133  
 gender, 209, *See also* sex workers’ rights, *See also* women’s rights, *See also* feminism  
 Council of Europe’s Steering Committee for Equality between Men and Women, 112  
 equality in trafficking protection and prevention, 113  
 forced economic exploitation, 75  
 human trafficking, 13–15, 18, 24–26, 28, 35, 111  
 labour exploitation, 15, 38  
 modern slavery as problem, 46  
 occupations vulnerable to trafficking, 142  
 Pentameter 2 (UK prostitution), 155  
 prostitution (sale of sexual services), 103–105, 209–210  
 prostitution equated with human trafficking, 140  
 racialising, 210  
 sex trafficking, 104, 106  
 sexual exploitation, 15, 25, 35, 38, 75, 99, 111  
 using the Victorian concept of trafficking, 130  
 Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (US), 23  
 violence against women, 153  
 gender equality, 102–103, 113, 115, 129  
 Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW), 19  
 global antislavery governance network, 7–8, *See also* Walk Free Foundation (Walk Free), *See also* new abolitionists  
 approach compared to EU’s, 100  
 beginning of, 43–44  
 cultural political economy of, 212  
 data analysis by, 204  
 faith-based groups in, 44–45, 178–179  
 global capitalism and unfree labour, 204  
 Global Slavery Index, 43–44, 56  
 ILO, 79, 92

- global antislavery governance network (cont.)  
 United Kingdom and, 164, 186–189
- Global Britain, 164, 169, 195
- global capitalism, 12, 42, 59–62, 95, 203–204
- Global Estimates of Modern Slavery (GEMS),  
 50, 92–93, 208, 217
- Global Initiative Against Trafficking  
 (UN.GIFT), 30
- global moral order, 208
- Global Slavery Index (GSI). *See also* Walk  
 Free Foundation (Walk Free), *See also*  
 statistics  
 2013 index, 48–49  
 2016 index, 49  
 2017 index, 50  
 2018 index, 41, 57  
 2023 index, 61–64  
 Bales and, 44, 48  
 descriptions of modern slavery and slavery-  
 like practices, 48–49  
 extend labour rights to all without exception,  
 63–64  
 ILO and Walk Free Foundation, 50  
 measuring modern slavery, 49–50, 93  
 neoliberal ethics and, 59  
 recommendations on human rights due  
 diligence, 62  
 relationship of wealthier countries to lower-  
 income countries, 61  
 supply chains governance, 57  
 Vulnerability Model as ‘official’ statistics, 50  
 globalisation. *See also* neoliberal globalisation,  
*See also* contemporary globalism  
 anxieties caused by, 13, 129  
 criminal activities and, 14, 205, 207  
 forced labour and, 95  
 managing adverse consequences of, 55  
 modern slavery and, 204  
 relationship to human trafficking, 13–14, 73  
 sovereignty and, 11
- Governing Body (GB), 69, 74, 76, 80–81, 84,  
 86, 89, 94
- Gradin, Anita, 104–105
- Greece, 121
- Green, Damien, 152
- Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking  
 in Human Beings, 113, 121, 160
- Halliday, Terrance, 7
- Hansenne, Michel, 71
- Hartman, Harriet, 153
- Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary,  
 Fire Rescue Services (HMICFRS), 189
- Hill, Angela, 154–156
- Hill, Fiona, 175–176, 182
- holistic approach. *See also* United Kingdom,  
*See also* borders  
 the holistic approach, 115–117  
 the holistic approach: to human trafficking,  
 15–16  
 the holistic approach: ILO’s proposed, 73,  
 85  
 the holistic approach: of European Union,  
 99  
 the holistic approach: Expert’s Group, 110,  
 115  
 the holistic approach: TIP Reports, 33  
 Hollobone, Philip, 153  
 hostile environment policy (UK), 147, 166,  
 172, 182, 183, 199, 201n
- Houngbo, Gilbert, 94
- human rights. *See also* human rights due  
 diligence, *See also* victims’ rights, *See also*  
 women’s rights  
 carceral approach to governance, 111–113,  
 201  
 Council of Europe, 100, 129  
 criminal law and, 18, 109, 111, 114  
 dismantling state action through, 213  
 expanding the trafficking framing, 43–44  
 forced labour and domestic servitude,  
 158–159  
 freedom from human trafficking, 3  
 hierarchy of victims and, 26  
 human trafficking as issue of, 39  
 MNE and, 91  
 protections of, 83–84  
 sex workers rights, 105  
 supply chains and, 123  
 of trafficked persons, 20–21, 99  
 United Nations Guiding Principles on  
 Business and Human Rights, 55–56, 62,  
 90–91, 94, 205
- human rights due diligence. *See also* supply  
 chains, *See also* human rights  
 compared to import bans, 63–64  
 effect of mandatory disclosure, 58–59  
 EU’s commitment to, 102  
 legislation, 42  
 mandatory, 62, 218  
 obligations of, 125  
 procedures in MNE, 91

- United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, 55–56
- human smuggling. *See also* United Nations Smuggling Protocol
- human trafficking and, 21–22, 28, 122, 136, 140, 142
- migrants compared to victims of trafficking, 21–22, 28–29, 108
- protections afforded to smuggled migrants, 38
- human trafficking, 20, *See also* modern slavery, *See also* victims, human trafficking, *See also* Trafficking in Persons (TIP) regime (US), *See also* forced marriage
- carceral approach to, 36, 109, 118, 146, 149, 163
- criminal law and, 14–20
- criminalisation of, 171
- definitions of, 19–20, 23, 26, 45, 75, 116, 139–140, 208
- domestic servitude and, 159
- European Union, 99–102, 106–107, 118
- forced labour and, 2, 29, 74, 76
- holistic approach to, 15–16
- illegal migration, 20–22, 26
- labour approach to, 36, 122, 148
- legal migration as prevention of, 28
- movement and, 20, 29, 43, 76, 100, 213
- organized crime and, 16–17, 22, 123
- prostitution and, 18–20, 24–26, 139
- reframed as modern slavery, 31–32
- sexual exploitation and, 4, 15, 20, 103–104, 137
- “three and four P approach”, 23, 30
- US approach to, 13, 17, 23–26, 33–37, 76
- victim-oriented human rights approach to, 114–116
- women’s rights organizations and, 18–19
- Hyland, Kevin, 179, 189
- Illegal Migration Act 2023 (UK), 214
- immigration. *See also* United Kingdom Independent Party, *See also* borders
- Amsterdam Treaty, 135
- British antitrafficking policy and strategy, 131, 156
- British sovereignty and, 132
- identification of potential victims, 191
- Maastricht Treaty (1992), 134
- Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 (UK), 139
- Overseas Domestic Worker visa, 172
- relationship to modern slavery, 173, 177, 185
- reporting of abuses by victims, 122
- reporting of immigration status, 183
- Schengen Agreement, 134–135
- United Kingdom and devolution, 134
- United Kingdom’s policy, 136, 167
- Immigration Act 2014 (UK), 166, 172, 183
- Immigration Act 2016 (UK), 166, 172, 182–187
- Immigration, Asylum and Nationalities Act 2006 (UK), 147–149
- imperialism, 139
- import bans on goods made with forced labour, 33–35, 37, 63–64, 127–128, 218
- instrumental supranationalism, 134
- Inter-Agency Coordination Group against Trafficking in Persons, 30
- International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, 18
- international economic liberalisation, 69, *See also* economic liberalism
- International Labour Conference (ILC), *See also* Protocol of 2014 to the Forced Labour Convention 1930 (ILO), *See also* Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (ILO)
- approach to human trafficking, 72
- decent work and supply chains (2016 ILC), 89, 94
- due diligence procedures (2014 ILC), 87–88
- due diligence procedures (2016 ILC), 89–90
- Employer’s Group and, 88
- Employer’s Group protestations (2012 ILC), 80
- Fair Recruitment Initiative (FRI) launched (2014 ILC), 85
- International Labour Organization (ILO) and, 68
- question of new governance mechanism (2016 ILC), 89
- International Labour Organization (ILO), 72–73, 79, *See also* Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR)
- overview, 29, 68–69
- approach to human trafficking, 27, 29
- approach to sexual exploitation, 66

- International Labour Organization (ILO) (cont.)  
 the authority of, 68, 71, 74, 78–79, 92  
*The Cost of Coercion* (2009), 74, 77–78  
 criticism of the United Kingdom, 149  
 Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998), 71  
 endorsement of Global Fund to End Modern Slavery, 53  
 forced labour and, 74  
*Global Alliance against Forced Labour* (2005), 73–76  
 Global Estimates of Modern Slavery, 92–93  
 governance approach called into question, 64–71  
 the Governing Body (GB), 68  
*Hard to See, Harder to Count* (2012), 79  
 human rights due diligence and, 62  
 indicators of forced labour, 78, 149, 159  
 International Labour Conference and, 68  
 International Labour Office and, 69–70  
 International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), 74  
 on the label of ‘trafficking’, 74  
 labour market approach, 77–79, 86–87, 212  
 measuring modern slavery, 49–50, 92  
 new governance scale needed, 86–87, 214–215  
 new standard for forced labour, 80–82  
 relationship with Global Slavery Index, 50  
 relationship with Walk Free, 92  
 on scope of forced labour, 65  
 on sex work as form of labour, 66  
 stance on sale of sexual services, 73  
 structure of, 68–70  
 international law, 18, 207, *See also* transnational modern slavery law, *See also* international trade law and policy  
 International Organization for Migration (IOM), 20, 27–28, 49–50, 79, 109  
 International Organization of Employers (IOE), 69, 85–86, 91, 98  
 International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), 84  
 international trade law and policy, 6, 11, *See also* international law  
 International Trade Union Confederation, 69, 80, 85  
 investment law, 11  
 Ireland, 108  
 Jenrick, Robert, 198  
 Johnson administration, 195–197  
 Johnson, Boris, 194–195, 197  
 jurisdiction, 9–11, *See also* legal domains  
   assemblage of, 9–10, 16, 46, 98, 101, 130, 211–212  
   institutional, 215  
   overlapping, 212–213  
   scalar dimension of, 9–10, 211, 214–215  
   sexual and labour exploitation, 27, 66  
 Kahn-Freund, Otto, 203  
 Kelly, Liz, 137–139, 141  
 Kerry, John, 33  
 labour exploitation, 192, *See also* forced labour  
   absence of common understanding of, 118–119, 151  
   campaign to make it a crime, 143  
   demand and, 118, 147  
   EU’s treatment of, 100  
   illegal working and, 142, 149  
   migrant domestic workers, 142  
   migration status and, 120  
   Modern Slavery Act 2015 (UK) and, 181  
   ‘particularly exploitative working conditions’ defined, 120  
   reports of, 192  
 labour law, regulatory techniques, 84  
 labour market exploitation, 149, 182  
 labour migration, 84–85, 91, 96, 111  
 labour trafficking, 72, 75, 130, 143, 152  
 League of Nations, 18, 66  
 legal domains, 3–4, 15–16, 33–34, 211, *See also* jurisdiction  
 Liechtenstein Initiative, 54  
 Longo, Matthew, 1, 99  
 Maastricht Treaty 1992 102, 104, 134  
 Mandelson, Peter, 136  
 market failure, 53–54, 58–59, 203  
 market failure approach, 60–62  
 Marx, Karl, 216  
 Mauritania, 51  
 May, Theresa, *See also* hostile environment policy (UK)  
   cultivation of faith-based antislavery coalition, 164, 178  
   on defeating modern slavery, 164–165  
   governance agenda of, 186–189, 198–201



- Human Trafficking: The Government's Strategy*, 170
- on Illegal Immigration Bill, 198
- launch of Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking, 206–208
- Modern Day Slavery Bill, 177
- political legacy of, 166, 195
- restricting immigration streams, 172
- Metcalfe, David, 186
- Mexico, 13, 63
- Middle East, 50
- migrant domestic workers, 142–143, 174
- migrant sex workers, 108–109, 138–139, 142, 155, 213
- migrant women, 140
- migration, 14, 46, 121–123, 188
- Miller, Maria, 190
- Mills, James, 216
- MNE (Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy). *See* Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy (MNE)
- modern slavery. *See also* victims, modern slavery
- defined by Bales, 44
- defined by Global Slavery Index (GSI), 49
- defined by new abolitionists, 46
- definitions, other, 47–48, 174
- Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (Bales), 44
- economic cost to UK, 190
- importance of jurisdiction, 6–7, 9–11
- legal concepts that compose, 2
- as market failure, 53–54
- measuring the problem, 48–51, 53, 79, 92–93, 189–192, 195
- the multifaceted approach, 27, 30–31, 39–40, 46–47, 99, 101–102, 130, 208, 212–214
- political work performed by the concept of, 4–5
- relationship of framing to legal domains, 3–4
- as response to market failure, 58–59
- statistics on, 1
- as true name of human trafficking, 31, 46, 174, 182
- types of exploitation covered by, 5, 207
- as umbrella term, 79, 208
- usage of the term, 100, 165, 173, 199, 211
- Modern Slavery Act 2015 (UK)
- convictions under, 190
- criminal law domain, 177
- enforcement of, 184
- immigration and, 182, 184, 196
- independent review of, 190
- Johnson on, 195
- labour exploitation and, 181
- modern slavery as quasi-legal concept, 3
- offences under, 190, 201
- sentencing under, 179–180
- Sunak on, 199
- supply chain transparency, 47, 180–181, 193–195
- victim's rights and, 180
- Modern Slavery Bill (UK), 177–178, 181
- modern slavery law, 12, 53–54, 205. *See also* transnational modern slavery law
- moral panic, 13–14, 17–18, 103, 139, 155
- multiscalar dimension of transnational law, 7
- Myanmar, 75
- Nail, Thomas, 131
- National Audit Office, 189
- National Crime Agency (NCA), 170
- National Referral Mechanism (NRM)
- identification of victims of trafficking, 170, 184, 190
- legal aid and, 180
- Modern Slavery Bill and, 177, 181, 196
- problems with, 189
- process of victim identification, 157, 174, 196–197
- statistics on referrals, 157
- victim protection and, 156, 161, 173
- Nationality and Borders Act 2022 (UK), 196
- Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 (UK), 139, 142
- negative freedom, 216
- neoliberal capitalism, 6, 204
- neoliberal ethics, 59
- neoliberal globalisation, 219
- neoliberalism, 41, 68, 70, 134, 205, 216, 219.
- See also* economic liberalism
- new abolitionists
- assessing EU's antitrafficking strategy, 100
- on Directive 2011/36/EU, 123–125
- focus of, 43–44
- key countries and legislation, 59
- modern slavery defined by, 46, 165, 211

- New Labour (UK), Controlling Our Borders: Making Migration Work for Britain* (UK Home Office), 146
- domestic workers under, 142–144
- A Points-Based System*, 146
- relationship with EU, 134, 161–162
- sovereignty, 132, 215
- strategy for human trafficking, 131
- supernationalism of, 167
- working with international law enforcement, 170
- New Zealand, 51, 188
- Nigeria, 192, 200
- North Korea, 51, 208
- O'Connell-Davidson, Julia, 12
- Obama administration, 38, 79, 88, 118
- Obama, Barack, 31–34, 47
- Office of Director of Labour Market Enforcement (UK), 184, 186
- Office of the High Commission on Human Rights, 27–28
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1, 53, 56, 62, 93
- Overseas Domestic Worker visa, 172–173, 176, 181, *See also* domestic workers, *See also* migrant domestic workers
- Pakistan, 51
- Patel, Priti, 196–197
- people smuggling. *See* human smuggling
- people trafficking. *See* human trafficking
- philanthrocapitalism, 41–42, 48, 52
- Phillips, Nicola, 203
- Plant, Roger, 65–66, 71–72, 74, 76–78
- positive freedom, 216
- prostitution (sale of sexual services), *See also* under United Kingdom
- Bush (G. W.) administration's stance on, 25–26
- Churches Alert to Sex Trafficking Across Europe (Chaste), 155
- coercion, 76, 209
- conceptions of, 105
- criminalisation via national laws, 77, 106, 153–155, 179, 210
- demand reduction approach, 147, 152
- exploitative sex work vs sex work as form of labour, 19, 209–210
- as form of violence against women, 103–105, 153, 209
- frames of, 4
- Obama administration's stance on, 31
- raid and rescue model, 147, 154, 210
- relationship to human trafficking, 16–21, 103
- sexual exploitation and, 20, 38, 123, 137
- sex-workers sorted according to migrant status, 141
- status as employment/occupation, 66, 73
- Tackling Demand for Prostitution* (UK), 154, *See also* sex work, *See also* sex workers' rights
- Treaty of Amsterdam 105–106
- US's 'prostitution pledge', 25, 31, 35
- Protocol of 2014 to the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (ILO), 67, 82–83, 90, 96, 2121930 (ILO), *See also* Forced Labour Convention,
- Qatar, 92
- Quirk, Joel, 4
- race, 14, 51, 183, 209, *See also* white slavery
- racial profiling, 201
- Ramos, George, 1
- Rana Plaza collapse, 86–87, 89
- Rees-Mogg, Jacob, 173
- reflection periods, 117, 148–149, 156, 196
- Regan, Linda, 137–139, 141
- Reid, John, 150
- removal action, 151
- Renzi, Matteo, 123
- Report of the European Experts Group on Trafficking in Human Beings* (European Commission), 99
- Republican freedom, 216–217
- Residence Permit Directive, 107–110, 113, 117, 150
- Robinson, Mary, 28
- Romania, 146
- Ruggie, John, 55, 69
- Ryder, Guy, 65, 80, 86–87
- Santa Marta Group, 45, 178
- Sassen, Saskia, 11
- scalar dimension of, 9–10, 211, 214–215
- scalar technique of governance, 7–9, 214
- Schengen Agreement, 104, 106, 128, 132, 135
- Scottish referendum, 167
- Sen, Amartya, 216

- sex trafficking, 18, 26, 34, 103, 117, *See also* victims, sex trafficking,
- sex work, 73, 138, *See also* prostitution (sale of sexual services)
- sex workers' rights, 130
- sexual exploitation, 129, *See also* forced labour demand and, 147  
EU's treatment of, 100, 129–130  
measuring the extent of, 138, 192  
in Modern Slavery Act 2015 (UK), 180
- statistics about, 79  
UK's treatment of, 152
- Shaffer, Gregory, 7
- Sharapov, Kiril, 8
- Sharma, Nandita, 203
- slave trade. *See also* abolition of the slave trade,  
*See also* new abolitionists, *See also* slavery  
2015 migration crisis, 123  
human trafficking as, 104, 147, 161  
prosecution, 182  
trafficked migrants as modern version of,  
144  
transatlantic, 4
- Slave Trade Act 1807 (UK), 45, 147, 150–151
- slavery, *See also* abolition of the slave trade, *See also* white slavery, *See also* Modern Slavery Act 2015 (UK), *See also* slave trade  
coercion and, 48  
consent and, 119  
defining, 47  
prostitution as form of, 123  
trafficking and, 100
- slavery-like practices (list), 49, 77
- Smith, Adam, 15, 53, 216–217
- Smith, Chris, 23
- Smith, Jacqui, 153
- Somovia, Juan, 74
- South America, 51
- Southeast Asia, 73
- sovereign authority, 42
- sovereignty borders, 58, 161–162, 214  
British sovereignty, 132, 161–162, 166–169, 211–212  
globalisation, 11  
reconfigured, 11, 215  
territory and, 6, 11
- Soviet Union, effect of the collapse of, 14, 16, 71, 75, 102, 145, 205
- Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour, 65, 74, 78, 84
- Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, 28
- statistics, *See also* Global Slavery Index (GSI)  
on forced labour, 1, 29, 75, 78  
on forced sexual labour, 75  
on labour exploitation, 33  
on modern slavery, 1  
National Referral Mechanism, 157  
on sexual exploitation, 79  
on trafficking, 104  
Vulnerability Model, 50
- Steen, Anthony, 150, 165, 175
- Straw, Jack, 138
- STRIP. *See* Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour
- Sunak, Rishi, 197–198
- Sunak administration, 199, 201, 214
- supply chain disclosure legislation in UK, 173–174, *See also* transparency legislation
- supply chains. *See also* human rights due diligence, *See also* United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGP)  
'conflict minerals', 32, 127  
connection to modern slavery, 43  
corporate social responsibility measures, 124–128  
decent work in, 87–90  
due diligence reporting, 55–58, 123, 180–181, 205  
effect of Rana Plaza collapse on governance of, 86–87, 89  
human rights and, 123–128  
import bans, 127–128, 214  
jurisdiction and, 11  
lack of 'trickling down' gains, 61  
mandatory disclosure, 47, 57, 173  
MNE and, 90  
Modern Slavery Act 2015 (UK), 47, 180–181, 193–195  
Obama administration's approach to, 32–33  
onus on consumer countries, 57  
potential effect of voluntary disclosure, 57  
*Trading for Development in the Age of Global Value Chains* (World Bank), 61  
transnational corporations' ability to control, 42  
true cost of labour, 37, 53
- surveillance, 14, 149, 195, 210
- Sweden, 103–104, 106, 153

- Thomas, Albert, 69–70
- Trafficking in Persons (TIP) regime, *See also* human trafficking
- Trafficking in Persons (TIP) regime (US), 26
- carceral approach, 35
  - efficacy of, 27, 38
  - financial sanctions, 24–26
  - forced labour for commercial sexual exploitation, 75
  - ILO and, 79
  - labour trafficking and, 75
  - legal domain and, 33–34
  - TIP reports, 24
  - trafficking for prostitution, 24–26, 33
- trafficking, Victorian concept of trafficking, 130
- transatlantic slave trade, 1
- transnational corporations, 3, 11, 42, 48, 60–62
- transnational modern slavery law, 7, 204, 207, *See also* international law
- transparency legislation. *See also* supply chain disclosure legislation in UK
- beyond modern slavery, 125
  - California Transparency in Supply Chains Act of 2010, 32, 59
  - EU's approach to, 100–101
  - Ewins and, 175–176
  - support for, 173, 214
- Treaty of Lisbon, 101–102, 114–116, 162
- Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy (MNE), 90–91, 94, 97–98
- Trodd, Zoe, 100
- Trump administration, 34–37, 39, 89, 205
- Trump, Donald, 13, 35, 37, 205
- Trump, Ivanka, 34–35
- Truss, Liz, 197
- unfree labour, 2, 6–8, 203
- United Kingdom. *See also* Gangmasters Labour Abuse Authority (UK), *See also* Global Britain, *See also* immigration, *See also* asylum, *See also* Borders Act 2007 (UK), *See also* Gangmasters (Licensing) Bill (UK)
- Action Plan on Trafficking, 45
  - approach to modern slavery, 8
  - austerity, 166, 168, 196, 215
  - border control, 131, 146
  - carceral approach to human trafficking, 146, 149, 163
  - Coroners and Justice Act 2009, 160
  - criminalisation of human trafficking, 171
  - criminalisation of prostitution, 153–154
  - devolution, 133–134
  - Eurozone financial crisis, 165–167
  - Global Fund to End Modern Slavery and, 52
  - Home Office, 133
  - hostile environment policy, 166, 172, 182, 183, 199, 201
  - Human Rights Act 1998, 143
  - illegal working and exploitation, 132, 137, 142–144, 146, 161–162, 169
  - immigration after May 2004, 145
  - Inter-Departmental Ministerial Group (IDMG) on Human Trafficking, 151, 171
  - leadership in global antislavery governance, 188, 199, 201, 208
  - leadership role in addressing human trafficking, 148, 151
  - new abolitionists, 42
  - philanthrocapitalism and, 42
  - ranking of progress on ending modern slavery, 51
  - Residence Permit Directive, 108
  - response to deaths of undocumented migrant shellfish harvesters, 144
  - role global antislavery governance network, 8, 188
  - Secure Borders, Safe Haven* (Blunkett), 131, 136–137
  - support for supply chain disclosure legislation, 59
  - support for Walk Free Foundation, 52
  - Tackling Human Trafficking*, 147–149
  - Tackling the Demand for Prostitution*, 152–155
- United Kingdom Independent Party, 166–167
- United Nations: elimination of modern slavery targets, 1
- the multifaceted approach, 27, 30–31, 39–40, 46–47, 99, 101–102, 130, 208, 212–214
  - sex work as exploitative or form of labour, 209
  - World Ministerial Conference on Organized Transnational Crime, 17
- United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, 18, 103
- United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPR), 55–56, 62, 90–91, 94, 205

- United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), 28
- United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), 20
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC), 17, 27, 30, 39, 48
- United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, 17–22
  - Article 11, 22
  - Article 3, 84
  - Article 4, 22
  - compared to UN Smuggling Protocol, 21–22
  - in criminal law, 14–15, 37
  - development of, 17–22
  - forms of exploitation in, 20
  - historical context of, 16–17, 205, 207
  - lack of interpretation mechanism, 76
  - oversight mechanism, 27
  - recognition of human rights of victims, 20
  - relationship to TVPA, 23–24
  - trafficking in persons defined, 19–20, 38–39
  - UK adoption of, 144
  - UK's role in, 137
  - victim protection, 100
- United Nations Smuggling Protocol, 14, 17, 21–22, 38. *See also* human smuggling
- United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, target 8.7, 15, 39, 51, 92–93, 125, 188, 206
- United States, 34–35. *See also* Trafficking in Persons (TIP) regime (US). *See also* Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (US)
  - criminal-law approach to human trafficking, 17, 22
  - defining human trafficking, 15
  - emphasis on forced labour, 32–33
  - financial sanctions and TIP reports, 24–26
  - financial support for Global Fund to End Modern Slavery (GFEMS), 52
  - as 'global sheriff' of antitrafficking law and policy, 23
  - governance agendas, 208
  - human trafficking vs forced labour, 76–77, 82
  - new abolitionists, 42
  - philanthrocapitalism and, 42
  - the 'prostitution pledge', 25, 31, 35
  - ranking of progress on ending modern slavery, 51, 208
  - role in global governance of human trafficking, 25–26, 166
  - on supply chain governance, 88, 90
  - support for supply chain disclosure legislation, 59
  - support for Walk Free Foundation, 52
  - threats to cut funding to ILO, 73
  - Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008, 45
- United States Tariff Act, section 307, 33–34
- United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement, 34
- Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act (US), 34–35
- Valverde, Marianna, 9, 211
- victims, exploitation, 149
- victims, human trafficking. *See also* victims' rights
  - compared to smuggled migrants, 28–29, 38, 108
  - deserving of protection, 23, 25, 154
  - disproportionate marginalized and underserved communities, 36
  - ideal victims according to Trafficking Protocol, 26
  - obligation to assist, 113–114, 137
  - personification of the uncontrolled border, 146
  - portrayed as victims of modern slavery, 144
  - protection of, 20, 26, 35, 38, 83–84, 111–113, 117, 123, 141, 149, 173, 177
  - vulnerability of, 117
- victims, modern slavery. *See also* victims' rights
  - determining status as, 191–192, 195–197
  - protection and support for, 195–199
  - public benefits and, 192–193
  - removal of, 197
  - villanisation of, 196
- victims, sex trafficking, 104, 119, 122, 141
- Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (US), 23–24, 26
- victims' rights, 107, 213. *See also* victims, human trafficking. *See also* sex workers' rights
  - Brussels Declaration on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, 110
  - downplayed by UK government, 148, 180
  - penal approach to, 116
  - protection of, 111–112, 128, 161

- Wales, 177, 180
- Walk Free Foundation (Walk Free), *See also*
- Global Slavery Index (GSI)
  - on commonalities of types of slavery, 49
  - ethical-business alliance, 175
  - example of philanthrocapitalism, 41–42
  - funding initiatives, 52–53
  - global antislavery alliance of, 51–52
  - Global Estimates of Modern Slavery, 92–93
  - Global Fund to End Modern Slavery, 53–54
  - Government Response Index, 51, 208
  - legislative strategy, 42, 214
  - measuring slavery, 1, 48–51, 79
  - measuring statistics, 57–58
  - ‘official statistics’, 50
  - on products created by modern slavery and higher income countries, 41
  - on removing modern slavery from supply chains, 56–57, 59
  - residualist approach, 203
  - role of governments, 58
- Wallis, Andrew, 176, 195
- Weber, Max, 216–217
- Wellings, Ben, 151, 169
- Wemyss, Georgie, 13, 131
- West Africa, 158
- white slavery, 13, 17, 103, 139, 155, 210
- Wijers, Marjan, 110, 130
- Wilberforce, William, 151, 164–166, 179, 199
- Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 (US), 45
- women’s rights, 18–19, 103–104, *See also* gender, *See also* feminism, *See also* carceral feminists
- Workers’ Group, 69–70, 82, 86, 88
- World Bank, 24, 46, 61, 85, 203
- World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference 1996, 71
- Yugoslavia, 128
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, 131