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

borders (cont.)	proposed cuts to US agencies countering, 34
movement and, 128	UN Sustainable Development Goals, target
Nationality and Borders Act 2022 (UK),	8.7, 39, 51
196	child trafficking, 37, See also children, See also
othering and, 13	child labour
Schengen Agreement, 128, 132	Clinton administration's policies, 17
sovereignty and, 58, 161–162, 214	criminal law and, 15
'Take Back Control' slogan, 166, 168	cross-border movement and, 101
territoriality, 11, 21–22	for domestic service, 143
United Kingdom and, 135, 145, 152, 157	human rights of victims, 28, 111
Borders Act 2007 (UK), 152, 157	International Convention for the
Bradley, Karen, 178	Suppression of the Traffic in Women and
Braverman, Suella, 197–198, 214	Children, 18
Brexit, 166–169	media portrayals of, 25
British exceptionalism, 167, 169	children. See also child labour
British radicalism, 166	county lines and, 191
British sovereignty, 132, 161–162, 166–169,	Modern Slavery Bill, 177
211–212 Brown Cordon 122 152 162	sexual abuse of, 190 sexual exploitation of, 25–26, 93, 111
Brown, Gordon, 133, 153, 162 Bruggeman, Jean, 35	in slavery-like practices, 49
Brussels Declaration on Preventing and	statistics on victims, 33, 75, 104
Combating Trafficking in Human	China, 69–70, 157
Beings, 110	Christian abolitionists, 46, 179, See also
Bulgaria, 146	Catholic Church
Bunting, Annie, 3–4	Christian charities, 155
Bush (G. W.) administration, 25–26, 45, 76,	Christian evangelicals, 19, 44-45, 165-166,
155, 205, 209	171
Bush, George W., 13, 24	Christian philanthropy, 41
Butler-Sloss, Elizabeth, 175-176	Christianity, 166, 173, 175, See also Catholic
	Church
Cameron, David, 167–169, 179, 182	Chuang, Janie, 20, 23, 208
Canada, 2, 36, 63, 101	Clark, Charles, 146
capitalism, 6, 12, 71, 203–204, 218–219, See	Clinton administration, 17, 23
also neoliberal capitalism, See also global	Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, 19,
capitalism, See also philanthrocapitalism	76, 103
carceral feminists, 18	coercion against undesirable migrants, 146
Catholic Church, 45, 47, 52, 125, 178–179	cannabis cultivation, 191
Centre for Social Justice, 174–176, 182,	The Cost of Coercion (ILO), 74 discrimination and, 203
It Happens Here, 174–175	forced labour and, 76–77
A Modern Approach to Slavery, 182	free labour and, 216
chattel slavery, 2, 46, 53	human trafficking and, 19–20, 103,
child labour. See also children, See also child	139–140, 209
trafficking	labour exploitation, 180, 184
Alliance 8.7 report 2019, 93	labour trafficking in UK, 143
in the Asia Pacific region, 52	legal terms, 209
Declaration on Fundamental Principles and	by the military, 75
Rights at Work 1998 (ILO), 71	Modern Slavery Bill and, 176-177
gangmasters and, 145	prostitution and, 76, 138
International Programme on the	sexual exploitation, 200
Elimination of Child Labour (ILO), 74	colonialism, 83, 208, 218–219

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

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

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

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

United Nations Guiding Principles on Overseas Domestic Worker visa, 172 Business and Human Rights, 55-56 relationship to modern slavery, 173, 177, human smuggling. See also United Nations Smuggling Protocol reporting of abuses by victims, 122 human trafficking and, 21-22, 28, 122, 136, reporting of immigration status, 183 Schengen Agreement, 134-135 140, 142 migrants compared to victims of trafficking, United Kingdom and devolution, 134 21-22, 28-29, 108 United Kingdom's policy, 136, 167 protections afforded to smuggled migrants, Immigration Act 2014 (UK), 166, 172, 183 Immigration Act 2016 (UK), 166, 172, human trafficking, 20, See also modern slavery, 182-187 See also victims, human trafficking, See Immigration, Asylum and Nationalities Act also Trafficking in Persons (TIP) regime 2006 (UK), 147-149 (US), See also forced marriage imperialism, 139 carceral approach to, 36, 109, 118, 146, 149, import bans on goods made with forced labour, 33-35, 37, 63-64, 127-128, 218 criminal law and, 14-20 instrumental supranationalism, 134 criminalisation of, 171 Inter-Agency Coordination Group against definitions of, 19-20, 23, 26, 45, 75, 116, Trafficking in Persons, 30 139-140, 208 International Convention for the Suppression domestic servitude and, 159 of the Traffic in Women and Children, European Union, 99-102, 106-107, 118 forced labour and, 2, 29, 74, 76 international economic liberalisation, 69, See holistic approach to, 15-16 also economic liberalism illegal migration, 20-22, 26 International Labour Conference (ILC), See labour approach to, 36, 122, 148 also Protocol of 2014 to the Forced legal migration as prevention of, 28 Labour Convention1930 (ILO), See also movement and, 20, 29, 43, 76, 100, 213 Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (ILO) organized crime and, 16-17, 22, 123 approach to human trafficking, 72 prostitution and, 18-20, 24-26, 139 decent work and supply chains (2016 ILC), reframed as modern slavery, 31-32 sexual exploitation and, 4, 15, 20, 103-104, due diligence procedures (2014 ILC), "three and four P approach", 23, 30 due diligence procedures (2016 ILC), US approach to, 13, 17, 23-26, 33-37, 76 89-90 victim-oriented human rights approach to, Employer's Group and, 88 114-116 Employer's Group protestations (2012 ILC), women's rights organizations and, 18-19 Fair Recruitment Initiative (FRI) launched Hyland, Kevin, 179, 189 (2014 ILC), 85 Illegal Migration Act 2023 (UK), 214 International Labour Organization (ILO) immigration. See also United Kingdom and, 68 Independent Party, See also borders question of new governance mechanism Amsterdam Treaty, 135 (2016 ILC), 89 British antitrafficking policy and strategy, International Labour Organization (ILO), 131, 156 72–73, 79, See also Committee of Experts British sovereignty and, 132 on the Application of Conventions and identification of potential victims, 191 Recommendations (CEACR) Maastricht Treaty (1992), 134 overview, 29, 68-69 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act approach to human trafficking, 27, 29 2002 (UK), 139 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,	Jenrick, Robert, 198 Johnson administration, 195–197 Johnson, Boris, 194–195, 197 jurisdiction, 9–11, <i>See also</i> 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
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	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
international trade law and policy, 6, 11, See also international law International Trade Union Confederation, 69, 80, 85 investment law, 11 Ireland, 108	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	Modern Slavery Act 2015 (UK)
Strategy, 170	convictions under, 190
on Illegal Immigration Bill, 198	criminal law domain, 177
launch of Global Commission on Modern	enforcement of, 184
Slavery and Human Trafficking, 206–208	immigration and, 182, 184, 196
Modern Day Slavery Bill, 177	independent review of, 190
political legacy of, 166, 195	Johnson on, 195
restricting immigration streams, 172	labour exploitation and, 181
Metcalfe, David, 186	modern slavery as quasi-legal concept, 3
Mexico, 13, 63	offences under, 190, 201
Middle East, 50	sentencing under, 179–180
migrant domestic workers, 142–143, 174	Sunak on, 199
migrant sex workers, 108–109, 138–139, 142,	supply chain transparency, 47, 180–181,
155, 213 migrant women, 140	193–195
migration, 14, 46, 121–123, 188	victim's rights and, 180 Modern Slavery Bill (UK), 177–178, 181
Miller, Maria, 190	
2	modern slavery law, 12, 53–54, 205, See also transnational modern slavery law
Mills, James, 216 MNE (Tripartite Declaration of Principles	
MNE (Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises	moral panic, 13–14, 17–18, 103, 139, 155 multiscalar dimension of transnational law, 7
and Social Policy). See Tripartite	Myanmar, 75
Declaration of Principles Concerning	Myammar, /5
Multinational Enterprises and Social	Nail, Thomas, 131
Policy (MNE)	The state of the s
modern slavery. See also victims, modern	National Audit Office, 189 National Crime Agency (NCA), 170
•	National Referral Mechanism (NRM)
slavery defined by Bales, 44	identification of victims of trafficking, 170,
defined by Global Slavery Indesx (GSI), 49 defined by new abolitionists, 46	184, 190
	legal aid and, 180
definitions, other, 47–48, 174	Modern Slavery Bill and, 177, 181, 196
Disposable People: New Slavery in the	process of victim identification, 157, 174
Global Economy (Bales), 44	process of victim identification, 157, 174,
economic cost to UK, 190	196–197 statistics on referrals, 157
importance of jurisdiction, 6–7, 9–11	
legal concepts that compose, 2	victim protection and, 156, 161, 173
as market failure, 53-54	Nationality and Borders Act 2022 (UK),
measuring the problem, 48–51, 53, 79,	Nationality Immigration and Applym Astrona
92–93, 189–192, 195	Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002
the multifaceted approach, 27, 30–31,	(UK), 139, 142
39–40, 46–47, 99, 101–102, 130, 208,	negative freedom, 216
212–214	neoliberal capitalism, 6, 204
political work performed by the concept of,	neoliberal globalization and
4-5 relationship of framing to legal domains, 3-4	neoliberal globalisation, 219 neoliberalism, 41, 68, 70, 134, 205, 216, 219,
	See also economic liberalism
as response to market failure, 58–59 statistics on, 1	new abolitionists
as true name of human trafficking, 31, 46, 174, 182	assessing EU's antitrafficking strategy, 100 on Directive 2011/36/EU, 123–125
types of exploitation covered by, 5, 207	focus of, 43–44
as umbrella term, 79, 208	key countries and legislation, 59
usage of the term, 100, 165, 173, 199, 211	modern slavery defined by, 46, 165, 211
auge of the term, 100, 103, 1/3, 199, 211	

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

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

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

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