Trafficking and Exploitation Strategy Review 2022

The responses below have been prepared by the Modern Slavery and Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre (Modern Slavery PEC) policy impact team. They draw on evidence from research and policy briefs funded and published by the PEC.

The Modern Slavery PEC was created by the investment of public funding to enhance understanding of modern slavery and transform the effectiveness of law and policies designed to address it.¹

The Modern Slavery PEC funds research to provide independent, innovative and authoritative insight and analysis on modern slavery. The Modern Slavery PEC is an impartial organisation and our focus is on ensuring the best available evidence and analysis is available for policymakers and law-makers. We are led by evidence and our belief that policies are more effective when they are firmly underpinned by evidence grounded in robust research and data. Our approach is rooted in human rights.

**Action Area 3 Questions**

1. Do you agree that the Trafficking and Exploitation Strategy has provided an effective framework for joint work in Scotland to tackle trafficking and exploitation?  
   Yes/No

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<th>Comments:</th>
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| The effectiveness of the Trafficking and Exploitation Strategy – hereby referred to as the ‘Strategy’ – can be analysed using the internationally-agreed upon “3P” framework: Prosecution, Protection, and Prevention. This paradigm (to which is at times added a fourth ‘P’, Partnerships), set forth by the Palermo Protocol,² can be closely mapped onto the three Action Areas set out by the Strategy. Action Area 1 can be categorised as Protection, Action Area 2 as Prosecution, and Action Area 3 as Prevention.  
  
  Our responses are primarily concerned with Action Area 3, or Prevention. According to the Palermo Protocol, prevention includes addressing underlying drivers of trafficking, demand for trafficking, cooperation with non-governmental organisations, and the production and dissemination of research and information. The Strategy explicitly addresses each of these points, and is further bolstered |

¹ The Centre is a consortium of six research organisations led by the Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law and is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council on behalf of UK Research and Innovation (UKRI). This response has been prepared by the Modern Slavery PEC’s core team and does not necessarily represent the views of all partners making up the Modern Slavery PEC consortium.

through the inclusion of 12 specific outcomes (which we comment upon in response to question 3 below). The Strategy accounts for the complicated and interlinked nature of underlying drivers such as poverty, inequality, and gendered violence, which is key when working towards structural, long-term improvements. The Strategy’s alignment with the 3Ps paradigm is therefore an effective instrument for joint work in addressing trafficking.

However, while the 3Ps provide a helpful analytical framework, their compartmentalisation risks reproducing siloed working practices. In order to reduce the risk of re-trafficking or further harm, for instance, protection and support initiatives should also be examined and carried out through a prevention lens, wherein prevention is understood as an on-going process that does not end once exploitation has occurred, but should be continuously addressed. Exploitation is not linear; it does not have a clearly defined beginning, middle, and end. Prevention actions are more effective when they take this into account.

In pursuit of embedding prevention throughout all Action Areas, research funded by the Modern Slavery PEC, published in 2022, provides recommendations for employing the public-health concepts of primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention in the fields of human trafficking and exploitation. This refers to preventative interventions: (1) before harm occurs through early intervention; (2) through the early identification of exploitation; and (3) by treating harm to prevent re-trafficking. The research identified 25 prevention activities (in the context of adult sexual and labour exploitation, specifically) that can be grouped into five pathways to prevention, which are relevant to different Action Areas of the Strategy:

- Access to fundamental resources and services, including housing (Action Area 1 in the Strategy)
- Literacy and the development of awareness, knowledge, and the skills to take action among people with lived experience of exploitation, people at risk, statutory and non-statutory agencies, and the public (Action Area 3)
- Building individual and community control, power, resilience, and opportunities to thrive (Action Areas 1, 2, and 3)
- Deterrence and disruption (Action Area 2)
- Partnerships (throughout Strategy, with a focus in Action Area 3)

As the above demonstrates, the Strategy already embeds preventative initiatives throughout each Action Area, despite not explicitly framing it as such. Reframing the Strategy to more explicitly underpin each Action Area with prevention activities may be beneficial by broadening the scope of what prevention itself entails, and the various, continuous points at which harm can be avoided or reduced. Such a reframing would also help to capture and communicate the preventative effects of current Government activity in Action Areas 1 and 2.

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Lastly, the Action Areas each clearly link to the overarching, ambitious vision set out in the Strategy: to eliminate human trafficking and exploitation. The Strategy’s emphasis on measuring progress towards this vision, against each Action Area, further strengthens its effectiveness as a framework. The Annual Progress Reports play an equally important role in qualitatively monitoring developments, as well as communicating progress to stakeholders. However, there is only a single quantitative measurement tool routinely used for Action Area 3 (the public awareness survey). It would be beneficial to consider including other quantitative mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating progress against the outcomes related to prevention, particularly if new outcomes are introduced in a future Strategy, to complement the qualitative measures. These quantitative measures could complement the measures included in the Third Annual Progress Report, which track actions taken against short-, medium-, and long-term outcomes.\(^4\) The Fourth Annual Progress Report stated that Action Area 3 will assess the benefits of the public awareness survey. We would recommend doing so using insights from research on consumer behaviour, which we discuss below in greater detail.

The Strategy should also be improved through meaningful engagement with people with lived experience of human trafficking and exploitation. We discuss lived experience engagement in further detail below, in response to question 7.

2. Do the three general outcomes for Action Area 3 set out in the Strategy still have the correct focus:
   - People know about the extent of trafficking in Scotland
   - People and businesses are aware of how what they do and buy can contribute to this crime
   - People at most risk get help to increase their resilience against trafficking?

Yes/No

Comments:

The three general outcomes are primarily focused on capacity-building through raising awareness. These outcomes may be improved by reframing them to underscore the impact of actions on addressing and preventing exploitation and trafficking, in a similar way as the 12 outcomes that stem from these areas, which emphasise specific actions the Scottish Government and other actors will take (e.g., providing guidance to businesses). This would expand the scope of the three general outcomes beyond awareness-raising.

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\(^4\) The Australian National Action Plan to Combat Modern Slavery includes a commitment to the development of a Monitoring and Evaluation Framework, which tracks progress against short-, medium-, and long-term outcomes. This Framework may prove a useful tool in further developing the Scottish Strategy’s monitoring and evaluation measures.

For instance, research funded by the Modern Slavery PEC suggests that awareness raising among consumers has limited impact on actual behaviour. The research developed a series of recommendations for actions that have been shown to more effectively influence consumer activity, such as addressing contextual and psychosocial barriers to behavioural change, and avoiding communications that overrepresent consumers’ responsibility and/or culpability in human trafficking and exploitation. Reframing the general outcomes beyond awareness-raising and towards influencing behaviour may be a useful way of reframing the Strategy’s goals around prevention.

In pursuit of reframing the outcomes to be action-oriented, the Strategy as a whole may benefit from linking more closely with the Human Rights Bill process, which aims to implement the recommendations set out in the National Taskforce for Human Rights Leadership Report including the incorporation of four United Nations Human Rights treaties into Scots Law.

Further, while the Strategy makes reference to public procurement elsewhere and in subsequent Annual Progress Reports, it may be beneficial to add public sector buyers to the second general outcome, alongside people and businesses. We go into further detail on this below, in response to question 3 and in relation to outcome 6.

Lastly, the Strategy at various points references building the evidence base. Outcome 2, “Research and investigation into how trafficking affects Scotland” under general outcome 1, for instance, is a crucial mechanism by which to improve prevention activity. However, by linking this directly to general outcome 1, the Strategy limits the ultimate aim of building the evidence base to improving understanding and raising awareness. A key component of prevention includes building the evidence base around which preventative activities are most effective.

The Strategy begins to capture this in its medium-term actions: “The Scottish Government will consider how to research, identify and build partnerships…and to develop targeted prevention initiatives.” To ensure a more systematic and holistic approach to generating, gathering, and using evidence to develop effective preventative initiatives, it may be useful to add a general outcome on building and drawing on the evidence base for purposes other than raising awareness of the impacts of trafficking on Scotland. An additional general outcome on evidence would also enable the Strategy to capture and measure the impact of the research and evidence work Action Area 3 is conducting with the Modern Slavery PEC, and has conducted in the past with CATRiS at the University of St Andrews, and FLEX and the Fife Migrants Forum, as outlined in the Fourth Annual Progress Report.

3. Of the 12 specific outcomes for Action Area 3, are there any you feel are no longer needed, either because significant progress has been made, or because the issue has become less relevant? Yes/No

Comments:

We provide comment only on those outcomes where PEC-funded research and evidence has generated relevant insights. We have grouped them where feedback is similar. Most of our comments are concerned with transforming or refocusing various outcomes rather than recommending to remove or add outcomes.

- (Outcome 1) Public awareness raising campaign encouraging people to take active role to help eradicate trafficking
- (Outcome 8) Change culture by encouraging people to make positive choices against trafficking in what they do and buy

As discussed above in response to question 2, research suggests that raising awareness on its own has little impact on consumer behaviour. Consumers do have a critical role to play in reducing trafficking and exploitation, however, so we would recommend refocusing outcomes 1 and 8 using the recommendations set out by Modern Slavery PEC-funded research. This might include, for instance, reframing outcome 8 to clarify that culture change will derive from multiple targeted Government activities that span beyond encouragement to make positive choices.

It was noted on page 70 in the Third Annual Progress Report that responses to the annual public survey similarly suggested that respondents lacked information about how to make informed purchasing decisions.

- (Outcome 2) Research and investigation into how trafficking affects Scotland

As discussed above in response to question 2, the Strategy may benefit from expanding the scope of research and investigation beyond how trafficking affects Scotland, to include research into the effectiveness of prevention activities and policies in Scotland, and the drivers of trafficking and exploitation in Scotland. Research and investigation can support building the evidence base around the scale and nature of exploitation, as well as what works to prevent and address it, and to protect and support people with lived experience of exploitation.

- (Outcome 6) Provide guidance to businesses about how they can eradicate links to trafficking in supply chains

While the Strategy makes reference to public procurement elsewhere, it may be beneficial to add public sector buyers to this outcome. Public procurement measures have been shown to be an important lever for addressing modern

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slavery and trafficking in supply chains. The Modern Slavery PEC has published a policy brief that assesses the evidence base on the effectiveness of public procurement to address modern slavery in global supply chains.\(^9\)

Further, as outcome 6 falls under the general outcome concerning people and businesses, outcome 6 could also include mention of investors. Similarly to public buyers, investors may be a key lever in addressing modern slavery in business contexts. Further research is needed to understand how policies can support investors to address trafficking and exploitation in supply chains, but research funded by the Modern Slavery PEC demonstrates how access to the right data enables investors to take action and put pressure on businesses.\(^10\) Relatedly, the Strategy could benefit from elaborating on the differences and overlaps between address exploitation in supply chains in the UK and abroad.

In recognition of this evidence gap, the Modern Slavery PEC is funding two new projects that will generate recommendations for how public buyers and investors can be encouraged to address modern slavery risks in green technology supply chains. These projects will report interim findings in autumn, with final reporting at the end of 2023. We will continue to provide updates on these projects throughout the year, particularly if they are of use when reviewing the Strategy.

- (Outcome 9) Work with partners to support efforts to stop trafficking happening in first place including tackling poverty and inequality
- (Outcome 12) Make sure that trafficking is considered within strategies and initiatives to increase equality

Poverty and inequity are recognised drivers of trafficking and exploitation,\(^11\) and we believe outcomes 9 and 12 must remain in any future Strategy. The Strategy’s emphasis on mainstreaming prevention of trafficking in other Government initiatives (e.g., in the approach to migration and the agricultural sector) is a key mechanism for championing a whole-system prevention approach that identifies and addresses the root causes of trafficking and exploitation.

The Modern Slavery PEC has recently launched a funding call to support research examining the relationship between poverty and modern slavery in the UK, as well as the laws and policies that can be (re)designed to better safeguard against modern slavery during periods of a rising cost of living.\(^12\)

The Third Annual Progress Report states on page 73 that further progress is needed to engage with the homelessness sector, and the Fourth Annual Progress

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\(^9\) Gonzalez de Aguinaga, S., Johnstone, O., and O. Hesketh (2022) ‘Effectiveness of public procurement measures in addressing modern slavery’ Available at: https://modernslaverypec.org/assets/downloads/Public-procurement-briefing.pdf


\(^12\) The Modern Slavery PEC (2023) ‘Funding call: prevention of modern slavery’ Available at: https://modernslaverypec.org/latest/funding-call-prevention-of-modern-slavery
Report details activities conducted to prevent and reduce homelessness, on page 35. Our funding call aims to support new research that will examine the mutually reinforcing relationship between homelessness and modern slavery and generate recommendations for policymakers, that may be of interest when continuing work on homelessness and in reviewing the Strategy. The successful projects (on poverty and homelessness, respectively) will report at the end of 2023 or the beginning of 2024. As stated above, we will provide regular updates on these projects.

- (Outcome 10) Targeted efforts to raise potential victims’ awareness of tactics, techniques and risks
- (Outcome 11) Work with communities to address reasons victims might not come forward

Lastly, outcomes 10 and 11 may benefit from refocusing in line with recent evidence on the effectiveness of prevention initiatives such as raising potential victims’ awareness (e.g., the PEC-funded research which was referenced in our response to question 1 above).\textsuperscript{13} This research demonstrates that awareness-raising initiatives are more effective when they are led by people with lived experience and sit alongside community empowerment initiatives and trust building interventions. Dr Such and her colleagues note that, “culturally safe interventions” are of particular importance. We provide further detail on how the Strategy would benefit from a commitment to lived experience engagement below, in response to question 7.

The Modern Slavery PEC has launched a funding call that aims to support new research on the cultural competency of law enforcement and support service providers, as well as projects exploring the early identification of children.\textsuperscript{14} We are funding research which is currently underway on the identification of adult survivors\textsuperscript{15}. These projects should generate insights and recommendations related to outcome 11, and will report at the end of 2023, and early summer 2023, respectively.

4. Are there any other key goals that should be added/replace the existing 12 specific outcomes for Action Area 3? Yes/No

Comments:


\textsuperscript{14} The Modern Slavery PEC (2023) ‘Funding call: prevention of modern slavery’ Available at: https://modernslaverypec.org/latest/funding-call-prevention-of-modern-slavery

\textsuperscript{15} Research led by the British Institute of International and Comparative Law and the Human Trafficking Foundation (2022) ‘Identification of adults with lived experiences of modern slavery in the UK’ Available at: https://modernslaverypec.org/research-projects/identification-of-adults
Please refer to our response to question 3, above. For those outcomes to which we have the knowledge and expertise to respond, we have largely recommended reframing, rather than removing or adding new outcomes.

5. Do you think there have been changes in Scotland or elsewhere since 2017 that should impact on our approach to tackling the conditions that foster trafficking and exploitation?  Yes/No

Comments:

There have been significant changes in Scotland, the UK, and globally that should impact the approach to this general outcome in Action Area 3. These changes include:

- **The Covid-19 pandemic:**

  As discussed in the Third and Fourth Annual Progress Reports, the pandemic has widened inequalities and affected Scotland’s progress towards its National Outcomes. Research, including projects funded by the Modern Slavery PEC, has shown that the pandemic has exacerbated many underlying drivers of modern slavery worldwide and domestically, particularly for vulnerable and marginalised groups. A Modern Slavery PEC Policy Brief on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on modern slavery found evidence suggesting that traffickers have adapted their methods during the pandemic (via, e.g., increased online recruitment), and that the pandemic has hampered the identification and support of people affected by modern slavery.\(^\text{16}\)

- **Conflict as a driver:**

  Evidence demonstrates that factors that increase vulnerability to trafficking and exploitation – such as poverty, inequality, gender-based violence, denial of human rights, power imbalances, forced displacement, and a weak rule of law – are drivers of (and driven by) conflict.\(^\text{17}\) As such, modern slavery is one direct consequence of conflict and humanitarian emergencies, such as the invasion of Ukraine. For instance, traffickers target and exploit displaced populations, particularly when they are concentrated in single reception centres and/or camps.

  The former Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner and UCL convened a roundtable in April 2022 to investigate this phenomenon in relation to the invasion of Ukraine. Drs Ella Cockbain and Aiden Sidebottom’s analysis of the discussion brought several key themes to the fore, including issues

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around the lack of support offered to non-Ukrainians fleeing the same conflict, unintended harmful consequences of the way the UK received refugees, poor information from official sources, the broader precarity experienced by migrants in the UK, and a lack of long-term strategic planning.\(^\text{18}\) While a number of these findings concern reserved matters, the Strategy may benefit from a review in light of insights generated in the past 5 years around the relationship between conflict and trafficking and exploitation.

- **Legislative and policy developments:**

  There have been significant legislative changes in the past 5 years, within Scotland, the UK, and globally, that should be considered in the Strategy. These include, for instance, legislation and regulations on supply chains that have emerged around the world, as well as wider efforts around modern slavery in Australia and the United States from which best practice might be derived. As mentioned above in response to question 3, the Modern Slavery PEC has published a policy brief that assesses the evidence base on the effectiveness of various public procurement measures to address modern slavery in global supply chains.\(^\text{19}\) Such measures include, for instance, provisions in public procurement laws and policies, as well as the production of guidelines, trainings, toolkits, and resources.

  Further changes in the UK include the modern slavery provisions of the Nationality and Borders Act. This includes the 30 January 2023 update to the Modern Slavery Statutory Guidance for England and Wales and Non-Statutory Guidance for Scotland and Northern Ireland.\(^\text{20}\) The implications of these changes, however, are most relevant for Action Area 1 of the Strategy (see response to Q9 below).

  Lastly, Scotland’s commitment to develop a framework to challenge men’s demand for prostitution should be taken into consideration by the Strategy.\(^\text{21}\) Further, the Human Rights Bill process in Scotland should be taken into consideration.

- **Brexit:**

  As stated in the Third Annual Progress Report, a significant proportion of

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\(^{19}\) Gonzalez de Aguinaga, S., Johnstone, O., and O. Hesketh (2022) ‘Effectiveness of public procurement measures in addressing modern slavery’ Available at: https://modernslaverypec.org/assets/downloads/Public-procurement-briefing.pdf


recent legislative and policy developments are related to the UK’s exit from the European Union and the subsequent end of free movement of EU nationals. These include, for instance, the new Points-Based Immigration system and visa regimes (such as the Seasonal Worker and Health and Social Care visas), the EU Settlement Scheme, and the overhauled asylum system, which are expected to have had a significant impact on immigration and the vulnerabilities associated with being a migrant in Scotland. As referenced in the Fourth Annual Progress Report, there are evidence gaps around the links between visas introduced as part of the post-Brexit immigration system, and living conditions, wage rates, types of contracts, and visa concerns.

Due to their novelty, further research is needed on the relationship between these new immigration regimes and trafficking and exploitation. Scottish Government’s partnership with FLEX and Fife Migrant’s Forum (FMF) generated crucial data in this regard. The Modern Slavery PEC is funding a research project, that builds from data generated by the FLEX and FMF project, on whether and how the Seasonal Worker and Health and Social Care visas impact the vulnerabilities to modern slavery and labour exploitation.22 The project will report in summer 2023. There continue to be considerable gaps in evidence and understanding around how these legislative changes – and Brexit more widely – have impacted the drivers and scale and nature of modern slavery in Scotland and the UK more widely.

- **Cost of Living crisis:**

  As mentioned above, in response to question 3, the cost-of-living crisis has deepened inequalities in Scotland and may be exacerbating the impacts of poverty on trafficking and exploitation. As mentioned above, the Modern Slavery PEC has recently launched a funding call to support research examining the relationship between poverty and modern slavery in the UK, as well as the laws and policies that can be (re)designed to better safeguard against modern slavery during periods of a rising cost of living.23 Action Area 3 may benefit from the insights and recommendations generated by this project, and the Strategy should be reviewed in light of the considerable shift in the economic landscape since 2017.

- **The changing nature of NRM referrals:**

  Since 2017, there has been a general increase in NRM referrals across Scotland, and the UK more widely. While, in 2016, there were 150 NRM

22 Research led by the [University of Exeter](https://www.exeter.ac.uk), in partnership with the [University of Bristol](https://www.bristol.ac.uk), the [University of York](https://www.york.ac.uk), and the [University of Durham](https://www.dur.ac.uk), and [Focus on Labour Exploitation](https://www.focusonlabelexploitation.org) and the [Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants](https://www.jcwi.org.uk), supported by [UNISON](https://www.unison.org.uk) (2022) ‘UK agriculture and care visas and vulnerability to exploitation’ Available at: [https://modernslaverypec.org/research-projects/agriculture-care-visas](https://modernslaverypec.org/research-projects/agriculture-care-visas)

referrals in Scotland, in 2022 this had increased to 621. Alongside this increase, the nature of these referrals has changed. This, in part, reflects changes made in 2019 to the mechanism by which NRM referrals are made. Those changes enabled First Responders to categorise a case as indicative of multiple forms of exploitation, and also separated criminal exploitation from labour exploitation as its own category. For this reason, comparison of NRM referrals from 2016 and from 2022 are not necessarily reflective of the nature or prevalence of trafficking and exploitation changing in Scotland. The following characteristics were identified from page 9 of the Strategy, and the figures reflect the percentage of referrals (from the total number of referrals) involving those characteristics, using the data cited in the Strategy for 2016 and the latest NRM statistics release for 2022. All data cited below is specific to Scotland:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2022</th>
<th>Change</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>-28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women and children</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>-20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female, sexual exploitation</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women, sexual exploitation</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls, sexual exploitation</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls, domestic and labour</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>-31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male, labour exploitation</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>-8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men, labour exploitation</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>-6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys, labour and criminal</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women and children now make up a lower proportion of NRM referrals. Most referrals for girls include sexual exploitation, rather than domestic and labour exploitation which made up the majority of cases in 2016 for girls. In 2022, 34% of NRM referrals for girls were categorised as unspecified or unknown exploitation type.

The introduction of criminal exploitation as a category has provided more nuance to the picture of labour exploitation than was previously captured by the NRM data. While most referrals for men and boys continue to include labour exploitation, 43% of referrals for boys in 2022 included criminal exploitation. 29% of these referrals include both labour and criminal exploitation. Of all referrals for boys, 31% include criminal exploitation, but exclude labour exploitation.

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25 The 2022 figures are inclusive of any instance involving the named type of exploitation, even in cases in which multiple forms of exploitation occurred. For instance, in the category “Male + labour exploitation”, all cases of adult men referred that include labour exploitation have been included, such as cases involving labour, criminal, and sexual exploitation, for example.

26 While the Strategy refers to this solely as labour exploitation, criminal exploitation was considered a form of labour exploitation at the time. For this reason, we have combined cases involving labour and/or criminal exploitation, and disaggregate these further below.
For men, 30% of referrals include criminal exploitation, 16% include both labour and criminal, and 14% include criminal exploitation but exclude labour exploitation.

Across the UK, there has also been a general increase in NRM referrals for British nationals. In 2016, only two British nationals were referred into the NRM in Scotland (1% of the 150 total referrals in Scotland); both were children referred for sexual exploitation.\(^{27}\) In 2022, 75 British nationals\(^ {28}\) were referred in Scotland (12% of total referrals). This is a 200% increase in British national referrals in Scotland from 2021, in which 25 British nationals were referred.\(^ {28}\) The proportion of referrals in Scotland that are made for British nationals is markedly lower than in the UK as a whole (25%, excluding dual nationals).

Of the 75 British referrals in 2022, 19 (20%) were for adults, and 56 (80%) were for children. The adult referrals all involved criminal and/or labour exploitation, with the majority (58%) referred exclusively for criminal exploitation.

Of the British children, 36 (64%) were referred solely for criminal exploitation, while 41 (73%) of the British child referrals included criminal and/or labour exploitation. The remaining British child referrals were solely for sexual exploitation (8, or 14%) or were unspecified.

Of all children (of all nationalities) referred solely for criminal exploitation (46), British children made up 78% of referrals.

In England and Wales, there has been a more marked increase in the proportion of British referrals since 2016. In England in 2022, 25% of referrals were for British nationals (excluding dual nationals) and in Wales, this was 60%. In Northern Ireland, however, this was 1%. The Scottish statistics do indicate, however, that the criminal exploitation of British children is increasingly recognised and recorded, if not more prevalent. As part of a review, the Strategy would benefit from a full analysis of the available data to better understand emerging trends and patterns, and in turn how best to prevent and respond to trafficking and exploitation in light of these insights.

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\(^{28}\) We have included dual nationals who hold British citizenship, as the rights conferred by their citizenship are relevant to identification, support, and the prevention of re-trafficking.

6. Since 2017, what, if any, changes have occurred to the drivers of human trafficking and exploitation? How could a new Strategy approach these?

Comments:

Our response to question 5 above points to changes in the drivers of trafficking and exploitation, in relation to the pandemic, armed conflict, and the cost-of-living crisis. It has also noted significant changes to connected policy regimes especially on immigration and asylum, and changes in the scale and nature of NRM referrals. The increasing number of NRM referrals in Scotland suggests increased awareness and identification of human trafficking and exploitation, though an increase in underlying prevalence cannot be ruled out.\(^{30}\)

Over the longer-term, climate change may also drive vulnerability to trafficking and exploitation. Climate change is both generative of extreme weather events and longer-term protracted emergency, both of which result in humanitarian crisis.

As outlined in a Modern Slavery PEC briefing on international development and modern slavery, the available evidence on climate change demonstrates its relationship to trafficking and exploitation is three-fold:

(1) Activities that contribute to climate change (such as deforestation and overfishing) have been shown, in particular contexts and geographies, to involve forced or child labour.

(2) Extreme climate-induced events increase susceptibility to modern slavery among low-income communities in the Global South.

(3) Policies that aim to address climate change may have unintended impacts on those groups most susceptible to modern slavery.\(^{31}\)

The Modern Slavery PEC has recently funded three research projects on climate change, to better understand the links between these two areas in both the vulnerabilities that climate change can create, and in ensuring that actions taken to address climate change also consider trafficking and exploitation. As noted above in response to question 3, these projects began work at the beginning of March, expect interim findings in autumn 2023, and expect to report at the end of 2023.

A new Strategy would benefit from considering how climate change (causing both individual disastrous events, and a longer state of protracted emergency) and trafficking and exploitation influence one another, and how this relationship, in turn, impacts and/or should impact the Scottish Government’s response in both policy areas.

\(^{30}\) As the Office for National Statistics states, the “hidden nature” of modern slavery impedes accurate estimates of prevalence. As such, changing trends in NRM referral data “may not reflect underlying changes in prevalence and may be related to changes in awareness and identification of potential victims.” ONS (2020) ‘Modern slavery in the UK: March 2020’ Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/modernslaveryintheu k/march2020#national-referral-mechanism

7. Do you think the Trafficking and Exploitation Strategy should be refreshed?  

Yes/No

Comments:

We believe that the Strategy should be refreshed, for the reasons included in our responses to each of the questions above.

In addition to the above comments, there is compelling evidence demonstrating that policies and strategies co-produced with people with lived experience of human trafficking and exploitation are more effective and reduce harm. While the current Strategy does not address lived experience engagement in detail outside of an outcome in Action Area 1, the Annual Progress Reports increasingly discuss it as a beneficial mechanism by which to review and evaluate progress, policy, and practice. It would be valuable to refresh the Strategy alongside people with lived experience through meaningful engagement. A new Strategy should also include a commitment to meaningfully involving people with lived experience in future policy.

‘Meaningful’ engagement includes working alongside people with lived experience in a way that is not tokenistic, that is trauma-informed, and prevents harm. Research funded by the Modern Slavery PEC has identified a typology of 14 promising practices – or ‘best practice’ – in engaging people with lived experience in policymaking and strategic development (ibid). There are, in addition, several toolkits available on lived experience inclusion, and with a specific focus on inclusion in policymaking. Further, the Strategy would benefit from a refresh in order to incorporate terminology that the above PEC-funded research has found to be preferred by people with lived experience of trafficking and exploitation. For example, while the term ‘victim’ carries a significant and defined legal definition, in some contexts it should be avoided due to concerns it “could alienate, cause stigma for, or even endanger people with lived experience.” The term ‘people with lived experience’ carries fewer adverse connotations.

8. Should the Scottish Government continue to report on an annual basis on progress in implementing the Strategy?  

Yes/No

Comments:

Asquith, W., Kiconco, A., and A. Balch (2022) ‘Promising practices in the engagement of people with lived experience to address modern slavery and human trafficking’ Available at: https://modernslaverypec.org/assets/downloads/Engagement-lived-experience-research-summary.pdf

Survivor Alliance (ND) ‘Fundamentals of Survivor Inclusion’ Available at: https://www.survivoralliance.org/survivor-inclusion


Page 10 of Asquith, W., Kiconco, A., and A. Balch (2022) ‘Promising practices in the engagement of people with lived experience to address modern slavery and human trafficking’ Available at: https://modernslaverypec.org/assets/downloads/Engagement-lived-experience-research-summary.pdf
We welcome that Government has included both indicators and outcomes in the Strategy, and reporting on these annually enables stakeholders – including researchers, NGOs, and others such as ourselves – to understand and scrutinise Government action. Further, the Annual Progress Reports provide a record through which action on trafficking and exploitation can be tracked and measured over time. We would encourage Government to continue to report its progress annually.

9. If you have any further comment on the Trafficking and Exploitation Strategy, please note these below.

Comments on Action Area 1

This section addresses the general outcomes for Action Area 1, limiting comments to those outcomes where Modern Slavery PEC commissioned research and evidence has generated relevant insights. For the reasons expanded upon in response to Q7 above, it is suggested that the language and terminology used in Action Area 1 to refer to people with lived experience of modern slavery be revisited.

Whilst the Strategy does mention the importance of tailored support to facilitate recovery, build resilience and reduce the likelihood of trafficking, it is notable that none of the outcomes for Action Area 1 mention reducing the risk of re-trafficking or further harm.

Indeed, the three high level and 12 specific outcomes for Action Area 1 are focused on a protection response after harm has occurred. As discussed in greater detail above in response to Q1 it is suggested that protection and support initiatives should also be examined and carried out through a prevention lens, in order to reduce the risk of re-trafficking or further harm. The Strategy would benefit from including outcomes under Action Area 1 on both early identification and identification of people at risk of exploitation, encompassing early intervention before harm has occurred.

The four sub-objectives under the first high level outcome People who encounter victims understand signs, know what to do and have access to specialist advice and support are presented in terms of public and statutory agency awareness raising as well as organisations’ response and co-ordination following identification. Existing research points to the lack of legal advice prior to entering the NRM and concerns that the circumstances and nature of First Responder referrals can undermine the process of informed consent.\(^{36}\)\(^{37}\) The Strategy should

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consider expanding this outcome to include a broader conception of identification beyond awareness raising.

The Modern Slavery PEC has funded research to explore on how services can most effectively identify adults with lived experience of modern slavery, make quality referrals to the NRM, and engage with people at the point of identification to encourage access to support.\(^{38}\) Findings are expected in Spring 2023. We have also launched a funding call for new research to explore the cultural competency of law enforcement and support service providers.\(^{39}\) Both projects should generate insights and recommendations related to this outcome.

Challenges have been reported in the safeguarding response to extra-familial harm\(^{40}\), identifying children earlier who were at risk of exploitation\(^{41}\) and a lack of evidence regarding interventions which aim to prevent child criminal exploitation.\(^{42}\) A report by the Children’s Commissioners of Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales has indicated that the low proportion of UK child nationals identified in Scotland and Northern Ireland compared to Wales “may indicate a failure to correctly identify domestic victims of trafficking”.\(^{43}\)

To generate insights and recommendations on these themes, the Modern Slavery PEC has launched a call for funding to improve understanding of how children are identified as victims of modern slavery or trafficking and what is effective in the UK to support the early identification of children at risk of modern slavery or trafficking; prevent the (re) exploitation of children; and prevent missing episodes. This project is expected to report findings in late 2023.

It was positive to see under *Coherent person/child centred support process that enables victims to recover and build resilience* an outcome to ‘regularly consult with victims about what barriers they face and what they need and what will help them to move forward’. As expanded upon in response to Q7 above, such engagement should be non-tokenistic, trauma-informed, and prevent harm. A new Strategy should also include a commitment to meaningfully involving survivors beyond one objective and in future strategy and policy development more broadly. In such engagement, it would beneficial to explore needs for specialist support that is sensitive to exploitation type in addition to as age, gender and culture which are

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<td>Saker, A., Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner and Cumberland Lodge (2022), ‘Practitioner Responses to Child Trafficking: Emerging Good Practice’ Available at <a href="https://www.antislaverycommissioner.co.uk/media/1775/child-trafficking-report.pdf">https://www.antislaverycommissioner.co.uk/media/1775/child-trafficking-report.pdf</a></td>
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the factors currently included under the first sub-objective. In addition, the Strategy would benefit from considering the specific needs that young people with special educational needs and disabilities face, an area that Modern Slavery PEC funded research is exploring which is due in autumn 2023.44

Participatory research with adult survivors of modern slavery funded by the Modern Slavery PEC has indicated the need to consider outcomes of recovery in a holistic way, that outcomes of recovery can be relevant at different stages of someone’s journey and that these are not linear paths.45 Similarly, in a Modern Slavery PEC funded participatory research project, young people described outcomes as interconnected, difficult to disaggregate, rarely linear and interlinked with the wider contexts and structures of their lives, with individual outcomes not confined within particular timeframes.46 Furthermore, Modern Slavery PEC funded research exploring adult survivors’ access to psychological assistance found that survivor support policy uses a narrow, medical approach to mental health, whereas survivors of modern slavery and those that support them highlighted the importance of activities that support wider mental wellbeing.47 In light of these insights it is suggested that any outcomes linked to survivors and young people’s recovery recognise their non-linear and non-timebound nature and that a broader conception of psychological needs and related support that includes well-being is used.

Research funded by the Modern Slavery PEC has highlighted uncertainty around survivors’ entitlements (see below) and the need for trauma informed and trusted relationships between people with lived experience of modern slavery and practitioners4849, underlying an ongoing need to focus on outcome three Victims are aware of support and trust it enough to ask for help. The forthcoming Modern Slavery PEC project on improving identification intends to generate insights on the reasons adults decide not to give consent to enter the NRM

44 Research led by the University of Portsmouth in partnership with the Ann Craft Trust and Portsmouth City Council Safeguarding Children Partnership ‘Trafficking of children with special educational needs and disability’ Available at: https://modernslaverypec.org/research-projects/children-special-needs-disabilities
through an analysis of Home Office Duty to Notify Referral data in England and Wales, focus groups with survivors and a survey with practitioners. In taking forward Scotland’s work in relation to duty to notify we recommend that data is collected, analysed and published on duty to notify referral data, including the reasons that adults give for opting not to enter, given the insights this might generate on survivors’ awareness of specialised support and trust in statutory agencies.

Are there specific barriers to victims receiving support? If so, what specific actions could we take to address these?

Understanding the effectiveness of support in meeting recovery needs and longer-term outcomes for individuals and how to improve access to justice for vulnerable groups is one of the Modern Slavery PEC’s five key research areas. Modern Slavery PEC funded research to date primarily focuses on adults in England and Wales and while aspects of support are devolved, findings are likely to be relevant to Scotland. The research has identified a number of common issues that include:

**Uncertainty around survivors’ entitlements.** Survivors and service providers have reported a lack of clarity on legal advice entitlements and psychological assistance provided through the NRM together with a lack of clarity over what survivors’ options are if such assistance does not meet their needs. Research on British national survivors identified confusion among professionals about how the NRM relates to entitlements under other legislative and policy frameworks, such as housing or social care.

**Barriers to accessing entitlements.** The Covid-19 pandemic and related lockdowns exacerbated difficulties for survivors accessing services such as

51 Modern Slavery PEC (2021), ‘Strategy’ Available at: https://modernslaverypec.org/resources/strategy#:~:text=Who%20we%20are%2C%20Mission%20%2C%20Vision%20%2C%20Values%20%2C%20Who%20we%20work%20with%2C%20Our%20History%20%2C%20Who%20we%20want%20to%20be%2C%20How%20we%20work%2C%20Our%20work%20%2C%20Who%20we%20serve%20%2C%20Policy%20and%20Evidence%20Centre
52 In 2023 we will fund research to expand the evidence base on the effectiveness of support to children.
counselling and legal advice. Survivors and service providers described psychological support provided through the NRM as being often resource-led as opposed to needs-led and survivors reported that long waiting lists and restrictive eligibility criteria prevented timely access, along with language and geographical barriers. Challenges in accessing legal advice have been identified with respect to (i) availability and capacity of legal service providers; (ii) awareness of rights on behalf of both potential clients and referring organisations; and (iii) support needed to facilitate access to legal advice in practice. However the research specifically highlighted as promising practice the public funding for the weekly legal surgery run by JustRight Scotland and the Trafficking Awareness Raising Alliance (TARA) providing basic advice prior to NRM referrals to help ensure informed consent.

Procedural delays in NRM and asylum decisions, and criminal prosecutions, exacerbated by the pandemic, negatively impact on survivors’ well-being and contribute to the feeling of limbo underlining the need to reduce such delays. Although the Home Office intended to recruit 350 additional staff to the NRM caseworking unit by March 2021, as of December 2021 there were the equivalent of 278 full-time NRM decision-makers and a “number of vacancies” being filled through recruitment activity. Their impact on the backlog is not yet visible given the continued growth in referral. At the end of 2022, there were almost 30,000 cases awaiting NRM conclusive grounds decisions. The average (median) time from NRM referral to conclusive grounds decision was 543 days in

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57 Findings based on academic study led by Thomas, S., Dang, M., Barrow, J., Johannes, K., Esiovwa, N., and Professor Bradbury-Jones, C., Semione, J., and Wright, N., Policy brief led by Brotherton, V., (forthcoming) ‘Placing Survivor Wellbeing on the Policy and Evidence Map’ Available at https://modernslaverypec.org/research-projects/survivor-wellbeing
60 Findings based on academic study led by Thomas, S., Dang, M., Barrow, J., Johannes, K., Esiovwa, N., and Professor Bradbury-Jones, C., Semione, J., and Wright, N., Policy brief led by Brotherton, V., (forthcoming) ‘Placing Survivor Wellbeing on the Policy and Evidence Map’ Available at https://modernslaverypec.org/research-projects/survivor-wellbeing
63 Baroness Williams of Trafford (2021) ‘Slavery: Answer to Question for the Home Office: UIN HL4648, tabled on 2 December 2021’ Available at: https://questions-statements.parliament.uk/written-questions/detail/2021-12-02/HL4648
In January 2023 a “large number” of new decision-makers were being recruited to address decision-making timescales. Following the operationalisation of measures from the Nationality and Borders Act in January 2023 Statutory Guidance, there are concerns that changes to the Reasonable Ground standard of proof and guidance on evidence requirements might make the process of NRM referrals and decisions more time-consuming, which coupled with the complex processes to assess disqualification on public order or bad faith grounds may have the impact of further exacerbating long decision-making times.

A need to improve linkages between specialised modern slavery services and wider systems affecting survivors’ lives such as housing, mental health services, the immigration and asylum system, informed by survivors.

Research has indicated that psychological assistance cannot have a meaningful impact on survivors’ well-being without access to other entitlements including safe and secure accommodation, material assistance, legal advice and access to interpreters. Adopting a holistic approach has been identified as a key factor affecting the quality of legal advice, highlighting the need for greater collaboration and partnerships between statutory service providers and legal advice providers. Through participatory research, young people identified structural, systemic and discriminatory barriers to achieving positive outcomes, emphasising the negative impact of immigration procedures. Consensus-driven participatory research with adults identified a core set of seven outcomes that should, as a minimum standard, be used holistically and promote inter-agency collaboration and integration to deliver interventions for adult survivor recovery and reintegration, as well as provide a framework for policy and service design and evaluation.

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The Modern Slavery PEC has also funded research to explore young people’s understanding of recovery and experiences of receiving short, medium and long-term support in Scotland through the Scottish Guardianship service, which is expected to report findings in Spring 2023. We have also funded research assessing the impact of providing technology to survivors of modern slavery in the UK, including in Scotland which is also due in Spring 2023 and have launched a call for funding for a research project to explore the relationship between homelessness and modern slavery, due by the end of 2023. These projects will generate further insights and recommendations for how support for people with lived experience of modern slavery can be improved.

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73 Research team led by the University of Liverpool, in partnership with the International Organisation for Migration UK and Trafficking Awareness Raising Alliance (TARA) ‘Impact of providing technology to survivors of modern slavery in the UK’ See: https://modernslaverypec.org/research-projects/technology-survivors