Prevention of adult sexual and labour exploitation in the UK: What does or could work?

Research Summary

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Key findings

• A ‘whole systems’ approach to modern slavery prevention is required.
  Prevention is an important but relatively underdeveloped aspect of the response to modern slavery, with limited evidence on what prevention means in principle and in practice. This research contributes to the conceptual understanding of prevention by proposing a new definition of modern slavery prevention, informed by people with lived experience, which highlights that prevention is an ongoing process of avoiding and minimising exploitation and harm, which can be achieved through intervening before harm occurs, by intervening early and by treating harms.

• Five key pathways to prevention and 25 types of intervention.
  Our systematic assessment identified five key pathways towards prevention and 25 different types of interventions in the UK that aim to prevent sexual and labour exploitation. The five key ways in which interventions are expected to work are through enabling access to fundamental resources; promoting literacy; building power and control; deterrence and disruption; and building partnerships (see pg6 for a detailed description of the pathways). Examples of interventions include: awareness and information campaigns; education and training initiatives; advocacy; and provision of safe spaces for those affected by exploitation.

• How to prevent harm in the first place is poorly understood.
  Interventions focused on preventing exploitation in the first place were preferred by consultation panels, but they have rarely been tried or evaluated to a high standard. There is a larger volume of and better quality evidence on interventions that aim to treat harm after exploitation has taken place.

• Promising practices.
  Based on our assessment of the available evidence, and informed by discussions with those with lived experience, we suggest what looks promising for prevention interventions:
  • Ensuring commissioning, design and delivery of prevention interventions are guided by a clear set of principles set out by this research (for example, harm avoidance first, ensuring cultural competence and having a clear Theory of Change in place);
  • Prioritising community-based and survivor-led initiatives; promoting deep understanding and skills for taking action to change the conditions that give rise to exploitation (rather than ‘surface knowledge’) among multiple groups, including people at risk, survivors, statutory and non-statutory agencies and the public. In addition, supporting trust-building and culturally-safe interventions (e.g. between communities and statutory services); and
  • Putting in place co-ordinated, ‘whole systems’ responses to modern slavery at national and local levels.
Background

Preventing modern slavery is a global goal. However, there remain significant evidence gaps about ‘what works’ for whom, for which form of exploitation and in what contexts. This research explored what does or could work in the prevention of two forms of modern slavery among adults in the UK: labour and sexual exploitation. It examined what has been tried in prevention programmes, projects and initiatives, not including legal or policy interventions, and considered promising practice.

1. In the UK, modern slavery offences are defined in the Modern Slavery Act 2015, which covers England and Wales, the Human Trafficking and Exploitation Act (Scotland) 2015 and the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Criminal Justice and Support for Victims) Act (Northern Ireland) 2015.
Methodology

The study drew on a participatory rapid evidence assessment that included the synthesis of 33 evaluative studies, 19 theoretical papers, 18 survey responses and six consultation panel discussions with people working in the counter-slavery sector and adults with lived experience of modern slavery. We employed the public health concepts of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention in our analysis. Primary prevention means preventing a problem before it happens, secondary prevention means early intervention when a problem starts to emerge and tertiary prevention means treating the problem once harm has occurred.

Key findings

A ‘whole systems’ approach to modern slavery prevention is required

Our review found that within the current evidence base there has been limited exploration of the concept of modern slavery prevention, and that there is room to improve understanding of what prevention means in principle and in practice. Based on the evidence collected, we propose a new definition of modern slavery prevention, which has been informed by people with lived experience, and reflects the cyclical nature of prevention:

Prevention is an on-going process of avoiding and minimising exploitation and harm. This can be achieved by intervening before harm occurs, by intervening early and by treating harms. It also includes action to prevent re-exploitation and re-trafficking. Prevention includes enabling people to exercise choice and control over their lives and to thrive.2

The consultation panels discussed how modern slavery and its associated harms were on-going and that preventative activity should reflect this; interventions should be put in place across the cycle to maximise harm avoidance and reduction. Figure 1 visualises prevention as a cycle, showing the opportunities to intervene at multiple points: before harm has occurred, early detection of exploitation, and treating harm to prevent re-trafficking.

2. ‘Thriving’ draws on the safeguarding concept of ensuring people are not only protected from harm, but given opportunities to live a healthy, happy and fulfilling life. It relates to World Health Organisations’ definitions of health that is identified as a complete state of physical, social and mental wellbeing, not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.
Consultation panels and contextual description in the evidence base highlighted that, to minimise harm and maximise thriving, a well-coordinated and resourced system of prevention was required. It was highlighted that the law and policy were the foundations of prevention and potentially the most powerful levers for change. How policy and the law – both criminal and non-criminal – were implemented also profoundly influenced the ‘prevention landscape’. The prevention interventions reviewed in this study need to be understood within this wider context.

Figure 1. The BETR Prevention Cycle

The BETR prevention cycle
Prevent Before and Early then Treat and prevent Retrafficking

If a person’s exploitation ends but they do not receive treatment for the harm they experienced then their harm persists and the person continues to be at risk of re-victimisation. If they have children, these children will be living in vulnerable circumstances and will be at heightened risk of victimisation as well.

Treating harm means intervening to reduce the severity of harm or the effect of past exploitation on the person in the future. When their harm is treated, a person who has been exploited becomes less vulnerable to future retrafficking.

No exploitation/harm has occurred yet. Conditions that cause vulnerability may exist. Risk of exploitation may be developing.

Early prevention means early detection of exploitation, in order to end it quickly and minimise the harm the person being exploited suffers.

Preventing exploitation before it happens means addressing and resolving the circumstances that make a person vulnerable to exploitation. This stops harm from happening in the first place.

Prevent BEFORE

Early prevention means early detection of exploitation, in order to end it quickly and minimise the harm the person being exploited suffers.

Prevent EARLY

TREAT harm and prevent RETRAFFICKING

Explotion is not stopped, or if it ends, the harm it caused is not treated.

Re-victimisation OR inter-generational transmission of risk of exploitation and harm.
Prevention of adult sexual and labour exploitation in the UK: What does or could work?

25 types of prevention interventions within five pathways

We found 25 different types or forms of activities to prevent adult sexual and labour exploitation (listed in Tables 1-5), which were grouped in five pathways. Our findings extend previous evidence syntheses, revealing a broader range of programmes, projects and initiatives. Some intervention types recurred in evaluations (such as awareness raising and training/education), while others remained largely unevaluated (for example bystander and perpetrator interventions).

The five pathways to prevent labour and sexual exploitation were:

1. **Access.** Ensuring all people had access to the fundamental things in life e.g. basic financial resources, a secure and safe home, access to essential services, dignity and rights.

2. **Literacy.** Enabling the development of knowledge and in-depth understanding of exploitation, harms and rights among different populations, including victims, survivors, people at risk, statutory and non-statutory agencies and the public, as well as the skills to take action at personal, community or organisational levels.

3. **Power & control.** Building individual and community control, power, resilience and opportunities to thrive, particularly among people and communities at risk and those who had already been exploited.

4. **Deterrence & disruption.** Impeding, disrupting and deterring perpetration e.g. through law enforcement practices or initiatives for early detection.

5. **Partnership.** Building partnerships through coordination and the pooling of resources, that enhances the preventative response, for example of local anti-slavery partnerships or networks.

The research revealed that prevention activity often encompassed multiple interventions delivered simultaneously across the prevention cycle. Individually and collectively, interventions operated across more than one pathway to prevention. To illustrate, an evaluation of a safehouse for women who had been sexually exploited offered support to engage with the police, as well as a whole range of person-centred services to provide women with skills and confidence, and a sense of connection and control in their lives. Here, multiple interventions and pathways were at play (Access, Literacy, Deterrence and disruption, Power and control and Partnership) that sought ‘treatment’ or tertiary prevention and were designed to avoid re-trafficking.

The modern slavery evidence base reveals a relative absence of evaluations of interventions that offer the most preventative potential – those that aim to prevent harm from happening in the first place. There are more evaluations of interventions focused on treating harm once exploitation had taken place, which aim to prevent re-trafficking.

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Tables 1-5: the 25 types of prevention interventions

Tables 1-5 below set out further analysis of these 25 prevention intervention types. We describe each intervention and analyse each in terms of:

- The population or beneficiaries the intervention is intended for: people at high risk of exploitation, victims or survivors.
- The stage of the prevention cycle the intervention can affect: before, early, treatment or preventing re-trafficking.
- The volume of evaluative evidence we found about the intervention.
- The volume of unevaluated examples found about the intervention – this means initiatives that we discovered during the internet search and survey, that did not appear to have been evaluated at the time of writing.
- The extent of theoretical support for the evaluation, i.e. whether there was a clear logic outlined for how the intervention would lead to prevention.
- A score on the overall quality of evidence: assigned using NESTA quality of evidence scores. NESTA standards use a 1-5 scoring system with 1 being the starting point, which means the evidence provides a logical, coherent and convincing description of what has been done and why it matters. Level 2 means data has been captured to show positive change, but that the study did not provide sufficient data on plausible mechanisms for the intervention’s effect. Levels 3-5 progress to establishing causality through controlled designs and replication.

Key:

- Knowledge gap (i.e. no evaluation studies found)
- 3 or more records found
- 1-2 records found
- No records found

Explanatory notes

We have used ❌ and ✔️ to identify interventions to prevent sexual and labour exploitation in the UK where the evidence and interventional base indicated that initiatives addressed prevention before, during or after exploitation had occurred or if it prevented re-trafficking/re-exploitation. Where we could not find any evaluative studies of interventions we used * to show a knowledge gap. On theory: we looked at all studies and consultation panel discussion to extract theories of change. Where this was well articulated we use a ✔️; where this is incomplete we have labelled this ‘partial’. Unevaluated interventions refer to initiatives that we discovered during the internet search and survey but did not appear to have been evaluated.

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Table 1. Access. Prevention interventions with the primary function of improving access to the fundamental things in life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention type/form</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Population/beneficiaries</th>
<th>Volume of evaluative evidence</th>
<th>Volume of unevaluated interventions</th>
<th>Theoretical support/articulation in the literature and/or the consultation panels</th>
<th>NESTA score (quality of evidence)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>People at high risk</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Survivors/victims</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stage on the prevention cycle</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Before Early Treat Re-trafficking</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Navigation (e.g. health services, legal process)</td>
<td>Navigation is typically a one-to-one service that ‘walks people through’ the process of accessing services to which they are entitled. Examples of navigation include assistance through the health service system or through the legal process with a support worker.</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy</td>
<td>Advocacy is a service that supports people such as survivors or people at risk of exploitation (e.g. undocumented migrants and sex workers) to access their rights, to communicate their needs and to identify what is important to them.</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outreach &amp; 'reach in'</td>
<td>Outreach means seeking out and supporting people living in the community who have been exploited or who are at risk of it to ensure they have access to advice and other services. Reach-in provides people who have already accessed support an ‘open door’ to on-going support</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>Partial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe places (e.g. safehouses)</td>
<td>Safe places ensure people exiting exploitation have access to accommodation. It also includes shelters/temporary accommodation for people living in vulnerable circumstances (e.g. people who are homeless).</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment &amp; welfare support</td>
<td>Interventions (often multi-faceted) to support survivors and people at risk of exploitation to gain access to formal employment and to access welfare entitlements.</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical skills &amp; training</td>
<td>Support for the development of skills for employment or broader life skills (e.g. English as Second or Other Language training).</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>Partial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Prevention of Adult Sexual and Labour Exploitation in the UK: What does or could work?

### Holistic Support ('Wrap Around' Support)

- Multi-element support packages that 'wrap around' people at risk of or who have experienced exploitation to meet often complex needs. Such support is often co-located and may include help with referral to the National Referral Mechanism, reporting to law enforcement, psychological or emotional support and activities to bring people together for peer support (e.g. Caritas Bakhita House in the UK and Safe Horizons in the US). Holistic support often includes elements of many of the other interventions listed here.

### Case Management

- Case management is often a multi-agency process that brings relevant statutory and non-statutory parties together to provide appropriate support for people with often complex cases (e.g. people who have been exploited and people who are homeless, refugees and others living in vulnerable circumstances). Agencies involved often include local authorities, health services and the police (e.g. The Passage Anti-Slavery Homeless Project).

### 'Safe Return' Interventions

- Relating to migrant populations, safe return interventions often seek to build transnational cooperation to enable the prevention of re-trafficking (e.g. Child Notices UNICEF project outlined in EC [2015]). They often seek to improve people’s literacy of the danger of re-trafficking and return people to better living circumstances away from those that resulted in their trafficking.

### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention type/form</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Population/beneficiaries</th>
<th>Volume of evaluative evidence</th>
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<th>NESTA score (quality of evidence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holistic support ('wrap around' support)</td>
<td>Multi-element support packages that 'wrap around' people at risk of or who have experienced exploitation to meet often complex needs. Such support is often co-located and may include help with referral to the National Referral Mechanism, reporting to law enforcement, psychological or emotional support and activities to bring people together for peer support (e.g. Caritas Bakhita House in the UK and Safe Horizons in the US). Holistic support often includes elements of many of the other interventions listed here.</td>
<td>People at high risk</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case management</td>
<td>Case management is often a multi-agency process that brings relevant statutory and non-statutory parties together to provide appropriate support for people with often complex cases (e.g. people who have been exploited and people who are homeless, refugees and others living in vulnerable circumstances). Agencies involved often include local authorities, health services and the police (e.g. The Passage Anti-Slavery Homeless Project).</td>
<td>Survivors/victims</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Safe return' interventions</td>
<td>Relating to migrant populations, safe return interventions often seek to build transnational cooperation to enable the prevention of re-trafficking (e.g. Child Notices UNICEF project outlined in EC [2015]). They often seek to improve people’s literacy of the danger of re-trafficking and return people to better living circumstances away from those that resulted in their trafficking.</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Partial 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### References

Table 2. Literacy. Prevention interventions with the primary function of improving literacy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention type/form</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Population/ beneficiaries</th>
<th>Volume of evaluative evidence</th>
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<th>Theoretical support / articulation in the literature and or the consultation panels</th>
<th>NESTA score (quality of evidence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Awareness-raising</td>
<td>Awareness-raising interventions seek to improve knowledge of labour and sexual exploitation by providing information and delivering campaigns. They focus on different populations including victims, people at elevated risk (e.g. homeless people) and the general population.</td>
<td>People at high risk</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and training support</td>
<td>Education and training initiatives seek to improve people’s knowledge and skills on how to prevent exploitation by recognising the signs and knowing how to intervene. Programmes may be delivered face to face or online. They are targeted at different populations such as health professionals, the police, teachers or young people, and involve different requirements of learners - some learning interventions require a lot of active engagement and critical thinking skills.</td>
<td>Surivors/ victims</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social norm interventions e.g. taboos, gender</td>
<td>Social or ‘cultural’ norm interventions address aspects of beliefs and practices that can contribute to exploitation risk and harm. Examples include addressing taboos such as sex among young people, challenging harmful gender norms or issues relating to family or community ‘honour’ and ethical consumerism. Such interventions seek critical reflection on aspects of social or cultural norms that may be harmful.</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>⚫</td>
<td>⚫</td>
<td>⚫</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technological safety/ literacy</td>
<td>Interventions to improve knowledge and understanding of how to stay safe online. Intended for survivors to avoid re-exploitation or people at elevated risk of exploitation. Applied further upstream, technological safety interventions could emerge from technology companies implementing safer online spaces.</td>
<td></td>
<td>⚫</td>
<td>⚫</td>
<td>⚫</td>
<td>⚫</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Power and Control. Prevention interventions with the primary function to improve power and control of affected people and communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention type/form</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Population/ beneficiaries</th>
<th>Volume of evaluative evidence</th>
<th>Volume of unevaluated interventions</th>
<th>Theoretical support articulation in the literature and/or the consultation panels</th>
<th>NESTA score (quality of evidence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to technologies</td>
<td>These interventions improve access to technologies such as mobile phones to enable everyday life and social connection (e.g. Unseen / BT collaboration for survivors(^{10})).</td>
<td>People at high risk, Survivors/ victims</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Partial</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Opportunity to thrive’ interventions</td>
<td>These interventions provide opportunities for people at risk, survivors and low-resource communities to develop their capabilities and exert more control over their lives. This can include interventions to enable informed decision-making and community support programmes that meet the needs of people living in vulnerable circumstances (e.g. arts-based programmes for young people disadvantaged areas such as the Our Climb programme, Children’s Society).</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Partial</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective community action</td>
<td>These are community-led or ‘bottom-up’ initiatives that bring together and empower people in communities to address issues of concern together. They are defined by and acted upon by members of the community collectively.</td>
<td>People at high risk, Survivors/ victims</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Partial</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer-to-peer support</td>
<td>Peer-to-peer support is when people use their own experiences (e.g. surviving exploitation) to help and empower each other. This involves both giving and receiving support in a reciprocal relationship.</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Partial</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 4. Deterrence & disruption. Prevention interventions with the primary function of deterring and disrupting perpetration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention type/form</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Population/ beneficiaries</th>
<th>Volume of evaluative evidence</th>
<th>Volume of unevaluated interventions</th>
<th>Theoretical support articulation in the literature and on the consultation panels</th>
<th>NESTA score (quality of evidence)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>People at high risk</td>
<td>Survivors/ victims</td>
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<td>Stage on the prevention cycle</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Early</td>
<td>Treat</td>
<td>Re-trafficking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The acts of policing/law enforcement</td>
<td>The form and nature of intervention by the police and other law enforcement agencies (e.g. Border Force) impacts considerably on the prevention of exploitation. Law enforcement have considerable power under numerous Acts to intervene (see NWG Network Toolkit for a comprehensive list[^11]). Evaluation of the effectiveness of such interventions is rare.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Partial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecution, redress &amp; compensation</td>
<td>Prosecution and sentencing of perpetrators and compensation for victims/survivors are central components of a robust preventative system. Although within the scope of the review, the progress of the UK in this complex field is covered comprehensively elsewhere (see GRETA[^12]). Evaluation of justice processes and outcomes as preventative action requires further development.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply chain interventions</td>
<td>These interventions intend to disrupt and impede exploitative labour by regulating and building transparency throughout industry and business supply chains. Auditing the supply chain and ethical trading initiatives are forms of preventative intervention in this area.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspection, regulation &amp; sanctions</td>
<td>Inspecting, regulating and enforcing, for example, labour standards can prevent exploitation. These interventions include monitoring recruitment working conditions, licensing premises and inspecting them in line with those licences, regulating common avenues for exploitation (e.g. recruitment agencies) and enforcing sanctions when standards are breached.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Prevention of adult sexual and labour exploitation in the UK: What does or could work?

Rehabilitation & behaviour change of perpetrators
Perpetrator interventions can prevent further harms. Rehabilitation and behaviour change interventions are rare in this field and remain unevaluated.

Bystander interventions
Including Apps such as the Safe Car Wash App and Farm Work Welfare App, bystander interventions enable people to report concerns about conditions of work (e.g. to the UK Modern Slavery Helpline).

Table 5. Partnership. Prevention interventions with the primary function to deliver added benefits through partnership.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention type/form</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Population/beneficiaries</th>
<th>Volume of evaluative evidence</th>
<th>Volume of unevaluated interventions</th>
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<th>NESTA score (quality of evidence)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>People at high risk</td>
<td>Survivors/victims</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Before Early Treat Re-traffic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Slavery / Multi-Agency Partnerships</td>
<td>Anti-Slavery partnerships seek to provide a coordinated response to exploitation in a way that strategically targets and addresses problems in a specific locality or region. They are multi-agency and intend to improve the effectiveness of intervention through pooling resources and coordinating action.</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>Partial 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural change (organisations)</td>
<td>Cultural change interventions address organisational barriers to effective preventative responses in organisations such as the police, local authorities and schools. These barriers may, for example, be related to discrimination, perceptions of marginalised people or understandings of the responsibilities of organisations to respond to exploitation.</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>Partial n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Promising practice

Based on our assessment of the available evidence, and informed by discussions with people working in affected communities and those with lived experience, we suggest the following lessons can be learned about what looks promising to prevent adult sexual and labour exploitation:

- **Ensuring commissioning, design and delivery of prevention interventions are guided by a clear set of principles.**
  Our research identified 12 principles, including the need to focus on harm avoidance and reduction, cultural competence and developing a clear theory of change when designing interventions.

- **Prioritising community-based and survivor-led initiatives.**
  Though the current study found no evaluative evidence of how collective community action had been developed in the UK to prevent exploitation, we know from upstream prevention interventions (i.e. those that aim to prevent harm in the first place) and evaluations in the US that community-led resilience programmes can be systematically developed, evaluated and shown to be effective. Community led harm prevention initiatives in the US have focussed explicitly on health, community safety, racial justice and wellbeing initiatives. The US-based Prevention Institute provide numerous examples of how community-led action has been applied with success to problems such as violence, child deaths and obesity. There is potentially much read-across to UK exploitation prevention in this case; community-led and survivor-led programmes offer much promise, but require considerable further thought and consultation.

- **Promoting deep literacy rather than ‘surface knowledge’ of exploitation: its causes, consequences, the ways and means of intervention.**
  This interacts with pathways of power and control: deeper understanding may open up pathways to change for affected people and communities. Consultation panel members, for example, referred to the effect of culturally sensitive support services and the role of meeting other survivors through these services as critical to how they came to develop a deep understanding of their experiences. This was described as critical to their future thriving and prevention of re-trafficking. Befriending and peer mentoring in combination with culturally appropriate therapeutic services (e.g. counselling) could offer future promise. Literacy of exploitation is also a task for wider affected communities, the broader population and service providers. Coordinated, consistent, well-framed, targeted and resourced programmes of learning and exchange (e.g. cross-community or community and service provider dialogue initiatives) could help here.

- **Coordinated systems responses mean ‘the sum is greater than its parts’ in prevention.**
  This could mean, for example, that anti-slavery partnerships in local areas or regions could strategically develop systems-level action plans for prevention, given the right resource.

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12 principles to guide design and delivery of prevention interventions

1. **Harm avoidance and primary prevention first.**
   Seek to prevent exploitation from happening in the first instance.

2. **Harm minimisation and reduction.**
   Minimise harm by intervening early and reduce harms through effective action driven by the Human Trafficking Foundation Survivor Care Standards.\(^5\)

3. **Promote wellbeing by generating opportunities for people to thrive.**

4. **Take a whole systems approach.**
   Develop a strategy to promote a whole system of prevention in partnership with relevant partners.

5. **Ensure equity.**
   Some groups and individuals have a better chance of accessing services and systems that can support their wellbeing and prevent the likelihood of encountering exploitation. Identify who is relatively disadvantaged and find ways of making sure everyone has the same chance of help and support.

6. **Attend to issues of trust.**
   Affected communities and survivors may distrust existing services and systems. Tailor your approach to promote trust between service users and professionals and within communities.

7. **Cultural competence / safety and gender sensitivity.**
   Design and deliver services that meet the needs of affected people and communities in a way that is sensitive to their experiences and backgrounds.

8. **Develop interventions and systems that are informed by affected people and communities.**
   Develop things ‘with’, not ‘for’ people.

9. **Monitor and evaluate.**
   Build in monitoring and evaluation systems and processes from the start.

10. **Clear theory of change.**
    Be clear about how your interventions are intended to work and how they will function within a broader system of factors that may work against the prevention of exploitation.

11. **Risk assessed.**
    Undertake an assessment of how interventions may risk harm as well as prevention. Identify if/how risks can be mitigated, following the basic principle of ‘do no harm’.

12. **Committed leadership on prevention.**
    Ensure prevention activity is led consistently and collectively.

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Priority recommendations

For the UK Government and devolved administrations:

• The current UK Government review of the Modern Slavery Strategy should set out how prevention is defined and delivered across the Government and consider using the definition of prevention proposed by this research.

• When funding prevention interventions, the UK Government and devolved administrations should make sure there is a clear Theory of Change setting out the pathway that will lead to prevention, and consider piloting and evaluating interventions which appear promising within a ‘whole systems’ approach. Trust building interventions (e.g. between communities and statutory services), initiatives to develop literacy of exploitation and rights in affected communities, and culturally safe interventions deserve particular attention.

• The Home Office is currently running a Modern Slavery Prevention Fund, that is ending in March 2022. The evaluation of this Fund should consider mapping the funded interventions against the five pathways and 25 intervention types identified by this research, to demonstrate where and how current investment is targeted.

• The UK Government and devolved administrations should consider how to better integrate modern slavery considerations into the design and implementation of wider laws and policies, such as the design of immigration and asylum systems, labour market regulation, or policies on equalities.

For practitioners, funders, partnerships and community and survivor organisations:

• Organisations funding and implementing prevention interventions, such as Governments and Police and Crime Commissioners, should ensure there is a clear Theory of Change setting out the pathway that will lead to prevention.

• Funders should consider funding community-led interventions as a matter of priority.

• Where modern slavery awareness, education and training interventions are funded, they should be reoriented away from basic knowledge and towards critical literacy and deep understanding. Ideally, these should sit alongside community empowerment interventions and be community-led and survivor-led.

• Anti-slavery partnerships should consider mapping their local system of prevention in line with a public health framework. With partners, this exercise could identify prevention strengths and weaknesses that could guide the design of a more robust whole system of prevention, that includes interconnecting multiple pathways.
Areas for future research

- Further research and evaluation is needed on ‘upstream’ interventions i.e. those that aim to prevent harm in the first place.
- We need to address knowledge gaps identified in Tables 1-5, as well as develop knowledge on how complex interventions are implemented and how they work in specific local contexts.
- Interventional development research to develop community resilience, culturally competent and literacy-driven interventions tailored to the needs of people living in vulnerable circumstances.
The Modern Slavery and Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre was created by the investment of public funding to enhance understanding of modern slavery and transform the effectiveness of law and policies designed to overcome it. With high quality research it commissions at its heart, the Centre brings together academics, policymakers, businesses, civil society, survivors and the public on a scale not seen before in the UK to collaborate on solving this global challenge.

The Centre is a consortium of six academic 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).

Our partners:

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