

# A problem of perspective?

**A critical analysis of the police and public perception of human trafficking in England and Wales**

By

Sophie McPherson

Canterbury Christ Church University

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## **Acknowledgements**

Thank you to my family and friends for always supporting me no matter what! You have truly helped me during my lowest points the past year. Thank you to Canterbury Christ Church University for helping me hopefully gain two degrees. The staff, resources, and whole ethos of the university are incredible!

## **Abstract**

Modern slavery (MS) is a growing concern in the UK. Despite the large number of victims per year, the general public lacks sufficient knowledge and understanding of this form of organised crime. There may be a problem of perspective in which the UK have become sex centric, focusing on female victims of sex trafficking, more so than other subgroups of exploitation. In this process other harmful forms of modern slavery which target the male gender may be overlooked. Across the general public, the perspective of an ideal victim of slavery may create a profile of a typical victim. A victim of slavery may be categorised as a female slave being exploited for the purpose of sex. Consequently, this may result in the public turning a blind eye to male exploitation. Moreover, any individual that does not fit the ideal 'stereotype' may be significantly disadvantaged and not receive the appropriate support nor initial identification. The public may gain most of their MS knowledge through the media and film industry which arguably all promote a certain type of victim. If the public perceive sex trafficking to be the most prevalent and harmful form of slavery in England, arguably this may directly influence the police perspective and action towards MS. Police forces around England may feel pressured to be seen as prioritising the issue of sex trafficking over other forms of MS. Therefore, the public perception may have a great influence on the police perception, and vice versa. This thesis critically analyses the Police and Public understanding and perception of modern slavery in the south-east of England. It aims to fill gaps in the research and shed light on the main issues in order for lessons to be learnt. Key issues such as; some forms of trafficking are prioritised and deemed as more severe than others and that this may influence the effectiveness of responses. The main research questions are as follows. What knowledge of modern slavery do the police and public hold? Which forms of human trafficking are perceived to be most harmful and prevalent? What do the police and the public perceive a typical victim of slavery to look like?

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## Introduction

The International Labour Organisation (2022) estimates that there are 50 million people in slavery worldwide, a number that likely underestimates the true scale of the issue due to difficulties in victim identification and inconsistent definitions of Modern Slavery (MS). In addition, the clandestine nature of organised crime and the high financial gain with low risk of consequences for traffickers exacerbate this issue (Home Office, 2017). Overall, there are thought to be many more victims hidden under the radar. Issues relating to victim identification, definitions of modern slavery (MS) and a general lack of understanding may contribute to unreliable statistics. Organised crime groups go to great lengths to keep their criminal activity hidden; perceived high financial gain with low consequences remains a key motivator for traffickers (Home Office, 2017, p. 5). Arguably, the COVID-19 pandemic has further worsened the situation for MS victims. From the beginning of the pandemic to the present, anti-slavery organisations have been unable to complete their usual work (Lucas and Landman, 2021). Supporting previous victims of MS who could be at risk of being re-exploited is just one aim of a modern slavery charity. This aspect of victim support has taken a side-line since the coronavirus outbreak which was declared a public health emergency in 2020 (World Health Organisation, 2020). According to the UNODC (2021: p.10), in some countries, law enforcement personnel were summoned to support the country's COVID-19 response. This led to police and anti-trafficking investigation units being reassigned from their regular duties to support national efforts to curb the spread of COVID-19. Their new responsibilities included investigating breaches of COVID-19 restrictions, shutting down non-compliant businesses, monitoring physical movement, and responding to reports of people violating lockdown rules (UNODC, 2021: p. 10). In other words, victims who remain under the radar and rely solely on being identified by law enforcement agencies were significantly disadvantaged. These individuals often live and work in isolation, hidden from public view, and may be subjected to coercion, threats, and abuse (Hynes, 2022). These victims typically lack access to resources and support networks, making them highly dependent on the vigilance and intervention of law enforcement to be identified. Overall, the pandemic acted as a barrier to many victims receiving help and the appropriate support. Face-to-face interactions came to a halt and the introduction of lockdown measures was to blame for an

overall lack of MS victim protection. It could be argued that face-to-face interaction is a vital part of building trust with modern slavery victims. According to Balch, Bryant, Kennedy and Burland (2021 p. 8) “a good level of trust can often be the difference between a potential adult victim consenting to an NRM referral or not.” This highlights just one of the many strains COVID-19 restrictions placed on victim trust and thus victim identification. Moreover, the pandemic created conditions ripe for increased exploitation. Therefore, one could argue that since the coronavirus outbreak, modern slavery cases may have been on the rise. During this time, states have struggled to provide appropriate protection to existing and new victims of MS. This has resulted in criminal organisations exploiting the crisis for illegal gain (Lucas and Landman, 2021: p. 315; United Nations Special Rapporteur, 2020). In other words, organised crime groups have been able to take advantage of the new lockdown measures which has resulted in lack of employment across the public. With employment issues across the United Kingdom, many individuals were struggling for money and therefore were more likely to fulfil traffickers needs. According to the OSCE ODIHR and UN Women (2020) “poverty and the inability to gain access to decent work may push women to seek risky economic opportunities where they are at risk of coercion, abuse and trafficking”. This highlights the vulnerability of females across the globe during the pandemic. It could be argued that males in a similar situation would also be at heightened risk of exploitation. Such, Gardner, Dang, Wright, Bravo-Balsa Brotherton, Browne, Esiovwa, Jiménez, Lucas, Wyman and Trodd (2023, p11) suggest that victims, survivors and those vulnerable to modern slavery faced a range of risks as a consequence of COVID-19. Furthermore, businesses sought cheaper forms of labour due to the unforeseen poor financial strain covid-19 placed on organisations. Such et al, (2023, p.12) argue that “rapid change in the economy led to a range of macro risk factors: loss or delay of income, sudden unemployment, increased costs of goods/ services, reduced employment options and increased demand for cheap labour”. These risk factors may have allowed for more cases of extreme exploitation for financial gain via organised crime groups, as well as unintentional, less harmful exploitation from legitimate businesses who have had to cut costs to prevent debts. One could argue that children faced heightened vulnerability to exploitation during the pandemic. During the lockdowns, there was a surge in the demand for child sexual abuse material and trafficking for online sexual exploitation due to more adults isolating at home (UN, 2021; The Organisation for Economic

Co-operation and Development, 2020; OSCE ODIHR and UN Women, 2020). According to Her Majesty's Government (2020), during the first four months of the pandemic, criminals were looking for new ways to exploit vulnerable individuals. During this time, online recruitment, grooming and exploitation of specifically women and girls were widely used by traffickers (OSCE ODIHR and UN Women, 2020: p.4). The Internet Watch Foundation's (2020) report found that a staggering nine million attempts were made to access child sexual abuse material in the first month of lockdown. This alarming figure underscores one of the many negative impacts of COVID-19 restrictions on children. Although child sexual exploitation is governed by different legislation than modern slavery, criminals can still profit financially from this exploitation or traffic children in the process. The majority of research suggests that women and girls may have been more vulnerable to exploitation throughout the pandemic compared to males and boys. According to OSCE, ODIHR, and UN Women (2020), female victims account for 72% of all detected trafficking cases. With women and children potentially being more vulnerable to exploitation during the pandemic, this figure could be even higher today. However, more recent research by the Home Office (2024) states that out of the 17,004 potential victims referred to the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) in 2023, 76% (12,903) were male and 24% (4,088) were female. However, the actual number of female victims could be significantly higher, as many may remain hidden from the view of the NRM. It is also important to mention the significant increase in reports of domestic violence (DV) throughout the pandemic as DV and human trafficking have been previously linked (Koegler, Howland, Gibbons, Teti and Stoklosa (2022). Domestic violence helplines had a 50% increase within the first four months of the pandemic (Her Majesty's Government, 2020). The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children in the USA found that traffickers were strategizing on how to exploit the pandemic to recruit unsupervised children into creating sexual content (Jimenez et al., 2021: 25–26). In addition, the pandemic has placed serious stress on family's livelihood's, which may have resulted in desperate measures. The cost-of-living crisis has added additional strain on the British public, which one could argue may have influenced labour exploitation further (Patrick and Pybus, 2022). Overall, it could be argued that the pandemic may have increased the likelihood of businesses exploiting their employees or looking to recruit for cheap labour to save costs. According to the United

Nations Special Rapporteur (2020), the pandemic has increased unemployment rates due to lockdown measures. These measures have resulted in “workers being more likely than before the outbreak to accept abusive and exploitative employment and may become tricked into forced labour” (United Nations Special Rapporteur, 2020: p.6). In other words, with jobs not being as easily available per normal, the public may be more tolerant to unhealthy working conditions. Due to insufficient support for victims, widespread financial hardship, and a lack of preventative measures against modern slavery, former victims may now face a higher risk of re-exploitation compared to the pre-pandemic period.

It is more crucial than ever that the issues surrounding modern slavery are addressed effectively. One of the key issues surrounding MS, is that cases continue to be on the rise while prosecution rates remain relatively low. If the prevalence of the crime rises without a rise in law enforcement against the crime, this may result in the problem becoming out of hand, and harder to eradicate. During the COVID-19 pandemic, policing and prosecution activities were stalled, meaning traffickers were able to capitalise with little fear of consequences (UNODC, 2021). There has been an increase in NRM referrals since the lifting of restrictions and lockdowns (National Crime Agency, 2023), however it is unclear whether these reports have led to prosecution. There has always been a significant gap between NRM referrals and convictions in the UK (Heys, 2023). For example, in 2020, there were only 344 prosecutions and 56 convictions for modern slavery offenders overall in the UK (Centre for Social Justice, 2022). This is a very small figure considering there was over 7,000 modern slavery crimes reported to the police in the same year (HM Government, 2020). It could be argued that while a lack of awareness and knowledge of MS remains across the public domain, it will be harder to tackle the key issues surrounding the crime. The main problems such as; definitional issues, the scale of MS and misconceptions of MS victims must be addressed in order to be closer towards eliminating slavery. In addition to this, it is important to discover the level of MS knowledge the police and the public hold to ensure their understanding is accurate. If perceptions of modern slavery as a crime and its victims are inaccurate, then arguably the approach to tackling modern slavery will be counterproductive. It is important to determine the public’s understanding of modern slavery to discover which aspects of the crime deserve more awareness. It could be argued that discovering these truths is paramount to ensuring that awareness methods can be tailored to the current situation. For example, if the public held the belief



that modern slavery does not occur in the United Kingdom, MS campaigns should be tailored towards raising awareness in and educating the public on modern slavery in the United Kingdom. There is currently a lack of understanding with regards to the police and public perception of modern slavery. In terms of current MS research, there are only a handful of articles examining the public perception of modern slavery in England and Wales. Moreover, there is a paucity of research based in the South East of England specifically. However, the research available across England and Wales may suggest that awareness and knowledge of modern slavery by the public and the police is limited. In support of this, academics such as Dando et al. (2016) and Sharapov (2019) argue that members of the public and the police do not have sufficient knowledge of MS. With regard to the general public, there may be an assumption that modern slavery involves the movement of people. Regarding this, Dando et al. (2016) express that the public may confuse modern slavery and specifically human trafficking with immigration and people smuggling. To expand on this, when defining MS offences, explanations of immigration and people smuggling are usually provided by the general public. Arguably, the confusion between immigration, people smuggling, and modern slavery may result in victims being blamed for their exploitation and seen as ‘willing partners’ in their criminality (Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016: p. 10).

There have been several instances where modern slavery victims have found themselves partaking in criminal activity (Rodríguez-López, (2020)). With regard to victims of modern slavery undertaking criminal activity, there seems to be a fine line between the justification of criminal behaviour. In addition to this, previous modern slavery cases have resulted in victims being prosecuted for their illegal activity during their exploitation (Hays, 2023). For example, a victim being forced to work for a car wash business due to threats by traffickers, could have been prosecuted for holding false documents. According to Rodríguez-López, (2020 p. 311) victims of human trafficking often suffer a double victimisation, one being their exploitation and the other inflicted by the state when they are imprisoned for crimes committed as a result of trafficking. In addition to confusion with immigration and people smuggling, another common misconception made by society is that modern slavery tends to be limited to sex trafficking, resulting in other serious forms of slavery being side-lined (Weitzer, 2014). Another subject that is mentioned in the discussion of

modern slavery is Prostitution. However, one could argue that the demand for prostitution does promote trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation (Raymond, 2013: p. xvi).

It could be argued that the public is mainly aware of sex trafficking, despite the existence of numerous other forms of modern slavery. Exploitation in the fishing industry, construction industry, forced marriage, domestic servitude and organ harvesting are the forgotten forms of exploitation. Very rarely are these types of exploitation mentioned in the discussion of modern slavery. Arguably, all of these forms of slavery deserve equal focus due to their prevalence and severity. Statistically, labour trafficking is more common than sex trafficking (Home Office, 2019a). Despite this, LT may receive less attention than ST. It seems reasonable to question why this could be. Sex trafficking is easily sensationalised and may be deemed as more newsworthy by media outlets. Due to this, it could be argued that the media and film industry raise awareness of sex trafficking over other subgroups (Anderson and Rogaly, 2005; Heber, 2024). If this is the case, it could explain why knowledge of modern slavery is limited to sex trafficking. The favouritism of sex trafficking in newspapers, the media, and film industry may result in the public holding a misrepresentation of modern slavery. The media's execution of modern slavery may influence a public opinion that sex trafficking is the main form of modern slavery which should be prioritised highly by the police. Broad and Turnball, (2019) and Dandurand (2017) argue that public opinion can have a significant influence on the police's perspective of modern slavery. Therefore, tunnel vision towards this form of exploitation may drive police focus and policy development towards sex trafficking over other subgroups.

Although ST may be one of the most psychologically damaging forms of slavery (Le, 2018; Hopper and Gonzalez, 2018), it is also recognised that labour trafficking is more common and can arguably be just as damaging to a victim (Dandurand and Jahn, 2020: p.1607). The media regularly report the traumatic impact sex trafficking can have on a victim, which may lead the public to believe that other forms of modern slavery are not as damaging. The danger of this is that it creates a problem in perspective, where some forms of exploitation are not taken seriously, despite their level of risk and prevalence. Overall, the portrayal of modern slavery by the media may result in the public viewing sex trafficking as the biggest problem, despite the commonness of labour trafficking. One could argue that

the focus on sex trafficking may cause a problem in perspective and a gender-bias which disadvantages male victims of exploitation (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020). To expand on this, sex trafficking holds mainly female victims and labour exploitation is made up of predominantly males (World Health Organisation, 2012; Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020). Labour trafficking, the most prevalent form of modern slavery, impacted an estimated 16 million people worldwide in 2021 (Stop The Traffik, 2021). This number surged to an alarming 28 million victims by 2022 (International Labour Organisation, 2024). However, the focus on sex trafficking driven by the media may result in female victims of exploitation being prioritised, consequently resulting in male victims of labour exploitation being sidelined. Despite this, since the pandemic, women and girls have been noted to be at a higher risk of exploitation compared to men and boys (OSCE ODIHR and UN Women, 2020). Therefore, some may argue that the focus on sex trafficking is justified. However, the focus on sex trafficking is too narrow, creating a tunnel vision effect and a gender bias towards MS. This gender bias has resulted in males being considered less vulnerable to slavery, and not ‘real’ victims of exploitation (Barron and Frost, 2018). A gender bias may have resulted in the profiling of an ideal victim, in which a female migrant is exploited for sex trafficking (Andrijasevic and Mai, 2016; O’Brien, 2013; Heber, 2024). Anti-slavery organisations also promote this type of victim in modern slavery campaigns (O’Brien, 2013). To expand, the majority of MS awareness methods such as anti-slavery campaigns display a female victim, which contributes to the problem in perspective and increased awareness of sex trafficking over other forms of exploitation. It may also result in problems with victim identification, for example any individual who does not fit the mould of an ideal victim, will be seen as less vulnerable, and become a hidden victim of slavery. In this case, men are more likely to be overlooked.

### **The research questions**

This thesis will analyse the public and police perception of modern slavery in Kent. This research makes for an original study, it has been challenging to find similar research in the South East of England area. Kent has specifically been chosen due to its closeness to a major port, being Dover. This makes Kent a prime location for modern slavery. Despite the research being based in Kent, it is important to understand MS country wide. It is vital for the police and the public to be in sync to a certain degree as

they rely on each other. The public look to the police to be prioritising and targeting the issue, equally the police need the public to be aware of MS offences to help with victim identification and awareness. Although more academia on this issue is needed country wide, Kent is lacking sufficient research and therefore should be prioritised, especially due it's closeness to Dover. Most days of the week, boats or lorries are arriving at Dover and members of the public are being offered 'easy money' to transport migrants from locations to Dover (Gadd and Broad, 2022). Arguably, it is possible that a large percentage of these migrants may already have arranged work in the United Kingdom with organised crime groups who are offering them a better life. Therefore, Kent is a potential hot spot for modern slavery and human trafficking, this being the main reason that this location was chosen over others.

To investigate the public and police perception of MS, this thesis will ask three research questions.

- 1) What knowledge of modern slavery do the police and public hold?
- 2) Which forms of human trafficking are perceived to be most harmful and prevalent?
- 3) What do the police and the public perceive a typical victim of slavery to look like?

Answers to these questions will allow the researcher to determine whether there is an accurate representation of modern slavery and if there is a problem in perspective. By understanding the public and police perception, a more effective approach can be tailored to raising awareness of modern slavery and tackling the key issues. In addition, this research will enable for more accurate victim identification across the South-East of England.

## **Literature Review**

Modern Slavery continues to be one of the most prevalent criminal trades worldwide, closely followed by drugs and firearms smuggling (UNODC 2014, 2016; Ishaya, Paraskevadakis, Bury, and Bryde, 2024). Modern slavery is a term used to describe severe forms of exploitation (Caruana, Crane, Gold and LeBaron, 2021). To expand on this, modern slavery refers to “situations of exploitation that a person cannot refuse or leave because of threats, violence, coercion, deception, and/or abuse of power” (ILO, 2017, p. 9). Victims of modern slavery suffer negative physical and mental health consequences as a result of their exploitation (Metcalf and Selous, 2019). Despite some progress in legislation (McCabe and Manian, 2010; Carle and Brewer, 2023), there are still significant efforts to be made before the discussion of eradicating human trafficking can begin. Traffickers are motivated through high financial gain and perceived low consequences (Home Office, 2017, p. 5). Perceived low consequences for perpetrators may be due to low prosecution rates (Svenstein and Mogulescu, 2016; Winterdyk, 2020). However, as previously mentioned, prosecution of organised crime groups is on the rise against previous years.

Despite this, the pandemic may have brought prosecutions to a halt, as there has been a further decrease in MS prosecution rates since the covid -19 pandemic, enabling traffickers to conduct their criminality with limited consequences. Due to the hidden nature of modern slavery, the true scale of HT is difficult to determine (Luljita, 2020). Arguably, with such a complex crime, it is unlikely that the true scale of MS will ever be determined. There are several factors that contribute to unreliable statistics, one being that victims may be reluctant to engage with support services and the police specifically (Murphy, Barlow, Heys, Wilkinson and Gleich, 2022; Heys, Barlow, Murphy and McKee, 2022). One particular study by the Centre of Social Justice and Justice and Care (2022) highlights three main reasons why victims of modern slavery do not engage with the police. 69% of their study respondents did not see themselves as a modern slavery victim; 62% of respondents noted fear of their exploiters and 50% of respondents were fearful of authorities. It could be argued that those who do not see themselves as a victim of modern slavery may feel this way because they have experienced improvements in their life. For example, improvement of their home life, where the individual may have struggled even more

financially, physically and mentally in their home country. In this case, there are individuals who do not recognise themselves as a victim (Murphy, 2019). Vise versa, there are also instances where non-exploited individuals have claimed to be a modern slavery victim to avoid punishment for criminal activity. According to Machura, Short, Hill, Suddaby, Goddard, Jones, Lloyd-Astbury, Richardson and Rouse (2019: p.15) individuals that have been arrested for cannabis farming, and consented to participate, can paint the image that they are a legitimate victim of exploitation and that they have been forced into the criminal act of cannabis farming. As discussed previously, 62% of respondents from a study by the Centre of Social Justice and Justice and Care (2022) avoided police support due to being fearful of their exploiters. Lightowlers, Broad and Gadd (2024) state that victims are hesitant to come forward or engage in an investigatory process that may put them or their loved ones at risk by traffickers. Moreover, being fearful of authorities is also a common hindrance to individuals coming forward. According to Lightowlers et al (2024: p.91) “most victims have coped with exploitation, escaped it and managed their lives for considerable periods before law enforcement and other agencies become involved.” Therefore, an investigative process may disrupt their current stability and bring up past traumas, which they may not view as necessary or worthwhile due to perceived low prosecution rates (Lightowlers et al, 2024: p.91).

Those most at risk of becoming a victim of modern slavery are vulnerable individuals, who are usually unemployed or in poorly paid jobs (Voronova and Radjenovic, 2016). Experiencing war, forced migration, living in poverty, and facing homelessness are also identified as contributing risk factors (Such et al, 2023). It is noted that many survivors of human trafficking experience “medium- to long-term physical, sexual, and mental health problems, including injuries, STIs, and probable depression, anxiety, and PTSD” (Oram, Abas, Bick, Boyle, French, Jakobowitz, Khondoker, Stanley, Trevillion, Howard, and Zimmerman, 2016: p. 1076; Jannesari, Damara, Witkin, Katona, Sit, Dang, Joseph, Howarth, Triantafillou, Powell and Rafique, 2023; Evans, Sadhwani, Singh, Robjant and Katona, 2022). Therefore, the extent of the medium-to long term damage on victims of modern slavery should not be underestimated. Human trafficking can involve the movement of people within countries,

or externally across borders (Robjant, Roberts and Katona, 2017: p.1). Furthermore, “Many developing and third world countries are increasingly used as source countries, while developed and prosperous countries are the destination of those who are trafficked across international boundaries” (Alaleeli, 2015: p. VII-VIII). Human trafficking has many different forms (Gullo, 2019), such as organ trafficking, sex trafficking, labour trafficking and forced marriage (Zimmerman and Kiss, 2017; UK Parliament, 2024). Public and police knowledge of human trafficking in the UK may be fairly limited (Sharapov, 2019; Such, Laurent, Jaipaul and Salway, 2020), however, gaps in the research make it difficult to accurately assess the extent of their understanding. These gaps hinder our ability to determine whether their knowledge is truly limited or more comprehensive than currently perceived. There are specific gaps in relation to the public and police perception of human trafficking in the South East of England. In terms of the public perception, there may be an overall confusion of the term ‘human trafficking’ with regards to immigration (Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016). Moreover, the majority of those who are aware of trafficking, refer to the crime as purely sex trafficking, or prostitution (Sharapov, 2019; Sharapov, 2015). Although there are many subgroups of HT today, as previously mentioned, there may be a focus on sex trafficking over other forms of MS (Weitzer, 2014; Dandurand, 2017, Broad and Turnbull, 2019). The focus on sex trafficking may stem from a problem of perspective. The police and public may have a false perception towards human trafficking and its victims (Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith, 2020).

In England and Wales, there is a consensus that modern slavery is a crime that does not directly affect most members of the general public (Sharapov, 2015; Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016). This may lead to the UK public turning a blind eye or ignoring societal drivers of the problem (Birks and Gardner, 2019: p. 67). For example, the general public may not recognise their impact on modern slavery when they purchase cheap goods or services (Birks and Gardner, 2019). The public may hold the view that HT does not directly affect them, this is due to the perception that modern slavery does not occur in the southeast of England. However, 17,004 potential victims of slavery were referred to the Home Office in 2023, which is the highest figure on record (Home Office, 2024). From January to March 2024, exploitation was most reported in West Midlands, Greater Manchester and Greater London (Home

Office, 2024a). This pattern is similar to 2018, when the highest number of cases were reported in the West Midlands, Southeast, and London (HM Government, 2019, p. 44). Thus, it appears that the prime locations for modern slavery in the UK have remained largely unchanged over these years. In conclusion, modern slavery remains a significant issue in the UK. Considering the profound psychological and physical impact that human trafficking can have on an individual (Oram et al, 2016), the UK public should not turn a blind eye to the crime. Tackling trafficking in human beings should be considered a high priority (Cockbain and Bowers, 2019). An accurate representation of human trafficking by the public is specifically important with regard to combating human trafficking. This concept will be discussed more in depth at a later stage.

The media may significantly influence the public's view on human trafficking (Sharapov, 2019). If certain subgroups of modern slavery are documented more than others, this may give the public the impression that the most publicised forms of trafficking are the most prevalent. The media may pin their focus onto documenting sex trafficking over other subgroups, which may lead the public into developing a false perspective of HT. Within the media, there is a level of sensationalism surrounding sex trafficking, which may lead to an image of an ideal victim (Szörényi and Eate, 2014; O'Brien, 2013; Heber, 2024). In turn, this could result in the public advocating for change with regard to sex trafficking, meaning other forms of trafficking may receive less focus (Weitzer, 2014). This is slightly concerning as statistically, labour trafficking is more common in comparison to sex trafficking (the Home Office, 2019a). Moreover, victims of labour trafficking continue to dominate the yearly NRM referral statistics (Home Office, 2024). The charitable organisation Stop The Traffik (2021) state that there are 16 million forced labour victims and 4.8 million victims of sex trafficking. Therefore, the problem in perspective may be represented in the fact that sex trafficking receives the most focus, despite it being less prevalent than other subgroups of trafficking. Labour trafficking has predominantly male victims, therefore, many males may be side lined in the focus on sex trafficking (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020). Furthermore, the focus on sexual exploitation may form a gender bias against males (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020). A gender bias may be part of the problem in perspective surrounding human trafficking. Furthermore, a gender bias may result in male victims of HT going unnoticed, due to the concept that male adults are



deemed less vulnerable with regard to becoming a victim of modern slavery, and specifically sex trafficking (Barron and Frost, 2018). However, some argue that the focus on sex trafficking is justified due to its hidden nature. The hidden nature of the crime suggests there may be many victims hidden under the radar. Overall, the police and public may see a misrepresentation of modern-day slavery, and its 'typical' victim. The focus on some forms of human trafficking over others will be discussed further in later chapters. It seems reasonable to assume that whilst there is a problem of perspective surrounding modern slavery and a lack of mutual understanding, it may be more difficult to provide an effective response to the crime (Weitzer, 2014; Van Dyke, 2019). It is the purpose of this thesis to gather understanding of the police and public perception of human trafficking as a crime, and its victims. It will be analysed whether there is a misrepresentation of HT stemming from an image of an ideal victim, a gender bias, a false representation portrayed by the media, a paucity of research and overall knowledge. The gaps in the research around human trafficking as well as public and police perceptions of modern slavery will also be identified.

### **The scale of human trafficking and definitional problems**

Despite a lack of accurate statistics, the International Labour Organisation (2022) estimate that there are around 50 million victims of modern slavery worldwide. Human trafficking or the umbrella term, modern day slavery (Home Office, 2017, p.ii) holds many definitions (Lavelle-Hil. Smith, Mazumder, Landman and Goulding (2021). In many circumstances, this has caused some confusion (Weitzer, 2014, p7). Definitional problems around human trafficking will be discussed in depth further on. To define the crime simply, human trafficking "frequently involves multiple forms of abuse, including deception, coercion, extortion, threats, and, for many, physical or sexual violence" (Kiss and Zimmerman, 2019: p.1). The most accepted definition of HT seems to be the one provided by the Palermo Protocol, which was the first internationally recognised definition of Human Trafficking (Palermo Protocol, 2000, p.1). However, the Palermo Protocol definition has received some criticism with regard to its effectiveness towards combatting HT (Shoaps, 2013). This concept will be closely analysed further on. In addition, the definition provided by Palermo Protocol may disadvantage men, as it seems to prioritise women

and children (Shoaps, 2013). Despite this, men are finally starting to be recognised as the hidden victims of trafficking, after many years of being denied the appropriate victim support (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020, Barron and Frost, 2018). Some of the disadvantages that male victims of HT may face have been mentioned, however this will be discussed more in depth at a later stage of the thesis.

Measuring the number of MS victims and the prevalence of human trafficking operations is essential to designing adequate support programs and gaining an insight into how effective preventative methods are at solving some of the issues at hand (Farrell and De Vries, 2020: p. 148). However, the true scale of MS is difficult to determine due to several reasons. For example, there are a number of definitional issues surrounding modern slavery and its legislation (Farrell and De Vries, 2020). These issues have caused some confusion, which has led countries to hold different understandings of which activities count as human trafficking (Farrell and De Vries, 2020; Jones, 2020 Bales, Murphy and Silverman, 2020.). Arguably, while there is still a lack of consensus on defining modern slavery between different countries, it may be more difficult to accurately identify victims of human trafficking and effectively tackle the crime. For example, varied understandings of HT between different countries may cause inconsistency with regard to victim identification. Although the true scale of human trafficking is arguably unknown, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) provides us with the most reliable statistics. they estimate that there are around 50 million victims of modern slavery worldwide (International Labour Organisation, 2022). This is a significant amount of individuals that must be freed from exploitation. However, these statistics are only a guesstimate, there is likely to be many more unknown victims of modern slavery due to several barriers in sourcing accurate statistics (Dando, Walsh, and Brierley, 2016). In terms of prevalence, labour trafficking is said to be a problem that is growing exponentially (Lloyd, 2020: p. 820). However, labour trafficking is extremely under researched and does not seem to receive the attention it requires (Sweileh, 2018). In England and Wales, an estimate of the number of modern slavery victims can be made from the National Referral Mechanism (NRM). The NRM is an arrangement available for identifying potential victims of human trafficking, thus providing them with specialist support (Home office, 2020). If the referral results in victim identification, the individual will be provided with general protection, accommodation as well as legal

advice to support their case for up to 45 days (Home Office, 2020). However, the length of time for victims to receive a positive grounds decision on their exploitation can take a long time. In 2022, there was an average waiting time of 543 days for a conclusive ground decision (Home Affairs Committee, 2023). It could be argued that speeding up this process would ensure that victims of modern slavery receive support sooner. A quicker response by the NRM would arguably also encourage other victims to come forward and build public trust. Despite the NRM providing us with an estimate of human trafficking victims in England and Wales, it is widely accepted that the number of referrals made to the NRM by statutory services barely scratch the surface (Barnett, 2020: p. 1519). This can be due to such services failing to recognise potential indicators of exploitation, which may stem from a lack of training (Barnett, 2020). Arguably, failure to recognise victims may also stem from inaccurate perceptions of the type of individual experiencing exploitation.

There is a lack of research within the UK with regard to public and police understanding of the NRM. The police are a statutory service that is responsible for referring potential victims of HT to the NRM. Therefore, it is important to discover whether they have sufficient knowledge of the mechanism. It seems clear that one of the main barriers to discovering the true scale of modern slavery is recognising and reporting victims of human trafficking (Dando, Walsh, and Brierley, 2016). The secretive nature of human trafficking and modern-day slavery (Pendergrass, 2018, Luljita, 2020) also creates difficulties with regard to achieving an accurate scale of the issue. Conclusively, it is reasonable to assume that there may be a dark figure of many unknown victims (Bales, Hesketh and Silverman, 2015).

Modern day slavery may always be a difficult crime to eradicate, due to widespread corruption and greed (Hesse, 2018: p. 42). It could be argued that organised crime groups can gain significant funds by exploiting human beings. For the criminals, this crime is perceived to be low risk and high profit (Winterdyk, 2020; Lugo, 2020). This crime may be seen as low risk by criminals, due to its perceived low prosecution rates (Svenstein and Mogulescu, 2016; Winterdyk, 2020). Therefore, it could be argued that if there were higher prosecution rates, and seen to be more consequences, criminals may be less motivated to be involved in modern slavery. However, it is reasonable to assume that the high financial gain will always be a motivator for organised crime groups (Winterdyk, 2020). While there is

still a supply for human trafficking, there will always be a demand (Winterdyk, 2020). The main difficulty in discovering the true scale of human trafficking may be the confusion surrounding understandings of human trafficking. Over the years a number of definitional issues have been brought to light. There may be an overall lack of understanding when defining HT (Weitzer, 2014). As previously mentioned, the Palermo Protocol sought to provide some clarity after years of no recognised definition of trafficking. The Palermo Protocol was signed by many states, which arguably, may have suggested some progression in anti-trafficking developments (Palermo Protocol, 2000; Brusca, 2011). It could be suggested that more progress is needed regarding policy development, especially in the UK. According to Van Dyke (2019) the UK has not been a world leader with regard to policy development. Referring back to the Palermo Protocol, this definition was the first internationally recognised definition of human trafficking, however it may not have provided the clarity it intended. According to Wijers (2015), the Palermo Protocol (2000) only negatively contributed to the definitional issues surrounding HT. Despite this, the Palermo Protocol seems inclusive to all forms of modern slavery. Under the Palermo Protocol, “exploitation shall include the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or removal of organs” (Palermo Protocol, 2000, p.1). However, despite its wide-ranging inclusion of the different forms of exploitation, the definition has been received criticism for being too broad (Seideman, 2015; Bales, Murphy and Silverman, 2020).

The definition has received international disagreement (Seideman, 2015, Blitz and Simic, 2019; Jones, 2020), resulting in states forming their own definitions of HT. Arguably, this may cause inconsistency with regard to what states consider human trafficking to mean. Not only has the Palermo Protocol (2000) resulted in more confusion, but it could also be considered as ineffective with regard to tackling modern slavery (Jones, 2020; Berger, 2009; Shoaps, 2013; Brusca, 2011, p. 16). However, according to Seidemen (2015) the poor results of the Palermo Protocol may be due to the implementation of the definition, therefore, not the definition itself (Berger, 2009). This is supported by Seideman (2015: p. 7) and Ricard-Guay and Hanley (2020) who note that the countries who are compliant with the Palermo Protocol, are not necessarily effective with their enforcement of the definition. Further criticisms of the

Palermo Protocol (2000) are that it disadvantages male victims of trafficking (Shoaps, 2013). In addition, the Palermo Protocol definition seems to prioritise women and children, thus side-lining male victims of trafficking. There is no mention of men in the Palermo Protocol (Shoaps, 2013) which may suggest to the public that men are unlikely to be victims of trafficking. However, it is reasonable to assume that this perception is false, as labour trafficking is one of the most prevalent forms of trafficking, with mainly male victims (World Health Organisation, 2012). Moreover, in the periods of January to March in 2020, there were more male adults and boys referred to the NRM as a potential victim of trafficking, compared with female adults and girls (Home Office, 2020). Therefore, it may make more sense for the Palermo Protocol to be inclusive and prioritise male victims of human trafficking also. If the NRM statistics are representative of rates across the globe, this could raise the question as to why there may be more concern towards women and girls. Perhaps there is a focus on women and children, as they are seen as more vulnerable regarding all forms of trafficking (De Heredia, 2008). In contrast to the NRM statistics, Jones (2020: p. 1806) states that the majority of trafficking victims are women and girls. Moreover, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2017) claim that out of the 40.3 million people in modern slavery, 28.6 million are women. The total figure of modern slavery victims worldwide has since raised to 50 million (International Labour Organisation, 2022). Despite it seeming that women are more vulnerable to slavery, it could be argued that males still deserve equal importance with regard to policy development and support. There may be issues with males not being deemed as vulnerable due to gender stereotypes and an image of an ideal victim (Barron and Frost, 2018). Therefore, many male victims of human trafficking may not be recognised in order to be represented in the statistics provided by the ILO. According to the ILO (2017) males still make up for 29% of modern slavery victims, therefore they should receive sufficient focus. Moreover, there may be an overall lack of understanding and resources regarding how to support male victims of human trafficking (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020).

There may be a perception by the public and the police that males are not as vulnerable as women (Barron and Frost, 2018). In turn, this could result in the police being uneducated on how to support male victims of exploitation. In addition, male victims of human trafficking may not be taken seriously.

It is questionable how much support male victims of HT are allocated. One particular study established that police officers were seeking advice on how to support male victims through HT activists and volunteers (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2015). In other words, police forces around the globe may receive very little training on how to support male victims of trafficking themselves. Overall, there is a significant gap in the research surrounding police understanding of human trafficking, specifically towards males. This thesis intends to close a proportion of this gap. It could be argued that there is a bias against male victims of HT. It is reasonable to question whether there are any similarities that can be drawn with rape myths and human trafficking. According to Cunningham and Cromer (2014: p. 2), rape myths include false beliefs. Arguably there may be a number of false beliefs in relation to Human Trafficking. For example, the assumption that males are not vulnerable with regard to becoming a victim (Barron and Frost, 2018). Assumptions such as this, can result in victim blaming (Cunningham and Cromer, 2014). Despite the fact that this research is based in America, perhaps lessons can be learnt from research within other countries. Cunningham and Cromer (2014) discuss HT myths, which arguably is an extremely under researched area within the UK. There are very little articles discussing human trafficking myths. Cunningham and Cromers (2014) discussion of this topic is the first of its kind. Therefore, it is important that we learn from American based research, as human trafficking myths have been shown to result in difficulties with identifying victims (Litam and Lam, 2020).

A Human trafficking myths scale was produced from the study conducted by Cunningham and Cromers (2014). Arguably, some of these myths are represented in British society. For example, one of the myths from the study is that human trafficking is another term for smuggling. This confusion has previously occurred in Britain (Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016). An additional myth from the scale is that human trafficking does not occur in America (Cunningham and Cromers, 2014). Arguably, similar results have been found in the UK, the British public may hold the perception that human trafficking occurs elsewhere (Atkinson and Hamilton-smith, 2020). It is reasonable to assume that the public will not prioritise the crime if they feel it does not occur in their home country. Furthermore, there is a myth in America that “normal-appearing, well-educated, middle-class people are not Trafficked” (Cunningham and Cromers, 2014: p. 13). Arguably, this links to the findings in the UK in relation to the ideal victim,

and the image of a trafficking victim typically being a female migrant (Andrijasevic and Mai, 2016; O'Brien, 2013). If a potential victim does not fit the mould, they are disregarded or not recognised. It could be argued that many of the myths in the human trafficking myth scale, may also exist in the UK. Therefore, we should not turn a blind eye to utilising research from different countries. Specifically in relation to America, the country has one of the largest research bases on human trafficking (Sweileh, 2018).

### **The understanding and perception of human trafficking**

It could be argued that public understanding of HT in the United Kingdom may be limited to an extent. There are gaps in the research with regard to how knowledgeable the public are on HT in England and Wales (Sharapov, 2019). There are only a handful of UK based research articles that discuss the police and public perception towards modern slavery. To date, there appears to be no research on the public and police perceptions of human trafficking in the South-East of England. This research will intend to fill some of the gaps in the research within the South-East region. In terms of research within other locations in the UK, Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith (2020) have undertaken research in Scotland, with regard to the police and public understanding of Human Trafficking. According to Rebecca, a police officer based in the west of Scotland, most members of the public are unable to state what human trafficking is (Atkinson and Hamilton-smith, 2020: p 7). The lack of public knowledge has resulted in efforts to increase the awareness of HT in Scotland (Atkinson and Hamilton-smith, 2020). However, it is noted that there are still significant knowledge gaps within communities regarding the different forms of modern slavery (Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith, 2020). Arguably, it is important for communities to be aware of the different forms of trafficking, in order to improve victim identification.

If the public are only aware of certain forms of slavery over others, this can result in victims from less well known or less prioritised sub-groups being missed. To expand on this, specific subgroups of HT such as labour exploitation are rarely observed (Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith, 2020). This may suggest that some subgroups of HT are more well-known and receive more focus than others. In terms of understanding of HT within police constabularies in Scotland, similar findings were produced.

According to Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith (2020: p. 9) “even within the police service, there was recognition of circumscribed knowledge and awareness of human trafficking as it affects Scotland”. The understandings of organised crime in Scotland within police forces was fairly limited to drug offences (Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith, 2020). Moreover, the study revealed that human trafficking was significantly less well known, but arguably more of a more hidden crime than drug offences (Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith, 2020: p. 9). It is worth examining whether there are similar findings within England and Wales in relation to the police and public understanding as well as perception of human trafficking. In addition, whether some forms of trafficking are more well-known or prioritised more than others. Despite a number of high-profile cases such as the Morecambe Bay tragedy (ACPO, 2006) and Operation Fort (Home Office, 2019) there is still a general lack of knowledge and awareness around HT in UK policing and across the public (Dando et al, 2016). To analyse this, one particular study conducted by Sharapov (2019) sought to research the public’s understanding of human trafficking in Great Britain. The author found that 18% of the study’s respondents could not give any meaning to the term human trafficking. In other words, the knowledge of the general public with regard to modern slavery was fairly limited (Sharapov, 2019) which is similar to the findings in Scotland (Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith, 2020).

One of the main themes in the respondent’s understandings of HT is that it involves the movement of people (Sharapov, 2019). This may be deemed as true; however, it could be suggested that the public may confuse their understanding of human trafficking with immigration or people smuggling. In support of this, many respondents in a study conducted by Dando, Walsh and Brierley (2016) struggled to differentiate between HT and immigration. Arguably, this confusion may result in a level of victim blaming towards real victims of human trafficking. Moreover, Dando, Walsh and Brierley (2016, p.10) claim that confusing immigration with human trafficking may result in victims being “viewed as willing partners in criminality in the eyes of the UK public, compounding their victimisation and possibly fuelling a degree of ‘serves them right’ indifference”. Attitudes such as this, stemming from a lack of understanding and a limited understanding of human trafficking, may undermine the serious psychological coercion and long-term effects that victims may endure (Dando et al, 2016). It seems that



the UK public are not fully aware of how profitable human beings can be for organised crime groups (Akullo, 2020). To expand more on immigration, the Home Officers Affairs Committee (2023) have expressed their concern that in the UK, irregular migration policies have been prioritised over policies addressing human trafficking. Perhaps the public are confusing immigration and human trafficking due to this prioritisation. In the UK, HT is a crime that is perceived to occur elsewhere (Atkinson and Hamilton smith, 2020: p 7). However, over the years there has been a few cases which have brought the issue to light. For example, cases such as the Morecambe Bay tragedy (ACPO, 2006) and more recently Operation Fort, which was said to be the largest modern slavery case in Europe to date (Home Office, 2019). Moreover, the news of the Essex lorry deaths (BBC, 2019; CPS, 2020), opened the public's eyes to the tragedies that can occur in the movement of people. This case is related to people smuggling, however involved the manslaughter of 39 Vietnamese nationals, who were seeking a better life (Stephens, 2020). Arguably, this is a similar circumstance that most trafficking victims find themselves in (Voronova and Radjenovic, 2016). The deaths of 39 Vietnamese nationals caused much discussion amongst the general public. The majority of public reaction was outrage (Nguyen and Mitchell, 2019), which called for harsher border control, safer transport for refugees and further prosecution of traffickers and smugglers in this case (Stevens, 2020). It could be argued that public outrage such as this, can drive further policy development which can have a direct impact not solely on people smuggling but modern slavery also (Van Dyke, 2019). For example, several cases have represented that anti trafficking policy developments, can often result in the criminalisation of trafficking victims (Stevens, 2020; Maroukis, 2016; R v GB, 2020).

Moreover, according to Stevens (2020) a focus towards policy developments and harsh borders only leads to victims using more deadly migration routes. Stevens (2020, p. 89) states that "in short, borders kill". In support of Stevens (2020), Dandurand and Jahn (2020) state that "increased border enforcement does not stop the flow of unauthorized migration or actually prevent human trafficking but creates new opportunities for smugglers to exploit migrants and increase their profits" (Dandurand and Jahn, 2020: p. 794). In other words, increasing border security may be a counterproductive solution to tackling not just people smuggling but human trafficking also. Stevens (2020) argues that in order to ensure cases

such as the Vietnamese 39 do not occur again, we need to eliminate borders. However, some academics may argue that there are many benefits with regard to the use of borders (Gerrard and Sriprakash, 2020). Moreover, Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith's (2020) study of police and public perceptions of HT in Scotland, discusses border control in a positive light with regard to tackling Human trafficking. Police officers in Scotland state that immigration plays a significant role in combating modern slavery (Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith (2020: p. 12). Although the Essex lorry deaths is a case related to people smuggling, there are some similarities that can be drawn with human trafficking cases. The Vietnamese were promised certain wages, and a better life, which seems to occur with many victims of trafficking (Cockbain and Brayley-Morris, 2018). Moreover, victims of modern slavery are often given false promises, which can lead them to exploitation (Jeter, 2016; Van der Watt and Kruger, 2020). Therefore, one could argue that it is unknown whether the 39 Vietnamese individuals would have received the life in the UK that they were promised. The Essex lorry victims were assured well paid jobs in nail salons, car washes and in construction. It could be argued that these jobs are common exploitation places for human trafficking victims (NCA, 2016). Therefore, it could be suggested that the Vietnamese nationals may have been intended for human trafficking and modern slavery purposes, despite the case initially being related to people smuggling.

One reason, for a lack of understanding of human trafficking, and specifically certain subgroups of trafficking, could be due to a lack of research base. It could be argued that there is a paucity of UK based research surrounding HT specifically with regard to labour trafficking (Cockbain and Brayley-Morris, 2018).

In comparison to America, UK evidenced based research documents remain fewer (Sweileh, 2018). Therefore, there may be a significant lack of evidence-based research surrounding modern slavery in the UK. Specifically, there are gaps that need to be filled with regard to the public and police perception of Modern Slavery. To compare American based research with UK, one researcher states that The Harvard University (USA) was the most active institution with regard to publishing documents on HT (Sweileh, 2018: p. 1). In terms of collaborative international research, America ranked first place for providing the most human trafficking research publications out of ten countries, the UK coming second.

Upon review of this study, one could argue that the UK still provides a reasonable amount of literature, due to it placing second for collaborative research. However, America had more than double the amount of human trafficking literature compared to the UK (Sweileh, 2018). Out of all the different forms of trafficking, sex trafficking is the most researched (Cockbain and Bowers, 2019). Therefore, it could be suggested that the approach to combating sex trafficking through evidence-based research, may have also been given to other subgroups. According to Cockbain and Bowers (2019: p.27) a “one-size-fits-all approach developed primarily to combat the trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation is insufficient”. It could be argued that each form of trafficking is unique, therefore all forms of trafficking require different approaches. For example, it may be ineffective to try to combat labour trafficking with the research and training of sex trafficking as they are very different crimes (Cockbain and Bowers, 2019). Therefore, it may not be effective to approach each subgroup of HT as if they are the same as sex trafficking (Cockbain and Bowers, 2019). Overall, areas such as labour trafficking, organ harvesting and arranged marriage all remain under researched in the UK. In terms of public and police knowledge of human trafficking, there is also a paucity of research. Specifically, there is very little UK research with regard to police perceptions of human trafficking. As of yet, there has been very little research conducted in the South-East of England regarding police perceptions, as well as public perceptions of modern slavery. The US however, has a number of research articles on these topics, which arguably could be utilised towards providing an evidence based approach to tackling this crime in the UK.

### **A problem of perspective**

Whilst it is acknowledged that there may be limited police and public understanding of human trafficking within the UK, it is reasonable to question whether there is more knowledge of one form over others. The concept that some forms of trafficking are more well-known and prioritised has been widely discussed. As mentioned previously, the most researched form of HT is sex trafficking. This may suggest that it is the most prioritised form of trafficking. To expand on this, there is a significant amount of HT literature surrounding the concept that certain subgroups of human trafficking get sidelined in the focus on sex trafficking (Weitzer, 2014; Dandurand, 2017, Broad and Turnball, 2019). Sex

trafficking is noted to be the most researched form of human trafficking out of all subgroups (Sweileh, 2018). It could be argued that a focus on one form of human trafficking over others, could result in a problem of perspective. It could lead to the perception that other forms of trafficking are not as harmful. To examine public understandings of modern slavery in Britain, many of the respondents in Sharapov's (2019) study only associated human trafficking with sexual exploitation and prostitution. This study also revealed that participants had very limited knowledge of any of the other subgroups of HT (Sharapov, 2019). From this, it could be suggested that the public understanding of human trafficking in England and Wales may be biased towards sex trafficking. It would not be the first time that other forms of exploitation have been side-lined in the focus on sexual exploitation (Weitzer, 2014).

There was a similar result in the research from Scotland, with the public knowledge of human trafficking being centred on purely sex trafficking (Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith, 2020: p7). Therefore, it could be argued that those who are aware of human trafficking may embrace a false perception towards the crime and the 'typical' trafficking victim. This seems concerning, as labour trafficking is a very prevalent crime, that is equally deserving of focus, perhaps even more so. According to Cockbain and Bowers (2019: p.22) labour trafficking cases are still over-riding sex trafficking cases but receive far less attention. Furthermore, labour trafficking is seen to be an issue that is growing significantly (Lloyd, 2020). Despite these claims, there are also academics who argue that there is no concrete evidence to suggest that labour trafficking cases outnumber sex trafficking (Weitzer, 2014). Nevertheless, research continues to show that labour trafficking is a significant issue. However, over the past few years, some developments have been made. Labour trafficking cases may be receiving more focus than before (Home Office, 2019). Whilst there may be developments in the investigation of labour trafficking cases, it is unknown whether these investigations have resulted in convictions (Home Office, 2019). According to the National Crime Agency (2015) in 2014, there was a significant growth in the referral of labour trafficking cases in particular. More recently, in 2018, between the periods of April to June, the most recorded exploitation type for potential victims of HT within the NRM was labour trafficking (National Crime Agency, 2018: p. 1). More recent research from the Home Office (2024) also informs us that labour trafficking is still the most reported form of exploitation to the NRM per year. Despite

these statistics, there is a significant focus on sex trafficking by the police and the public. This discrepancy suggests that more attention may need to be directed towards labour trafficking. Therefore, considering the high statistics of labour trafficking, the significant focus on sex trafficking should be closely analysed. Perhaps there are other influencers, other than the statistics that are creating a focus on sex trafficking and a problem of perspective. This will be discussed further on.

It seems clear that the general public may hold the most understanding with regard to sexual exploitation. If the majority of public awareness is centred on sex trafficking, this could arguably drive policy development and police focus on this form of exploitation over others (Broad and Turnbull, 2019; Dandurand, 2017). It is important to determine whether the police and the UK public hold a perception that sex trafficking is the most important form of trafficking. It is acknowledged that other forms of human trafficking seem to remain hidden, while public knowledge and understanding of sex trafficking is becoming increasingly visible (Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith, 2020). One could argue that the focus on sex trafficking does result in a problem of perspective and a misrepresentation of human trafficking. This problem of perspective may arguably form a gender bias and create an unrealistic image of an ideal victim. This can be problematic, as if a real victim does not conform to the stereotypical image of a HT victim, this may result in them being discounted. This would be due to a false perception that there is one type of human trafficking victim, usually a female migrant (Andrijasevic and Mai, 2016). Moreover, human trafficking campaigns tend to construct an image of a female who has been sexually exploited (O'Brien, 2013). This may create a misconception that sex trafficking makes up the most of modern slavery victims (Little, 2018). In turn, this may cause a gender bias, and result in male victims of HT being side-lined (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020). Overall, an image of an ideal victim may influence the public and police perception of HT and its victims. Sharapov's study of public understanding of HT documents the influence of the media in relation to the public's perception of modern slavery. Out of the study respondents who were aware of human trafficking, 59.8 percent gained their knowledge of human trafficking by watching the news (Sharapov, 2019). Therefore, it could be argued that the public's perception of human trafficking can be significantly influenced by the media.

It seems reasonable to question where the problem of perspective and focus on sex trafficking may have stemmed from. One could argue that the focus on sex trafficking has emerged from the media. Sex trafficking seems to receive the most news coverage, perhaps because it is considered the most newsworthy form of modern-day slavery (Muždeka, 2018). It could be argued that sex trafficking is easily sensationalised, and therefore it is perceived to be a more newsworthy subject (Szörényi and Eate, 2014). Furthermore, media reporting can often display a misrepresentation of the problems associated with human trafficking. The portrayal of victims by the media usually shows bias and does not represent a typical trafficking victim (Babo, 2019: p. 2). Therefore, the media may encourage a stereotypical image of an ideal victim (O'Brien, 2013; Christie, 1986). According to Gregoriou and Ras (2018) "the version of the story of human trafficking that has become the new normal is full of, and based on, unreliable statistics, maps, and visual images, and selective, binary, and simplified representations" (Gregoriou and Ras, 2018: p.4; Wylie, 2016). It seems that the public may gain most of their knowledge of modern slavery through the media, or similar outlets. In support of this, the main sources of knowledge found in a study by Dando, Walsh and Brierley (2016) were newspapers, social media and television. Overall, media reporting in Great Britain on HT is widely associated with sexual exploitation and prostitution (Sharapov, 2019; Sharapov, 2015). Therefore, it is understandable why the public may associate HT with only 'prostitution' and 'sex trafficking' (Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016).

The concept of the ideal victim, alongside a public and policy focus towards sex trafficking, can create a problem of perspective and a misrepresentation of the problems around trafficking. Arguably this may cause some issues with victim identification (Dando, et al 2016). Arguably, whilst the public are mainly aware of sex trafficking, victims suffering other forms of exploitation may not be recognised (Dando, et al 2016). According to Gregoriou and Ras (2018) the way in which human trafficking victims are represented and the false perception of an ideal victim, has created a victim hierarchy (Gregoriou and Ras, 2018). In turn, this has resulted in many real victims of human trafficking being denied services, and in some cases receiving prosecution (Wijers, 2015). It has also been the result of real victims not being identified (Wijers, 2015). Real victims of trafficking being prosecuted for their illegality during

their exploitation, is not a new phenomenon. There has been a number of cases where victims of trafficking have been criminalised for the illegal activity they were part of during their exploitation (Bosma and Rijken, 2016; R v GB, 2020). Overall, one could argue that there is a general public misrepresentation of the problems associated with human trafficking (HT) and modern slavery. However, there is also a gap in the research surrounding public and police attitudes towards human trafficking in the South-East of England. Contributing research such as this study, could be considered vital as “perceptions directly influence behaviour in a top down manner” (Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016; p.2). Therefore, any implementations targeting towards combating human trafficking, may always be influenced by the public’s perception. Although there is very little research on the police perception of human trafficking, it could be argued that it will be significantly influenced by the public’s (Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016). The police are most likely to come face to face with potential victims of trafficking (Ormerod and Dando, 2015) therefore it is important to gain an insight of their knowledge, and whether there are any developments to be made.

The public understanding of human trafficking may stem from false perceptions around the crime. These false perceptions can be created by a gender bias, the concept of an ideal victim and the idea that some forms of trafficking are more serious or prevalent than others (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020; O’Brien, 2013; Christie, 1986; Weitzer, 2014; Dandurand, 2017, Broad and Turnball, 2019). The concept of the ideal victim may have resulted in a gender bias (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020). In turn, many male victims of human trafficking may not be recognised or receive the appropriate victim support. Males are finally starting to be recognised as the invisible victims of human trafficking (Barron and Frost, 2018). The image being portrayed as an ideal victim of HT, is perceived to be a young female trafficked into the sex industry (Wilson and O’Brien, 2016: p.21). Arguably, many trafficking awareness campaigns also encourage this image, which leads to false representation of victims (O’Brien, 2013). Moreover, men are rarely featured in activist campaigns (Trounson and Pfiefer, 2020). Thus, creating the perception that they are not vulnerable to exploitation. Despite this flaw with modern slavery charities, the positives of an anti-trafficking organisation significantly outweigh the negatives. To be specific, charities such as Stop the Traffik are very influential nationwide and are currently

working with police forces in England to better support victims of modern slavery and improve victim identification. It is worth noting that Kent Police is not included in their list of collaborators, and this could be an opportunity for the future.

In terms of HT research, literature seems to focus on women and children, with adult males receiving very little attention (Trounson and Pfeifer, 2020). It seems reasonable to question how the police can appropriately support adult males while there is a lack of research in relation to male victims. According to Trounson and Pfeifer (2020, p. 543) a lack of accurate information on male victims, can obstruct the development of an appropriate response. One could argue that male victims of human trafficking are receiving less attention, due to females being most at risk of becoming a modern slavery victim (UNODC 2016). Despite this, Trounson and Pfeifer, (2020) state that there is a lack of identification of male victims, meaning there may be many unknown male victims of HT. Under reporting of male victims may stem from a gender bias. According to Barron and Frost (2018, p. 73) there is an assumption that men are not vulnerable, almost to suggest that males are not likely to be a victim of modern slavery. However, this stereotyping results in men being discounted as victims and leaves them unable to receive the appropriate support (Barron and Frost, 2018, p. 74). Therefore, the scale of male victims of human trafficking is unknown (Barron and Frost, 2018). According to Barrick, Lattimore, Pitts and Zhang (2014) many victims of labour trafficking remain undetected due to the general public and professionals holding the perception that labour trafficking is less severe than sex trafficking. Whilst it is claimed that sex trafficking is more psychologically damaging to a victim than labour trafficking (Le, 2018; Hopper and Gonzalez, 2018) it is also argued that there are severe consequences for victims of labour trafficking too (Dandurand and Jahn, 2020: p.1607).

A focus on female victims over males, may stem from the concept that females are more at risk of becoming a victim of HT (Voronova and Radjenovic, 2016). If this is the case, it may also explain why there is a prioritisation of sex trafficking over other subgroups. According to Richie-Zavaleta, Teresita Hinnegan, Anh Hua, Kramer, Turner, McDonald and Anton (2017), the majority of sex trafficking victims are female. Therefore, it could be suggested that sex trafficking receives prioritisation since it



holds mainly female victims, and females are most at risk of being exploited over males. However, as mentioned, there may be many unknown male victims of human trafficking due to a gender bias (Barron and Frost, 2018; Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020). This may result in a misrepresentation of the true scale of human trafficking, which is arguably already unknown (Weitzer, 2014; Van Dyke, 2019). One could assume that until we have a more realistic idea of statistics and the number of victims worldwide, we may never have an effective response to combating human trafficking.

## **Conclusion**

Human trafficking is a significant issue in the UK, despite the public perception that the crime occurs elsewhere (Atkinson and Hamiton-Smith, 2020). The true scale of the issue still remains very much unknown; however, the available statistics suggest that it is a prevalent crime (International Labour Organisation, 2017; International Labour Organisation, 2022). There is likely to be a dark figure of unidentified victims, specifically with reference to males (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2020; Barron and Frost, 2018). As previously discussed, there are a number of definitional issues with regard to human trafficking (Farrell and De Vries, 2020; Jones, 2020). The Palermo Protocol (2000) has not solved these issues, it may have been counterproductive. The Palermo Protocol may be too broad and ineffective in combating HT (Berger, 2009; Shoaps, 2013; Brusca, 2011, p. 16). Furthermore, the definition provided by Palermo Protocol seems to be primarily focused on women and girls, which may disadvantage men (Shoaps, 2013). Furthermore, there may be issues with regard to males not being deemed as vulnerable to human trafficking (Barron and Frost, 2018). Despite this, labour trafficking is one of the most common forms of trafficking and has mainly male victims (World Health Organisation, 2012). In addition, NRM statistics reflect that there were far more male victims identified in the UK in 2023 compared to female (Home Office, 2024). There are areas for development with regard to providing sufficient support for male victims of trafficking (Barron and Frost, 2018). There is a gap in the research regarding whether this issue stands within the South-East of England.

It seems reasonable to conclude that there may be problems in relation to the public and police knowledge of human trafficking. The UK public may hold the perception that human trafficking does not directly affect them (Sharapov, 2015; Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016), leading them to turn a blind eye. Moreover, the UK public seem to hold very limited knowledge of human trafficking (Sharapov, 2019), and tend to confuse the crime with immigration (Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016). While public knowledge of HT is under researched, it seems that the public are most likely to be aware of sex trafficking over other subgroups (Atkinson and Hamilton-Smith, 2020, Sharapov, 2019). This may stem from the media and anti-trafficking organisations displaying a misrepresentation of trafficking and an image of an ideal victim (Sharapov, 2019; Wilson and O'Brien, 2016: p.21; Christie, 1986). Sex trafficking is easily sensationalized; therefore, it is best fit for media coverage (Szörényi and Eate, 2014; O'Brien, 2013). These factors combined, may result in the public perceiving sex trafficking to be the most harmful and prevalent crime. The focus on sex trafficking may be justified, as women and girls are said to be most at risk of becoming a trafficking victim (De Heredia, 2008; Jones, 2020). However, a balance needs to be found, to ensure that male victims are not being side-lined in the focus on women. There may be a significant number of male victims that are not being identified, due to 'human trafficking myths' such as, men are not vulnerable (Barron and Frost, 2018). The public perception of human trafficking may be likely to influence the police perception, and which forms of HT the police prioritise (Broad and Turnball, 2019; Dandurand, 2017).

As mentioned, public perceptions can influence behaviour in a top-down manner (Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016; p.2). Therefore, the police perception of human trafficking is likely to be like the public's (Dando, Walsh and Brierley, 2016). Overall, there is a significant gap in the research with regard to the police perception and understanding of human trafficking and its victims. This thesis makes an original study, as there has been no research surrounding this topic undertaken in the South-East of England. This is the same case with regard to the public perception of human trafficking. It seems reasonable to conclude that by discovering the police and public perception of the crime, this will allow for developments to be made and a more effective response to the crime. It is of the UK public and the police's best interest that we address the areas of learning, which can only be done with sufficient

research. While there is still a problem of perspective and a misrepresentation of human trafficking, the prevalence of the crime will remain (Weitzer, 2014; Van Dyke, 2019).

## **Chapter 2: Methodology**

### **Introduction**

This chapter of the thesis will be dedicated to the methodology of the study. One could argue that a methodology is one of the most important aspects of any research paper (Kallet, 2004). According to Fuller, Warren and Norman (2011), the purpose of a methodology is to “give theoretical and conceptual sense to observed data” (Fuller, Warren and Norman, 2011: p. 8). In addition, “the aim of a methodology is to set out the criteria by which research is conducted” (Hall, 2020). In other words, a methodology may outline each stage of a research process to ensure that the exact study can be replicated in the future. Kallet (2004) refers to a methodology as the most important part of a research paper, and this is because “it provides the information the reader needs to judge the study’s validity” (Kallet, 2004: p. 1232). This chapter starts with an explanation of the research design. The research design will reveal the research questions and what the research intends to achieve. Following this, the research methods and the process of data collection will be discussed. This chapter will also shed light on the scope of the project, as well as an explanation for the use of thematic analysis. To conclude, there will be a reflection on the research process, and the challenges that came to light. “Human trafficking has generated a tremendous amount of public attention throughout the world ... much of the discourse, policymaking, and enforcement has lacked an evidence basis, because so little high-quality research has been done on the topic.” (Weitzer, 2014: p.6; Weitzer 2011; Zhang 2012). To be more specific, with regard to police and public perceptions of modern slavery there is very little evidence base. Evidenced based policing research tends to favour quantitative research, over qualitative, or professional experience (College of Policing, 2020). If the focus is on quantitative research alone arguably this can create a lack of context, which is needed for modern slavery to fully understand the crime. Perhaps the way forward is mixed methods, utilising quantitative and qualitative research methods to allow for some context surrounding the crime. Due to this, mixed methods are the approach for this thesis.

## **Policing Research and Best Practice:**

In order for best practice to be achieved within the area of policing, it could be argued that scientific research is vital. With regard to modern slavery, ‘there is little publicly available evidence on which to draw inferences about what best practice might look like’ (Severns, Paterson, and Brogan, 2020: p.11). Moreover, modern slavery and trafficking in human beings is a severely under-researched area, which this thesis aims to contribute to. Police practice can be analysed to inform policy development and best practice; this concept is defined as evidence-based policing (EBP). One of the main aims of evidence-based policing is to discover what works, to better understand a chosen phenomenon, and to improve best practice through reflection (Sherman, 1999). The What Works Centre was developed in 2013 with the aim of reducing crime rates and collecting research. Organised crime groups will always be developing different ways to keep their criminality disclosed; therefore, it is important for policing to also develop at a similar speed. Evidence based policing has received some criticism over the years, specifically for the reason that professional experience is not considered. Moreover, research with victims of modern slavery may also be a valuable informant for modern slavery policy development and best practice, however, this factor does not seem to be considered either. Peer-reviewed studies can be analysed to inform best practice, this is the aim for this master’s research.

## **The research questions:**

The three research questions for this study were identified from the gaps in the knowledge around modern slavery. The gaps in the knowledge are recognised in the literature review chapter, further on in the thesis. The research questions are as follows.

- What knowledge of modern slavery do the police and public hold?
- What do the police and the public perceive the main issues surrounding modern slavery to be?
- Which forms of modern slavery are perceived to be most harmful and prevalent?

The purpose of asking these questions is to identify whether there is a misrepresentation of modern slavery and to provide a more effective response to modern slavery in Kent. This research project makes for an original study, aiming to gather data on the police and public perception of modern slavery.

Through the use of secondary research, one could assume that there is a paucity of data concerning perceptions of modern slavery in Kent. In addition, conducting secondary data prior to primary data, resulted in broader knowledge of the key issues surrounding modern slavery perceptions. Secondary research was chosen as it allows for increased knowledge surrounding a subject prior to conducting primary research (Blessinger, 2020). Primary research has also been chosen for this study, as it is said to be “customised for the researcher's needs” (Jean-François, 2017). In other words, primary research allows a researcher to examine a specific subject that may be under-researched, which is the case for this thesis topic. Moreover, Boeije and Hox (2005) state that primary research helps gain results and figures relevant to the topic which enables a researcher to compare their results with the findings of secondary data for a more valid conclusion. The secondary research was a good starting point for this project and allowed for a clearer direction for primary research.

### **Theoretical framework:**

Arguably, philosophical assumptions are at the root of all research. Ontology and Epistemology are two concepts that can allow a researcher to determine a specific path for the research. Epistemology is related to the fundamental view of knowledge (Colin-Jaeger and Delcey, 2020: p.37). According to Crotty (1998) and Berryman (2019) epistemology is related to how we know what we know. Moreover, “Ontology is a formal representation of a set of concepts within a domain and relationships between those concepts” (Maniraj and Sivakumar, 2010: p. 887). Furthermore, ontology examines the fundamental beliefs of reality (Crotty, 1998; Berryman, 2019). This thesis follows a pragmatic approach. A key feature to pragmatic research is that includes careful attention (Holtrop and Glasgow, 2020, p. 426). Pragmatism is defined as a “philosophy of knowledge construction that emphasises practical solutions to applied research questions” (Giacobbi, Poczwardowski and Hager, 2005: p. 19). Moreover, pragmatic research utilises simultaneous mixed methods, which is a combination of two or more data collection techniques (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). A phenomenon may be too complex to be tackled one-dimensionally, this is where mixed methods is introduced. One could argue that modern slavery is a prevalent, hidden crime (Bales, Hesketh and

Silverman, 2015: p.18). Therefore, it is not a simple crime to tackle. Organised crime groups go to great lengths to commit the offence and it is a complex issue to solve. Thus, a mixed methods approach was decided as most appropriate for this challenging topic.

### **Research design:**

The purpose of a research design is to ensure that the research questions are answered and that the objectives of a project are met (Sovacool, Axsen and Sorrell, 2018). Moreover, the research design allows a study to be transparent, one could argue that it is the glue that holds a research project together (Akhtar, 2016: p.68). Despite the purpose of a research design to improve clarity of a study, articles with the most explicit research designs can still suffer with flaws (Sovacool, Axsen and Sorrell, 2018, p.13). According to Sovacool, Axsen and Sorrell (2018, p.13) “many authors struggle to communicate clearly due to a lack of care in writing or a lack of fluency in language”, therefore, a conceptual research design does not always ensure for an outstanding research project. Research methods involve different types of data collection, the main three types are mixed-methods, qualitative and quantitative methods. According to Skarbek (2020) “in short, if we wish to say something about big historical questions, accurately identify causal mechanisms, or engage thoughtfully with thick concepts and theories, then we should be more open to engaging with qualitative evidence’ (Skarbek, 2020: p.411). It could be argued that modern slavery is a complex issue, and Skarbek’s perspective around justifications for qualitative data may align with MDS. Moreover, modern slavery is arguably a thick concept, and it may involve big historical questions as it is a long-lived crime. Therefore, from Skarbek’s perspective, qualitative data may be the most suitable approach for a topic such as modern slavery. Qualitative evidence may improve the understanding of the relationship between police and crime (Sharbek, 2020: p.12), therefore methods such as surveys, interviews and body-cameras all provide a good insight.

An additional research method is quantitative research. This research method may be slightly more reserved and not as extensive in comparison to qualitative data. Moreover, if quantitative research is utilised alone, all of the necessary questions for a topic may not be answered. The data will not be as substantial, and therefore a number of questions and answers may be missed (Sharbek, 2020: p. 409). Moreover, quantitative research methods “take snap-shots of a phenomenon” and they will not be in-

depth (Rahman, 2020: p.102). According to Payne and Payne (2004, p. 180) “Quantitative methods (normally using deductive logic) seek regularities in human lives, by separating the social world into empirical components called variables which can be represented numerically as frequencies or rate, whose associations with each other can be explored by statistical techniques and accessed through researcher-introduced stimuli and systematic measurement.” Moreover, quantitative data can be organised in the form of statistics, such as t-tests, pie charts, graphs etc. Some advantages to quantitative data are that it can reveal patterns, trends, relationships, cause and effect (Harriss, 2017: p.46). However, one disadvantage to this form of research method is that it can overlook a participant experience and can result in a lack of clarity of what a respondent means by something (Rahman, 2016). This is due to the reason that quantitative research involves a set structure and follow up questions are therefore not permitted. Therefore, if deeper knowledge of a subject is wanting to be discovered, qualitative research methods may be more suitable.

The third type of research method is mixed-methods. According to Sharkbek (2020: p. 411) combining qualitative and quantitative data together will expand the amount of amount of evidence that may be informative. In other words, mixed-methods may provide the most extensive data for a chosen topic. This is the main reason as to why mixed-methods has been chosen for this study. Despite the praise for mixed methods and its ability to provide more reliable data, this form of research method does have its flaws. One of the main disadvantages is that it can be very time consuming, which did apply pressure considering the master’s is one year.

For this thesis, the two data collection methods are quantitative and qualitative research methods. One could argue that the use of quantitative and qualitative data alongside each other provides better knowledge of a multifaceted topic than either approach by themselves (Azorin and Cameron, 2010, p. 95). However, a mixed methods study requires extra time, resources, and expertise according to Mckim (2015, p. 202). Therefore, it must be assessed whether the utilisation of mixed methods will bring value to the study. If a researcher is to choose mixed methods, one could argue that it will allow for broader understanding of a chosen phenomenon (Mckim, 2015; Hurmerinta-Peltomaki and Nummela, 2006).

Thus, this is the overarching reason as to why mixed methods has been chosen for this thesis. The quantitative side of the research is descriptive which will bring out the main features in the study. For this thesis, deeper knowledge and understanding of modern slavery in Kent is a priority. Therefore, the aim for this project was to gather a significant amount of in-depth, reliable data that may support the police and the public in helping tackle modern slavery in Kent. Choosing mixed methods for this study, was needed to produce the amount of data required, however, it did cause several challenges which will be discussed in the reflection section of this chapter. At the end of this research masters, the publication of this thesis should provide learning for police officers and members of the public, not just in Kent, but world-wide. The publication of this thesis will allow the project to be accessed by many individuals in the United Kingdom, and elsewhere.



**Research methods:**

During the beginning stages of this project, the initial plan was to gain data from the police through face-to-face semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were favoured over structured or unstructured as it allows the interview to be organised, but also flexible. It deemed important for real-life perceptions and experiences to be discovered during data collection, therefore, it was prioritised early on that participants would have the freedom to answer the interview questions in whichever way they like. Participants would have had the freedom to raise new issues and clarify the question that was being asked. In turn, this also may have allowed for a real perspective to be found, and for further questions to be asked by the researcher, if it felt appropriate. Although face-to-face interviews were the initial plan for the police aspect of the research, complications and delays resulted in this approach being scrapped. However, if this idea had gone ahead, semi-structured may have been the most suitable approach, to ensure for the most realistic and extensive perception of modern slavery to be discovered. The reasons for adapting the police side of the research are discussed more in depth in the reflection chapter of this methodology.

To break down the mixed methods approach for this thesis, firstly, the qualitative side of the research project utilises phenomenology to examine perceptions of the police and the public. A phenomenological design is defined as “the meaning for several individuals of their lived experience of a concept or phenomena” (Creswell, 2013: p. 76). In other words, phenomenology is based on real life experiences and perceptions of individuals. For this research, a phenomenological approach resulted in honest, personal understandings of modern slavery in Kent. By providing the police and the public with complete freedom to share any knowledge they may have, and their perceptions, it resulted in detailed responses. In terms of data collection, both research groups, this being the police and the public, were provided with a survey. Both surveys were produced with a very similar layout to ensure for easy comparison. However, there were a few additional questions for the police. For example, it seemed important to understand the police’s perception on public understanding of modern slavery in Kent, to help determine the severity of the situation. Both surveys were designed to be a fixed questionnaire

structure, however organised in the form of some open-ended questions. It was important to provide the police and the public with the opportunity to delve deep into their answers, with no constraints on the length of the answer. Initially, there was the idea that the police research would be completed through face-to-face interviews, however, through deep consideration, it was decided that surveys would be more efficient. The face-to-face interviews that were initially planned were going to be semi-structured interviews. This was decided as it is flexible, open questions can be asked, with follow up questions if necessary. This would have allowed for in-depth responses, with real life perceptions of modern slavery. Semi-structured interviews focus on specific themes, rather than a rigid format of questions (Raworth, Sweetman, Narayan, Rowlands, and Hopkins, 2012). Arguably, it is one of the most efficient ways to discover attitudes and beliefs of a topic. Information that was not even considered by the researcher can be attained through semi-structured interviews. It provides an opportunity for more knowledge and different issues to be raised (Raworth et al). Despite this, the semi-structured interviews would have been very time consuming, considering transcribing the interviews also. The choice to avoid semi-structured interviews will be discussed in further detail in the reflection section of this chapter.

A survey was deemed most appropriate.

To reach as many potential public respondents, social media deemed an appropriate method. Social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram and the app named 'Next Door' were utilised to reach a large, varied, audience. With regard to Facebook, a social post was sent to the village Facebook page explaining the project and participation requirements. The same process was also conducted for the app NextDoor. With regard to Instagram, local followers of the researcher were privately messaged with a brief explanation and a link to the survey. With regard to the police survey, this access was distributed through a contact within Kent Police, who forwarded on the survey via email, to around 2000 Kent Police officers. This, however, did take many efforts, which arguably may be as a result of the covid-19 pandemic. Delays with the police research did cause some stresses, which will be explained further on.

The advantages of using a questionnaire as a form of data collection are endless. According to Singh (2017: p. 791) “questionnaires help gather information on knowledge, attitudes, opinions, behaviours, facts, challenges and other information”. The surveys provided to the police and the public included some open-ended questions and some closed-ended questions. Moreover, closed-ended questions involve a participant selecting an answer from a number of options (Singh, 2017: p. 792). Whereas open-ended questions involve the participant formulating their own answer (Singh, 2017: p. 792). Both options were chosen for this thesis to provide both quantitative and qualitative data that can be analysed, and easily compared. Both surveys were organised in a set structure and into different sections. This was important to ensure that the survey looked professional and formal. In terms of the survey questions, there were a number of single choice questions, which also led to further questions to allow for more in-depth responses. For example, if a participant was to answer yes to a question, a follow up question may be provided to ensure further detail.

The research includes two online surveys aimed at the general public and police officers in Kent. There were a number of forces around the United Kingdom that would have been great to collaborate with, however it made more sense to contact Kent Police. One reason for this being that modern slavery research in Kent is limited, especially with regard to the specific topic of this study. Therefore, there was a need for research to be undertaken in this location. As the researcher, it was decided that it may be more efficient to work with constabularies that are in close proximity to the researcher’s home address. To expand on this, the original idea to hold face-to-face interviews, would have involved travelling to meet police officers from whichever constabulary was chosen. Therefore, Kent Police force was most appropriate with regard to timings and would involve less travel time. Moreover, the force is close to a major port, this being Dover. Police officers from this force may hold more experience in dealing with this crime, as borders are a prime place for modern slavery or human trafficking to occur (Latham-Sprinkle, David, Bryant and Larsen, 2019). Uniformed police officers have been chosen for this study, as they are most likely to be faced with identifying potential human trafficking victims (Ormerod and Dando, 2015).

The quantitative analysis will allow for some descriptive statistics to be produced, for clear comparison between the two different groups. Data will be analysed using descriptive (e.g. frequency) and inferential (e.g. t-test) statistics on the software SPSS. The qualitative data will produce some themes, which will be discovered from the in-depth responses, this will allow for a more detailed analysis. All qualitative data was grouped into themes using the software NIVIVO. NVIVO was relatively easy to navigate, which allowed more time for the analysis of the data, rather than learning the software. Whereas, the quantitative data was analysed on SPSS, which was slightly more difficult to navigate. This resulted in more time being used up for this side of the data analysis.

### **Online survey development and procedure**

This thesis gathered data through the use of JISC (online surveys), two separate questionnaires were provided to Kent Police and the public in Kent. There are minor differences in the two surveys, the police are provided with a few extra questions. Both online surveys begin with demographic questions. These questions relate to gender, age, ethnicity, and for the police, job title and length of service. More accurate analysis was ensured by having age and gender as an open question. The second section of the survey was responsible for gaining a basic understanding of the police and the public perception, and which forms of modern slavery participants are aware of. The following section was related to where participants found their knowledge of modern slavery. For the police, this was also the section where training was discussed. The next section is based around characteristics of modern slavery victims, for example what is their gender, age, ethnicity, what do they look like etc. Participants were asked to evaluate a range of attributes often identified in literature as indicators of modern slavery. These attributes encompassed aspects such as age, gender, employment status, and behavioural traits, among others, amounting to a total of 9 distinct characteristics. The objective of this evaluation was to gain insight into the perceptions of both the public and the police regarding the typical profile of a modern slavery victim. There was no intention to run statistical tests of the characteristics, the objective was to find a description of what the public and the police feel a typical victim may look like. The different

characteristics include ethnicity, gender, age, employment status, financial status, criminal history, psychological factors (anxiety, fear, PTSD reluctant to speak), no form of identification; abuse (malnutrition and DA). Following this, it is asked how often modern slavery is in Kent and nationally. In addition, any understanding of sex and labour trafficking is asked of the participants. The next section is related to asking the police about their experience in dealing with modern slavery, and whether there is anything individuals can do to prevent themselves from becoming a victim. The final stage of the questionnaire is regarding the levels of harm of each modern slavery offence, and which forms of MS are perceived to be the most harmful by the police and the public. At the end of the survey, a debrief form was attached to inform participants of their rights and different contacts. An online survey was considered the best approach for this thesis, there were many open questions, to ensure that in-depth responses could be obtained. The exact research questions were able to be asked, and participants were not able to progress with the survey unless each question had been answered.

### **Participants and Sampling:**

There is a number of sampling methods that can be utilised for different research projects. A sampling method must produce a reliable picture of a target group, to prevent failures when it comes to comparing participant responses (Jones and Eggleton, 2000: p. 194). Moreover, a specific sample of the population is chosen, which in this instance was some members of the public and staff from Kent Police. This thesis utilises purposive sampling, this decision was made after clear consideration of other forms of sampling, Purposive sampling was chosen for this thesis due to the reason that set criteria can be chosen in order to meet the right participants for the study. For example, for the public, it was required that participants were over eighteen years old and living in Kent. The required location of participants was decided as the research is taking place in Kent. Whilst examining the research base of modern slavery, it seemed clear that there is a significant paucity of research regarding police and public perceptions of modern slavery in Kent specifically. Therefore, respondents were required to live in the area of Kent. The age of eighteen and over was decided to ensure that all participants were of legal age to consent to

the study and comprehend the requirements of the study. For the police participants, it was required that they were working with Kent Police. Initially, it was decided that only uniformed officers who spend a considerable amount of time dealing with the public would be accepted. However, after consideration, in order to obtain a large amount of data, it was decided that being too specific may be counterproductive. Being under a time constraint, and having further delays with the police, meant that a large amount of data was needed quickly. Therefore, it felt important to not be so fixated on the type of job role within Kent Police. Therefore, purposive sampling for this thesis meant that participants did not have to meet overly demanding criteria, however, the criteria that was required ensured that the participants were the right target audience for the study. There was no proposed limit on the maximum number of participants for the study, as a large amount of data seemed appropriate to counteract the lack of data surrounding the master's topic. To conclude, purposive sampling occurs when a researcher chooses respondents who have a set type of characteristics, perhaps demographic factors such as age, gender for example. Characteristics which will be relevant to the thesis (Morse, 2004).

For the police side of the research, it was required that all participants were based in Kent. The mean age of Kent Police respondents was noted as 43, with the standard deviation being 12.07. This signifies a large scale of different ages. The majority of police respondents had been serving for minimum 10 years. The longest service noted was 51 years, with the shortest service being 6 months.

#### ***Appendix J Kent Police length of service***

<b>Length of Service (In years)</b>	<b>Number of Officers</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Percentage (Rounded to nearest 1%)</b>
0-5	24	33.333333	33
6-10	6	8.333333	8
11-15	14	19.444444	19
16-20	12	16.666667	17
21-25	6	8.333333	8
26-30	5	6.944444	7
31-35	2	2.777778	3
36-40	2	2.777778	3
41-45	0	0.000000	0
46-50	0	0.000000	0
51-55	1	1.388889	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>99</b>

All officers had a mixture of different backgrounds and roles within Kent Police. The most common roles were a police constable or a detective. However, there were some roles which are more behind the scenes such as a training officer, admin assistant and a telephone interviewer. Each employee of Kent Police had an equal chance to participate in the survey which was emailed out to them. There were no requirements regarding length of service, age, gender, or job role. Therefore, the survey was very inclusive to all members of Kent Police. In terms of gender of police officers 53% of respondents were female. Male respondents made up of 44% of participants. 1 officer answered non-applicable, another officer stated to identify as one of the two original genders. For ethnicity, 95.8% of respondents labelled themselves to be part of the category 'English / Welsh / Scottish / Northern Irish/ British', one participant was 'gypsy or Irish traveller', one was 'white and Asian', and another was any other 'mixed/ multiple ethnic background'.

For the public side of the research, all participants were located in Kent. The only requirement was that the respondent had to be over the age of 18. The mean age of public respondents was 41, with the standard deviation being 18.88. This result shows that there were a high number of different ages and the ages responding to the survey were not unanimous. The result for the public is slightly higher than the police SD, which shows that the public had an even larger scale of different ages. The youngest participant was 18, the oldest was 82. This allowed for a realistic pool of respondents whose opinions would hopefully represent today's society. In terms of gender, 70% of participants were female, 39% were male, and there was one non-binary gender noted. For the public, there was slightly more diversity than the police which may be due to the higher response rate, out of 110 participants, (n=96) of the respondents selected British as an ethnicity, (n=5) selected any other white background, (n=1) selected white and black Caribbean, (n=1) selected white and black African, (n=1) selected white and Asian, (n=1) selected Indian, (n=3) selected Asian other, (n=1) selected Black/ African/ Caribbean background, (n=1) selected other.

## **Analysis**

The qualitative aspect of this thesis reflects thematic analysis. According to Hawkins (2017), thematic analysis refers to themes that can be discovered by searching through qualitative data. Themes can be found in the form of patterns, for example, if the majority of participants feel that modern slavery victims are male, that would be a common theme in the research. Thematic analysis was chosen for the qualitative side of the research, as it can be useful towards topics where little information is known, such as modern slavery (Hawkins, 2017). To ensure that any key themes were not missed, the survey responses were analysed in depth, on multiple occasions. The software NVivo was utilised for this aspect of data analysis, it is relatively simple to navigate, and therefore is a useful software for a first-time researcher. Moreover, NVivo allows data to be grouped into themes, specifically it aids a researcher who is under a time-constraint. Thematic analysis is seen as a reliable approach to analysis (Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas, 2013: p.401).

An additional benefit to thematic analysis is that the results can be easily understood by the public, which is an important aim for this master's thesis (Hawkins, 2017). It is also important for the police to be able to learn from the thesis also. Despite the many advantages noted for thematic analysis, it does have its flaws. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is poorly demarcated and rarely acknowledged. Moreover, a key flaw of thematic analysis is that there is a lack of clear guidelines on how to effectively conduct this form of analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Arguably, this may lead to some mistakes in the analysis process, which can negatively impact on the overall results of the study. Despite its criticism, it is widely used in research. Due to the benefits of thematic analysis, it was decided that this form of analysis would be the best approach for the thesis. With regard to the quantitative side of the data, descriptive and inferential statistical analyses were best suited. Further information can be found in the findings chapter.

## **Ethics**

As with any research project, adhering to ethical guidelines is vital. For this particular study, a thorough application process was undertaken before the research began. In other words, numerous steps were



required before the project could proceed, one of which was obtaining ethical approval. This research project was submitted to the Canterbury Christ Church University ethics panel as the application needed approval before the collection of data could begin. Any research must be conducted in accordance with data protection laws such as the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the Data Protection Act 2018. In addition to this, a health and safety form was completed, to ensure that each potential risk for the project was considered. However, the potential risks of the project were considered to be very low. In addition to the health and safety form, a data sharing agreement was also created, which was provided to Kent Police.

The data sharing agreement included details of the project, the methodology of the research, as well as data handling and security. Not only did the project need to be compliant with GDPR and The Data Protection Act (2018), but it is also needed to comply with the universities data protection policy. This agreement needed three signatures, one on behalf of Canterbury Christ Church University, the principal researcher, and Kent Police. This agreement made it clear that there was complete confidentiality with regard to any Kent Police personal data, all personal information would only be accessible by agreed parties. Once the ethics application was approved, data collection could begin. However, participants were unable to get access to any of survey, until consent was provided. This is in line with GDPR, CCCU's data protection policy and the Data Protection Act 2018. In addition to informed consent, it was also important to provide respondents with a participant information form. This form included information regarding the scope of the project and what was required of each participant. In addition, information of data protection, confidentiality, how the results of the study would be distributed, contact details, and finally, how to withdrawal from the research project. Regarding this, a time limit of two weeks was set very clearly, to avoid any confusion. To discuss this in more detail, participants were able to email the researcher to request withdrawal of consent up to fourteen days after their participation in the study. It was noted in the participation information form, that two weeks after completion, participant responses would be combined with other responses. The two-week cut-off date seemed justified to ensure that data analysis could begin as soon as possible. The original plan was for this time period to be a month, in order to give participants more time to withdraw consent. However, due to

delays in police access, it was decided that two weeks would be sufficient. Furthermore, the participant information form included information on how personal data would be used and how long it would be kept. Once the survey is complete, the final page features a debrief form. This page provides the email of the researcher and supervisors of the project. In addition, a contact for the research governance and ethics department is provided, in the case that there are concerns regarding the ethical nature of the study. Finally, it ends with three different organisations that can be contacted if the participant feels they have been affected by the sensitive nature of the study's topic. Any participant that does not feel comfortable reaching out to the researcher or the supervisors may want to contact either; The Salvation Army, The Samaritans or Modern Slavery Hotline.

The use of personal data in this study was required for a number of reasons. Personal data is defined as a type of data that makes a person identifiable. The demographic data which was stored and analysed was needed for the purpose of identifying the population sample, and whether age, ethnicity or gender had an impact on public and police perceptions of modern slavery. While it is important to have some understanding of the police sample in terms of length of service, there was no attempt needed to see how their length of service impacted their responses. Issues relating to exposure of modern slavery throughout their policing career was beyond the scope and primary aim of this study. Personal data was also used when participants were discussing personal views on modern slavery. The survey was online, utilising the platform Jisc (Online Surveys). This website is a secure survey platform; in order to get access to responses, login was required with a password. This survey responses were kept on an encrypted password protected laptop. In line with CCCU's disposal process, the participants were informed that their data would be destroyed at the end of the project.

**Reflections on the research:**

At the beginning stages of this research, there were one or two ideas that did not make the cut. Originally, there was a plan for face-to-face interviews with Kent Police officers. However, due to the length of time it may take to transcribe those interviews, it was decided that it would be more time efficient to do a survey with the police instead of face-to-face interviews. An additional challenge became clear when organising police interviews, whilst in the middle of a pandemic. The participants of the survey initially aimed to represent different age groups, ethnicities and genders, with the purpose of seeking perspectives that are truly representative of today's society. Participants of diverse backgrounds can bring different understandings and perceptions of modern slavery. Therefore, a randomised sampling method was intended for use. However, in order to gain a large amount of data, a volunteer-based sampling method was adopted. Specifically with regard to the police research, there was limited access, therefore, any uniformed officers who wanted to participate were accepted.

Mixed methods were chosen for the use of data collection, to produce a broad range of reliable data. In hindsight, sticking to one form of research methods, either quantitative or qualitative may have been more productive in some respects. With regard to timings, the master's degree is under a time constraint of one year. Therefore, the choice of mixed methods was a risk. Moreover, the decision to do two surveys, one for the police and one for the public, also added to the stress regarding time frames. However, through primary research, it seems clear that there is a lack of data with regard to both police and public perceptions of modern slavery. Therefore, going into the masters, one of the main aims of this project was to close the gap. To contribute to the lack of data, it was important for a public and a police survey to be produced, as well as the use of quantitative and qualitative data for extensive results. The more extensive the results, the more evidenced based research can be tailored towards improving modern slavery responses. Arguably, one of the most significant challenges with this thesis was gaining police access. Kent Police was the preferred choice of collaboration due to its closeness with a major port, Dover. Due to CCCU's connections to Kent Police, gaining initial contact was easier than perhaps other police forces would have been. Kent Police seemed interested in the thesis topic, however, after initial deliberation, communication did slow down. The limited contact is likely to have been influenced

by the Covid-19 pandemic. The delays in communication made it difficult to progress with the police side of the research. Therefore, this aspect of the data collection was paused. At this stage of the research, it did seem that the thesis would be analysing public perceptions of modern slavery alone, and that the police side of the research would need to be eliminated. Therefore, instead of the planned face-to-face interviews with the police, it was decided that a similar survey would be produced. The public data collection commenced, and the police survey was left open with the hope that a few participants may respond. Due to the complexity of the crime and the prevalence of the issue, it deemed important to at least have some police data, to be able to compare with the public data. This is the reason for creating the police survey, over going ahead with the face-to-face interviews. It was decided that if the police do enable contact too late, there would not be enough time to transcribe and analyse the interviews. Therefore, the additional survey was created as a suitable alternative.

Luckily, near the final stages of data collection, the police did get in contact, and the survey was sent out to 1700 Kent Police officers. This was an exciting period of the master's project, as for the first time, it seemed that the original aims of the project were extremely attainable. For the first few days after the survey had been sent out, several responses were coming in. At the end of data collection, there was a large amount of police and public responses. For the police data collection, there was 72 responses, for the public, there was 110 responses. A large amount of data was the intended purpose of the research, however, this resulted in some challenges. This was a large amount of data to analyse, on software that was very unfamiliar. NVivo was used for analysis of the qualitative data, and SPSS was used for the quantitative analysis. It took time to learn how to navigate both software's, but specifically SPSS. One of the main challenges of SPSS was creating frequency tables to show data responses. This was trial and error, with many failed attempts, which did cause several delays during the analysis. NVivo on the other hand was much easier to navigate and took up a lot less time. There were many different areas of NVivo and SPSS that were available for use, however the analysis used for this thesis was more suited to the research questions. Using NVivo, it was fairly simple to group the different nodes into themes. By analysing the responses, the similarities became clear. Several particular themes came to light, for example, one being that the majority of public respondents felt that females were

more likely to be a victim of modern slavery than males. Whereas, regarding the police, there was a consensus that males were more likely to be a victim than females. This is just one of the many themes that became evident when analysing the qualitative research. Due to the simplicity of analysis for the qualitative research, upon reflection it may have been less stressful if the use of mixed-methods was avoided. However, this form of research methods was originally decided for this master's topic due to the complexity of modern slavery and the paucity of research. Therefore, despite the fact that qualitative data may have been a more suitable method when discussing time frames, mixed-methods still seemed the most appropriate approach resulting in extensive data.

This project was completed during the covid-19 pandemic which did cause some complications. The initial one-year masters was delayed, and the thesis was completed within two years. It is considered vital for police and public perceptions of modern slavery to be discovered in Kent. Police and public perceptions should be considered in the subject of evidence-based policing, to improve the approach to tackling modern slavery. This research project was conducted in the form of two separate surveys for the police and the public to complete. A mixed-methods approach was utilised to allow for extensive, detailed results. The three main research questions for this thesis were as follows; what forms of modern slavery are perceived to be the most harmful, what knowledge of modern slavery do the police and public hold, and what do the police and the public perceive the main issues of modern slavery to be.

For this research project, the public participants were recruited through word of mouth; asking local friends and family to fill out the survey. Moreover, a small number of participants were retrieved through Instagram, and the majority of public respondents were found through Facebook and the app NextDoor. On these social media platforms, members of the public over the age of eighteen and living in Kent were approached via a social post. The social post briefly explained the research project and outlined the participation requirements. The project sparked interest in the local area, with a number of participants filling out the survey. This method of retrieving respondents was chosen due to convenience. It was a simple way to find respondents who met the criteria, in a timely and cost-effective way.

Police respondents were approached through a connection to Kent Police via the university. All quantitative answers were analysed on the software SPSS, and qualitative answers were analysed on NVIVO. Despite the many challenges placed on the research, efforts were made to adapt and handle any complications with ease, in order to complete an extensive research project. The aim of this research project is to provide knowledge and learning for the police and the public, to improve the response to modern slavery in Kent and the United Kingdom.

## **Chapter 3: Findings**

### **Introduction**

The two JISC online surveys were completed by Kent Police staff and members of the public based in Kent. There were several different sections in the surveys, which are discussed in the survey development section of the methodology in chapter two. The total number of responses was 110 for the public and 72 for the police. A number of themes were identified in the two surveys; however, the main ones were related to gender bias, ideal victim, views on public knowledge and a lack of general knowledge. The general police view of the public was that they have very limited knowledge and that the public may choose to consciously ignore MDS. There seemed to be a gender bias towards males, who are typically not viewed as a victim of modern-day slavery, especially by the public. Across the public and police responses, there was a perception of an ideal victim; a young, female, migrant. Arguably, this image displays a false narrative and can result in real victims of modern slavery being missed. The following research questions were the overarching reasons for this master's thesis.

- What forms of modern slavery are perceived to be the most harmful and prevalent?
- What knowledge of modern slavery do the police and public hold?
- What do the police and the public perceive the main issues of modern slavery to be?

## **Police data:**

### **Qualitative research:**

#### **Police training**

Police training is vital towards ensuring that major crimes will be dealt with effectively. In relation to the study, assessing the extent of modern slavery training provided to Kent police officers was considered valuable for determining its effectiveness. However, the key issue in question is the effectiveness of the training in helping police officers understanding of modern slavery. One of the main intentions with the survey was to gain understanding of the police's perspective on MS training. The qualitative side of the research will begin with the police training analysis. There were a number of mixed opinions on training that is provided to Kent police officers. To begin, when asked about training, several officers suggested room for development. A small proportion of employees felt that the level of training was very limited to non-existent (n=15).

*"I have not had any modern day slavery training" - KPO1295*

*"Can't remember if I have had any formal training. Probably have at some point" – KPO6508*

*"Training received from Kent Police. To be honest training is very rarely sufficient" – KPO1448*

*"Don't remember any so no not enough" – KPO2926*

*"Kent Police gave us some brief training but not enough in my opinion" – KPO8903*

In comparison, there were also members of Kent Police who felt their training had been detailed and very sufficient (n=39).

*"Training is included when first joining the police, including warning signs and support network options. I feel the training has been sufficient" – KPO4029*

*"Sufficient training in order to teach the new recruits" – KPO0244*

*"We have online learning packages which cover legislation, behaviour to look out for, evidence capture. There is a modern day and human trafficking department who deal with organised crime groups who can be approached for advice, there are points of contacts within the organisation who can be spoken to for advice as well as an intranet page which details all the above as well as the national*

*referral mechanism. I feel sufficiently trained and know where to seek further information if I am unsure” – KPO7029.*

*“It was a training package disseminated via the internal police communications and training team. It was sufficient!” – KPO2504*

When analysing the police data, there was a significant amount of responses that were conflicting. A number of officers expressed their satisfaction in the way Kent Police provide training (n= 38). However, some officers noted having no training on modern slavery whatsoever (n=13). When police officers were asked about their training and what it entailed, some respondents noted areas for improvement.

*“NCALT training. I feel it could be improved by showing how to help someone you feel may be a victim” – KPO5582*

*“Literally just a video with a questionnaire at the end. It was not that in depth, and I feel like it could have gone a bit deeper into what to look for in a victim” – KPO8903.*

Regardless of how detailed modern slavery police training is, if outdated, this could result in the police not having an accurate representation of modern slavery. Moreover, many officers involved in this study have a length of service over 10 years, or they have moved to different constabularies throughout their policing career. It would be reasonable to assume that re-training and updating, is a necessity, especially with the fast-changing nature of modern slavery. However, when asked whether training was sufficient, some officers noted a long time since any training.

*“Input in training days from the Metropolitan Police about 20 years ago” - KPO9956*

*“CPD event around Modern Slavery a few years ago” - KPO4211*

*“Initial training when joined. Occasional input” - KPO0742*

*“Week long course - very good but some years ago now” – KPO5014*

*“I don't recall the training exactly as it was a number of years ago” – KPO3497*



The covid-19 pandemic may have impacted Kent Police training, which two of the responses may suggest. A number of participants did express that the training they have received has been online (n=14) however, it is not clear whether that may have also been the case pre-covid.

*“Online and some face to face when that was still a thing” - KPO7332*

*“Would have been on a course had it not been for covid” - KPO9255*

The majority of police officers felt confident in their understanding of modern slavery (n=52). However, there were also many police officers who felt they required more training in order to feel reassured, or that they had no confidence in their knowledge of modern slavery (n=20). The following responses were provided after asking the police how confident they were with the extent of their modern slavery understanding.

*“Not very only on what I have picked up media” – KPO2926*

*“Not too confident if I am honest. I know more about exploitation in fashion as I am conscious of who I buy from and understand sex trafficking is a huge problem. But I know it goes deeper than that” - KPO8903*

*“Very little understanding” – KPO7228*

*“not really” - KPO5544*

*“I don't feel totally confident but I think I know how it starts and reasons behind it for Profit and exploitation” – KPO3960*

*“Not completely confident, but with little training would be more so” – KPO6949*

### **Police perception and understanding:**

The only other question that was asked to police officers and not the public, was in relation to the police's perception of public understanding. The police were asked, what do you perceive the public's view of modern slavery to be? The majority of responses expressed that public knowledge is limited to non-existent (n=65).

*“I believe the public only have limited understanding of modern slavery” - KPO1148*

*“I think the Public as a whole tend to ignore it as its a sad subject and if its not happening to them or anyone they know then its not real” - KPO3960*

*“A lot of people may have heard the term but have no idea what it is. There isn't enough awareness in the public eye. If I did not do the role I do now I'm not convinced I would know what it is by just being a member of the public. I'm not sure the general public even view it as a crime for the majority” – KPO5582*

*“limited to none. more so through ignorance” – KPO4376*

There also seems to be a consensus that the police believe the public has a specific perception of a typical modern slavery victim. *“I think the general public have a lower understanding of modern slavery and likely consider it in terms of sex workers and women and girls being trafficked for this purpose. Whilst this is obviously a problem it is merely one stream. It is hard to judge how seriously this is viewed although TV dramas etc” – KPO3534*

*“My assumption is that most people feel that it largely consists of sex work and largely effects foreign nationals whereas the reality is more varied and nuanced” – KPO8081*

*“I believe sexual exploitation is well known, but other forms of modern slavery less known” -KPO6782*

*“Prostitutes as that is the one most seen on TV and in films. I do not think the general public would think of places like nail bars etc” - KPO1295*

Kent Police officers also feel that the public might obtain their knowledge of modern slavery from potentially unreliable sources. *“Prostitutes as that is the one most seen on TV and in films. I do not think the general public would think of places like nail bars etc” – KPO9089*

*“would imagine the average member of public would have a basic knowledge from what they have learned from the news and TV shows and documentaries” – KPO0244*

*“I feel that most members of the public are only aware of what they read on the internet or hear on the news” – KPO6589*

*“films and TV go someway to at least show there is criminal and sexual exploitation” – KPO0923*

*The following questions were all provided to the police and the public. The police and the public were both asked, 'what do you understand modern slavery to mean?'. A significant amount of police officers noted some form of exploitation as a definition (n=68).*

*"Modern slavery is the forcing of a person to perform an act which falls under exploitation but also covers the movement of the person under trafficking" - KPO4376*

*"An illegal act of exploitation of another for personal or financial gain" – KPO4404.*

### **Modern slavery understanding:**

The police were asked which forms of modern slavery they were most aware of. The most mentioned by the police were sex trafficking (n=50) and labour trafficking (n=30). The forms of modern slavery that were mentioned the least by the police were Organ Harvesting (n=11), forced marriage (n=8), domestic servitude (n=7). Fishing as a form of modern slavery was not mentioned once (n=0).

Despite the majority of the police naming a few forms of modern slavery, one police officer was unable to answer (n=1)

*"unsure" – KPO1295*

One of the key themes discovered from the data, is that there are a number of signs that the police may expect to see from a typical modern slavery victim. Anxiety or nervous behaviour was the most noted by the police (n=45), as well as a lack of personal identification or documents, the police mentioned this many times (n=30). A lack of access to finances was mentioned (n=36) times. Being not well kept and in a poor state was mentioned (n=43) times. Moreover, the victim being reluctant to speak or make eye contact was also noted by the police (n=30) All police officers were able to list some signs of a victim (n=72).

*"No freedom of movement. No/little access to money. No passport or official paperwork" – KPO0244.*

*"Reluctance to seek help = avoid eye contact and dont speak" - KPO9685*

## Gender bias

Much of the available research around police and public perceptions of modern slavery implies that there is a gender bias, and a certain view of an ideal victim. Both research groups were asked “which gender is the typical victim of modern slavery likely to be. The number of police officers who answered female were (n=17). Most police officers felt that both genders were just as likely to be a victim of modern slavery and that there is no certain gender that is more at risk of being a victim (n=44).

*“I don't say there is a gender which is more effected - both equally” – KPO5014*

*“A mix of both male and females depending on the type of work they are required for” – KPO5879*

*“I think both are equally as typical but perhaps for different reasons. I think women are more vulnerable to being exploited sexually, whereas men are more vulnerable to be exploited through labour intensive work” – KPO9887*

*“I would think it is both male and female, dependant on the role required of them to satisfy the perpetrator's needs” – KPO6558*

Surprisingly there were a number of police officers who felt that males were the most common victim of modern slavery, which goes against the usual perception found in the existing literature surrounding modern slavery.

*“From my experience I see males more commonly, this could only be due to what is being asked of them. Males being exploited at a car wash does not inspire outrage to the majority of people or these businesses taking advantage of this type of labour would cease to be.*

*I cannot however say this with any certainty, only my own perception” - KPO7662*

*“probably leans slightly towards males as the main victim rather than female” – KPO8158*

*“male unless for sexual exploitation or housekeeper type work” – KPO7332*

*“Mostly men but also women” – KPO1148*

The remaining police officers felt that females were most likely to be a victim over males.

*“Predominantly young females between the ages of 15 – 25” – KPO6949*

*“Females- we are seen as more vulnerable and therefore get victimised and bullied into doing things we shouldn’t have to do” – KPO2614*

*“Could identify as any gender however most I’ve encountered are female, forced into prostitution”- KPO9089*

*“Women and children are most vulnerable to a degree, however men can also be targeted – KPO7046*

### **Ideal victim**

In addition to a gender bias, there may be a misrepresentation of an ideal victim of modern slavery. In other words, there is a set view on what a typical victim of modern slavery will look like and as a result some victims that don’t fit the mould could be missed. The police and the public were both asked about their perception of a modern slavery victim, the results were very similar, and some themes became apparent.

In terms of police responses to this question, the majority of officers felt that there was no typical victim of modern slavery, and that a victim could ‘look like anyone’ (n=46).

*“I dont think there is a typical victim and if you think there is then you risk missing victims” – KPO4695*

*“There is no typical appearance of a MSHT victim and to suggest that there is would be wholly detrimental to the ethos of raising awareness of this hidden crime type” – KPO4376*

*“Television shows and the media often portray young women from Eastern Europe, but people from any background could be exploited under the 'correct' circumstances” – KPO2214*

There were a number of officers who expressed their similarities with the concept of an ‘ideal victim’. For example, that a victim is likely to be female, young and of an ethnic minority (n=15).

*“18+ female, Eastern European” – KPO7228*

*“In my opinion the general characteristics would be young, female, eastern European looking, dirty clothes, English not their first language, looking downtrodden and unhappy” – KPO3631*

*“A young female in her early 20's who is timid, shy, anxious and nervous. Doesn't talk much, if at all. Is quick to do whatever her controller wants.” – KPO3426*

The rest of the police participants mentioned male victims and forced labour as being the first gut response to the question (n=11).

*“Working age males', late teens to mid 20's, eastern European, Middle Eastern. Slim, medium height, dark skinned, unshaven, often dirty and dressed in generic working clothes” – KPO4746*

*“I believe forced labour to be massively under the radar and that there are many eastern european, young males, who are forced to work that we don't know about” - KPO6782*

*“Typical is difficult but I would suggest more commonly seen. If I was to look at males, I would suggest a young Eastern European male 16-30 years old, looking fairly fit for labouring work, often looking unkempt, potentially not very clean dependant on living conditions, they will often be isolated to their community within the business often with language barriers” – KPO7662*

To delve more into ethnicity, the police and the public were both asked a separate question with regard to this. The top mentioned ethnicities for the police were ‘Eastern European’ (n=32) followed by ‘any ethnicity’ (n=17), and ‘Asian’ (n=12).

*“Unknown, I would imagine a mixture of ethnicities. I have mostly dealt with Eastern European workers.” – KPO1148*

In terms of age, a number of police officers noted that the typical victim of modern slavery could be any age (n=35).

*“I dont believe that there is one typical victim as this area is too wide to encompass just one type”*

*-KPO9695*

*“This cant be quantified. I have come across 50 year old females in brothels but also teenagers in cannabis factories” – KPO9225*

The most likely age from a Kent Police officers’ perspective was between the ages of 16-30 years old (n=28). A few officers expressed that children under 18 were most likely to be a victim (n=9). The oldest age noted was 70 years old and the youngest age was 8 years old.

### **Preventing slavery**

When asked if there was anything individuals could do to prevent themselves from becoming a victim of modern slavery. With regard to the police, 68.1% answered yes, and 44.4% answered no. The clear perception of the police and the public was that, at times, slavery can be prevented.

*“if being recruited for employment ensure it is legitimate” – KPO4376*

*“It is understandable that people want a better life. Victim blaming is not going to change the fact that people are always willing to take a chance in order to get that. It is incumbent upon law enforcement to do all it can to educate potential victims” – KPO3534*

*“Not engaging with people who you dont know to be trustworthy. Pay attention to the how the world works and not assume that kind offers are genuine” – KPO7332*

*“You can try to educate yourself, to create a better life for yourself” – KPO332*

## Quantitative research:

### Prevention of MS:

Modern slavery is a prevalent crime which effects many individuals for different reasons. With this survey, an objective was to discover whether the police and the public feel that modern slavery can be prevented, and if so, what can be done. The results are as follows.

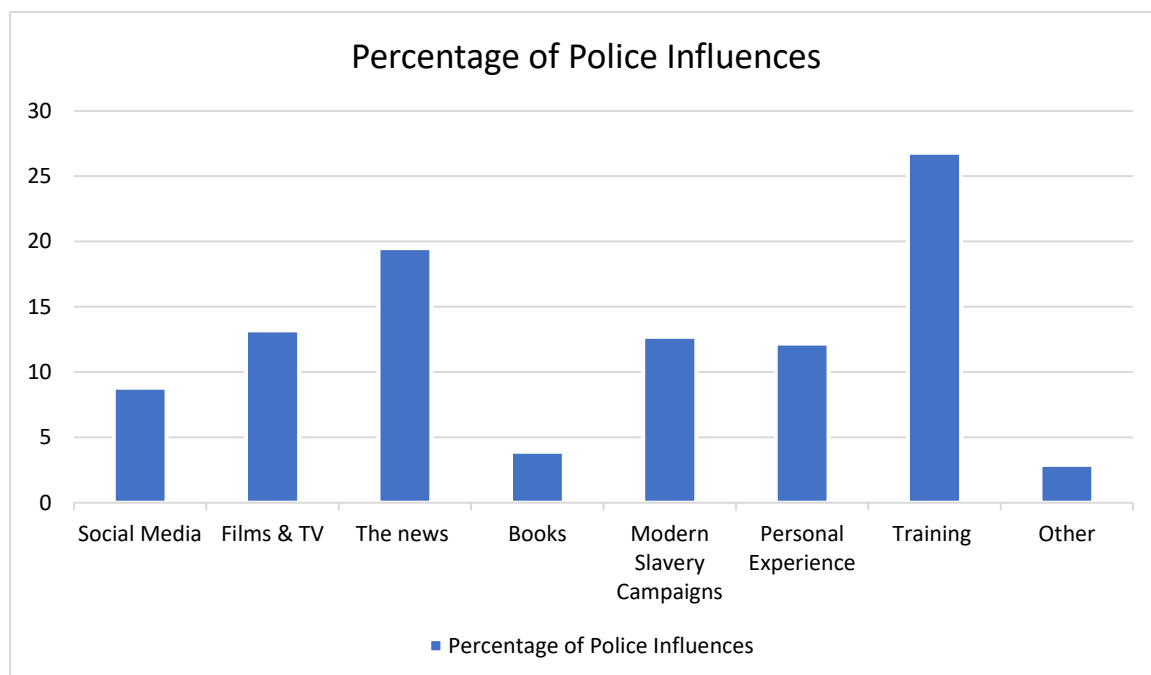
**Figure 1 – Can individuals prevent exploitation - Police**

Police	Yes	No
	49	23
% within group	61.9%	38.9%

Figure 1 shows the percentage of the police which feel individuals can prevent themselves from Modern Slavery. To expand, (n = 49) which accounted for 61% of the police responses felt that individuals could prevent themselves from MS. The standard deviation for the police was 0.5, this is a fairly low figure meaning that the police were quite like-minded with their responses.



**Figure 2 – Influences of police perception**



The police and the public were asked to identify all relevant influences on their understanding of modern slavery. In other words, they were asked which factors have most impacted their knowledge of modern slavery. The options available were films and TV, The News, Books, MS campaigns, Personal Experience, Training by an organisation, Social Media and Other. The Police's main influences were Training from an organisation, The news, Film and TV. The police responses have a high concentration of where their knowledge is from. The police's perception mainly comes from training by an organisation (n=76%), meaning (n=24%) of the police did not select training as one of their influences of their modern slavery perception. The police are more likely to have their personal experience effect their perception of modern slavery (n=35%). This percentage may suggest that not many police officers have dealt with a modern slavery issue in the South East. Modern slavery campaigns also ranked highly for the police (n=36%). There were no 'Other' influences noted.

***Figure 3 – Police perception of how often MS occurs in Kent***

<b>Rank value</b>	<b>Option</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard deviation</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Never</b>	<b>0</b>		
<b>2</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>4</b>		
<b>3</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>12</b>		
<b>4</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>38</b>		
<b>5</b>	<b>Very often</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>3.97</b>	<b>0.8</b>

Figure 3 shows the mean score for the police's perception of how often MS occurs in Kent. The mean score was 3.97, which sits on the scale 'sometimes' (3). The standard deviation was 0.8, meaning that the answers were fairly unanimous across the police.

***Figure 4 – Police perception of how often MS occurs nationally***

<b>Rank value</b>	<b>Option</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard deviation</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Never</b>	<b>0</b>		
<b>2</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>3</b>		
<b>3</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>23</b>		
<b>4</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>49</b>		
<b>5</b>	<b>Very often</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>4.05</b>	<b>0.8</b>

Figure 4 shows the police's perception on how often MS occurs nationally. The mean score for this question was 4.05. Meaning that the average answer was 'Often' (4). The standard deviation was 0.8, again showing that the scale ratings for the police were fairly unanimous.

## **Public results:**

### **Qualitative data**

When asked ‘what do you understand modern slavery to mean’, a large majority of the public mentioned some form of exploitation (n=80).

*“Illegal exploitation for personal gain” – P2755*

*“The illegal exploitation of individuals which violates basic human rights” – P7612*

For the public, the most mentioned forms of modern slavery were sex trafficking (n=90) and labour trafficking (n=40). The least mentioned forms of modern slavery were forced marriage (n=8), organ harvesting (n=3) and fishing (n=0).

There were a few participants that were completely unaware of any forms of modern slavery (n=5).

*“I’m not aware of any classifications of modern slavery” – P6418*

*“I don’t know” – P5978*

*“uncertain” – P2721*

### **Ideal Victim**

One of the key themes discovered from the data, is that there are a number of signs that the public may expect to see from a typical modern slavery victim. Anxiety or nervous behaviour was the most noted by the public (n=82). As well as a lack of personal identification or documents (n=45). A lack of access to finances was mentioned (n=60) times. Being not well kept and in a poor state was also mentioned by the public (n=76) times. The victim being reluctant to speak or make eye contact was noted by the public (n=66) times and several members of the public were unable to discuss any signs that may point to a modern slavery victim (n=12).

*“Unwillingness to communicate with strangers. Lack of independence eg without own transport of the cash means by which to travel. Not being able to buy things for themselves, maybe even tea or a snack”*  
-P3677.

*“Not have personal identification on them or many personal belongings.  
To be under someone’s else control. Reluctant to talk, appear frightened”* – P5657

## **Gender bias**

Much of the available research around public perceptions of modern slavery implies that there is a gender bias, and a certain view of an ideal victim. The public were asked, “which gender is the typical victim of modern slavery likely to be”. Out of the public respondents the majority of responses stated female (n=82). A number of public respondents responded that it could be either gender (n=25). The remaining of the respondent’s answered male (n=3). The public perceived females to be the most common victim of modern slavery.

*“Female - particularly in sex trafficking related slavery”* – P4288

*“As a member of this gender, I would most likely say female. Mostly due to the contrast in physical power in relation to males, as well as females are more likely to be sexually attacked* – P5054

*“Most likely to be female”* – P8768

*“I feel like females would be the gender that falls victim to most modern slavery”* – P3103

Many public respondents felt that both genders were just as likely to be a victim.

*“Depending on the type of slavery, work exploitation men, sexual exploitation women”* – P2749

*“There is no one gender, it can occur to any vulnerable person, although it often usually talked in terms of women, children or ethnic minorities”* – P1308

*“Any, slavery is so varied that different genders could be targeted for different work”* – P3246

*“Female if being trafficked or exploited, male if given small wages”* – P6421

A small amount of public respondents felt that males were most likely to be a victim (n=3).

*“Both, but I'd say probably fractionally more men than women” – P8657*

*“Male” – P4307.*

## **Ideal victim**

In addition to a gender bias, there may be a misrepresentation of an ideal victim of modern slavery. In other words, there is a set view on what a typical victim of modern slavery will look like and as a result some victims that don't fit the mould could be missed. The public were asked about their perception of a modern slavery victim and some themes became apparent. For the public, the majority of respondents had a similar view. The consensus was that the typical victim of modern slavery is usually a young female who is likely to be of ethnic minority (n=70).

*“Young female who looks frightened. Usually accompanied by an older controlling male who doesn't let her talk” – P7573*

*“Very young, typically female, from a country or part of a country with a poor infrastructure, economy and/or system of law enforcement. Typically an underdeveloped or wartime country. They may appear malnourished, pale, signs of substance abuse, reserved or anxious in public spaces” – P6418*

*“I would quite often think of a young girl who is very shy as speaking up tends to be punished” – P4744*

*“I think the typical profile would be a young female. Not particularly well presented. Nervous disposition. Lack of eye contact. Possibly has injuries. Accompanied by someone most of the time with the person speaking on their behalf” – P1527*

There were a few public respondents who were not aware of the signs to look out for and therefore did not have an answer for the question (n=8). Further responses argued that there is a certain perception of a modern slavery victim, and some forms of modern slavery may receive focus more than others.

*“I perceive modern slavery more as sex trafficking probably because in my opinion its the worst one I know. Social media/News outlets also focus on this so its definitely shaped me to view it this way” – P8195.*

*“Sex industry mostly young girls cheaply dressed and possibly drugged” – P6329*

*“I think the most common typical victim is somebody quite young either a child or young adult. I think they are more likely to be a woman because with something like sex trafficking it's women that are sought after more and slave trade some religions and cultures believe women should serve men.” – P1342*

Interestingly, sex trafficking was the most mentioned form of modern slavery when the public were discussing their view on a typical victim (n=50). To delve more into ethnicity, the public were asked a separate question with regard to this. The top ethnicities respondents mentioned were ‘Eastern European’ (n=31), followed by ‘Asian’ (n=27), ‘any ethnicity’ (n=27) and ‘Indian’ (n=8).

*“I believe there is no "typical" ethnicity as human trafficking affects many nationalities. Having said that many documentaries and news report which I've seen frequently feature individuals from Vietnam and Eastern Europe” - P1527*

Regarding the most likely age, there were a few participants that noted ‘any age’ (n=11), the youngest age noted was 3 years old and the oldest was 60 years old. The most common age range noted by the public was 10-30 years old (n=39). A number of public participants noted 30-60 years old (n=13), the rest of the participants noted 3-25 (n=9).

## Preventing slavery

Modern slavery is a prevalent crime which effects many individuals for different reasons. With this survey, an objective was to discover whether the respondents feel that modern slavery can be prevented, and if so, what can be done. The results are as follows.

When asked if there was anything individuals could do to prevent themselves from becoming a victim of modern slavery, 57.3% of the public answered yes and 42.7% answered no.

*“Don’t buy into false promises of a better life” – P1070*

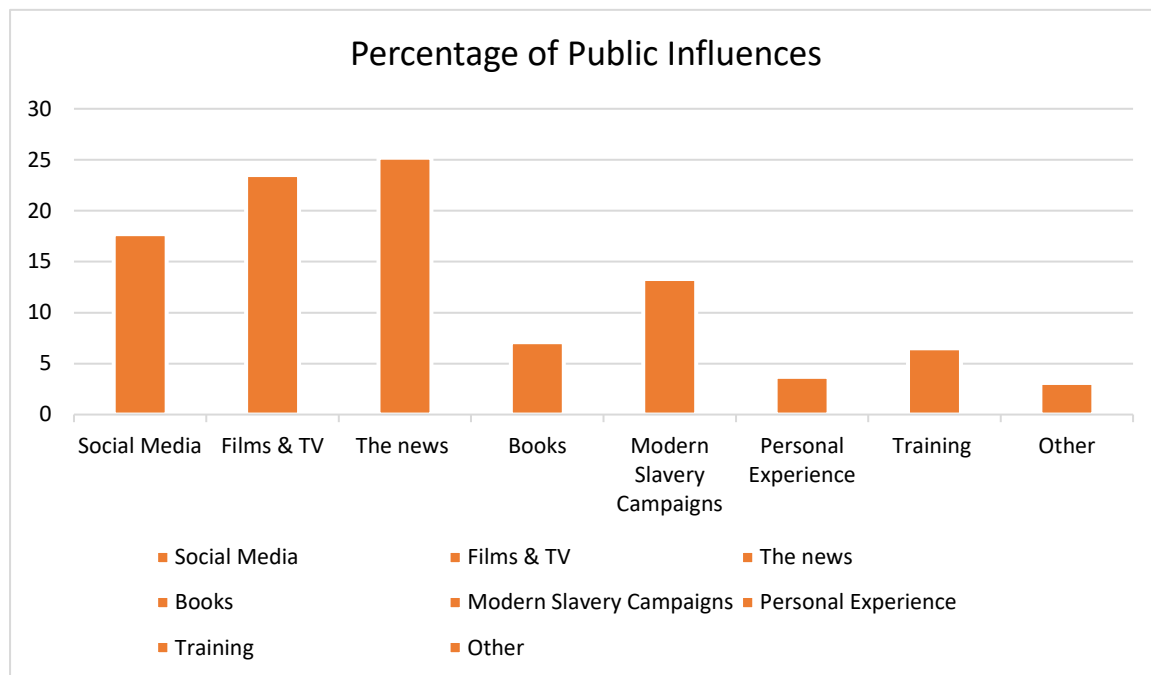
*“Speak up for themselves” P2240*

**Figure 5 – Can individuals prevent exploitation – public**

Public	Yes	No
	63	52
% within group	57.3%	42.7%

(n=63) of public participants which made up 57.3% of the public felt that individuals can prevent themselves from becoming a victim of modern slavery. These prevention figures are high which may represent an element of victim blaming across the respondents.

**Figure 6 - Public influences of modern slavery**



The respondents were asked to select all applicable modern slavery influences. The options available were films and TV, The News, Books, MS campaigns, Personal Experience, Training by an organisation, Social Media and Other. The public's main influences were Social Media, Films and TV and The News. The mean for the public was 'the news' which was the average answer. The standard deviation for the public was 1.9, which is slightly higher than previous SD tests, meaning that the public's influences were more divided. Modern slavery campaigns accounted for (n=35%). For the public, other influences were books (n=19%), social media (n=47%). 'Other' responses were noted as Work, University degrees and discussions with friends as discussed previously in the qualitative section of the thesis.



***Figure 7 – how often MS occurs in Kent – Public***

<b>Rank value</b>	<b>Option</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard deviation</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Never</b>	<b>0</b>		
<b>2</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>25</b>		
<b>3</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>35</b>		
<b>4</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>44</b>		
<b>5</b>	<b>Very often</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3.28</b>	<b>0.88</b>

Figure 7 shows the mean score and standard deviation of the public's perception of how often MS occurs in the South East. The rank value for this question started from 1 – Never, 2 – Rarely, 3 – Sometimes, 4 – Often , 5 – Very often. The mean score for the public was 3.28, meaning that the average answer was 'Sometimes'. The standard deviation score of 0.88 shows that there was more of a variation in the public's answers for this question.

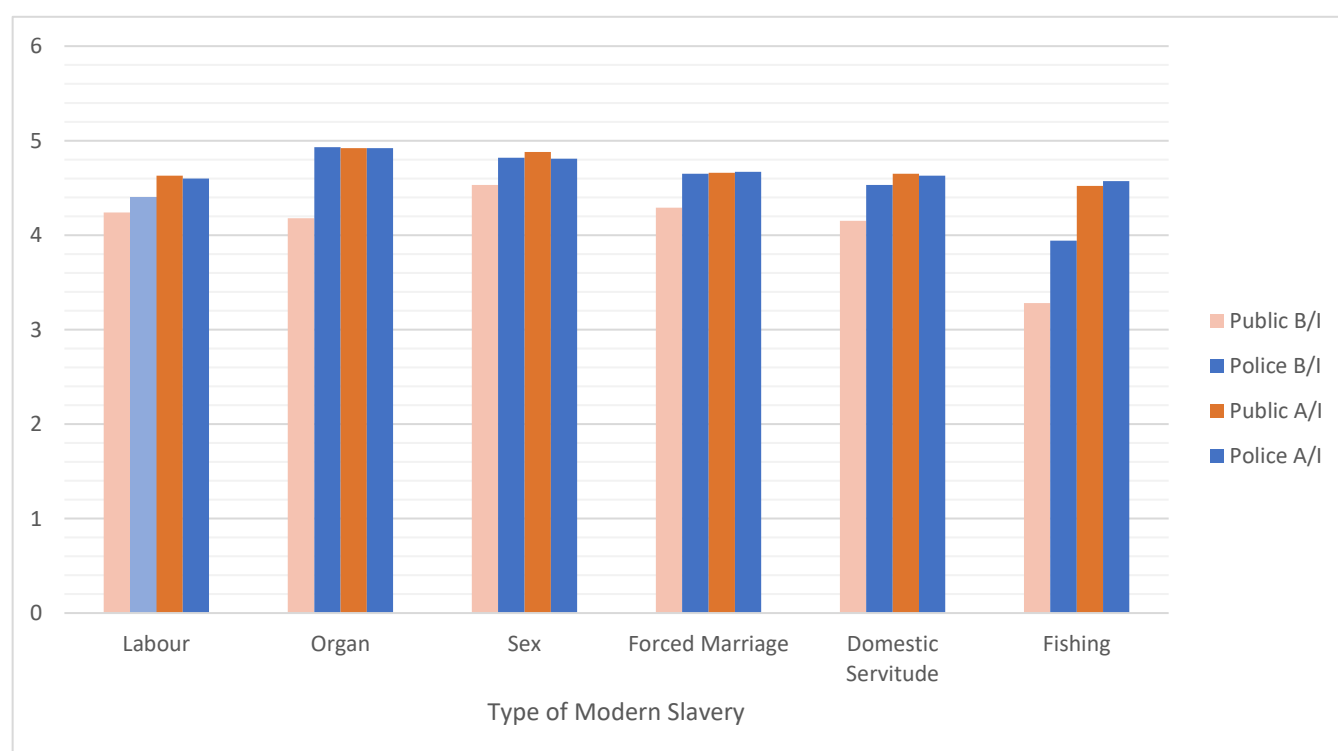
***Figure 8 – Public perception of how often MS occurs nationally***

<b>Rank value</b>	<b>Option</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard deviation</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Never</b>	<b>0</b>		
<b>2</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>4</b>		
<b>3</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>7</b>		
<b>4</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>37</b>		
<b>5</b>	<b>Very often</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>4.29</b>	<b>0.63</b>

Figure 8 shows that the public believe modern slavery occurs more often Nationally than it does in Kent. Many more participants selected ‘Very often’ (5) than previously when asked about MS in Kent. The mean score was 4.29 which equates to ‘Often’ (4) on the scale. The standard deviation was 0.63, which shows that the public answers were more similar this time compared to the answers for Nationally.

## Police and Public combined results

*Figure 9 – Mean scores pre-information and post-information regarding harm of MS offences – Police and Public*



This figure shows the rating of harm of MS offences by the police and the public. Both groups were asked to rate each form of modern slavery using the options 1-5. 1 – Not very harmful, 2 – Rarely harmful, 3 – Sometimes harmful, 4 - Mostly harmful, 5 – Extremely harmful. The colours below are categorised into police and public ‘After Information’ and police and public ‘Before Information’. Before the information was provided, the public’s perception of harm was a lot lower than the police’s perception which may show a lack of understanding of MS compared to the police.

After the information, the public has similar views to the police, due to the significant change in their responses after the knowledge. Organ Harvesting and Sex Trafficking were seen as the most harmful form of MS before and after the information provided. After the information, the police changed their level of harm for fishing, labour trafficking and domestic servitude, which may suggest that further training is needed for these types. Interestingly, the police marked labour trafficking as much more harmful after the information, which may imply a lack of knowledge on this form specifically. Fishing saw the biggest change in responses across the police and the public.

***Figure 10 – Mean scores for measurement of public and police knowledge of MS offences***

	Public Mean (1 completely different, 5 completely accurate).	Police Mean (1 completely different, 5 completely accurate).
Labour	4.24	4.44
Organ	4.18	4.39
Sex	4.53	4.53
Forced Marriage	4.29	4.35
Domestic Servitude	4.15	4.35
Fishing	3.28	3.94

The police and the public were provided with some brief explanations of the different MS offences. From these explanations, the participants were then asked to rate their knowledge from 1 – Completely different, 2 – Different, 3 – Slightly different, 4 – Fairly accurate, to 5 – Completely accurate. The mean

scores for this question were relatively high across the police and the public, meaning that the majority of participants felt that their knowledge was fairly accurate to completely accurate. However, modern slavery offences such as ‘fishing’ sat at ‘slightly different’ (3) meaning that this may be the most unrecognised form of slavery. The most similar mean score for the police and the public was ‘sex trafficking’. Both groups mean scores were 4.53, meaning that the average answer for sex trafficking knowledge by the police and the public was ‘fairly accurate’ (4). Across the police responses, they had a higher perception of their knowledge with regard to how accurate it is. The public were most confident in their understanding of sex trafficking and forced marriage, whereas the police were most confident in their understanding of sex trafficking and labour exploitation.

**Figure 11 – Percieved ethnicities for Modern Slavery Victims – police and public**

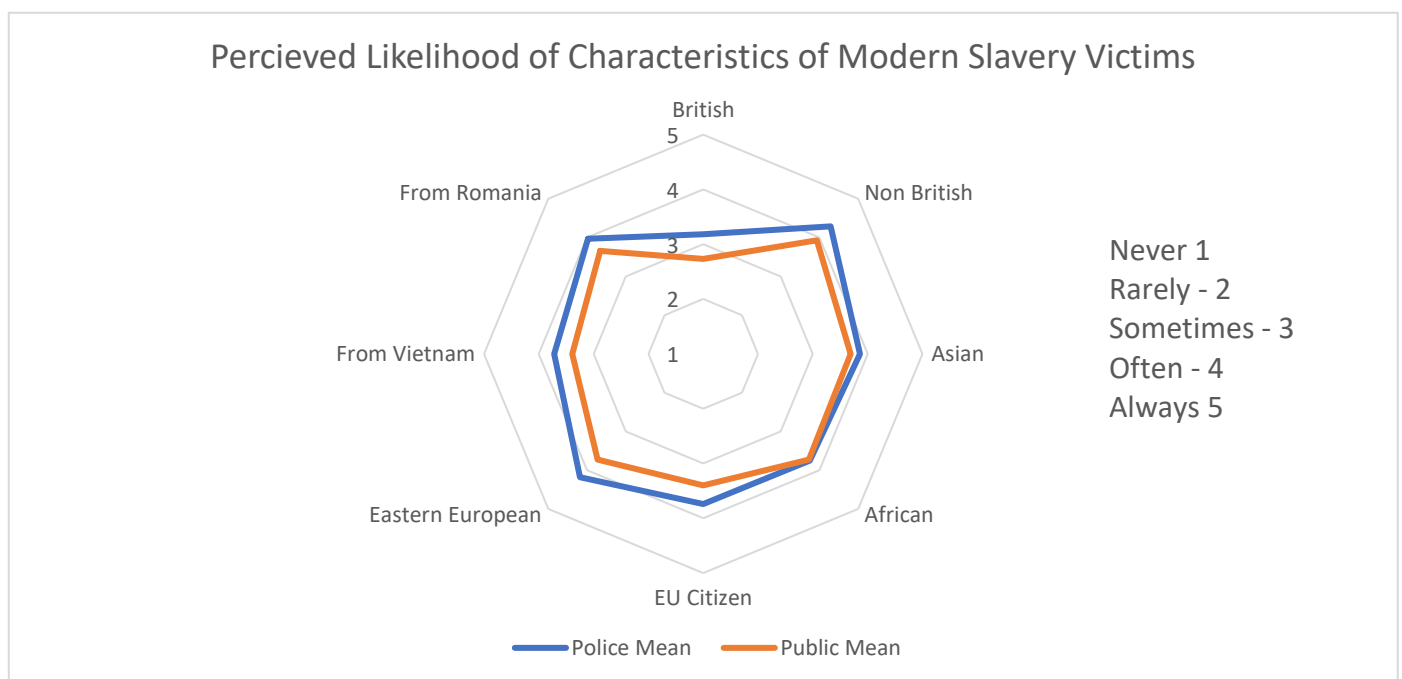


Figure 11 shows the mean scores for the police and public perceived ethnicities for MS victims. The scale ranges from 1 – Never, 2 – Rarely, 3 – Sometimes, 4 – Often, 5 – Always. This question allowed the police and public to choose from over 9 characteristics, to determine their view of a typical victim of slavery. Figure 15 is a radar chart; the outer line represents 5 – always and the closest to the middle represents 1 – never. The public and police mean scores for these ethnicities are shown in the chart. For

example, the police mean score for 'Is Asian' was 3.86, meaning 'sometimes' was the average answer. For the police and the public, both groups believe that a victim of slavery is most likely to be non-British. Eastern Europeans have the highest perceived likelihood of being a victim, with Asian and African having a similar likelihood to each other. The police selected a higher likelihood for each characteristic than the public. This could signal that they believe modern slavery to be more prevalent in Kent than the public. It could also show that they have less of a stereotyped view of a modern slavery victim. In terms of SD, there were a number of different figures produced through this survey question, however, to summarise, the police had a higher figure for each characteristic than the public showing that those surveyed were less in agreement than the public. In other words, there seems to be more differences in responses with the police over the public. However, a higher SD for the police promotes the healthy concept that a MS victim could be anyone. By the public holding a lower standard deviation than the police, this may highlight that the public could stereotype victims more and all have a similar view. The police had a standard deviation of 0.99 for British. So, although the mean result (n=4) shows that the police think modern slavery victims are less likely to be British than non-British, the standard deviation suggests this is a less unanimous view across the police. The public SD for non-British was 0.75, which shows that different perspectives were amongst both groups, not just the police.

**Figure 12 – Percieved gender and age for Modern Slavery Victims – police and public**

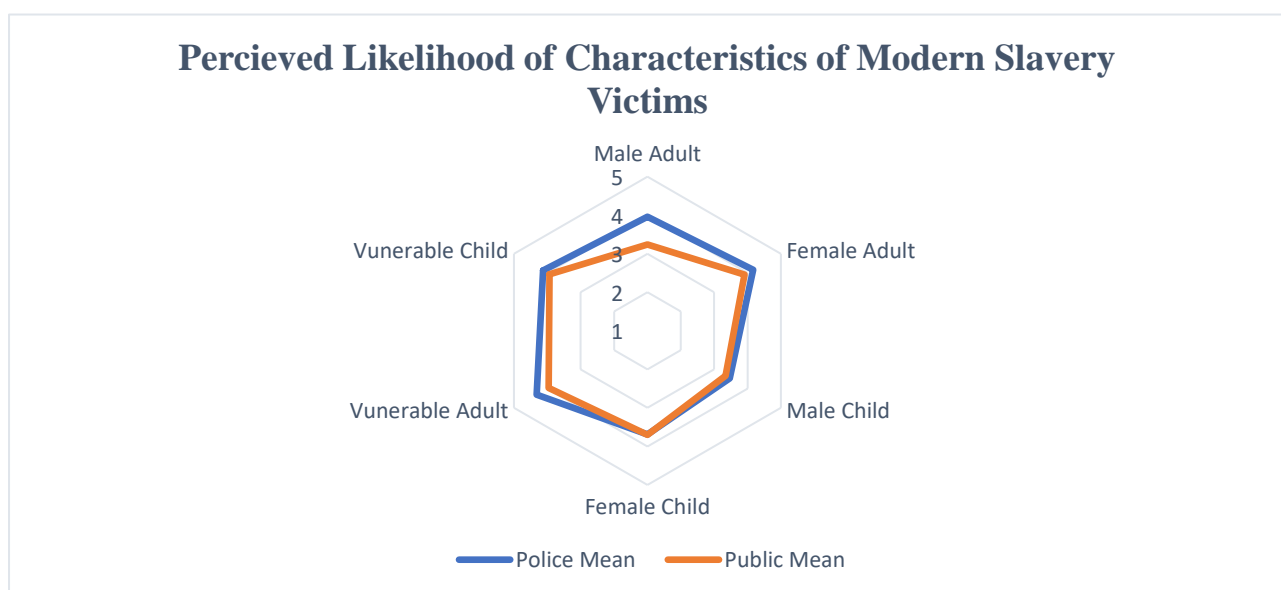
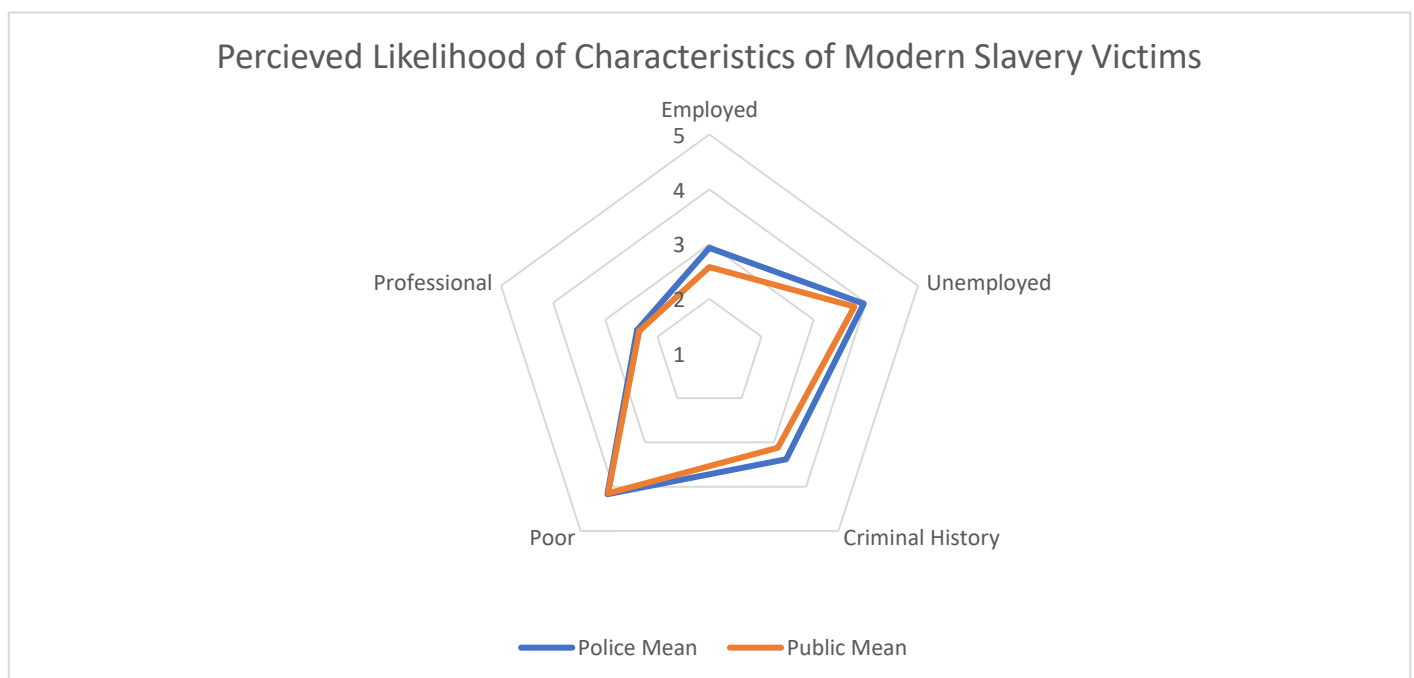


Figure 12 shows that both the Police and the Public have a similar perception of the characteristics shown above. A victim is perceived to be most likely an adult over a child. However, the public perceive that being a male adult is the least likely victim, this supports views from surrounding literature that male victims are not seen as vulnerable towards exploitation. The perception is that being either Female or Vulnerable also increases your likelihood of being a victim for both police and public. The difference between male and female is smaller for the police compared to the public. Overall, the police mean differed less between each characteristic which could indicate that they stereotype victims less based on age and gender than the public. In terms of the victim being an adult female, this was the public's lowest standard deviation, meaning that much of the public had very similar answers for this characteristic. Meaning, the majority perceived an adult female to be at great risk of exploitation over others. More varied answers like the police, suggests that all police respondents have different views, and may be more open to the idea of many different types of victims compared to just one (female adult). The police's answers varied more on the likelihood of each characteristic. It is worth noting that mostly all SD were below 1 which signals a low deviation to the average answer for all characteristics, this also suggests that the standard deviation may not be significant. See appendix N for a breakdown of all SD figures.

**Figure 13 – perceived status of MS victims**



For figure 13, the Police and Public Perception is very similar with both groups believing that being unemployed, and poor are significant indicators in likelihood of being a modern slavery victim. It is also perceived that having a criminal history increases likelihood of being a victim. The results show that it is perceived that employed and professionals are rarely victims of modern slavery. See appendix N for more information on mean scores and standard deviation.

**Figure 14 - Percieved traits of Modern Slavery Victims – police and public**

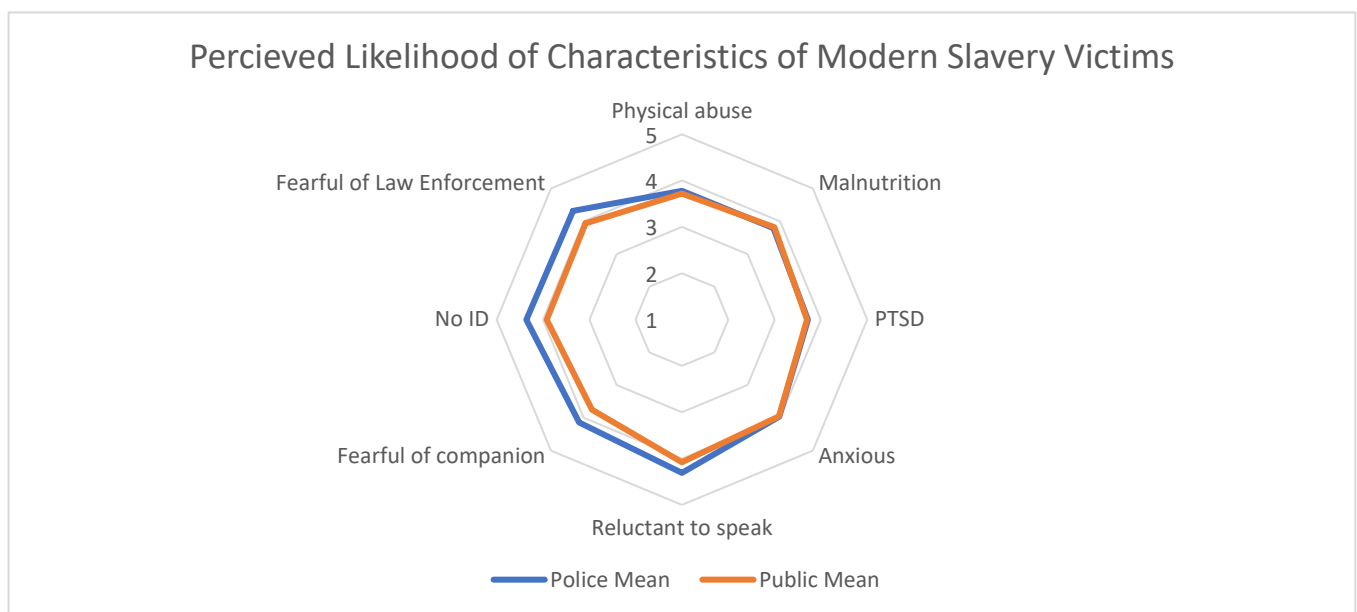


Figure 14 shows that the police see victims as more often to be anxious, reluctant to speak, fearful of a companion, fearful of law enforcement and no form of identification. The public were more likely to choose sometimes as an answer for these options, which may suggest that they are unsure of the characteristics to look out for in a potential victim of slavery. For this particular section, there are higher standard deviation figures which can be seen in appendix N. The higher standard deviation shows that whilst the public believe that No ID and fearful of law enforcement are often characteristics of a modern slavery victim, there is a higher variation in answers, which may suggest that the public are less unanimous in what characteristics they believe a modern slavery victim to hold.

## **Discussion**

This thesis aims to contribute towards the research surrounding modern slavery in the area of Kent. As discussed throughout this research, there is a paucity of data regarding police and public perceptions of modern slavery, not just in Kent but nationally also. An online survey was provided to the police and the public, which included a number of open qualitative questions and a few in the form of multiple choice and Likert scale style quantitative questions. One of the survey's was open to members of the public based in Kent that were over 18 years old. The result was 110 responses. With regard to respondents of the police survey, there were a number of different members of staff from call handlers to detectives and police constables. The end result of this survey was 72 members of staff from Kent Police. Based on the responses from the police and the public, the main themes were identified. These themes are in relation to the attitudes and perceptions of modern slavery by the respondents. The results aim to answer the research questions originally set out, for example, determining the level of MS knowledge the police and the public hold, which forms of MS are perceived to be most harmful and prevalent and what do the police and the public perceive a typical victim of slavery to look like. Firstly, the level of MS knowledge discovered through the research will be discussed. This section will make reference to Kent Police training. The next section will move onto perception of harm for MS offences and prevalence, this will raise the issue of a gender bias. Following this, the traits and characteristics of a typical victim will be analysed, through the concept of an ideal victim.

Through examining previous research by Weitzer (2014), Van Dyke, (2019), Ricard- Guay and Hanley (2015) and Dandurand (2017) it is clear that there is a general lack of knowledge regarding all forms of slavery. It was important to try to examine the level of knowledge in the South East of England specifically, due to its hot spot nature and close proximity to Dover. One could assume that the findings in Kent would be similar to other research conducted in the UK, however, every area is different and the understanding of the perception of Kent residents is vital to improve victim identification and prevent exploitation moving forward.



To discuss modern slavery understanding in Kent, there were few individuals who were very unsure when asked how to define modern slavery. One particular public respondent answered “*uncertain*” – P2721, there was a similar response from one police officer who also claimed to be “*unsure*” – KPO1295. These two quotes itself start to paint the picture that MS understanding in Kent could be limited. Despite this, the research also shows that the police have far more understanding of modern slavery than the public, due to their personal experience and training. However, this is to be expected as the public will arguably have much less exposure to modern slavery. Despite this, it is concerning that even one of the police officers was unsure how to define modern slavery. This could suggest a need for more modern slavery training.

The police have their own perspective on the level of MS knowledge the public holds. (n=65) of police respondents felt that the general public knowledge of MS is relatively non – existent or very limited. One particular officer stated “*I believe the public only have limited understanding of modern slavery*”- KPO1148. The consensus of the police was that any knowledge the public has is typically linked to sex trafficking or prostitution; “*I think the general public have a lower understanding of modern slavery and likely consider it in terms of sex workers and women and girls being trafficked for this purpose. Whilst this is obviously a problem it is merely one stream. It is hard to judge how seriously this is viewed although TV dramas etc*” – KPO3534. The quantitative side of the research supports this claim, which will be discussed further in following chapters. Whilst the majority of the police were confident on their understanding of MS, there were a few respondents who felt they needed more guidance, this however will be discussed in the police training section of this discussion.

## **Gender bias**

One of the main aims of this research, was to discover which gender the police and the public associate with the typical victim of modern slavery. The existing research surrounding this topic, may allow for the assumption that there is a focus on females as a victim of modern slavery, resulting in male victims being side-lined, or perhaps not taken seriously. This may stem from the reason that male victims seem to be disregarded within the Palermo Protocol definition of human trafficking and modern slavery (Shoaps, 2013). With regard to police officers in the United Kingdom, one academic suggests that police officers are not aware of how to support male victims of slavery, and therefore have had to approach charities and activists to learn how to support male victims (Ricard-Guay and Hanley, 2015). Therefore, a main aim of this research was to discover whether there may be a similar situation with police officers in Kent. Moreover, if the public have the perception that males are not vulnerable to modern slavery, this could arguably drive policy development or police action towards a certain type of victim, this is what is known Nils Christies perspective of an 'ideal victim' (O'Brien, 2013; Christie, 1986).

Across the public, the majority of participants had the perception that females were the gender to most likely be a victim of modern slavery. Out of 110 public participants, 82 of those individuals perceived females alone as being the main victim of modern slavery (74.5%), with no mention of males. 25 public participants held the perception that it could be either gender (22.7%). The percentage of public participants who viewed males as the most common victim of modern slavery was (2.7%) with only 3 participants. Therefore, out of large number of public responses, very few people perceived males alone to be a victim of modern slavery. This supports the view of Barron and Frost (2018) and Ricard – Guay and Hanley (2020) that males are not deemed as vulnerable with regards to becoming a victim of modern slavery.

With regard to the police, there are clear differences in their perception compared to the public. Out of 72 police respondents, 44 (61%) expressed that there is no specific gender that is more likely to be a victim, in other words males and females are just as likely as each other with regard to becoming a victim of MS. This is a much higher figure than the public perceived it to be. This suggests that the

police do not have as much of a gender bias as the public, in fact the police are aware that a victim can be anyone. 17 of the police respondents felt that females were a more common victim of modern slavery (24%). The remaining 11 police officers perceived males to be the most likely victim of modern slavery (15%).

It could be argued that the public may hold a misrepresentation of a typical modern slavery victim. Specifically with regard to gender, the majority of public respondents felt that females were the only victim of modern slavery (74.5%). In other words, males were perceived to be an unlikely victim by the majority. This view supports the opinions of O' Brien (2013) and Ricard – Guay and Hanley (2020). Furthermore, Andrijasevic and Mai (2016) argue that anti-trafficking campaigns may portray an image of an 'ideal victim' who is a female migrant. In the process of this, male victims may be side-lined. The portrayal of a female in modern slavery campaigns could arguably result in a perception of increased vulnerability towards females, and the opposite view towards males. Those who view modern slavery campaigns may hold the understanding that males are not at risk of becoming a victim of modern slavery. In addition to modern slavery campaigns, the public may gain their perception of modern slavery through the news. To expand on this, sex trafficking is widely reported in the mass media, arguably more so than other forms of modern slavery. Sex trafficking is portrayed as a crime that holds mostly female victims (UNODC, 2016; Voronova and Radjenovic, 2016). Therefore, the majority of the public may feel that females are the most likely victim due to the image the media and modern slavery campaigns portray. When asked, 67.3% of public respondents felt that their knowledge of modern slavery came from the news. Moreover 62.7% of the public selected films and television as a factor to have most influenced their perception of modern slavery. All of these figures are relatively high, it gives an example of where the public gains the majority of their modern slavery knowledge. This may give an understanding as to how many members of the public could have a false perception of real-life modern slavery today, they may hold a view that sex trafficking is the only form of modern slavery as that is the most publicised form of exploitation. Arguably, the public in Kent need to be more aware of other forms of exploitation and open to the fact that males are also extremely vulnerable to slavery.

Very few public participants perceived males alone to be a victim of modern slavery with a shallow figure of 2.7%. This figure is extremely low which suggests that males are very rarely to be seen by the public as the only victim of modern slavery. Arguably, if male victims are not perceived as being vulnerable, this is concerning and may result in male victims of MS being missed. It is reasonable to assume that a large part of tackling modern slavery in Kent is to ensure that the public are aware of the key issues. It is also important for the public to hold an accurate view of modern slavery, and what a potential victim may look like. The more the public are educated, the more likely they are to be able to efficiently report a victim of modern slavery. However, if the public are only open to female victims of modern slavery, no number of signs shown by a male victim may suffice. Therefore, one recommendation would be that male victims of modern slavery are represented more by anti-trafficking charities and further educational organisations, to prevent the public from experiencing a tunnel vision mindset of modern slavery.

With regard to the police, there seemed to be a much more reliable representation of modern slavery victims. The most common type of answer given by the police with regard to gender was that a victim could be anyone, and assuming otherwise could result in victims being missed. 61% of police officers felt that there was not one gender associated with modern slavery. It could be argued that this figure is reassuring compared to the public's perception, however, it could be higher. It is important to view a modern slavery victim as likely to be anyone, regardless of biases or experience. To be open to any type of victim, will ensure that every victim has equal chance of being identified and supported. 24% of police officers felt that females were most likely to be a victim. 15% of the police felt that males were the most common victim. It is clear that there is a big difference between the police and the public's perception of modern slavery. Perhaps the majority of the public hold more of a gender bias and assume that females are the only victim, whereas the police have a more representative view that a modern slavery victim could look like anyone due to their own experience. In other words, there is no typical victim according to the majority of Kent Police officers. Thus, somewhere along the line, the representation of modern slavery may be miscommunicated to members of the public. This could be a reason as to why they have their perception, and clearly is an area for improvement.

It is important to mention that whilst many of the public perceived victims of MS to be female, sex trafficking was also mentioned many times. Sex trafficking was mentioned in responses by the majority of members of the public when discussing females as the most likely victim of modern slavery (n=50), and multiple times throughout the survey responses. Whilst public respondents were discussing the typical gender of a modern slavery victim, the main form of modern slavery that was mentioned was sex trafficking. This supports the surrounding literature of modern slavery which argues that sex trafficking is the most prioritised and well-known form of modern slavery (Weitzer, 2011; Weitzer, 2014).

Further subgroups of modern slavery such as organ harvesting, labour trafficking, domestic servitude and fishing were very rarely mentioned throughout the police and the public responses. Labour trafficking was mentioned the most after sex trafficking. The lack of other subgroups mentioned by participants may suggest a lack of knowledge of modern slavery and its many forms. It is reasonable to assume that there is opportunity for continuous learning with regard to modern slavery. It seemed important to examine the police's view on public knowledge of MS. This may give a clear indication of how educated the public are on the issue. The consensus by the police was that the public have very limited knowledge surrounding the subject of modern slavery. Moreover, it was expressed that the public may turn a blind eye to the crime, due to selfish reasons. For example, the public may want to continue to purchase from unethical companies where employees are perhaps underpaid, in order to be able to purchase cheaper goods or services. Thus, in order to continue to buy more affordable products, the public may ignore that modern slavery exists. This is clearly an area for improvement across the public in Kent.

One of the key areas intended for research was police training. From the police responses, it is clear that the majority of police officers were satisfied with their level of modern slavery training (n=38). However, 13 police officers claimed to have had no modern slavery training whatsoever. Despite this being a small section of participants, arguably all members of Kent Police should have had some form of modern slavery training. This is crucial for victim identification and also awareness of how to support victims. This supports the views by Barnett (2020) that police modern slavery training is insufficient.

In this case, police training needs to be more regular and sufficient so that all Kent Police officers feel confident.

In terms of modern slavery characteristics, the public and the police had similar perceptions but also some differences. When asked to score modern slavery victim characteristics, the public felt victims were most likely to be poor, a vulnerable adult and reluctant to speak for themselves. The police's top three answers were Eastern European, no form of ID and also reluctant to speak for themselves. It is positive that the police and the public are aware of this type of behaviour and know to look out for it.

When asked if individuals could do anything to prevent themselves from becoming a victim, the public mostly answered yes (57.3%) and the police also mostly answered yes with a surprisingly higher percentage (61.9%). When asked to explain these responses, one of the public respondents stated *"Don't buy into false promises of a better life"* – P1070, another said *"Speak up for themselves"* P2240.

Arguably this shows a lack of understanding towards why individuals may end up becoming a victim of modern slavery. As discussed in this thesis, it is not as simple as victims speaking up for themselves, many are in fear of consequences by traffickers and law enforcement. In addition, victims of modern slavery are vulnerable individuals that will go to great lengths to seek a better life, therefore it is not simple for victims to not 'buy into false promises of a better life'.

Overall, the public knowledge of modern slavery is rather limited, the police knowledge is broader and more accurate due to their own personal experience. However, more training is needed to keep up to date and educate officers that are yet to receive training.

## **Conclusion and recommendations:**

It appears that the police and the public in Kent hold slightly different perceptions of modern slavery. Both groups believe that modern slavery is more prevalent nationally than locally in Kent. However, due to their professional exposure, the police are more aware of the existence of modern slavery cases in Kent. In contrast, the public tends to have a more distanced perspective on the issue. When it comes to describing modern slavery victims, the public's views are significantly influenced by social media, films, and television. The responses indicate that the majority of the public perceives females as more likely to be victims of modern slavery. Moreover, the public often envisions these victims as young, female migrants, a view that aligns with findings from other studies mentioned in this thesis (Andri-jasevic and Mai, 2016; O'Brien, 2013; Heber, 2024).

Furthermore, public knowledge about modern slavery predominantly revolves around sex trafficking, a topic that is heavily portrayed in films, news and social media (Szörényi and Eate, 2014; O'Brien, 2013; Dando et al, 2016). In this thesis, social media, films and television emerged as one of the primary sources of information for the public regarding modern slavery. This reliance on social media, films and television likely explains why their awareness is more focused on sex trafficking compared to other forms of exploitation. The police were most aware of labour trafficking, likely due to their exposure to this crime in Kent. Regarding influences on their knowledge of modern slavery, 76% of Kent Police officers reported training from an organisation as one of their main influences of MS knowledge. Arguably, this figure should be much higher, as training on modern slavery provided by Kent Police should be effective and beneficial in enhancing the officers' understanding of the crime and the needs of the victims. All Kent Police officers should have received some training on modern slavery issues, meaning training by an organisation should have been one of the main influences of MS knowledge for all police respondents, not just 76%. Arguably, training by an organisation, alongside personal experience should be the greatest influence of modern slavery knowledge for the police. As previously discussed, several Kent Police officers reported that they had not received training in recent years or that the training they did receive was insufficient. This is concerning given

the complex nature of modern slavery, where specific training is crucial for identifying victims and securing their cooperation. As highlighted in this thesis, victims of modern slavery are often reluctant to come forward during investigations due to fear of retribution from their traffickers, risk of deportation, or potential criminalisation. Therefore, it is imperative that Kent Police receive effective training to understand the needs of victims and provide the best possible support. Therefore, one of the key recommendations from this study is that Kent Police receive more frequent training and updates on the ever-evolving crime of modern slavery. Training for Kent Police should emphasise the various forms it can take such as forced marriage, fishing, labour exploitation, to better equip officers with the knowledge to identify and address this crime.

It is recommended that Kent Police regularly collaborate with modern slavery charities, as these organisations often possess valuable firsthand knowledge from their experiences with victims. As previously mentioned, some victims of modern slavery may be reluctant to seek help from the police due to fear, making charities a more approachable option for them. Moreover, specialised organisations or charities can provide Kent Police with the most up-to-date information on modern slavery, including emerging trends, new methods used by traffickers, and the latest legal frameworks. This ensures that police training is based on current realities and best practices. A recommended charity for Kent Police to collaborate with would be Stop the Traffik. Stop the Traffik are an influential organisation, already in close collaboration with Essex Police, Metropolitan Police, UK Border Force, National Crime Agency and many more. Police forces' working with respected expert organisations such as Stop the Traffik can enhance the credibility of the police force in the eyes of the public and victims, demonstrating a commitment to addressing modern slavery effectively and compassionately. It is highly recommended that Kent Police join some of the other forces in the United Kingdom and collaborate closely with Stop the Traffik.

Regarding recommendations for the UK Government, which will also impact Kent Police's response, it is advised that addressing modern slavery should take precedence over migration issues. As discussed in this thesis, the Home Affairs Committee (2023: p.4) report highlighted concerns that



irregular migration policies have been prioritised over those addressing human trafficking. It is recommended that the UK Government focus more on supporting victims of modern slavery, specifically by improving the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) process. Currently, the NRM provides only 45 days of support for victims who receive a positive grounds decision on their exploitation. It is advised that this period be extended to allow victims more time to rebuild their lives and receive the help they need. Additionally, it is recommended that cases involving the longest waiting individuals in the NRM process be prioritised. As mentioned in this thesis, delays in the NRM process resulted in an average waiting time of 543 days for a conclusive grounds decision in 2022 (Home Affairs Committee, 2023: p. 45). It is recommended that expediting this process become a nationwide priority. Speeding up the NRM process will ensure that victims of modern slavery receive support sooner, and it will also build trust among the public and victims who may currently feel that the process is overly prolonged. The primary recommendation aligns with the Home Affairs Committee (2023: p. 47), urging the Home Office to significantly reduce the number of days required to make National Referral Mechanism decisions and to eliminate the existing backlog of cases.

To address issues of gender bias and the projection of an ideal victim, it is recommended that Kent Police collaborate more closely with the public to spread the message that anyone can be a victim of modern slavery. The findings in this thesis suggest that Kent Police are largely aware that modern slavery victims do not fit any specific profile and that anyone could be a victim. However, the public often perceives females as more likely to be victims, which can lead to difficulties in identifying male victims. Therefore, it is crucial for Kent Police to emphasise that a victim can be anyone and to raise awareness of all the signs of trafficking, stressing that males are just as vulnerable to trafficking as females. An additional recommendation is that police aim to educate the public on the reasons why individuals become victims of slavery and that it is not as simple as simply speaking up for themselves or not believing false promises. It is also recommended that the Modern Slavery Human Trafficking Unit (MSHTU) work closer with the public to ensure accurate knowledge and prevent biases. Moreover, it is recommended that modern slavery campaigns in the United Kingdom steer away from creating an image of an ideal victim and reinforce the fact that a victim could be anyone.

In line with the Home Affairs Committee (2023: p. 49), it is recommended that the Home Office prioritise the development of a nationwide training program for police forces across the United Kingdom. This training should cover the identification of victims and the recognition of human trafficking indicators, gathering information about their experiences in a trauma-informed manner, the National Referral Mechanism referral process, and providing support to individuals after a referral has been made.

With these steps being taken, we will be one step closer to gaining the trust of modern slavery victims, improvements in victim identification, victim support and public awareness of modern slavery issues.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A - Public perceptions survey

#### Survey

##### What will you be required to do?

As a member of the public, you will be required to spend approximately 20-30 minutes of your time filling in an online survey. Your responses will be confidential and anonymous and you will be able to withdraw your consent – more information on this is below.

##### To participate in this research you must:

- Over 18 years of age
- A resident in Kent

##### Procedures

You will be required to take part in an virtual online survey. After reading through this information sheet, you will be asked to provide your informed consent. Then, you will be asked to spend approximately 20-30 minutes filling in an online survey. The survey is not about right or wrong responses; it is about your personal knowledge and understanding.

##### Feedback

The findings will be published via CCCU's repository. You can request the findings personally, by contacting the researcher.

##### Confidentiality and Data Protection

The following categories of personal data (as defined by the [General Data Protection Regulation](#) (GDPR)) will be processed:

- Name (only for the purposes of withdrawal; your name will be stored separately to the rest of your data); demographic characteristics – e.g. age, gender (in order to understand our sample) and your views.

We have identified that the public interest in processing the personal data is:

- To better understand perceptions of modern slavery. Without such knowledge, campaigns and policies cannot be evidence-based or holistic. Personal data, such as age or gender, are only used to better understand the sample of participants.

Data can only be accessed by, or shared with:

- Data will only be accessible by the researcher (Sophie McPherson) and the supervisors of the project, Katarina Mozova and Martin O'Neill. Examiners of this theses may access anonymised data if requested.

The identified period for the retention of personal data for this project:

- Personal data will only be kept for as long as needed. Once the results have been analysed, and the project is complete, personal data will no longer be needed and will be deleted in accordance with CCCU policy. Anonymised data will be retained for a period of five years, as per CCCU policy.

If you would like to obtain further information related to how your personal data is processed for this project please contact Sophie McPherson [s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk)

You can read further information regarding how the University processes your personal data for research purposes at the following link: Research Privacy Notice - <https://www.canterbury.ac.uk/university-solicitors-office/data-protection/privacy-notice/privacy-notice.aspx>

### **Dissemination of results**

*Results will be disseminated in a number of ways, including – MSc thesis available with CCCU's repository, a journal article, a poster or a presentation.*

### **Process for withdrawing consent to participate**

You are free to withdraw your consent to participate in this research project at any time without having to give a reason whilst taking part in the study. You can also withdraw your consent for up to 14 days after participation – after this time, your responses will be combined with others' responses. To do this, *email the researcher on [s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk) with your name and all your data will be safely and securely deleted and erased.*

You may read further information on your rights relating to your personal data at the following link: Research Privacy Notice - <https://www.canterbury.ac.uk/university-solicitors-office/data->

# Perceptions of the Police and Public in relation to Modern Slavery

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## Page 1: Information sheet

### Perceptions of the Police and Public in relation to Modern Slavery

#### PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

A research study is being conducted at Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) by Sophie McPherson who is supervised by Dr Katarina Mozova and Dr Martin O'Neill.

Please refer to our [Research Privacy Notice](#) for more information on how we will use and store your personal data.

#### Background

to 14 days after participation – after this time, your responses will be combined with others' responses. To do this, email the researcher on [s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk) with your name and all your data will be safely and securely deleted and erased.

You may read further information on your rights relating to your personal data at the following link: Research Privacy Notice - <https://www.canterbury.ac.uk/university-solicitors-office/data-protection/privacy-notices/privacy-notices.aspx>

#### Any questions?

Please contact Sophie McPherson on [s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk) or supervisors: Dr Katarina Mozova – [katarina.mozova@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:katarina.mozova@canterbury.ac.uk); Dr Martin O'Neill – [martin.oneill@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:martin.oneill@canterbury.ac.uk). You can contact the University via post: Department of Policing, North Holmes Road, CT11QU, Canterbury.

Next >

What will you be required to do?

# Perceptions of the Police and Public in relation to Modern Slavery

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## Page 1: Information sheet

### Perceptions of the Police and Public in relation to Modern Slavery

#### PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

A research study is being conducted at Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) by Sophie McPherson who is supervised by Dr Katarina Mozova and Dr Martin O'Neill.

Please refer to our [Research Privacy Notice](#) for more information on how we will use and store your personal data.

#### Background

*The purpose of the project is to gain an understanding of the police and public perception and understanding of modern slavery. Research surrounding modern slavery allows for the assumption that there are gaps in the police and public understanding of modern slavery and most knowledge is concentrated on sex trafficking only. Overall, the available research allows for the assumption that there may be a misrepresentation of the issues surrounding modern slavery, impacting on the effectiveness of responses. This research aims to analyse the public and police perception of modern slavery in Kent by identifying the gaps and/or misrepresentations in the knowledge of modern slavery within the Kent area.*

#### What will you be required to do?

As a member of the public, you will be required to spend approximately 20-30 minutes of your time filling in an online survey. Your responses will be confidential and anonymous and you will be able to withdraw your consent – more information on this is below.

#### To participate in this research you must:

- Over 18 years of age
- A resident in Kent

## Procedures

*You will be required to take part in an virtual online survey. After reading through this information sheet, you will be asked to provide your informed consent. Then, you will be asked to spend approximately 20-30 minutes filling in an online survey. The survey is not about right or wrong responses; it is about your personal knowledge and understanding.*

## Feedback

*The findings will be published via CCCU's repository. You can request the findings personally, by contacting the researcher.*

## Confidentiality and Data Protection

The following categories of personal data (as defined by the [General Data Protection Regulation](#) (GDPR)) will be processed:

- *Name (only for the purposes of withdrawal; your name will be stored separately to the rest of your data); demographic characteristics – e.g. age, gender (in order to understand our sample) and your views.*

We have identified that the public interest in processing the personal data is:

- *To better understand perceptions of modern slavery. Without such knowledge, campaigns and policies cannot be evidence-based or holistic. Personal data, such as age or gender, are only used to better understand the sample of participants.*

Data can only be accessed by, or shared with:

- Data will only be accessible by the researcher (Sophie McPherson) and the supervisors of the project, Katarina Mozova and Martin O'Neill. Examiners of this theses may access anonymised data if requested.

The identified period for the retention of personal data for this project:

- Personal data will only be kept for as long as needed. Once the results have been analysed, and the project is complete, personal data will no longer be needed and will be deleted in accordance with CCCU policy. Anonymised data will be retained for a period of five years, as per CCCU policy.

If you would like to obtain further information related to how your personal data is processed for this project please contact Sophie McPherson [s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk)

You can read further information regarding how the University processes your personal data for research purposes at the following link: Research Privacy Notice - <https://www.canterbury.ac.uk/university-solicitors-office/data-protection/privacy-notices/privacy-notices.aspx>

#### **Dissemination of results**

*Results will be disseminated in a number of ways, including – MSc thesis available with CCCU's repository, a journal article, a poster or a presentation.*

#### **Process for withdrawing consent to participate**

You are free to withdraw your consent to participate in this research project at any time without having to give a reason whilst taking part in the study. You can also withdraw your consent for up to 14 days after participation – after this time, your responses will be combined with others' responses. To do this, *email the researcher on [s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk) with your name and all your data will be safely and securely deleted and erased.*

You may read further information on your rights relating to your personal data at the following link: Research Privacy Notice - <https://www.canterbury.ac.uk/university-solicitors-office/data-protection/privacy-notices/privacy-notices.aspx>

#### **Any questions?**

Please contact Sophie McPherson on [s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk) or supervisors: Dr Katarina Mozova – [katarina.mozova@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:katarina.mozova@canterbury.ac.uk); Dr Martin O'Neill – [martin.oneill@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:martin.oneill@canterbury.ac.uk). You can contact the University via post: Department of Policing, North Holmes Road, CT11QU, Canterbury.



## Page 2: Consent form

### CONSENT FORM

**Title of Project:**

Perceptions of the  
police and public in  
relation to modern  
slavery in Kent.

**Name of Researcher:**

Sophie McPherson

**Contact details:**

Department of Policing

**Address:** North Holmes Road

CT11QU

**Email:** [s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk)

Please read the following statements:

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. (If applicable) I confirm that I agree to any audio and/or visual recordings.
3. I understand that any personal information that I provide to the researchers will be kept strictly confidential and in line with the University [Research Privacy Notice](#)
4. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time, without giving a reason.
5. I agree to take part in the above project.

1. Based on the above, do you consent to take part in this study? \* Required

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

☐ Yes

☐ No

1.a. Please, provide your name for withdrawal purposes only. \* Required

## Page 3

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this survey. We appreciate your participation. The survey is split into a number of section.

**Section A: In the first section, we are going to ask you about a few characteristics with regard to yourself, please enter your answers into the boxes provided.**

2. What is your gender? \* *Required*

3. What is your age? \* *Required*

4. What is your ethnicity? \* *Required*

- ☐ 1. English / Welsh / Scottish / Northern Irish / British
- ☐ 2. Irish
- ☐ 4. Any other White background, please describe
- ☐ 5. White and Black Caribbean
- ☐ 6. White and Black African
- ☐ 7. White and Asian
- ☐ 8. Any other Mixed / Multiple ethnic background, please describe
- ☐ 9. Indian
- ☐ 10. Pakistani

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- 
- ☐ 11. Bangladeshi
  - ☐ 12. Chinese
  - ☐ 13. Any other Asian background, please describe
  - ☐ 14. African
  - ☐ 15. Caribbean
  - ☐ 16. Any other Black / African / Caribbean background, please describe
  - ☐ 17. Arab
  - ☐ 18. Any other ethnic group, please describe
  - ☐ Other

## Page 4

**Section B:** In the following section we are really interested in gaining an insight of your understanding of modern slavery. Please answer the following questions with your gut reactions. As much detail as possible will be much appreciated.

5. What do you understand modern slavery to mean? \* *Required*

6. What are the different forms of modern slavery that you are aware of? \* *Required*

7. In your opinion, how does modern slavery occur? \* *Required*

8. Are there any signs that can identify whether an individual is being exploited? Please give some examples of common signs. \* *Required*

---

## Page 5

**Section C: In the next section, we want to understand where your modern slavery knowledge has come from. Please answer the following question in as much detail as you can.**

9. In your view, which factors have most influenced your perception and understanding of modern slavery? Please select all that are applicable. \* *Required*

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Social media                | <input type="checkbox"/> Films and television     | <input type="checkbox"/> The news            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Books                       | <input type="checkbox"/> Modern Slavery campaigns | <input type="checkbox"/> Personal experience |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Training by an organisation | <input type="checkbox"/> Other                    |  |

9.a. If selected training by an organisation/other, please tell us more:

At this point in the survey, we would like to tell you a little about how modern slavery is usually understood. Modern slavery is a crime that covers all forms of trafficking, slavery and exploitation. Victims may be forced by threats or violence, to work, with little to no pay. For example, a victim could be exploited in the form of working in a car wash, just to be provided with some food and unhygienic accommodation. Or a victim could be exploited for sexual exploitation under threats of violence. Victims may be forced to take part in criminality during their exploitation.

---

## Page 6

**Section D: In the following section, we want to know what you perceive a typical victim of modern slavery to look like. Please answer the following questions, with as much detail as possible.**

**10.** In your view, what gender is the typical victim of modern slavery likely to be? \*

*Required*

**11.** In your view, what age is the typical victim of modern slavery likely to be? \*

*Required*

**12.** In your view, what ethnicity is the typical victim of modern slavery likely to be? \*

*Required*

**13.** Expanding on your previous answers, in your opinion, what are the characteristics

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of a typical modern slavery victim? In other words, what does a victim look like to you? Perhaps think more about the questions above (relating to age, gender, ethnicity), but also think further. For example, what about physical appearance, mannerisms, etc. \*  
*Required*



## Page 7

14. In addition to your answer, please tick the appropriate box for each potential characteristic of a modern slavery victim. We are interested in your perceptions of how frequently people with the characteristics below may be victims of modern slavery. \*  
*Required*

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

Please select exactly 27 answer(s).

	1 Never	2 Rarely	3 Sometimes	4 Often	5 Always
Is a Male adult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a Female adult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a Male child	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a Female child	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a Vulnerable adult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a Vulnerable child	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is British	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Non British	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Asian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is African	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a EU citizen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Eastern European	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Employed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Has Criminal history	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Is Professional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
From Vietnam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
From Romania	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Shows signs of physical abuse (i.e. Scars, bruising, burns)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Signs of malnutrition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Symptoms of PTSD (Post traumatic Stress Disorder)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Signs of anxiousness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is reluctant to speak for themselves	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Seems to fear a companion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No form of personal identification	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fearful around law enforcement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

---

## Page 8

**Section E: In the following section, we want to understand your perception of how often cases of modern slavery occur. Please answer the following questions, describing how often, or not very often you feel modern slavery cases occur.**

15. In your view, how often does modern slavery occur nationally? \* *Required*

- |                             |                                  |                                 |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Never | <input type="radio"/> Rarely     | <input type="radio"/> Sometimes |
| <input type="radio"/> Often | <input type="radio"/> Very often |                                 |

16. In your view, how often does modern slavery occur in Kent? \* *Required*

- |                             |                                  |                                 |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Never | <input type="radio"/> Rarely     | <input type="radio"/> Sometimes |
| <input type="radio"/> Often | <input type="radio"/> Very Often |                                 |

## Page 9

**Section F:** In the following section, we want to know what you understand sex trafficking and labour trafficking to mean. These two forms of exploitation are frequently compared in modern slavery research. They are also argued to be two of the most common forms of slavery. Please answer the following questions with as much detail as possible.

17. What do you understand sex trafficking to mean? \* Required

18. What do you understand labour trafficking to mean? \* Required

19. In your view, is there anything individuals can do to prevent themselves from becoming a victim of modern slavery? \* Required

☐ Yes

☐ No

19.a. Please explain your answer

---

## Page 10

**Section G: In this section we want to know how harmful you consider different forms of modern slavery to be. Please tick the applicable boxes below.**

**20.** There are many different forms of modern slavery, some of which are listed below. On a scale of harm (the extent of physical or psychological damage, which may include harm to families, a victim, society) how would you score the harmfulness of the below types? Please tick which number best applies. \* *Required*

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

Please select exactly 6 answer(s).

	1 Not very harmful	2 Rarely harmful	3 Sometimes harmful	4 Mostly harmful	5 Extremely harmful
Labour trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organ Harvesting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sex trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Forced marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Domestic servitude	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fishing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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## Page 11

Thank you for rating those forms of modern slavery into harm. Here is a brief description of each offence as we would like you to answer the next few questions with these explanations in mind.

### **Labour trafficking:**

Labour trafficking is the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labour or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion.

### **Organ Harvesting:**

Organ trafficking is the receipt of living or deceased persons or their organs by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion for the purpose of exploitation by the removal of organs for transplantation.

### **Sex Trafficking:**

A victim of sex trafficking is forced into a situation of sexual exploitation, with the aim of exploiting for profit. This can be through threats, physical abuse and financial dependence.

### **Domestic servitude:**

Domestic servitude is the exploitation and control of an individual in a private home through home-work.

### **Forced Marriage:**

Forced marriage is a marriage that occurs without one or both individuals consent. Individuals may be forced to marry through physical, psychological or financial abuse for the purpose of exploitation.

### **Fishing:**

In the fishing industry, fishers are forced to work on the boats for long hours with very low pay. They are held on the boats through violence, threats and deception.

## Page 12

21. Based on the explanations we have provided to you, how would you rate how similar your knowledge was to the explanations? (1 being completely different, 5 being completely accurate). \* Required

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

Please select exactly 6 answer(s).

	1 Completely different	2 Different	3 Slightly different	4 Fairly accurate	5 Completely accurate
Labour trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organ Harvesting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sex trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Forced marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Domestic servitude	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fishing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. Now that we have provided you with definitions, please rate these offences again with their level of harm after learning more (1 being not very harmful, 5 being extremely harmful). \* Required

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

Please select exactly 6 answer(s).

	1 Not very harmful	2 Rarely harmful	3 Sometimes harmful	4 Mostly harmful	5 Extremely harmful
Labour trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organ Harvesting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sex trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Forced marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Domestic servitude	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fishing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



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## Page 13: Final page

### Debrief

Researcher: Sophie McPherson

Thank you for your participation. The aim of this study is to determine the police and public perception of modern slavery.

If you have any questions regarding the study, please see to the contact details below.

If you wish to contact the researcher, due to further questions, wanting to see the results of the study, or even withdrawal, please email the following:

Researcher details: s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk.

Supervisor details: katarina.mozova@canterbury.ac.uk martin.oneill@canterbury.ac.uk

The cut of date for withdrawal is 14 days after participation.

If you have any concerns surrounding the ethical nature of the research and/or the way you have been treated, please, contact the University Research Governance and Ethics Department.

Research Governance and Ethics Department,

North Holmes Rd,

Canterbury,

CT1 1QU

If you feel you have been adversely affected by taking part in this study, and wish to not discuss this with the researcher, you can speak to an independent support service.

#### **The Salvation Army:**

The confidential referral helpline 0800 808 3733 is available 24/7.

#### **The Samaritans:**

The free helpline 116 123 is available 24 hours a day.

#### **Modern Slavery Helpline:**

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The free, independent and confidential service 08000 121 700 is available 24/7. You can contact the Modern Slavery Helpline for advice about exploitation, reporting a concern or finding access to support services.

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## Police survey

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### Page 1: Information sheet

Perceptions of the Police and Public in relation to Modern Slavery

#### **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION**

A research study is being conducted at Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) by Sophie McPherson who is supervised by Dr Katarina Mozova and Dr Martin O'Neill.

Please refer to our [Research Privacy Notice](#) for more information on how we will use and store your personal data.

#### **Background**

*The purpose of the project is to gain an understanding of the police and public perception and understanding of modern slavery. Research surrounding modern slavery allows for the assumption that there are gaps in the police and public understanding of modern slavery and most knowledge is concentrated on sex trafficking only. Overall, the available research suggests that there may be a misrepresentation of the issues surrounding modern slavery, impacting on the effectiveness of responses. This research aims to analyse the public and police perception of modern slavery in Kent by identifying the gaps and/or misrepresentations in the knowledge of modern slavery within the Kent area.*

#### **What will you be required to do?**

As a serving police officer, you will be required to spend approximately 20 minutes of your time filling in an online survey. Your responses will be confidential and anonymous and you will be able to withdraw your consent – more information on this is below.

#### **To participate in this research you must:**

For the survey, you must:

- 
- 
- ☐ 8. Any other Mixed / Multiple ethnic background, please describe
  - ☐ 9. Indian
  - ☐ 10. Pakistani
  - ☐ 11. Bangladeshi
  - ☐ 12. Chinese
  - ☐ 13. Any other Asian background, please describe
  - ☐ 14. African
  - ☐ 15. Caribbean
  - ☐ 16. Any other Black / African / Caribbean background, please describe
  - ☐ 17. Arab
  - ☐ 18. Any other ethnic group, please describe
  - ☐ Other

5.a. If you selected Other, please specify:

6. What is your length of service? \* Required

7. What is your job title? \* Required

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## Page 4

**Section B: In the following section we are really interested in gaining an insight of your understanding of modern slavery. Please answer the following questions with your gut reactions. As much detail as possible will be much appreciated.**

8. What do you understand modern slavery to mean? \* Required

9. What are the different forms of modern slavery that you are aware of? \* Required

10. In your opinion, how does modern slavery occur? \* Required

11. Are there any signs that can identify whether an individual is being exploited? Please give some examples of common signs. \* Required

---

## Page 5

**Section C:** In the next section, we want to understand where your modern slavery knowledge has come from. Please answer the following question in as much detail as you can. We also want to know about any training you have received.

**12.** In your view, which factors have most influenced your perception and understanding of modern slavery? Please select all that are applicable. \* *Required*

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Social media                | <input type="checkbox"/> Films and television     | <input type="checkbox"/> The news            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Books                       | <input type="checkbox"/> Modern Slavery campaigns | <input type="checkbox"/> Personal experience |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Training by an organisation | <input type="checkbox"/> Other                    |  |

**12.a.** If you selected By an organisation and/or Other, please, tell us more:

**13.** What, if any police training have you received with regard to modern slavery? Please explain this with as much detail as possible, and whether you feel the training you have received has been sufficient. \* *Required*

**14.** How confident are you in your understanding of modern slavery? Please, give as much

detail as you can. \* *Required*

--	--

15. What do you perceive the public's understanding of modern slavery to be? Think about things like knowledge of the breadth or seriousness of the crimes. \* *Required*

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## Page 6

At this point in the survey, we would like to tell you a little about how modern slavery is usually understood. Modern slavery is a crime that covers all forms of trafficking, slavery and exploitation. Victims may be forced by threats or violence, to work, with little to no pay. For example, they could be exploited in the form of working in a car wash, just to be provided with some food and unhygienic accommodation. Or a victim could be exploited for sexual exploitation under threats of violence. Victims may be forced to take part in criminality during their exploitation.



---

Page 7: Section D: In the following section, we want to know what you perceive a typical victim of modern slavery to look like. Please answer the following questions, with as much detail as possible.

16. In your view, what gender is the typical victim of modern slavery likely to be? \*  
*Required*

17. In your view, what age is the typical victim of modern slavery likely to be? \* *Required*

18. In your view, what ethnicity is the typical victim of modern slavery likely to be? \*  
*Required*

19. Expanding on your previous answers, in your opinion, what are the characteristics of a typical modern slavery victim? In other words, what does a victim look like to you? Perhaps think more about the questions above (relating to age, gender, ethnicity), but also think further. For example, what about physical appearance, mannerisms, etc. \* *Required*

---

## Page 8

20. In addition to your answer, please tick the appropriate box for each potential characteristic of a modern slavery victim. We are interested in your perceptions of how frequently people with the characteristics below may be victims of modern slavery: \*

*Required*

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

Please select exactly 27 answer(s).

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
Is a Male adult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a Female adult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a Male child	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a Female child	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a Vulnerable adult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a Vulnerable child	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is British	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Non British	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Asian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is African	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is a EU citizen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Eastern European	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Employed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Has Criminal history	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is Professional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
From Vietnam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
From Romania	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

---

Shows signs of physical abuse (i.e. Scars, bruising, burns)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Signs of malnutrition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Symptoms of PTSD (Post traumatic Stress Disorder)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Signs of anxiousness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is reluctant to speak for themselves	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Seems to fear a companion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No form of personal identification	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fearful around law enforcement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

---

## Page 9

**Section E:** In this section, we want to understand your perception of how often cases of modern slavery occur. Please answer the following questions, describing how often, or not very often you feel modern slavery cases occur.

21. In your view, how often does modern slavery occur nationally? \* *Required*

- |                             |                                  |                                 |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Never | <input type="radio"/> Rarely     | <input type="radio"/> Sometimes |
| <input type="radio"/> Often | <input type="radio"/> Very often |                                 |

22. In your view, how often does modern slavery occur in Kent? \* *Required*

- |                             |                                  |                                 |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Never | <input type="radio"/> Rarely     | <input type="radio"/> Sometimes |
| <input type="radio"/> Often | <input type="radio"/> Very often |                                 |

---

## Page 10

**Section F:** In the following section, we want to know what you understand sex trafficking and labour trafficking to mean. These two forms of exploitation are frequently compared in modern slavery research. They are also argued to be two of the most common forms of slavery. Please answer the following questions with as much detail as possible.

23. What do you understand sex trafficking to mean? \* Required

24. What do you understand labour trafficking to mean? \* Required

---

## Page 11

**Section G: In the following section we want to understand your experience in dealing with modern slavery offences, including human trafficking. We also want to know your opinion on what individuals can do to prevent themselves from becoming a victim of modern slavery. Please answer the following questions with as much detail as possible.**

25. Have you ever identified a potential victim? \* *Required*

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

☐ Yes

☐ No

25.a. Please tell us your experience, and whether you felt fully equipped with regard to training, in dealing with the case?

26. In your view, is there anything individuals can do to prevent themselves from becoming a victim of modern slavery? \* *Required*

☐ Yes

☐ No

26.a. Please explain your answer \* *Required*

---

## Page 12

**Section H: In this section we want to know how harmful you consider different forms of modern slavery to be. Please tick the applicable boxes below.**

**27.** There are many different forms of modern slavery, some of which are listed below. On a scale of harm (the extent of physical or psychological damage, which may include harm to families, a victim, society) how would you score the harmfulness of the below types? Please tick which number best applies. \* *Required*

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

Please select exactly 6 answer(s).

	1 Not very harmful	2 Rarely harmful	3 Sometimes harmful	4 Mostly harmful	5 Extremely harmful
Labour trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organ Harvesting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sex trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Forced marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Domestic servitude	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fishing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

---

## Page 13

Thank you for rating those forms of modern slavery into harm. Here is a brief description of each offence –

### **Labour trafficking:**

Labour trafficking is the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labour or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion.

### **Organ Harvesting:**

Organ trafficking is the receipt of living or deceased persons or their organs by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion for the purpose of exploitation by the removal of organs for transplantation.

### **Sex Trafficking:**

A victim of sex trafficking is forced into a situation of sexual exploitation, with the aim of exploiting for profit. This can be through threats, physical abuse and financial dependence.

### **Domestic servitude:**

Domestic servitude is the exploitation and control of an individual in a private home through home-work.

### **Forced Marriage:**

Forced marriage is a marriage that occurs without one or both individuals consent. Individuals may be forced to marry through physical, psychological or financial abuse for the purpose of exploitation.

### **Fishing:**

In the fishing industry, fishers are forced to work on the boats for long hours with very low pay. They are held on the boats through violence, threats and deception.



---

## Page 14

28. Based on the explanations we have provided to you, how would you rate how similar your knowledge was to the explanations? (1 being completely different, 5 being completely accurate). \* Required

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

Please select exactly 6 answer(s).

	1 Completely different	2 Different	3 Slightly different	4 Fairly accurate	5 Completely accurate
Labour trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organ Harvesting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sex trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Forced marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Domestic servitude	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fishing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

29. Now that we have provided you with definitions, please rate these offences again with their level of harm after learning more (1 being not very harmful, 5 being extremely harmful). \* Required

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

Please select exactly 6 answer(s).

	1 Not very harmful	2 Rarely harmful	3 Sometimes harmful	4 Mostly harmful	5 Extremely harmful
Labour trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organ Harvesting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sex trafficking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Forced marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Domestic servitude	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fishing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Page 15: Final page

### Debrief

Researcher: Sophie McPherson

Thank you for your participation. The aim of this study is to determine the police and public perception of modern slavery.

If you have any questions regarding the study, please see to the contact details below.

If you wish to contact the researcher, due to further questions, wanting to see the results of the study, or even withdrawal, please email the following:

Researcher details: [s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:s.m.mcpherson1236@canterbury.ac.uk).

Supervisor details: [katarina.mozova@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:katarina.mozova@canterbury.ac.uk) [martin.oneill@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:martin.oneill@canterbury.ac.uk)

The cut of date for withdrawal is 14 days after participation.

If you have any concerns surrounding the ethical nature of the research and/or the way you have been treated, please, contact the University Research Governance and Ethics Department.

Research Governance and Ethics Department,

North Holmes Rd,

Canterbury,

CT1 1QU

United Kingdom

If you feel you have been adversely affected by taking part in this study, and wish to not discuss this with the researcher, you can speak to an independent support service.

#### **The Salvation Army:**

The confidential referral helpline 0800 808 3733 is available 24/7.

#### **The Samaritans:**

The free helpline 116 123 is available 24 hours a day.

#### **Modern Slavery Helpline:**

The free, independent and confidential service 08000 121 700 is available 24/7. You can contact the Modern Slavery Helpline for advice about exploitation, reporting a concern or finding access to support services.

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## Appendix D - Ethical approval

Miss Sophie Mcpherson

School Of Law, Policing And Social Sciences

Faculty of Science, Engineering and Social Sciences

10th August 2021

Dear Sophie

### **Confirmation of ethics approval: Perceptions of the police and public in relation to human trafficking.**

Your ethics application complies fully with the requirements for ethical and governance review, as set out in this University's Research Ethics and Governance Procedures, and has been approved.

You are reminded that it is your responsibility to follow, as appropriate, the policies and procedures set out in the [Research Governance Framework](#) and any relevant academic or professional guidelines.

Any significant change in the question, design or conduct of the study over its course will require an amendment application, and may require a new application for ethics approval.

It is a condition of approval that you **must** inform [ethics@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@canterbury.ac.uk) once your research has completed.

Wishing you every success with your research.

On behalf of

Faculty of Science, Engineering and Social Sciences Ethics Panel

[ping.zheng@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:ping.zheng@canterbury.ac.uk)

## Appendix E – Data sharing agreement



### Information agreement and data protection statement between Sophie McPherson (MSc by Research Student) and Kent Police.

The purpose of this document is to outline the roles and responsibilities of parties involved in this research and to outline the data protection and data security arrangements to protect the personal data of those participating in research with Canterbury Christ Church University.

#### Project Title:

Perceptions of the police and public in relation to modern slavery in Kent.

#### Principle Researcher:

Sophie McPherson

#### Research Supervisor(s):

Dr Martin O'Neill, Katarina Mozova

#### Data Subjects:

Uniformed Officers from Kent Police, such as PCSO's and Police Constables.

#### Data Controller:

Canterbury Christ Church University

#### Data Processor:

Sophie McPherson

#### Data Protection Officer:

Robert Melville  
Assistant University Secretary  
Canterbury Christ Church University  
Rochester House  
St George's Place  
Canterbury  
CT1 1UT

E-mail: [dp.officer@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:dp.officer@canterbury.ac.uk)

Telephone: 01227 767700

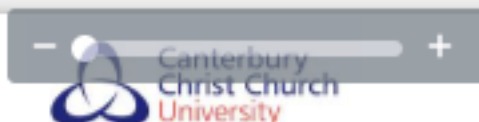
#### Legal Basis of data collection:

Consent

#### Methodology:

A survey to be completed online by Kent Police officers (JISC online surveys) which takes approximately 20 minutes to complete. The aim of this is to identify key themes in the perception of human trafficking and modern slavery.

CCPR GDPR/Information Sharing Agreement - Version 1.0 September 2018



Details of Data Security and Data Handling to ensure GDPR

### Details of Data Security and Data Handling to ensure GDPR Compliance:

- Informed consent will be gained from all participants via an information sheet which participants can retain and either a signed consent form OR an electronic consent form where a forced response question asking about consent is included.
- Data Processor(s) is familiar with university GDPR policies.
- Force will be provided with details of Data Protection Policies on request.
- CCCU will be the only agency outside of Kent Police to receive the information, and only the staff from within CCCU's School of Law, Policing and social sciences actively involved in the research shall have access to the information.
- Information received will be stored on an encrypted and password protected computer and access restricted to the named researchers only.
- The data will not be stored for longer than is needed for the research project and will be destroyed/deleted in accordance with University Confidential Waste Policy.
- Hard copies of data (surveys) will be stored in a locked cabinet to which only the researcher/ data processor will have access.
- If electronic data needs to be physically transported between locations an encrypted USB stick will be used.
- Consent forms and surveys will be coded to allow any data subject to withdraw their data until XYZ weeks after participating in the survey (as stated on the Information Sheet) (GDPR requirement).
- An auditable log will be kept of data access and processing.
- The physical data will be stored until successful completion of the work and only anonymised responses will be stored for future use, if deemed necessary.
- University data protection policies will be strictly complied with.

### Signed – Principle Researcher

Name: Sophie McPherson

Date: 25/05/2021



Signed on Behalf of CCCU

Name: Katarina Ozcakir Mozova

Position: Senior Lecturer

Date: 21/6/2021

Signed: 

## Appendix F – Interruption extension

### Interruption

---

**Date of last review meeting**

20 Aug 2021

**Scholarship:**

N/A

**Reason for interruption**

Dear panel members,

I am requesting a three month interruption for my Masters by Research and my project on Police and Public perceptions of modern slavery. This is due to a multitude of factors that have led to me being unable to complete the level of work necessary in the time frame which I would like to explain. That being said, over the course of my masters in general, I have put a lot of time and effort into making it possible. I do not want this effort and what could be a potentially great research project to go to waste. The subject makes for an original contribution and research in this field is needed to continue addressing a potential misrepresentation of the key issues in relation to modern slavery. By being able to interrupt whilst awaiting access, the project has the potential to be beneficial to the public and the police. This research aims to uncover common misconceptions of modern slavery, and potential barriers to an effective response to the key issues.

There are multiple reasons for the halt in progression of this masters, one being the stress Covid-19 has placed on my mental health. Lockdowns and the worry for my mother who works for the NHS, affected me mentally. My motivation and drive was severely diminished due to the constant stress. I really struggled to focus my attention onto my masters. In addition, continuing working for my part-time job throughout the pandemic, this was also a contributor to some delays in relation to progression in my research project. With all of this stress, alongside a bereavement of a close friend, I could not always prioritise much of my masters work. However, as can be seen through my supervision meetings, I did continually progress with the work, I always continued with doing as much as I was able to.

In terms of the state of the masters itself, there have been delays waiting for the police side of my research in relation to gatekeeper access. My ethics application was a slow progression due to the stresses above; however, during the process, contact was consistently made with the police to try to arrange their involvement. My ethics has been approved and my public data collection has begun as a result. However, without the police distributing my survey, I will not be able to compare perceptions, which is a key feature of my project, the research will not be as effective without the police involvement. The masters is moving in the right direction, my mental health has improved; however the real barrier now is waiting for the police. The police's process of approval can take some time. Therefore, my research cannot progress within the time needed to complete the project by the end of the month, hence why an interruption of 3 months is necessary in order to complete in time. Being able to interrupt whilst police access is granted (this has been granted in principle already), will allow this to progress and for the study to be completed to a high standard. All necessary steps of my project are ready for when the police are available.

I have discussed this interruption with both of my supervisors who are supportive of my decision. We all feel that it would be a shame not to be able to see the project through, now that we are so close to gatekeeper access which has unfortunately been impacted on by COVID-19, as well as the recent lifting of restrictions.

Thank you for your consideration of this interruption request and I hope that you will allow me to meet my study's original objectives

No

**Start date of interruption**

01 Sept 2021

**Length of interruption**

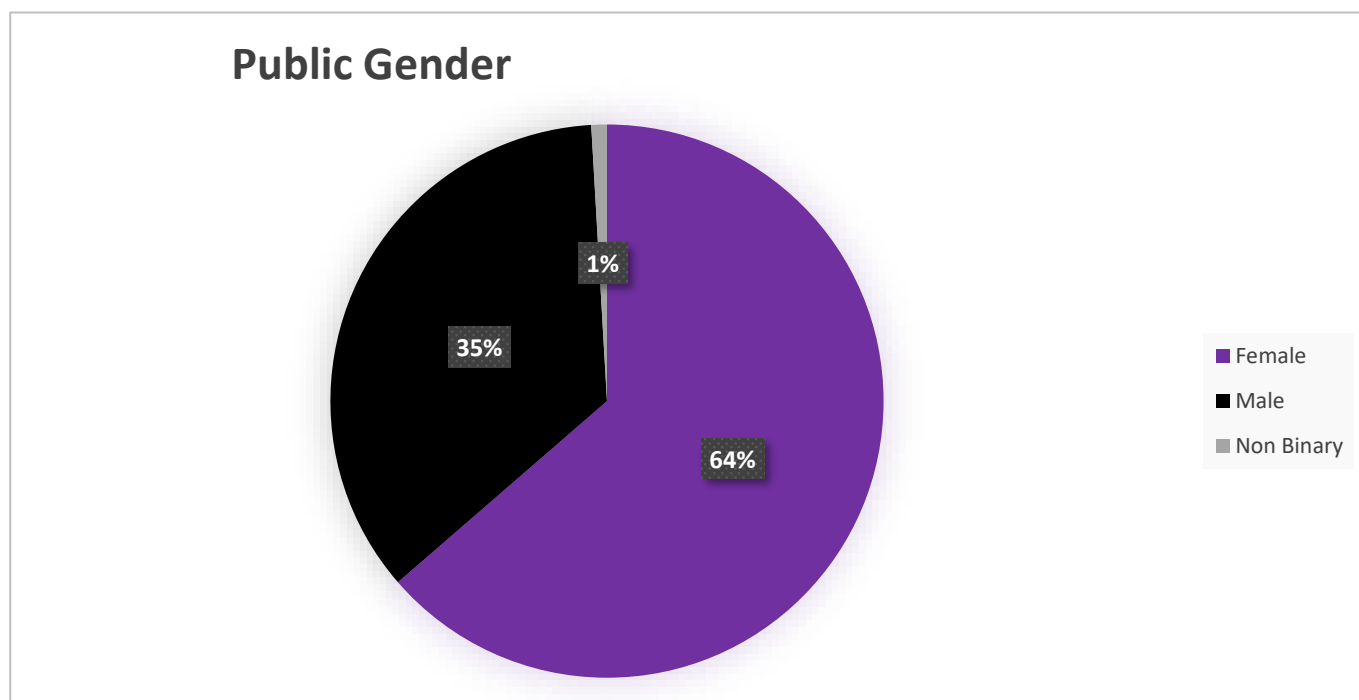
3 months

**Evidence**



### *Appendix G – public gender*

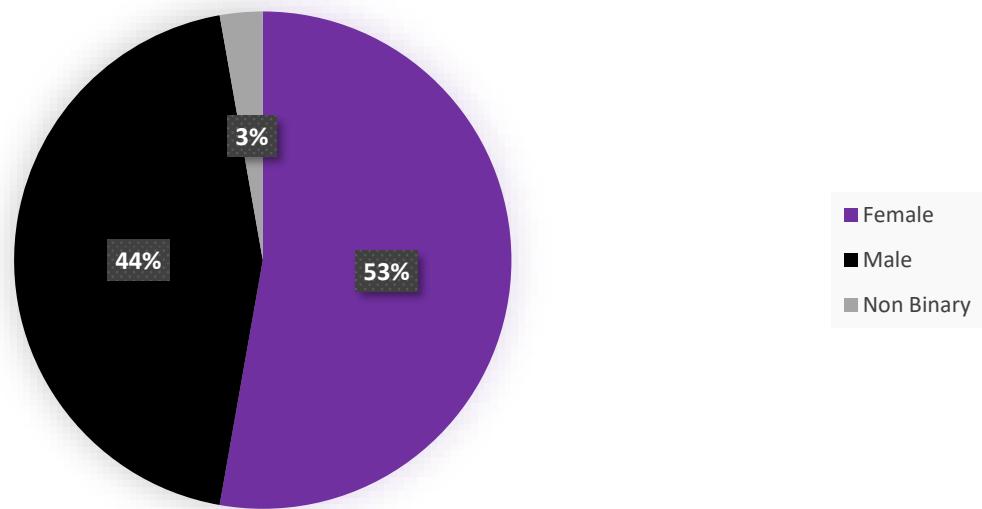
Public Gender	Percentage count
Female	64%
Male	35%
Non-binary	0.9%



### *Appendix H – police gender*

Police Gender	Percentage count
Female	53%
Male	44%
Non-binary	3%

## Police Gender



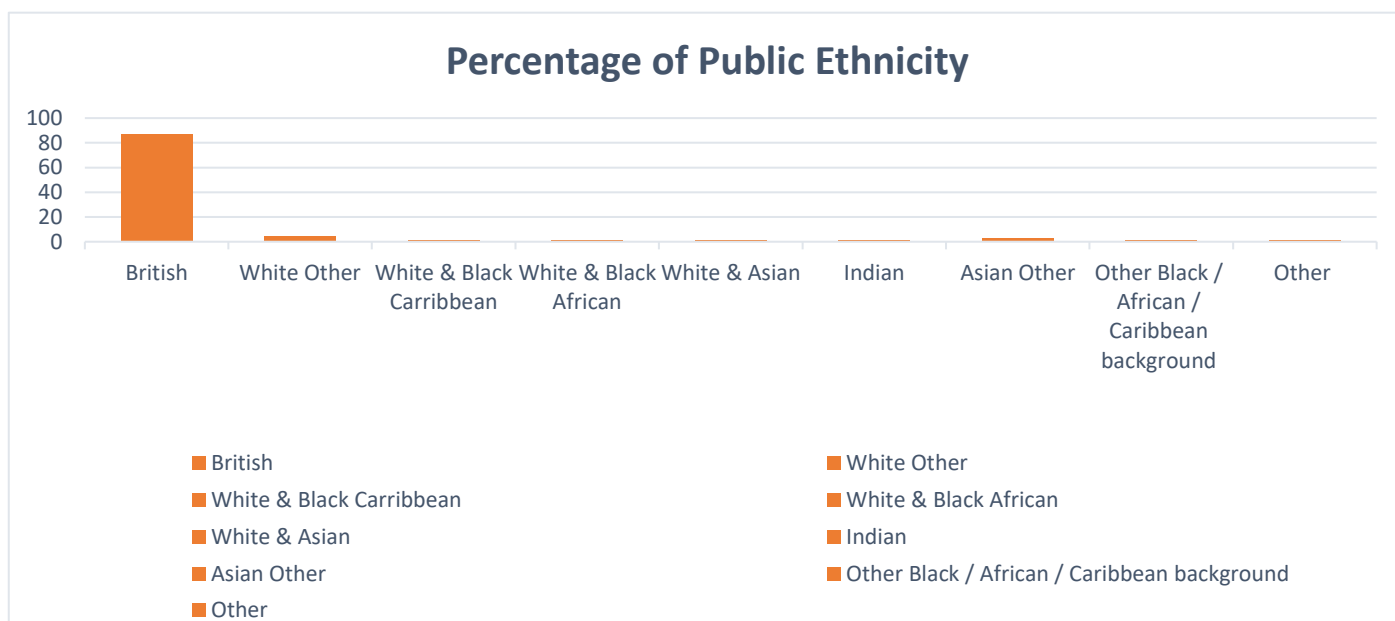
### *Appendix I – Ethnicity of public*

Ethnicity	Percentage of Public
British	87.3%
White Other	4.5%
White and Black Caribbean	0.9%
White and Black African	0.9%
White and Asian	0.9%
Indian	0.9%
Asian Other	2.7%
Other Black / African / Caribbean background	0.9%
Other	0.9%

### Appendix J - Kent Police length of service

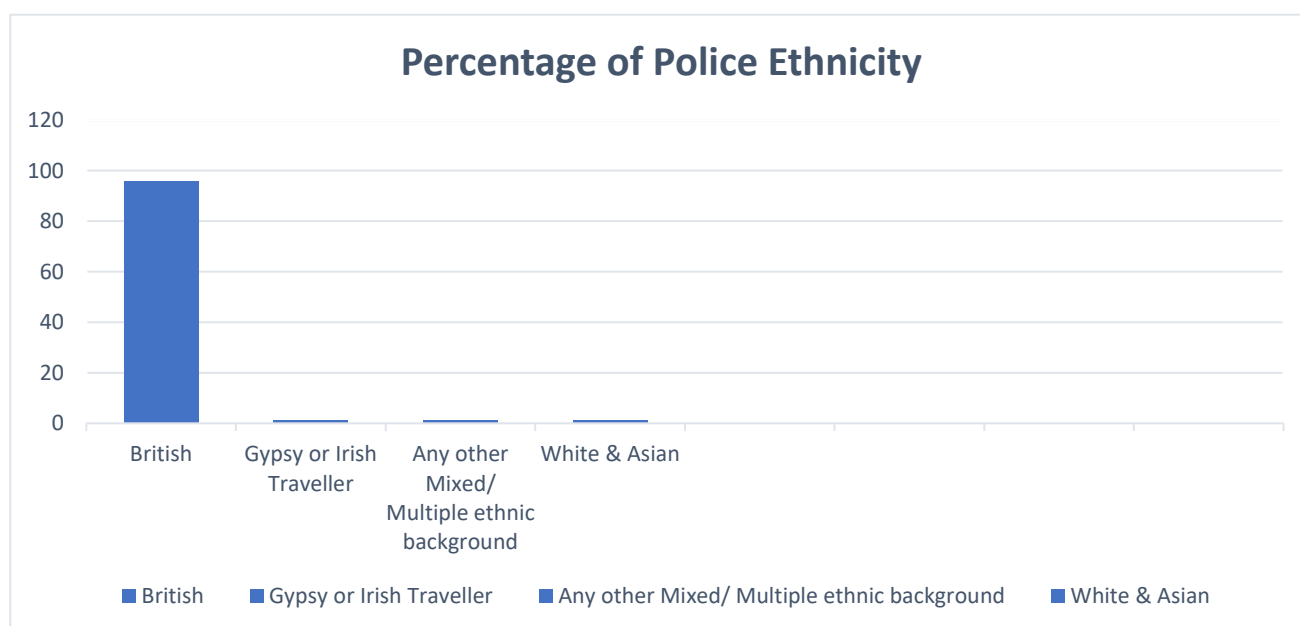
Length of Service (In years)	Number of Officers	Percentage	Percentage (Rounded to nearest 1%)
0-5	24	33.333333	33
6-10	6	8.333333	8
11-15	14	19.444444	19
16-20	12	16.666667	17
21-25	6	8.333333	8
26-30	5	6.944444	7
31-35	2	2.777778	3
36-40	2	2.777778	3
41-45	0	0.000000	0
46-50	0	0.000000	0
51-55	1	1.388889	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>99</b>

### Appendix K – Percentage of Public Ethnicity



### *Appendix L – Ethnicity of Police*

Ethnicity	Percentage of Police
<b>British</b>	<b>95.8%</b>
<b>Gypsy or Irish Traveller</b>	<b>1.4%</b>
<b>White and Asian</b>	<b>1.4%</b>
<b>Any other Mixed / Multiple ethnic background</b>	<b>1.4%</b>



***Appendix M– Percentage of police influences***

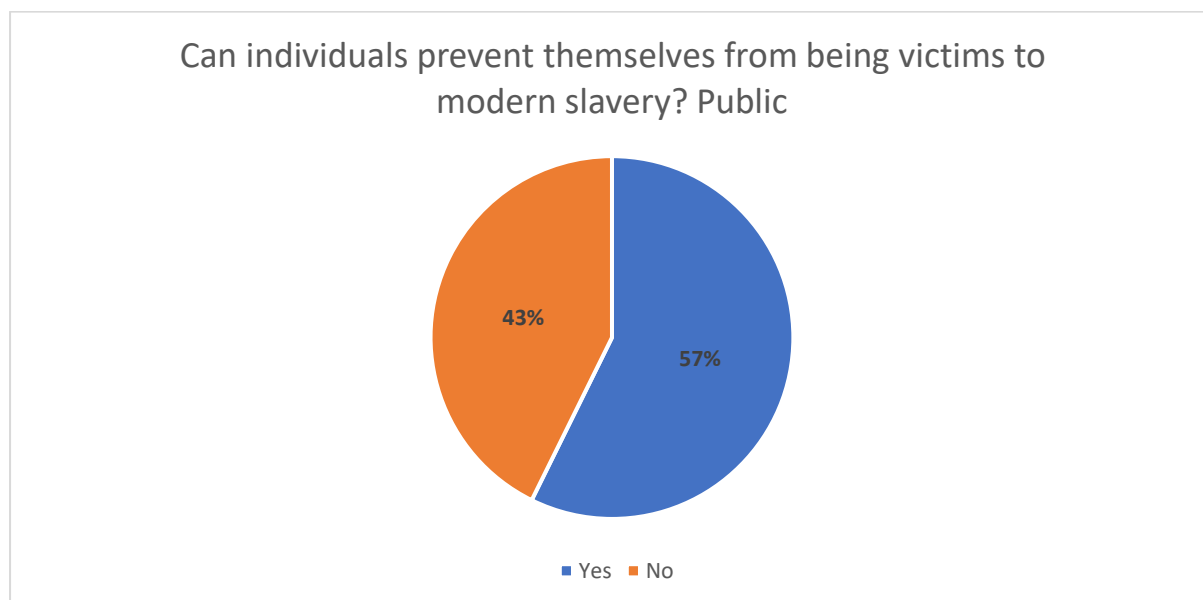
	Public	Police
The News	67%	56%
Films and Television	63%	38%
Social Media	47%	25%
Modern Slavery Campaigns	35%	36%
Books	19%	11%
Training from an Organisation	17%	76%
Personal Experience	10%	35%
Other	8%	8%

*Appendix N – characteristics of a MS victim police and public*

	Police Mean	Police Standard Deviation	Public Mean	Public Standard Deviation
Male Adult	3.96	0.86	3.24	0.74
Female Adult	4.17	0.73	3.91	0.51
Male Child	3.47	0.9	3.34	0.73
Female Child	3.69	0.95	3.7	0.79
Vulnerable adult	4.32	0.64	3.96	0.76
Vulnerable child	4.13	0.82	3.93	0.84
British	3.18	0.99	2.73	0.75
Non-British	4.29	0.73	3.93	0.55
Is Asian	3.86	0.79	3.69	0.6
Is African	3.75	0.81	3.73	0.6
Is EU Citizen	3.74	0.82	3.4	0.81
Is Eastern European	4.18	0.75	3.73	0.69
Is Employed	2.93	1.08	2.58	0.91
Is Unemployed	3.96	0.96	3.78	0.85
Has criminal history	3.38	0.84	3.12	0.74
Is poor	4.17	0.85	4.15	0.75
Is professional	2.39	0.91	2.35	0.85
From Vietnam	3.72	0.84	3.39	0.7
From Romania	3.97	0.78	3.66	0.64
Shows signs of physical abuse	3.78	0.73	3.72	0.7

Signs of malnutrition	3.79	0.76	3.82	0.6
Symptoms of PTSD	3.72	0.84	3.7	0.73
Signs of anxiousness	3.97	0.74	3.96	0.65
Is reluctant to speak for themselves	4.31	0.74	4.08	0.66
Seems to fear a companion	4.14	0.85	3.75	0.69
No form of personal identification	4.36	0.67	3.92	0.79
Fearful around law enforcement	4.32	0.68	3.94	0.78

*Appendix O – preventing exploitation the public*



***Appendix P - preventing exploitation the police***

