A set of briefings for the development of a Welsh modern slavery research agenda

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January 2023

How to read this document

This document contains a set of six research briefings. Each briefing can be read as a standalone document, or the briefings can be read together as a whole. The briefings are complementary to one another and none of the briefings are mutually exclusive. Every briefing provides a preliminary answer to a different research question, draws on existing relevant literature, and is formed around Welsh interests in the anti-slavery agenda. The aim of this document is to provide a set of briefings to inform work in Wales to tackle modern slavery and to inform the development of a Welsh modern slavery research agenda. The aim of each briefing is to address a specific research question or gap in knowledge by providing a summary of existing evidence and Welsh stakeholder input; stakeholder-informed guidance on how the question can be addressed at greater length by future research; and, where applicable, recommended readings and suggested stakeholders to support further exploration of each question. This set of briefings does not provide a comprehensive answer to the gaps in modern slavery research it addresses. Work in Wales to tackle modern slavery spans far beyond what this document sets out, since modern slavery is generally a complex and under-researched topic.

This project is the result of a collaboration between the Welsh Government and the University of Nottingham's Rights Lab. Collaborative efforts included the selection of the research questions as well as the research for and drafting of these briefings. Anti-slavery stakeholders based in Wales were consulted throughout, via a survey, interviews, email correspondence, and engagement in online meetings.

Acknowledgments

The Rights Lab and the Welsh Government undertook this collaborative project following a successful funding application to Research England's QR Strategic Priorities Fund (part of UK Research and Innovation). The Rights Lab applied for this funding with the Welsh Government acting as a project partner. This funding allowed for a short-term, impact-focused research project to be undertaken, beginning immediately and formally concluding at the end of March 2022.

The mutually agreed intended impacts of this project are:

1. To inform Welsh policy and operational responses to modern slavery and

2. To support Welsh academic research concerning modern slavery, providing a foundation for future research.

About the authors

Vanja Strand was selected as a research assistant and as the lead author for this collaborative project between the Rights Lab and the Welsh Government due to her research and familiarity with modern slavery and Wales. She is a doctoral candidate in the Business School at Cardiff University. Her doctoral research explores how supply chains are tackling the issue of modern slavery at the national and international level, with a focus on collaborative efforts between businesses and third parties.

Vanja also holds a bachelor's degree in Comparative Politics from the University of Bergen and an LLB in Law and an MSc in Global Governance from the University of South Wales. Her master's degree dissertation focused on modern slavery and public perceptions of victims of slavery. Vanja had a student placement working with survivors of modern slavery, attended numerous events driven by the anti-slavery agenda, had a work placement with an ethical consultancy business and previously worked as a research assistant on ethical considerations during Covid-19. This all gave her a sound foundation for further research on the anti-slavery agenda.

Juliana Rinaldi-Semione leads the Rights Lab's survivor engagement and policy impact work. She is responsible for collaborating with survivors or lived experience experts to integrate their perspectives into the Rights Lab's work at all stages of research and in the Rights Lab's policy engagement work. Juliana also supports researchers across all five Rights Lab programmes in designing and following through on impact pathways, including sharing their research with government stakeholders across the UK, as well as with other policy influencers and practitioners in various sectors.

Juliana is also a research fellow in the Rights Lab's Communities and Society Programme, where her work facilitates evidence-based community responses to modern slavery. Her research focuses on the definition of 'freedom from slavery'; community-level survivor support interventions around the world; multi-agency anti-slavery partnerships in the UK and USA; and integrating Sustainable Development Goal 8 into the work of the aerospace sector.

Juliana has previously worked with the Salvation Army UK's Anti-Trafficking & Modern Slavery Unit to provide community-based support to modern slavery survivors. She has also previously served as a policy researcher with the Partnership for Conflict, Crime & Security Research and the Office of the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner, authoring ['Preparing for Impact: How we can overcome barriers and cultivate a culture of collaboration, understanding, and respect to achieve impact on survivor support'](#).

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What are the Welsh Government's modern slavery research priorities?

An exploration of why and how the Welsh Government might go about establishing modern slavery research priorities

The value of modern slavery research priorities

Research priorities are a defined set of issues or interests that are to be prioritised among the seemingly infinite issues and interests concerning modern slavery. Usually, a set of research priorities takes the form of a list of specific research questions. The value in creating research priorities is that it allows the government and other stakeholders to refine their own thinking and to specify, together, what their greatest priorities are for nudging and influencing researchers and research funders in the field. Another value of having research priorities is that they give the group of stakeholders that write them a shared, cohesive vision and goals for what they want to understand about modern slavery, how they want to grow in knowledge, and how they want to expand their ability to use knowledge as a tool for building freedom and resilience.

Research priorities can be particularly valuable if they are focused on policy impact. For instance, the Home Office stated that it wants to improve the evidence base on which policy choices are made by introducing modern slavery research priorities; a strengthened evidence base for policy choices is likely to strengthen the policy impact (Home Office 2018). A set of Welsh research priorities – and the evidence base that is created in response to them – can inform approaches to tackling modern slavery by organisations that operate in Wales.

Flexibility and regular reviews are important for ensuring that the value of research priorities is maintained. Within the Welsh Government, there is a desire to ensure that research priorities are agile enough to ensure that, if an unforeseen or urgent research interest arises, there is flexibility for the government and academic stakeholders to prioritise it. Along these lines, it is suggested that research priorities be reviewed biannually and amended as necessary to reflect contemporary trends or emerging evidence gaps (for example, emerging forms of exploitation or shifts in the methods used by perpetrators).

The Home Office, for example, has stated that its research priorities are likely to develop over time and will be changed as required due to the evolving nature of modern slavery (Home Office 2018). Examples of current issues that might affect research priorities on modern slavery include Covid-19, matters pertaining to refugees from Ukraine, and developments around the Nationality and Borders Act 2022. Additionally, the Modern Slavery and Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre (Modern Slavery PEC), an anti-slavery UK funding body, has stated that their research priorities can be adapted in light of advice and that they are committed to a stakeholder-informed approach where suggestions for additional research priorities are encouraged on an ongoing basis (Modern Slavery PEC 2021).

The purpose of modern slavery research priorities

The most important purpose of research priorities is that they address knowledge gaps, guiding researchers and organisations that fund research. There is an expectation that at least the

stakeholder who publishes or hosts the priorities will consider the body of evidence that is produced in response to the priorities, using that evidence to inform policy and practice.

For researchers designing projects and applying for funding, research priorities provide justification and direction for research and should be used by both researchers and the bodies that provide research funding. Researchers and research funders alike should use the priorities as guidance as they, respectively, develop or support new research projects (Home Office 2018). Researchers should cite the research priorities and the benefit to addressing them when writing their case for support in a funding application. Researchers can also ask governmental bodies or other relevant stakeholders for a letter of support on the basis that the proposed research answers a research priority question. Further, researchers writing grant applications to research councils or for internal university funding can appeal to the priorities in the requisite impact pathway plans because, as stated above, the publishing stakeholder can be reasonably expected to read research that responds to research priorities and consider ways to take that research onboard for real-world impact. All of this makes it easier for research funders to select projects that should receive funding. In some cases, funders have demonstrated an openness to adjusting their own research priorities so that they align with or include stakeholder research priorities – including those set out by policymaking stakeholders. This would serve as further encouragement for researchers to develop related research projects and, as an added benefit, this increases the likelihood that any evidence being created will respond to specific policy needs or interests.

The process of writing modern slavery research priorities

The processes by which these priorities are derived can be varied. Below are guiding principles and possible processes for consideration for Welsh stakeholders developing modern slavery research priorities.

Since the most significant factor is that the priorities address knowledge gaps of importance, **there must be some collaboration in arriving at the priorities regardless of what process is chosen thereafter.** Collaboration can include an array of anti-slavery stakeholders, and it is particularly important to co-develop research questions around survivor support with survivors and service providers (Semione 2020). Collaboration should also include academics who are subject matter experts; this ensures that research priorities are written in a way that is clear to researchers and can be reasonably considered feasible.

Research priorities should be created in line with any relevant modern slavery strategy that is in place. This is evident from the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner (IASC)'s 'Strategic Plan 2019-2021', which outlines getting value from research and innovation, and further defining research priorities, as the Commissioner's fourth strategic priority (Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner 2019). This is later reiterated by Dame Sara Thornton, where she states that the IASC's modern slavery research priorities align with the IASC strategic priorities (Lawson 2022). The Home Office also made it clear that their research priorities relate to the 'policy and operational priorities set out in the Government's Modern Slavery Strategy' (Home Office 2018). Similarly, one stakeholder noted that research priorities should be rooted in policy needs.[1]

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[1] Stakeholder 5, interview.

The process of drafting research priorities can begin internally if the anti-slavery stakeholders that work on the priorities have extensive knowledge within the field. The IASC's office followed an internal process to arrive at their research priorities on modern slavery.[2] After reaching a set of research priorities, the office tested them with academics. Testing the potential research priorities with academics can be beneficial since academics may be more likely than non-academic stakeholders to know the feasibility of addressing the proposed priorities through research. They are also able to provide valuable feedback on the language of the priorities and the methodologies that can be used to respond to the priorities. This is part of co-creation with academics, as described above.

Testing research priorities with academics might take the form of a roundtable approach to allow for open discussion and idea sharing among a group. This kind of consultation was undertaken by the IASC and the Rights Lab in 2021.

The rigorous process and steps of creating research priorities can be demonstrated from the Modern Slavery PEC consultation. The Modern Slavery PEC held a consultation which was co-designed by a working group of academics, policymakers, and other anti-slavery stakeholders. They released the 'Consultation of Research Priorities', which lists the steps the working group went through to arrive at its research priorities (Balch 2021). This included an online survey with more than 120 respondents; detailed feedback in a series of roundtable discussions with 75 participants; advice from a variety of sources; and careful consideration of areas of interest to UK Government departments. This process informed the final priorities, alongside an assessment of evidence gaps and relevance to the existing policy agenda.

Stakeholders in Wales have already provided input on research priorities. Some known knowledge gaps around modern slavery in the Welsh context were identified collaboratively among the Welsh Government, Welsh anti-slavery stakeholders and the Rights Lab for the purpose of this set of briefings – including this first briefing about Welsh research priorities. After initial discussion between the Welsh Government and the Rights Lab, a preliminary list of research priorities was developed. These priorities were shared among a larger group of anti-slavery stakeholders in Wales, who in turn considered and commented on the importance of these gaps. Some of the findings from that process are included in the next section.

Known gaps in research on modern slavery in Wales

The survey was sent to anti-slavery stakeholders in Wales and received 27 responses. Responses came from the academic, public, and third sectors. A clear majority of 70 percent of respondents answered that all of the knowledge gaps listed in the survey were useful. These stakeholders were also able to flag further gaps in knowledge during this process, which led to one additional research priority being added to the existing list.

At present, the following areas for further research have been identified:

1. What are the Welsh Government's modern slavery research priorities, along the lines of those published in 2018 by the Home Office (Home Office 2018) and those published in 2021

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[2] Stakeholder 5, interview.

by the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner (Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner 2021)?

2. How can the Welsh Government best co-ordinate the multi-agency response to modern slavery in Wales, including with UK and international actors?
3. How can the Welsh Government most effectively assist organisations in eliminating modern slavery in supply chains?
4. How can information about modern slavery risks in supply chains be effectively communicated at pace in Wales?
5. How do we improve detection of modern slavery forms that are lesser known in Wales (e.g., domestic servitude)?
6. How can we improve understanding of the prevalence of modern slavery in Wales?
7. How can modern slavery risks in the agricultural sector be assessed or identified?
8. What is an effective/realistic approach to improving short-term service provision for both adults and children?
9. How can services most effectively support child victims transitioning into adulthood?
10. When child victims are moved across the country, how can local authorities and other relevant organisations effectively be sighted on this?

In survey responses, these questions were deemed the most useful by participants (the number of participants who supported each question as among the most useful is indicated in parentheses):

- How can we improve understanding of the prevalence of modern slavery in Wales? (17)
- How do we improve detection of modern slavery forms that are lesser known in Wales (e.g., domestic servitude)? (15)
- How can information about modern slavery risks in supply chains be effectively communicated at pace? (14)
- How can the Welsh Government most effectively assist organisations in eliminating modern slavery in supply chains? (11)

Recommended next steps:

1. The Welsh Government should use this briefing and the survey responses to decide how to proceed with developing its own priorities.
2. The Welsh Government should publish their priorities online and make stakeholders aware of those priorities.

This particular briefing answers the first research question by providing a starting point for developing Welsh Government's drafted research priorities, articulating the benefits and uses of research priorities, and providing suggestions for developing and distributing the final priorities when they are agreed.

How can the Welsh Government best co-ordinate the multi-agency response to modern slavery in Wales, including with UK and international actors?

A simple, two-level, multi-agency response

Multi-level, multi-agency responses, often called partnerships in the UK, are the standard mechanism by which groups of diverse stakeholders coordinate their response to modern slavery. These coordinated responses sometimes come about organically and have little to no structure; other times, they are highly structured and might even be overseen through a project management perspective. Both practice wisdom and research into multi-agency, coordinated responses – whether focused on anti-slavery or another topic – indicate that some structure is preferred. However, an overly structured response runs the risk of being too difficult or time-consuming to maintain. Therefore, it is recommended that the Welsh Government follow a simple model of coordinated response or partnership working with Welsh, UK, and international partners to best coordinate a multi-agency response to modern slavery in Wales.

There are several possible structures for coordinating multi-level, multi-partner responses to modern slavery. Three potential models include the Single Leader Model, the Intelligence Task Force Model, and the Core Team Model. (It should be noted that the terminology used in the sources considered for this briefing is not always directly correlated to how the same terminology is used in the UK or in Welsh contexts; further explanation will be offered below, where appropriate.) Each of these models consists of only two levels and the underlying assumption is that, while there is a hierarchy of stakeholders or partners, every stakeholder or partner is equally valued and is actively engaged in accomplishing the shared mission, vision, or objectives of the coordinated response.

The models suggested in this briefing are highly adaptable. Not only can their structures (visualised in a series of figures below) be adjusted to meet the needs of stakeholders in Wales, but these models can also be used either alongside or in replacement of the existing Welsh modern slavery governance structure. (For an example of how these models can be used alongside the existing structure, think about these models as mechanisms strictly for addressing relationship management and communications or information sharing between the Welsh Government and UK and international partners to facilitate coordinated responses.)

The Single Leader Model

This model is similar to the most prominent partnership model used in anti-slavery, multi-agency partnerships in the UK. In the UK, most anti-slavery, multi-agency partnerships are co-ordinated and chaired by the Police (Gardner 2017). A strength of this model is that police are often the most likely partners to have statutory remit to carry out anti-slavery initiatives and, sometimes, will have access to budgetary resources or sufficient staffing for a sustained coordination role (for example, through a Police and Crime Commissioner's office), though there are also potential drawbacks to the police serving in a single leader capacity (Gardner 2017; Northall 2020).

Within the single leader model, leadership for coordination efforts rests on one organisation – and usually on a named individual within that organisation. The amalgamation of duties, such as

administrative duties, decision-making or the creation of timely, informed recommendations and communications to the variety of other actors involved, can be challenging. Hence, some organisations in the coordinating role choose to hire project managers to carry out duties attached to the multi-agency response (Office for Victims of Crime Training and Technical Assistance Center n.d.).[3] This individual plays the role of a secretariat but with additional, more operational or daily programmatic responsibilities; they must be given the appropriate level of authority to carry out the duties assigned to them and should be a modern slavery subject matter expert.

The figure below has been adapted from a US Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) resource to show what it might look like if the Welsh Government applied the Single Leader Model to co-ordinate the multi-agency response to modern slavery in Wales, including with UK and international partners (Office for Victims of Crime Training and Technical Assistance Center n.d.).
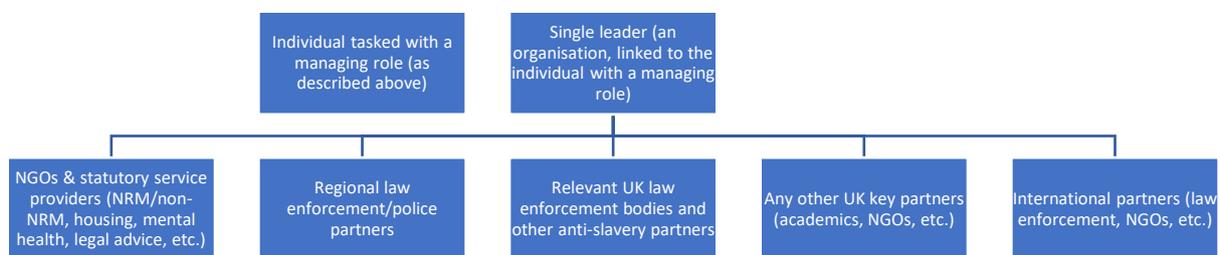

This model is similar to the most prominent partnership model used in anti-slavery, multi-agency collaborations or partnerships in the UK. This may simplify the adaptation of the Single Leader Model in Wales, as arguments can be made for its compatibility and logical connections to existing models. In the UK, most anti-slavery multi-agency partnerships are coordinated and chaired by the police – in the language of the US OVC, the police would be considered the Single Leaders in these partnerships. This does not mean that the police or other Single Leader have ultimate decision-making powers but that the Single Leader bears responsibility for coordination activities and communications and is responsible for facilitating jointly decided anti-slavery objectives. Importantly, the Single Leader must have the time-related resources to carry out this role effectively, which is why an individual is often hired or named within the Single Leader organisation.

The Intelligence Task Force Model

Here, the term 'task force' is used to describe a relationship among law enforcement and judicial bodies that is for a specified purpose (i.e. to increase modern slavery prosecutions in Wales) and usually for a specified timeframe (i.e. until there is a 5% increase in annual modern slavery prosecutions, or for a fixed time such as two years). The term 'intelligence' is used to emphasise the law enforcement orientation of this model – largely viewed as a necessity for the kind of information sharing that is often needed to fulfil the chosen, specific purpose. As with the other models, the Intelligence Task Force Model is highly adaptable. If a task force would be a useful approach to developing a prevention solution in Wales, for example, then the word 'intelligence' could be exchanged for a word like 'prevention', and the task force leader would be selected based on which

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[3] N.d. denotes 'no date'.

organisation could bring the most effective coordinating capabilities and could contribute the most essential assets for accomplishing the task force's purpose.

This model is typically focused on investigative and prosecutorial functions, hence it leans towards a law enforcement-focused structure in existing literature and examples. Service providers may be brought into the structure when necessary for coordination around investigations or prosecutions, but rarely for direct service provision to victims or survivors (Office for Victims of Crime Training and Technical Assistance Center n.d.). New Intelligence Task Forces can be created after the first purpose is achieved – perhaps to meet a new purpose, to build on the success of the previous Intelligence Task Force, or to respond to any challenges that were discovered by the previous Intelligence Task Force.

Compared to the Single Leader Model, this model has fewer risks attached to confidentiality breaches and meetings among the agencies involved tend to be more focused because the only agencies who are included are those necessary to carry out the specified purpose and who are able to commit for the duration of the specific timeframe. Partly in connection to this, the Intelligence Task Force Model may not be ideal for building partnerships and trust with non-law enforcement partners, so care must be taken to not alienate any key local or regional stakeholders (Office for Victims of Crime Training and Technical Assistance Center n.d.). One possible application of this model would be to run it alongside the existing Welsh modern slavery governance structure and allow regular updates from the Intelligence Task Force Model at modern slavery governance meetings. A representative from the Intelligence Task Force Model might be given a seat in the governance structure over the lifetime of this model's implementation.

The figure below has been adapted from a US OVC resource to show what a Welsh Government approach might look like if the Welsh Government adopted the Intelligence Task Force Model to co-ordinate a multi-agency response to modern slavery with UK and international actors (Office for Victims of Crime Training and Technical Assistance Center n.d.).
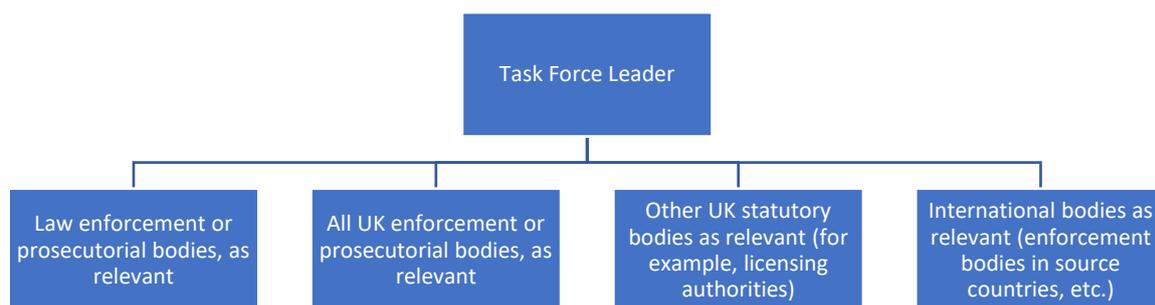
The Core Team Model

This is a common structure for multi-agency, anti-slavery partnerships in the USA, where law enforcement, service providers and a prosecutor constitute a core team that guides the priorities and activities of other partnership members. The other members need to commit themselves to a long-term relationship with the core team, following the mission, and assessing results of the partnership's efforts at intervals. It is argued that five to seven organisations from a variety of sectors form the Core Team (Office for Victims of Crime Training and Technical Assistance Center

n.d.). Usually, there will be one individual from each Core Team organisation who is responsible for attending meetings and actioning their organisations' commitments to the partnership. These individuals must, therefore, have appropriate authority to represent their organisations at meetings, take appropriate actions, and feed back to or delegate actions to others in their own organisations. Core Team organisations can periodically change, to ensure that the partnership is run to the satisfaction of all parties and to acknowledge that some Core Team organisations might occasionally need to reassess their capacity to co-lead the partnership.

It should be noted that no core organisation or other member organisations must make the partnership their sole priority; each organisation should be free to maintain their own visions, missions, and values and to continue with their own interests and operations. For this reason, an organisation that is party to the Core Team Model usually agrees a short memorandum of understanding (MOU) between itself and other members to delineate what its time commitment will be, what resources or services it can contribute to the activities of the partnership, and stating that its own independent work will not contradict or undermine the priorities and activities of the overall partnership. MOUs can be reviewed and revised as necessary, and organisations and the overall partnership should feel comfortable with the possibility that an organisation might need to pause its membership or leave the partnership in the future.

The figure below has been adapted from a US OVC resource to show what a Welsh Government approach might look like if the Welsh Government adopted the Core Team Model to co-ordinate a multi-agency response to modern slavery with UK and international partners (Office for Victims of Crim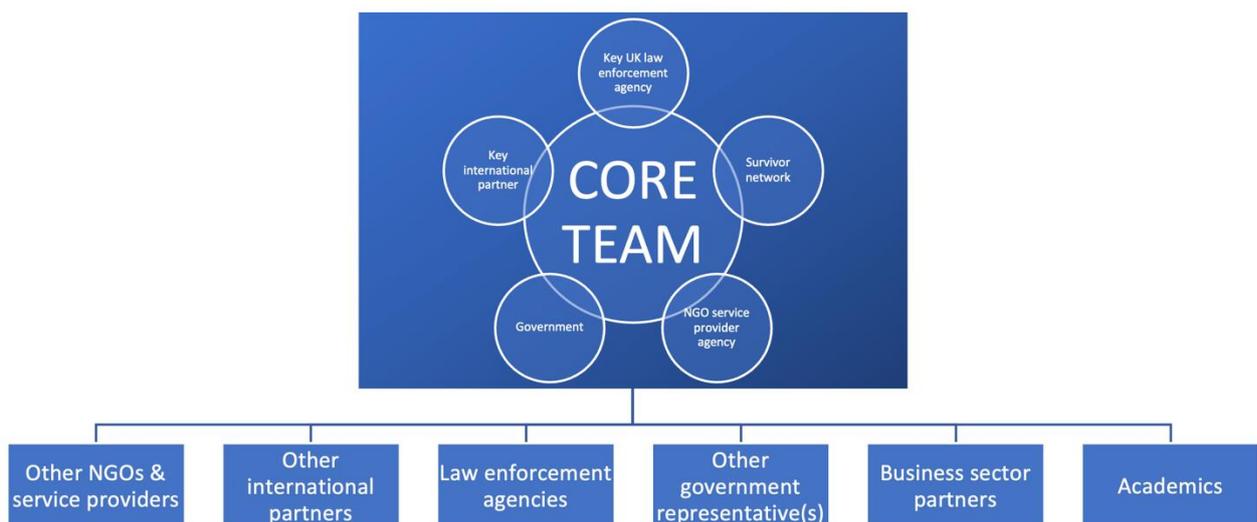e Training and Technical Assistance Center n.d.). As with all the figures in this briefing, the agencies named below are given as examples; if this model were applied in Wales, the Core Team and other members should be decided by the Welsh Government and any other stakeholders consulted.

The importance of engaging survivors as anti-slavery stakeholders

Survivors of modern slavery are important anti-slavery stakeholders and should be engaged in any coordinated response whenever possible, whatever the model. Engaging survivors meaningfully builds trust with the wider survivor community and with the service provider community; ensures

that lived experience expertise is informing coordinated objectives and actions; and acknowledges the fact that survivors are anti-slavery stakeholders.

Survivor engagement should go far beyond the delivery of effective victim services, but victim services is one area where survivors' voices should be platformed or highlighted within a partnership. One way of accomplishing this is by establishing a victim services committee within a partnership, which supports the delivery of appropriate, high-quality services to victims of slavery (Office for Victims of Crime Training and Technical Assistance Center n.d.).

In all areas of survivor engagement, it is important to have a survivor-centred, trauma-informed approach in partnerships and also to remunerate survivors for their time to attend partnership meetings and participate in other activities to support a coordinated response, whenever possible (Hart et al. 2015; Survivor Alliance 2018).

How to further pursue an answer to this question

Partnerships are not easily replicated because of individual regional differences, such as size, population, prevalence of different issues, resources, and funding. This makes it complicated to assume that one partnership model fits a specific region and thorough investigation into regional circumstances may be necessary to decide on a specific partnership model (Northall 2020). Therefore, there is no 'cookie cutter' structure that can apply effectively to every coordinated response. (In fact, even the term 'partnership', which is common in the UK but can take many different forms, may not be welcomed by all those involved in a coordinated response – it is recommended that terminology be defined early on and explained to new partners who may use that terminology differently in other settings.)

Although partnerships are not easily replicated it is recommended that the Welsh Government applies a simple model that has already been tested elsewhere, such as one of the three models described above, as it seeks to build on the good work of Welsh anti-slavery partnerships today and seeks to enhance its coordination with existing and additional stakeholders. A key benefit of a simple model (as opposed to a highly nuanced, multi-layered model) is that it can be adapted not only to present opportunities and challenges but can be agile enough to adjust course when new opportunities and challenges arise in the Welsh anti-slavery landscape. A simple model carries the further benefit of requiring relatively fewer resources to establish and maintain, allowing all the individuals and organisations involved to focus their time on delivering the group's objectives.

Finally, having a shared vision on what the partnership tries to achieve is important between stakeholders in a multi-agency partnership (Northall 2020). This should be decided by the leader or leaders of the coordinated response, in consultation not only with potential members of the partnership but with others in Wales who may be affected by the decisions of the partnership.

Recommended next steps:

1. Choose a simple model for a coordinated response to adopt or adapt; define the basic structure and consider potential organisations and individuals to be included in the coordinated response.
2. Open a dialogue, possibly through a short series of workshops, to discuss what the core mission, vision, or objectives of this response will be.

3. Continue this dialogue, possibly with additional stakeholders, to preliminarily assess what assets or resources are available among the potential partners to achieve the mission, vision, or objectives. A SWOT analysis (assessing strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) is recommended and may need to be completed in more than one iteration.
4. Form the partnership and consider creating a succinct set of procedures or terms of reference as well as a short MOU – the latter can be adapted for different partners' needs and outlines specific partners' commitments within the partnership.

Who should be a part of further pursuing an answer to this question?

- The Welsh Government and Welsh, UK, and international organisations that might ultimately become partners in the coordinated response.
- Academics or practice experts focused on multi-agency collaboration between anti-slavery stakeholders, such as those in the Rights Lab.

Further reading

- **Collaborating Against Human Trafficking** (Foot 2016)
- **The Dynamics of Multi-organizational Partnerships: an Analysis of Changing Modes of Governance** (Lowndes and Skelcher n.d.)

How can the Welsh Government most effectively assist organisations in eliminating modern slavery in supply chains?

Précis of select literature

Collaboration with businesses is seen as an important aspect in multi-agency partnerships, although maintaining long-term involvement with local businesses has been an issue (Involving communities 2018; Northall 2020). It is advised to include business representative organisations in multi-agency, anti-slavery partnerships (Partnerships Checklist n.d.). This can be mutually beneficial for businesses and the Welsh Government if trust is built. The Welsh Government can assist organisations in eliminating modern slavery in supply chains in a variety of ways. The Welsh Government has said it also recognises the importance of working with Trade Union Social Partners on modern slavery.

The UK Government is strengthening cooperation with source countries and is working with international partners to address modern slavery in the UK and overseas (Home Office 2019). The Independent Commission for Aid Impact (ICAI) found some examples of collaboration between the UK Government and the private sector in developing countries. However, private sector representatives that were consulted claimed that there were opportunities for deeper partnerships between the private sector and the government (2020). The ICAI also states that there has been a focus on domestic engagement with the private sector and collaboration has therefore lacked the international support that businesses may need (2020). International collaboration can decrease the likelihood of modern slavery within Welsh-bound supply chains. This could take many forms, but could include businesses collaborating with authorities to inform source countries of any instances of modern slavery that affect foreign nationals, hopefully spurring a willingness on the part of the source country to participate in remediating the situation as appropriate.

The Home Office organises the Business Against Slavery Forum, an initiative intended to involve working in partnership with multi-national businesses to help smaller businesses take action and to increase progress for businesses in general by sharing experiences (Home Office news team 2019). The Welsh Government can create space for businesses to share experiences and best practice with other business actors, e.g. by convening joint sectoral working groups (Independent Commission for Aid Impact 2020). By facilitating an open discussion in a closed environment, both businesses and the government can learn about the current state of modern slavery in supply chains, hence this exercise is mutually beneficial. The Rights Lab recently undertook such an open discussion in a closed, strictly confidential environment to support its research and (crucially) the likelihood of buy-in into research on slavery in supply chains (Cockayne, Rodríguez Huerta, and Burcu 2022).

Trautrims et al. argue that 'governmental policymaking plays a crucial role to incentivise sustainability investments and protect first-movers, for example, by reducing uncertainties about the benefits of the investment or reducing investment costs through subsidies' (2021). Hence, the Welsh Government could build upon its work in its 'Code of Practice: Ethical Employment in Supply Chains' (2017) to provide advice to businesses on ways to integrate modern slavery due diligence into their business models. Initial funding for small or start-up businesses to conduct modern slavery due diligence and risk assessments could also be considered. Smaller businesses may have difficulty

conducting modern slavery due diligence because it is a cost and resource commitment. A contribution of initial funds for this purpose could assist with ensuring a level playing field and support efforts to discover more victims in supply chains. If small or start-up businesses were to receive funding for due diligence and risk assessments, the UK Government could also extend mandatory modern slavery transparency in supply chain (TISC) reporting to these organisations.

Furthermore, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has provided an extensive report on what measures governments can take to prevent modern slavery in supply chains. This is not focused on how governments can assist organisations in tackling it, but rather how they can have a more proactive role in how they as a governmental body tackle it. Examples of the measures governments can take include strengthening public procurement measures and obligating business actors to enhance TISC measures (OSCE Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings 2018).

The Rights Lab worked with the Canadian Government to risk assess their supply chains (Postmedia News 2021). The Welsh Government has likewise said it recognises the importance of tackling risks of modern slavery in Welsh public sector supply chains. In 2017 the Welsh Government published the 'Code of Practice: Ethical Employment in Supply Chains'. This Code sets out 12 commitments addressing risks of modern slavery and unethical employment practices. The Welsh Government expects all public sector organisations, businesses and third sector organisations in receipt of public sector funding to sign up to the 'Code of Practice' and, so far, more than 400 public, private and third sector organisations have done so.[4] Other organisations in Wales are also encouraged to adopt the Code (Welsh Government 2017). Further, in June 2022, the Deputy Minister for Social Partnership introduced the Social Partnership and Public Procurement (Wales) Bill in the Senedd. The Bill contains provisions to promote socially responsible public procurement and to ensure that socially responsible outcomes are pursued through supply chains, particularly in major construction contracts (Social Partnership and Public Procurement (Wales) Bill n.d.).

The UK Government could also consider extending the obligations of TISC reporting and penalties of non-compliance on reporting. This would give organisations additional incentive to allocate more resources to due diligence and risk assessments. LeBaron and Rühmkorf found that the UK Bribery Act 2010, which has criminal corporate liability measures, was more likely to spur deeper changes than TISC reporting, since bribery appears to be seen as a genuine compliance issue and modern slavery is addressed in a more aspirational manner (LeBaron and Rühmkorf 2017; Bales, Hedwards, and Silverman n.d.). Similarly, the Rights Lab and IASC found that there was 'a lack of a sense of obligation to adhere to the Modern Slavery Act's requirements in Section 54, which points to the need for greater government enforcement of this provision' (Phillips and Trautrims n.d.). Hence, although some businesses may not believe that the government is assisting them in eliminating modern slavery in supply chains by imposing penalties for non-compliance, businesses are more likely to improve reporting, due diligence measures, and risk assessments if such measures are imposed. This may then lead to more cases of modern slavery being detected.

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[4] This number was provided by the Welsh Government.

How to further pursue an answer to this question

The Welsh Government or a research partner could undertake qualitative surveys and interviews with businesses to identify ways to effectively assist these organisations in eliminating modern slavery from supply chains, as the business community will know how they can best be supported. This information might also be acquired from interviews with representatives or members of business associations and other modern slavery stakeholders (e.g. NGOs or trade unions).

Whether interviews or surveys are used, the Welsh Government should seek out a variety of responses. It is recommended that the questions asked of any stakeholders aim to address the following areas pertaining to 'assistance':

- Assistance in the short, mid, and long term
- Assistance in the form of funding as well as non-monetary resources
- Any forms of assistance that are particularly unwelcome
- What areas or teams within the Welsh Government would be most welcomed to offer assistance from the perspective of industry stakeholders
- Any real-world examples of government-to-industry assistance that can be provided

Soliciting responses that address this range of topics and foci will provide the Welsh Government with options and the ability to meaningfully co-create an assistance strategy with its key audiences around this topic.

Who should be a part of further pursuing an answer to this question?

Academics from the field of supply chain management who are focused on work around modern slavery should be engaged in further pursuit of this question. Modern slavery in supply chains is a growing field of research and has received an increase in attention since 2015. Currently there are subject matter experts at a number of institutions, among which are Cardiff University, Lancaster University, the Rights Lab, Simon Fraser University, Universität Kassel, the University of Auckland, and the University of Manchester.

It should also be noted that government data can be used alongside technology to prevent and detect modern slavery (Bliss et al. 2019). The Welsh Government should work with academics, business actors and data experts in a collaborative manner by sharing specific governmental data, to assist businesses in eliminating modern slavery from supply chains.

Further reading

- **Adaptations to first-tier suppliers' relational anti-slavery capabilities** (Emberson, Pinheiro, and Trautrims 2022)
- **Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Labour Exploitation in Supply Chains - Guidance for OSCE Procurement** (OSCE Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings 2021)
- **Modern Slavery in Global Supply Chains: Can National Action Plans on Business and Human Rights Close the Governance Gap** (Hampton 2019)

How can information about modern slavery risks in supply chains be effectively communicated at pace in Wales?

Précis of select literature

It is important to communicate information about modern slavery risks in supply chains to the private and public sectors, so that businesses can actively work towards reducing modern slavery in supply chains. Due to the time sensitivity of such information – not to mention potential legal and public relations implications for businesses and procurement entities, in particular – this information must also be communicated in good time. Communicating at pace and communicating effectively have to be considered together, so this précis reflects that literature about communication integrates both.

Cascading models are focused on the probability of someone making decisions based on previous decisions (whether correct or incorrect) by others. Anderson and Holt argue that 'an "information cascade" occurs when initial decisions coincide in a way that it is optimal for each of the subsequent individuals to ignore his or her private signals and follow the established pattern' (1997, 847). It is similar to herd behaviour. If some business actors choose to take on board the information about modern slavery risks in supply chains that is being delivered, that information can easily be picked up by other business actors and be communicated widely, effectively and at pace.

'Cascading' communication is also commonly used in workplaces. What it means in the workplace context is that a line manager, department head, or other leader figure will send information to their direct reports with a request that it be 'cascaded' further to those recipients' own direct reports, and so on. This is a different use of the word 'cascading' than what Anderson and Holt mean by it. However, information could be cascaded among organisations in a partnership. For instance, if a partnership is following the Single Leader Model, then the individual in a 'managing role' could communicate important information to the leads in other partner organisations, who would then cascade it within their organisations. (See Pages 10-13 of this document for a sample organisation chart for the Single Leader model and other examples of how partnerships might be structured.) This is different from – but related to – Dotey et al.'s concept of 'cascades', described below.

Dotey et al. (2011) argue that information cascades in networks can be used to determine influential people within a network. This can be translated to practical applications, such as influencing public belief or increasing the effectiveness of marketing. Establishing good network relationships with key business stakeholders in Wales who might be considered influential within their sector can have a positive impact on influencing the opinions and actions of others and on efficiently communicating information, if those influential stakeholders support in or carry out the communication of problems and solutions to a wider set of business stakeholders. Further, social influence network theory illustrates how people might change their opinions by combining and weighing their own opinions with other people's opinions on a subject (Friedkin and Johnsen 2011). Friedkin and Johnsen found that people have some idea of the personal attributes of other people within the network and further argued that within social networks, word of mouth might be more appreciated and more likely to be actioned than observable or empirical findings (2011).

It is also found that people will trust neighbours rather than the word of a salesman (Cooperative Extension Service 1981). This concept may be possible to adapt for the business community or a specific industry setting where there may be more trust than among business stakeholders than between businesses and, for instance, an 'outsider' statutory or third sector entity disseminating information. It might be beneficial to have a few business stakeholders within each industry that work effectively with the modern slavery partnership in Wales to disseminate information in a timely manner to those considered their peers or 'neighbours', spreading the information further in a snowball effect.

If only some business stakeholders choose to take in the information about modern slavery risks which has been distributed by the modern slavery partnership or another entity, other business stakeholders may be hesitant in following and applying that information to their own risk analysis. Hence, it is important to distribute information to a large enough group of the business community that the only rational choice for them is to follow what others have also heard and implemented (Anderson and Holt 1997).

Communication at pace can be accomplished through the efficient use of existing communications channels – including but not limited to social media. But another option is to create such a channel. This comes with its own set of pros and cons. Klievink et al. argue that two or more groups of agents can use platforms to act as intermediaries and create collaborative value between them (2016). One way in which Welsh anti-slavery stakeholders can share information in an effective and timely manner with the business community is through an information platform. By creating technology that allows communication with a range of business stakeholders, the Welsh anti-slavery stakeholders can share new modern slavery risks in supply chains instantly. Some businesses even have a sustainability team or leader who can track the platform for updates, and would thus be able to adjust risk management and due diligence efforts within the business as a result of the information provided. (It is important to note that this capacity is not characteristic for the majority of businesses in Wales, according to the Welsh Government.) Such platforms can come with challenges, such as the division of shared costs and platform governance (Klievink, Bharosa, and Yao-Hua 2016). If the cost becomes an issue, existing communication platforms – such as social media – can provide some of the same benefits, although effectiveness may be limited compared to a targeted platform.

Tiwana et al. identify three main elements of communication platform governance, namely the ownership structure, the mechanisms of control and the partitioning of decision rights (2010). It is argued that 'apart from the formal governance instrument (i.e. an agreed-upon decision-making structure), overall a collaborative form of governance is needed, as traditional modes of governance (e.g. hierarchical, authoritative, and contract based) may be counterproductive in making the platform successful' (Gawer 2014). It is further found that an overall collaborative form of governance is needed between business actors and governments when these two groups attempt to work or communicate together, since authoritative and hierarchical mechanisms of control may be counterproductive in the success of the platform (Gawer 2014). Co-creation of any governance structure would be essential to reduce the possibility of this dynamic undermining communication, if a targeted communication platform were to be created in Wales.

How to further pursue an answer to this question

Survey data can be particularly useful and efficient in further answering this question. Anti-slavery stakeholders in Wales should determine where businesses *expect to* receive information from and, critically, where they are *most likely to* see information when it is disseminated. Anti-slavery stakeholders should be open to a variety of non-mutually exclusive preferences and may need to devise a system to maintain communication across different channels. Examples of business sector preferences might include:

- Direct email to a procurement or risk management employee
- Social media posts
- Notices or mailers sent to a physical address or enclosed with regular tax or licensing notices, especially for start-up or small businesses
- An online log of current and previous information on modern slavery risks in supply chains

Anti-slavery stakeholders should also determine whether businesses want to have the ability to bring new information to light in a two-way communication pattern. If this were to be possible, what would the mechanism be (i.e. an online submission form)? The consideration of a two-way communication platform could prove very useful to Welsh anti-slavery stakeholders (e.g. police, local authorities, etc.) while also opening a pathway to buy in for the business community who can see themselves as active anti-slavery stakeholders in their own right.

Finally, anti-slavery stakeholders should determine who has social or 'neighbourly' influence among businesses of various sizes – including not-for-profit enterprises (included in the definition of small and medium enterprises). These organisations may make good informal partners for disseminating information at pace and for persuading others to act upon the information being shared. Who these actors are can be determined through many means, including focus groups, surveys, questionnaires, or even an informal sharing of internal or institutional knowledge among business-oriented colleagues in the wider group of Welsh anti-slavery stakeholders.

Who should be a part of further pursuing an answer to this question?

If it intends to be a part of communicating information about modern slavery risks in supply chains, the Welsh Government should engage in any further exploration of this question, in collaboration with a diverse group of anti-slavery stakeholders in Wales.

Further work should also involve academics who work on partnerships – specifically partnerships between governments and businesses. A call for existing research could help identify who those academics are, both within Wales and outside of it. Examples of institutions hosting subject matter experts in this area are Cardiff University, Orbis Procurement, and the Rights Lab.

Finally, continued exploration of this question should involve a representative selection of the stakeholders to whom the government envisions communicating information about modern slavery risks in supply chains.

How do we improve detection of modern slavery forms that are lesser known in Wales, such as domestic servitude?

Précis of select literature

There are a range of ways to improve detection of modern slavery forms that are lesser known or less reported in Wales, such as domestic servitude. Firstly, it is important to know the signs of the less reported forms of modern slavery which can be understood through anti-slavery stakeholders. When the signs are known, these could be included in safeguarding training which can lead to the detection of victims and perpetrators of less reported forms of modern slavery. It is also possible to use other methods to detect less reported forms of modern slavery, such as overseeing bank statements of migrant domestic workers. The following paragraphs will elaborate on these measures further.

'Spotting the signs' can sometimes be deemed pedestrian or over-done by academics and some non-academic stakeholders. Nonetheless, an increased capacity to spot the signs of less reported forms of modern slavery is requisite for improving detection. It is also important to re-visit the signs, since it is true that signs can change over time. New signs can emerge, or the signs may be different to what was formerly presumed (Bliss et al. 2019) (Home Office n.d.; Humberside Polics n.d.; West Yorkshire Police n.d.). Spotting the signs is not just for public awareness raising but is an important capacity for law enforcement, practitioner, industry, and government stakeholders alike.

One way to expand an understanding of signs that point to lesser-known forms of modern slavery is to involve survivors, police forces, and NGOs that are familiar with specific cases (Bliss et al. 2019). Note that it is imperative that any data or information collected in this process excludes personally identifiable information and that it is collected for a specific purpose using data trusts (Bliss et al. 2019).

Modern slavery – including those forms that are more difficult to detect – should be viewed on a continuum of exploitation and as a potential harm faced by children and vulnerable people in Welsh communities. As such, modern slavery awareness should be included wherever safeguarding training is delivered – including NGOs, faith communities, statutory bodies, etc. Often, less reported forms of modern slavery may be lesser-known precisely because they are perpetrated in unexpected settings, or in settings where only a small number of people could possibly be in positions to perceive that something is not right. By consistently including modern slavery awareness in safeguarding training, a large number of individuals in Wales can be empowered to flag not only potential instances of exploitation broadly, but instances of modern slavery that might otherwise take especially hidden forms.

An additional strength in viewing safeguarding as a means of increasing modern slavery detection capacity is that the individuals who receive safeguarding training are often in regular, trust-based interaction with children and vulnerable people. This increases the likelihood that a potential victim would share details about harm they were experiencing, but it also means that trained individuals will be well positioned to notice any alarming changes in behaviour, routine, health, wellbeing, or circumstances in potential victims' lives over time. Sample safeguarding material, meant to be

appended to existing safeguarding training presentations or online courses, has been produced by Faith Action Nottingham (Gardner and Nash 2020).

One stakeholder suggested that the 'eyes and ears' approach of informed neighbours might not necessarily be fruitful in identifying victims of domestic servitude, specifically, or building community resilience to it due to its hidden nature – though some victims of domestic servitude have been identified through this approach.[5] Taking an approach that involves community members at different levels across Wales (e.g. though safeguarding training) can go some way toward addressing this; this approach has the potential for more significant results in detection than a standard awareness raising campaign for the reasons named above. But additionally, it can metaphorically open trained individuals' eyes to the possibility of encountering a perpetrator (e.g. an individual holding someone in domestic servitude). Consider the possibility of including 'signs of perpetration' in training and the possibility that individuals who have received safeguarding in an NGO or faith community context may encounter potential perpetrators as peers within those same communities. Resources on spotting the signs of modern slavery perpetration are scarce, but there are examples that can be drawn on from the field of domestic abuse (see, for example, Broxtowe Women's Project 2021).

Victims of domestic servitude can be migrant workers. Both migration laws and poor regulation of domestic work can contribute to a precarious situation (Anti-Slavery International 2022). A scheme to protect migrant workers from domestic servitude was introduced in Austria, where all wages of the domestic worker had to be paid into a bank account in the sole name of that worker. The bank statements of the domestic worker were also checked annually to detect early if payment obligations were not met. This allows for early detection of unpaid wages and can trigger essential involvements (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe 2014).

How to further pursue an answer to this question

A next step of answering this question would be to map stakeholders that have knowledge of the less reported types of modern slavery. It would be valuable to focus on Welsh stakeholders but to be open to including those outside of Wales, as well. (Particular interest should be paid to any NRM or intelligence data that suggests a victim of a less reported form of modern slavery has been located or relocated across Welsh borders, as specific cases may provide valuable insight into this research question.) One stakeholder noted that 'there are often small pockets of individuals working on specific kinds of modern slavery and a stakeholder mapping exercise here is needed to tap into the knowledge available'.[6]

This could be explored by finding the relevant partnerships within a region through the IASC and Rights Lab multi-agency anti-slavery partnerships tool (Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner and University of Nottingham Rights Lab 2017). The same stakeholder, for example, has used the Nottinghamshire modern slavery partnership to gather data on forced marriage in the county.[7] If stakeholders in Wales are able to gain access to partnerships information on, or experience with,

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[5] Stakeholder 1, email.
[6] Stakeholder 2, email.
[7] Stakeholder 2, email.

lesser-known forms of modern slavery, they will be able to not only learn directly from that information but may also benefit from the use of tested methods in improved detection.

One practical outcome of such an exercise would be to produce a problem profile, along the lines of the multi-agency, multi-sector problem profile that was created in Nottinghamshire. This type of problem profile is an adaptation of the standard intelligence document by the same name. It outlines what is known about modern slavery as well as highlighting knowledge and intelligence gaps. A part of the process of creating this kind of problem profile is to assess assets and deficits in resources, as well, and to plan for how to fill knowledge, intelligence, and resource gaps based on the known opportunities, challenges, and vision for anti-slavery responses in a specific region. A briefing of the Nottinghamshire problem profile can be found here, and a redacted copy of the full problem profile is available upon request (contact the authors of this briefing). A guide to creating a multi-agency, multi-sector problem profile can be found here.

Additionally, there are a range of technologies being used to detect different types of direct and indirect indicators of modern slavery, such as artificial intelligence, earth observation (use of satellite images), and big data (Bliss et al. 2019). Hence the suggestion that technologists with different specialities be consulted in further answering this question. Detecting forms of modern slavery that have proven difficult to detect to this point will require innovative approaches.

Who should be a part of further pursuing an answer to this question?

Technologists are important to bring in when answering this question. They are more likely to know which form of technology that can help detect victims of modern slavery, specifically victims of hidden and lesser-known forms of modern slavery. However, it is noted that technologists need to be involved in the space of the anti-slavery agenda, so as not to forget the human element when researching it. This could also be achieved by doing research through a multidisciplinary team including both technologists and non-technologists, as well as modern slavery subject matter experts (Bliss et al. 2019).

Further reading

- **A Problem Profile for Modern Slavery in Nottinghamshire: A collaborative approach to improve local understanding of Modern Slavery** (Brewster, Northall, and Gardner n.d.)
- **Developing a localised Problem Profile for Modern Slavery: why and how?** (University of Nottingham Rights Lab 2021)

How can we improve understanding of the prevalence of modern slavery in Wales?

Précis of select literature

Measuring the prevalence of modern slavery has been attempted by many different stakeholders, sometimes resulting in very different conclusions. Most of the time, especially in research, 'prevalence' is understood as the quantifiable number of victims in the world or in a specific area of the world.

The Home Office estimates that there are 10,000-13,000 modern slavery victims in the UK and the *Global Slavery Index (GSI)* has estimated that there are as many as 136,000 victims in the UK (Office for National Statistics 2020; Silverman 2014; Walk Free Foundation 2018). Measuring modern slavery prevalence at the global or national level is a difficult task due to the hidden nature of modern slavery, and it has been argued that the methods used to produce these estimates cannot provide a completely accurate number (Home Office 2020). The Office for National Statistics has suggested that 'using a combination of data sources can help build up a picture of the scale and nature of modern slavery' (2020). Hence, other methods may be necessary to effectively measure the prevalence of modern slavery in Wales.

There is online, publicly accessible information on identified, potential victims of modern slavery through the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) in the UK. One stakeholder argued that having a better understanding of who holds that data is necessary. Although the Home Office holds the data, there is regular confusion among UK anti-slavery stakeholders about which entities and sectors gather, collate, and have the authority to share the different components of it. NRM data, owned by the Home Office, can be used to estimate prevalence. The National Crime Agency uses NRM data and Duty to Notify victim statistics for estimating offender numbers (2021). Although some NRM data sets are UK-wide, this approach could also allow them to be used to make estimates for Wales – meaning that prevalence estimates for Wales would not be restricted to inputs from those NRM data sets that are disaggregated by nation.[8]

This stakeholder also mentioned that 'some approaches are now being taken to estimate prevalence at a more local level (partly due to the issues around the data being centralised)'.[9] Elmore Community Services was put forward as an example. They have had some success in estimating modern slavery prevalence in Oxford (Gell, Shackman, and Webb-Johnson 2022). Unlike other statistical methods used to estimate prevalence of modern slavery, their methodology consisted of case-based information from frontline service providers, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. They collected quantitative data of potential victims of modern slavery, semi-structured interviews with front-line workers and third-sector managers and used information from some survivors and their families (Gell, Shackman, and Webb-Johnson 2022). The findings suggest that there may be 200 percent more cases of modern slavery in Oxford than what is reported to the police (Gell, Shackman, and Webb-Johnson 2022). Welsh anti-slavery stakeholders could consider taking a more local approach, like this one, to estimate prevalence at the regional or local authority

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[8] Stakeholder 2, email.
[9] Stakeholder 2, email.

level within Wales. Alternatively, Wales could consider a Wales-wide 'local' approach, where Wales itself is considered a 'local' area, though some adaptations to the Elmore Community Services study methodology may be necessary at that scale.

Artificial intelligence (AI) also presents opportunities to measure prevalence if it is leveraged properly. However, for AI to be effective, the potential for algorithm bias must be recognised as it is not a silver bullet. It is also important to acknowledge legal frameworks when using AI. However, it is emphasised that AI and computational science alone are not sufficient, alone, for combatting modern slavery. These methods do nonetheless reveal insights of many of the hidden elements that can assist anti-slavery stakeholders (Bliss et al. 2019). The 'Code 8.7: Conference Report' offers an explanation of how AI works:

> Computational science and AI are predicated on strong theoretical and conceptual foundations that are then used to make initial observations necessary for training and developing algorithms for processing, predictive analytics and inferential statistics applied to large-scale structured and unstructured data. Combining such forms of analysis across different data streams and data types allows for more complete and robust pictures of the direct and indirect indicators of modern slavery (2019).

How to further pursue an answer to this question

First and foremost, Welsh anti-slavery stakeholders should determine what, specifically, it means by 'prevalence.' A precise definition will save time and resources and will produce the most reliable results in a future research study. Possible definitions, some with sub-points for consideration, include:

- The number of victims
  - In Wales, in regions, etc.
  - Number of individuals victimised v. number of occurrences of victimisation (e.g., some victims are victimised on multiple, separate occasions)
- The number of perpetrated crimes
  - Number of occasions on which a crime is perpetrated
  - Number of individuals victimised across the occurrences of perpetrated crime (e.g. one occurrence of modern slavery might victimise more than one individual)
- The number of perpetrators
- The number of different forms of modern slavery in Wales

Stakeholder 4 noted that 'as well as understanding prevalence, you could ask how we can gather data on prevalence of modern slavery in Wales. What is the best way to measure incidence of modern slavery in Wales? What agencies gather data? Who collates data?' [10] Hence, research could also look at finding specific methods for improving prevalence and conclude which method would be most effective before applying it in a study to measure prevalence. It is clear that there is already a range of different methods used to measure the prevalence of modern slavery. Although there are clear limitations for each of the methods, due to the hidden nature of modern slavery, some developed methods seem to be more accurate than others.

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[10] Stakeholder 4, email.

The methods used in the Oxford study mentioned above might be more suitable for researchers attempting to estimate the prevalence of modern slavery in Wales, since the Walk Free Foundation method of estimation is better suited to larger geographic regions. The methods used in the Oxford case might also be triangulated with technological methods such as machine learning. If technology such as artificial intelligence or machine learning is used to measure the prevalence of modern slavery in Wales, there should be a multi-disciplinary team supporting the prevalence estimation. The team should consist of technologists and non-technologists in order to account for the human element of modern slavery (Bliss et al. 2019).

However, there can be challenges with adopting the method of the Oxford case. One stakeholder acknowledged that conducting research such as the research conducted in the Oxford case takes a lot of time and work due to data privacy concerns. Thus, due to the far greater size and population of Wales, it is likely that it will take more time and work than it did in the already time-consuming Oxford case. The stakeholder therefore suggested that doing the same work in Wales might require sponsorship in the form of funding to cover the cost.[11]

Who should be a part of further pursuing an answer to this question?

While prevalence is a challenging topic to address, there are individuals and organisations who have made significant contributions to our ability to understand prevalence in different ways and through different means; they come from various sectors. The National Crime Agency, researchers from the Rights Lab's Data and Measurement Programme and the Alan Turing Institute, and the Walk Free Foundation are some examples. Furthermore, a research project titled 'Data Science/AI for Combating Modern Slavery and Other Exploitative Organised Crimes' is ongoing; it is led by Doreen Boyd (University of Nottingham, in collaboration with the Alan Turing Institute).

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[11] Stakeholder 2, email.

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