
Tackling Slavery, Human Trafficking and Child Labour in Modern Business

Research Findings and Recommendations

Professor Brad Blitz¹

Introduction

This report synthesises the findings and recommendations of the British Academy's research programme on *Tackling Slavery, Human Trafficking and Child Labour in Modern Business*. The programme ran between 2017 and 2019, with funding from the UK Department for International Development (DFID). It was inspired by the UK Government's interest in gaining a better understanding of how contemporary forms of exploitation are interrelated with global production processes, and its commitment to eradicate modern slavery in all its forms.

The UK Modern Slavery Act 2015 [1] was the first piece of national legislation in the world that covered issues such as human trafficking and exploitation under the rubric of 'modern slavery' [2]. The Act reaffirms human rights commitments as set out in the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and specifically prohibits: the practices of slavery; servitude and forced or compulsory labour; sexual exploitation; organ removal; securing services by force, threats or deception; and securing services from children and vulnerable persons. The Act has also reached beyond the UK, requiring transnational companies operating in the UK and with an annual global turnover of at least £36 million to report annually on the steps they are taking to prevent slavery in their supply chains or any part of their business operations, wherever they may be.

The introduction of the UK Modern Slavery Act has been especially significant because, while there are many definitions of modern slavery which make it difficult to arrive at accurate figures, the International Labour Organisation and NGOs including the Walk Free Foundation estimate that 40 million people are enslaved around the world, in addition to some 152 million in child labour [3]. Modern slavery is, without doubt, a global problem which now features prominently on the international development agenda.

In addition to the Modern Slavery Act 2015, the UK is committed to achieving the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) [3]. SDG 8.7 calls upon states to take immediate and effective measures

¹ Professor Brad Blitz (Middlesex University) led the British Academy's programme on [Tackling Slavery, Human Trafficking and Child Labour in Modern Business](#) between 2017 and 2019.

to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking, and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour by 2030. Through DFID and other departments, the UK Government has been an active voice in the campaign to tackle modern slavery in global supply chains.

Yet, the UK Modern Slavery Act has not been without criticism. Despite its ambitions and reporting requirements, until recently a large number of companies failed to submit modern slavery audits detailing how they were monitoring recruitment and production processes across their supply chains. Moreover, it appears that in the absence of sanctions companies are less likely to comply with the Act. For this reason, Kevin Hyland – UK Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner between 2015 and 2018 – noted that the UK needs a ‘change in culture’ if it is to end modern slavery.

It was against this backdrop that in 2017 DFID provided funding to the British Academy to develop and deliver a major new research programme. The programme aimed to fill gaps in existing knowledge, inform policy-making and encourage more responsible business practices in the UK and overseas. The research sought to discern the ways in which exploitation operated in developing country contexts, often at the tail end of the supply chain, and explore how businesses of various sizes might be encouraged to comply with national and international expectations to tackle abusive practices.

This report highlights the main findings of the programme and puts forward a set of recommendations to the benefit of the UK Government, its international partners, as well as the business sector and civil society more broadly.

Research supported through the British Academy/DFID programme on *Tackling Slavery, Human Trafficking and Child Labour in Modern Business* included:

- *The Interaction of Law and Supply Chain Management in Cross-Judicial Supply Chains: Supply Chain Effectiveness of Modern Slavery Legislation.* A team led by Dr Alex Trautrimis at the University of Nottingham investigated how legal changes have affected the design and practice of supply chains in the beef and timber sectors in the UK and Brazil.
- *Revisiting Child Sex Tourism, Rethinking Business Responses.* A team led by Professor Julia O'Connell Davidson at the University of Bristol examined whether patterns and attitudes towards sex tourism in Jamaica have changed following legal reforms since the 1990s.
- *Clothes, Chocolate and Children: Realising the Transparency Dividend.* A team led by Professor Alex Balch at the University of Liverpool explored the political economy of transparency and the use of child workers in the cocoa and textile industries in Myanmar, Ghana, the Dominican Republic and Bangladesh.
- *Brokered Migration for Domestic Work and Construction Work in Ghana and Myanmar: Examining the Relevance of the Slavery and Trafficking Discourse.* A team led by Dr Priya Deshingkar at the University of Sussex investigated the operation of brokerage and the recruitment of migrant labour in the domestic service and construction sectors in Ghana and Myanmar.

- *Pulling a Thread: Unravelling the Trail of Modern Slavery in the Fashion and Textile Industry.* A team led by Professor Hinrich Voss at the University of Leeds examined barriers in the global value chain and sought to understand the motives of suppliers in India and Vietnam.
- *Learning Lessons in Tackling Slavery and Human Trafficking in Seafood Supply Chains: Applying Solutions for UK and Other Businesses Sourcing from Indonesia.* A team led by Dr Katharine Jones at the University of Coventry sought to examine workers' conditions on sea fishing vessels and in the canning of seafood in Indonesia.
- *Combatting Modern Slavery Through Business Leadership at the Bottom of the Supply Chain.* A team led by Professor Andrew Crane at the University of Bath explored innovative initiatives aimed at tackling modern slavery in the garment industry in Tamil Nadu.
- *'Worker Voice' as a Means to Strengthen Remediation and Due Diligence, Identify Labour Risks, and Go Beyond Social Auditing: a Critical Analysis of Existing Models in Asia and Latin America.* A team led by Dr Elena Shih at Brown University investigated the effectiveness of different 'worker voice' models in Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico, Nepal, and Peru.

Key Research Findings

(i) The influence of modern slavery legislation

The programme identified the UK as a leader in tackling modern slavery and affirmed that there was considerable recognition of the importance of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 among UK businesses. However, while the UK Government was credited with a clear policy objective of eradicating modern slavery, the research recorded that the situation in the field was markedly different and that UK legislation had little bearing on business practice overseas, especially in distant and remote locations. Projects revealed that there had been little incentive for overseas businesses to engage with the Act. In addition, it was found that a large number of firms were not reporting any statements (as required by the UK Modern Slavery Act), which did not level the playing field for companies. One reason given was that the UK legislation was not understood to be relevant to overseas companies. For instance, researchers uncovered that knowledge about the UK Modern Slavery Act among Indian suppliers was almost non-existent. Although suppliers had been addressing exploitative labour practices through audits, they did so on the basis of long-standing industry practices and not as a result of the requirements of UK law.

The research has also suggested that while there is growing recognition of the importance modern slavery audits, in part as a result of the introduction of national legislation and the growth of international commitments, as evidenced by the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and more recently the UN Global Compact for Migration [4], this increased attention may have actually had a negative influence on prevention. Several projects revealed that as a result of enhanced scrutiny, abuse was pushed further underground where it was harder to detect. The research teams found in particular that abusive practices had been moved out of sight from production centres and hence were not recorded in business audits. This is especially the case for child labour which continues to be 'under the radar' in informal settings, for example in the cocoa and textiles sectors.

The programme, moreover, confirmed that modern slavery legislation without effective implementation and compliance monitoring is of limited value. Researchers found that where modern slavery laws carried punitive sanctions, as in the case of Brazil, they proved to be effective in incentivising companies to comply with anti-slavery rules.

Additionally, the project teams noted certain ambiguities around the term ‘modern slavery’. This term has been viewed as inadequately broad to be of practical use. By way of its strongly negative connotations, it is also often misunderstood by workers in exploitative conditions. This can distract from the objectives of the UK Modern Slavery Act or similar legislation in the UK and overseas.

(ii) The challenge of making transparency meaningful

While transparency features both in the UK Modern Slavery Act and in other legislation, for example the Californian Transparency in Supply Chains Act 2010 [4], or more recently the Australian Modern Slavery Act 2018 [5], there are key questions about how transparency is interpreted and what measures are put in place to demonstrate compliance.

In this respect, the programme revealed increased transparency at the level of Tier 1 (i.e. principal) suppliers. This can in part be attributed to growing awareness of UK legislation on the part of businesses and the ‘industry’ of auditors and experts now operating in this field. However, researchers also identified several shortcomings with this approach. Major retail brands included in the projects expressed their commitment to tackle modern slavery through greater accountability tools and practices, but they also recognised that it was impossible to provide 100 per cent assurance that there was no modern slavery in their supply chains. Furthermore, researchers found that there was a lack of scrutiny at lower levels of the supply chain (beyond Tier 2).

Furthermore, the research on transparency brought to light important differences between approaches taken by various states that have committed themselves to addressing exploitation in supply chains. For example, the project led by Alex Trautrimis in Brazil found that the use of a ‘dirty list’ - a register of employers (both individuals and legal entities) found to have exploited workers, which would in effect serve to blacklist suppliers - was especially telling. Such transparency initiatives, when linked to sanctions, were identified as most effective in curtailing labour abuses. These conclusions aligned with the findings of some of the other projects supported under the British Academy/DFID programme, where the research teams had noted the importance of governance to give meaning to transparency initiatives.

Several projects reported that not only did informality in employment practices pave the way for exploitation, but also that the state could be culpable of creating and/or maintaining highly exploitative labour conditions and the trafficking of people. For example, Priya Deshingkar’s team found that corrupt state officials in Myanmar facilitated the informal recruitment of workers, thus increasing the risk of abuse. Julia O’Connell Davidson’s research in Jamaica called attention to the role of the state in creating avenues for exploitative labour conditions by criminalising certain activities (e.g. prostitution) and groups of people (such as LGBT), as well as by permitting the use of violence towards sex workers, both at an institutional level by the police and by members of the public. The act of criminalisation not only pushes activities underground, where workers are exposed to greater risk of abuse, but also gives licence to corrupt officials to look past the abuse of vulnerable sex workers.

Related to the above is the matter of consistency in practice, in terms of the operation of national laws and the role of business. It was evident from the research conducted that, in some cases, businesses express a willingness to combat modern slavery and yet may encourage it through a ‘race to the bottom’ where cost-saving efforts prioritise the production of cheap goods over the

protection of workers. The researchers also found that informal recruitment practices, which lack transparency, encouraged the use of exploitative labour. For example, Katharine Jones' research on the Indonesian fishing industry noted the lack of employment contracts and highlighted that the informality of recruitment practices might be a more robust indicator of labour exploitation than nationality.

Therefore, while transparency is essential to combatting modern slavery, the programme produced evidence indicating that voluntary disclosure and related transparency-based approaches, especially desk-based audits, were not nearly enough to tackle modern slavery abuses in global supply chains.

(iii) The need to differentiate across sectors

Global business supply chains span multiple countries covering different legal systems with distinct market characteristics. The lack of a single jurisdiction to regulate labour relationships between companies and their workers can hinder effective actions to combat modern slavery.

The various projects supported under the programme reaffirmed the need for sector-specific, as well as market-specific, approaches to tackling exploitative labour conditions. They concluded that differentiation and division across the production process can both facilitate and conceal exploitation. For example, the team led by Hinrich Voss found that India and Vietnam are home to small, fragmented and non-integrated businesses, where informal labour practices are rife, thus making identifying, monitoring and addressing modern slavery especially challenging. Some sectors, however, are more responsive to transparency initiatives and provide better conditions for workers, and so important differences across both country and market sectors should be recognised. This finding was clearly illustrated by Alex Trautrim's team regarding the Brazilian timber sector. The researchers found fewer incidences of exploitation and noted that the timber industry, which generally has smaller supply chains and uses a system of national certification, is less prone to the use of forced labour than the beef sector. Similarly, other projects reported that child labour was more present in the 'fast fashion' sector than in cocoa production.

There are also important differences within the same sector, depending on geographical and labour factors. For instance, in contrast to the Thai fishing sector, Indonesian fishing engages domestic labour, relying more on kinship networks in recruitment processes. The teams also found that discrimination might go hand-in-hand with exploitation, and that even within the same sector workers might be subject to differentiated treatment. Research by Priya Deshingkar's team on migrant domestic workers and migrants working on construction sites in Libya, Kuwait, Singapore and Thailand identified higher rates of physical, sexual and psychological abuse among those workers than that experienced by locals employed in the same sectors.

Related to the above, across the programme, researchers found that gender was a critical area for scrutiny, with highly differentiated practices across the sectors examined. In Ghana, for example, cocoa production is dominated by male labourers while women are highly present in the construction sector. In India, the textile sector is overwhelmingly female and in Indonesia seafood production is highly gendered, with men on ships and women in the canning factories. The projects revealed widespread gender inequality and discrimination across the various sectors. Gendered exploitative practices ranged from discriminatory employment conditions regarding recruitment practices or upon maternity, through lower pay for women to the use of verbal, physical, psychological and/or sexual abuse, or at least the threat of these. In certain sectors, such as the Jamaican tourism industry, the Bangladeshi 'fast fashion' sector, and the Ghanaian cocoa sector, the extensive use of child labour was reported.

It is, therefore, important to develop contextualised approaches to combat extreme forms of worker exploitation. While doing so, the underlying social, economic, legal and political conditions that give rise to vulnerable, precarious labour should also be taken into account.

(iv) The difficulties of enhancing worker voice

There is growing recognition that modern slavery cannot be combatted without collecting and acting upon the narratives of workers who are most at risk of exploitation. The right of association, and the possibility of organising workers and giving voice to their concerns, has been identified as an essential route to conflict mitigation and to enhancing productivity. However, worker voice approaches are also context dependent.

Elena Shih's project recorded mixed results in the operation of workers' voice technologies. It revealed that while peer-to-peer communication had improved between workers, allowing them to exchange information, there was little evidence of tools being used to report abuse more formally. Rather, smartphone apps were in most cases designed to collect information only on those issues that businesses were prepared to respond to, and there was an overriding emphasis on due diligence, not workers' welfare. This contributed to inefficient social audits that overlooked serious labour issues.

Yet, technology also provides the potential to uncover abuse. The project team concluded that remediation-oriented tools, in contrast to due diligence systems, proved to be more sensitive and prioritised the empowerment of workers. By way of these tools, critical information on modern slavery-like conditions could be gained and assistance to workers could be provided. In other settings, research findings indicated that the organisation of workers, without technology or with the simple use of smartphones, gave workers greater protection. This was, for example, the case for sex workers in Jamaica who were able to communicate with each other and share general information.

In general, technology and peer-to-peer communication filled a gap characterised by little or no official collective worker associations (such as trade unions). This was particularly important where there was no formal system of pressing for the implementation and enforcement of labour laws. In some cases, a lack of worker organisation was linked to livelihoods and cultural factors. Research on Indonesia, for example, found that while workers had the right to organise, there was little evidence of unionisation or workers' associations addressing labour issues in the seafood sector. Furthermore, in many cases, workers had little to no knowledge of their rights and possible protection measures against exploitative labour conditions.

Thus, the research conducted highlighted the uneven ways in which various workers' voice technology tools interacted with workers, shaping the degree and accuracy of information recorded regarding labour risks and conditions, as well as the importance of worker-to-worker communication which provided contextual information and sometimes greater protection. The danger of over-reliance on technology was also noted, including ethical concerns such as insufficient safeguards to protect the identity of vulnerable worker populations. Thus, while technology holds out the promise of a comprehensive approach to enforce labour standards, it is a long way from achieving this goal. As a platform, dedicated technological tools do little in practice to improve workers' conditions.

Recommendations

The programme on *Tackling Slavery, Human Trafficking and Child Labour in Modern Business* has generated multiple findings which are directly relevant to policy and practice.

In the first instance, the research has identified several challenges which must be addressed to maximise the benefit of the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015 in the operation of businesses overseas. As noted earlier in this report, there has been limited or ineffective implementation of the Act. While UK-based businesses have been pressed to produce statements recording modern slavery in their supply chains, in part due to the work of the UK Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner, the legislation at present only covers those with an annual global turnover of more than £36 million. The lack of real sanctions in the event of non-compliance does not act as an incentive for greater transparency. Outside the UK, the Modern Slavery Act has even less influence and is not in itself impacting on business practice in lower tiers of the supply chain. There are thus no real incentives for global businesses to tackle modern slavery cases in earnest within their supply chains.

Key challenges:

- There continue to be discrepancies between the pledged statements and the actions of UK businesses operating overseas.
- The term ‘modern slavery’ is contentious and especially sensitive in some regions, as certain states may feel unduly condemned for global practices.
- Modern slavery is an umbrella term for a complex range of practices that are influenced by underlying socio-economic, political and cultural factors; these in turn render the elimination of modern slavery particularly challenging.
- State complicity in the informal recruitment and trafficking of labour undermines the development of protective mechanisms which prevent abuse and exploitation. Equally, the lack of adequate formal migration routes encourages migrant workers to engage in risky practices that could culminate in highly exploitative labour conditions.
- The absence of effective trade unions or worker organisations in countries where vulnerable workers are based undermines the effort to improve labour conditions and offer protection from abuse.
- There are low levels of public awareness and engagement with the issue of modern slavery within the UK, and this tends to be even worse in countries where exploited workers live. This undermines the development of protective spaces.

(i) Enhancing the effectiveness of modern slavery legislation

While the UK Modern Slavery Act has given a significant impetus to efforts to develop a more effective regime for tackling exploitation and abuse, there are nonetheless many limitations which undermine its reach.

Recommendations to governments:

- The UK Government has committed itself to eradicating modern slavery, however, there are multiple definitions used both in existing UK legislation and in the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals. In order to harmonise the legal concept of ‘modern slavery’ and make anti-slavery interventions and communication across global supply chains more effective, the UK Government should amend the Modern Slavery Act to define ‘supply chain’, which currently does not figure in it and which renders the concept ambiguous.

- Rather than place the responsibility for policing supply chain obligations with companies, the UK Government should work with other governments and multilateral agencies to undertake more monitoring and enforcement, for example by addressing modern slavery in its reporting to the UN Human Rights Committee.
- As the UK reshapes its trade relationships, it needs to ensure that trade-related human rights issues are protected by being enshrined in future trade deals. The commitment to promote transparency and eliminate modern slavery should appear in international trade agreements alongside existing human rights commitments.
- The UK should advocate for the elimination of modern slavery by informing, promoting and encouraging best practices and partnerships with business networks overseas.
- States should take greater responsibility for managing their own involvement in human trafficking and creating unfree labour. This could be enhanced through various bilateral agreements or arrangements, through which more pressure could be exercised to prompt both sending- and destination-country governments to develop effective measures for tackling human trafficking and exploitative labour practices. These measures should address the implicit as well as explicit involvement of state actors.
- More formal routes to migration as well as employment should be created to counter vulnerabilities that occur through the use of irregular migration routes and informal employment.

Recommendations to businesses:

- Businesses should work with organisations such as the International Labour Organisation and the Ethical Trading Initiative to establish and act upon responsible sourcing practices. In the absence of such, business risks continue to rest jointly on local companies and workers, while human rights risks continue to rest solely on workers.
- Businesses should be prepared to ensure remedy to workers in respect of their rights as well as encourage suppliers beyond Tier 1 to comply with ethical sourcing business standards.
- Businesses in the garment industry should acknowledge and take responsibility for the labour implications of the ‘fast fashion’ business model. They should structure contracts with suppliers in ways that allow suppliers to maintain a healthy, adequately compensated and full-time workforce. This could increase labour predictability and profoundly impact working conditions for the better.
- Global businesses should provide training to their suppliers on the long-term positive impacts of more formality in employment relations, particularly related to hiring and day-to-day employment practices. They should also provide support to local exporters to develop and provide skills training programmes to workers.

(ii) Making transparency more meaningful

Research has revealed that transparency legislation clearly helps to increase some aspects of transparency in supply chains within various sectors and markets. Yet, there is still ample room for improvement.

Recommendations to governments:

- There is a need to transcend the ‘work-in-progress’ nature of the transparency agenda and mainstream it to ensure that transparency initiatives are taken seriously, especially in high-risk areas.
- Wider transparency measures, enshrined in hard and soft law, are needed with stronger focus on working conditions. This could increase public scrutiny and ultimately decrease exploitative

work scenarios. For example, common reporting standards should be established. Such standards would not only help annual modern slavery statements to play their intended role in line with the spirit of the UK Modern Slavery Act but would also assist the mapping and understanding of supplier networks beyond the first tier along the supply chain, where most of the labour exploitation occurs.

- More avenues should be created for monitoring, and businesses should be encouraged to report on key indicators of exploitation experienced by workers, including wages, benefits, contracts, gender discrimination and verbal abuse, and not only the most extreme forms of exploitation.
- Policies and laws should encourage and support businesses to go beyond formulaic audit measures to truly identify and remediate labour exploitation.
- Governments should aim to regulate and provide guidance on employment conditions even in those sectors that are considered informal.

Recommendations to businesses:

- Businesses should urge their suppliers to instigate more formality in all their labour procedures, and importantly in their recruitment processes and payment conditions. Tackling pervasive informality that is a hotbed for extreme labour exploitation enhances transparency.
- Thorough monitoring mechanisms of the implementation and impact of corporate governance tools (such as codes of conduct, auditing practices and certification schemes) are required.
- Businesses should tackle audit cheating with the elimination of box-ticking audits and move towards more in-depth audits in high-risk areas.
- As a way to improve due diligence processes and the ability to respond adequately to modern slavery risks, businesses should inquire into national labour laws related to their sectors. As corporate standards sometimes exceed local laws (particularly in developing countries), workers may be legally recruited and employed under conditions that do not meet corporate codes of conduct or supplier standards.
- Businesses could partner with local organisations that can support them in enhancing transparency measures.
- Private sector actors could enhance consumer awareness and ultimately transparency by branding products more carefully on the basis of origin.
- Businesses could rely more on social media in tackling labour violations. As migrants increasingly use social media platforms to share exploitative experiences, social media could be used to better reach out to workers (and even develop training programmes).

(iii) Overcoming the constraints of standardised approaches

There is a need to develop contextualised approaches to combat extreme forms of worker exploitation. Focus should be given to the underlying social, economic, legal and political conditions that give rise to vulnerable, precarious labour. At the same time, specific features of differing sectors and markets should also be considered.

Recommendations to governments:

- The UK and its partners should provide examples of best practice in the operation of their companies overseas; this could be done through a dedicated web portal.
- The UK should work with other governments to de-criminalise certain types of work and press for a non-criminalised approach to certain sectors to lessen the vulnerability of specific populations.

Recommendations to businesses:

- UK businesses should consult the Office of the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner for guidance to ensure compliance with the aims and spirit of the Modern Slavery Act 2015.
- Global companies working in the tourism sector should ensure that adequate information and training on human rights, including in relation to the specific circumstances of sex workers, are provided to managers and other employees.

(iv) Enhancing worker voice through association, communication and technology

The incorporation of worker voice in policies and practices aiming at combating modern slavery is essential, as workers are the primary victims of exploitative working conditions. However, it is important to collect uncompromised feedback in a way that would not pose harm to workers.

Recommendations to government:

- The UK Government should call upon other states to protect the right to freedom of association and engage in labour rights advocacy through business development activities.

Recommendations to businesses:

- Businesses should support workers' engagement in the process of due diligence and risk mitigation through increasing the representation of workers in decision-making processes. Businesses should also work much closer with organisations that represent workers' interests.
- Private sector actors should establish safeguarding mechanisms and safe and effective remediation procedures and practices acting upon workers' voice.
- Businesses should allocate resources to enhancing transparency and related initiatives while being mindful of the adverse ways in which technology may be used.
- The private sector should start taking transparency seriously, shifting from minimalist due diligence approaches to effective remediation.
- It is essential to ensure that workers' lives become better using technologies. Tools that benefit business but negatively impact on workers' power and security should not be pursued.

Conclusion

The preceding sections have set out some of the key findings of the British Academy's research programme on *Tackling Slavery, Human Trafficking and Child Labour in Modern Business*, and made a number of recommendations to policy-makers and businesses in the UK and overseas, which will hopefully serve to advance thinking and improve practice. The research undertaken as part of this programme presents a critical window into global efforts to address exploitative practices, and highlights some informative commonalities and differences across countries and sectors.

Modern slavery occurs in an extraordinarily complex economic context in which global businesses operate. Yet, as the projects supported under the programme have revealed, increased transparency alone is unlikely to improve working conditions or address modern slavery unless it is taken seriously and accompanied by a desire to effectively deal with underlying factors. Arguably, we cannot ignore the institutions and processes that frustrate the implementation of legal and

other regulatory frameworks, and that means addressing the critical intersection between the practices of business, states, and other non-state actors.

Although several governments have introduced modern slavery legislation and signed onto the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, there is much to do to keep the agenda moving forward. Elsewhere we have seen how agendas can roll back or even be reversed. Nowhere is this more glaring than in Bangladesh where, following the Rana Plaza tragedy of 2013, a five-year independent, legally binding agreement was signed between global brands, retailers and trade unions designed to build a safe and healthy Bangladeshi Ready-Made Garment Industry. However, in spite of the Bangladesh Accord, the industrial police have obstructed worker protests, prompting widespread unrest followed by massive dismissals in retaliation. Equally, the possibility of shifting agendas may hold out the possibility for reform, whether through a change in donor policies, or through improved governance that may truly stamp out abuses such as child labour. Such changes are of course predicated on states, businesses, civil society actors and others taking modern slavery and associated exploitative practices seriously.

Ultimately, it should be recognised that scientific research can help to shine a light on the operation of businesses across the globe and inform our knowledge of the ways in which modern slavery and related exploitative practices are not only perpetrated and sustained but can also be more effectively tackled. Here lies the key contribution of the programme to which this report relates.

Endnotes

1. Available here: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2015/30/contents/enacted>.
2. Although the State of California first introduced the California Transparency in Supply Chain Act of 2010, it only applied to California.
3. Global Estimates of Modern Slavery: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage International Labour Office (ILO), Geneva, 2017.
4. For further information, see <https://oag.ca.gov/SB657>.
5. Available here: <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2018A00153>.
6. See: Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 25 September 2015: (A/70/L.1), 70/1, Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, United Nations General Assembly, New York.
7. Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, Intergovernmentally Negotiated and Agreed Outcome, 13 July 2018.