

## Bibliography

- Aaronson, Ely, and Gregory Shaffer, 'Defining crimes in a global age: Criminalization as a transnational legal process' (2021) 46 *Law and Social Inquiry*, 455–486.
- Adams, Zoe, *Labour and the Wage: A Critical Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
- 'A structural approach to labour law' (2022) 46 *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 447–463.
- Alessandrini, Donatella, 'Global value chains, development and the long *durée* of trade and investment' (2022) 35 *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 619–640.
- Allain, Jean, 'Contemporary slavery and its definition in law', in Annie Bunting and Joel Quirk (eds.), *Contemporary Slavery: Popular Rhetoric and Political Practice* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 36–66.
- 'The legal definition of slavery into the twenty-first century', in Jean Allain (ed.), *The Legal Understanding of Slavery: From the Historical to the Contemporary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 199–219.
- 'White slave traffic in international law' (2017) 1 *Journal of Trafficking and Human Exploitation*, 1–40.
- Aliverti, Ana, 'Law in the margins: Economies of illegality and contested sovereignties' (2023) 63 *British Journal of Criminology*, 1024–1040.
- All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, *Behind Closed Doors: Organised Sexual Exploitation in England and Wales* (London: All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, 2018).
- Bust the Business Model* (London: All-Party Parliamentary Group on Commercial Sexual Exploitation, 2021).
- Shifting the Burden: Inquiry to Assess the Operation of the Current Legal Settlement on Prostitution in England and Wales* (London: All-Party Parliamentary Group on Prostitution and the Global Sex Trade, 2014).
- Allwood, Gill, 'Agenda setting, agenda blocking and policy silence: Why is there no EU policy on prostitution?' (2018) 69 *Women's Studies International Forum*, 126–134.
- Alsamawi, Ali, Tihana Bule, Claudia Cappa, Harry Cook, Claire Galez-Davis, and Gady Saiovici, 'Measuring child labour, forced labour and human trafficking in global supply chains: A global input–output approach', Technical Paper, ILO,

- OECD, IOM, UNCF, 2019, [www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed\\_norm/-ipsec/documents/publication/wcms\\_733916.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed_norm/-ipsec/documents/publication/wcms_733916.pdf).
- Ambrose, Tom, 'UK's illegal migration bill will force traffickers underground, says May', *Guardian*, 28 March 2023.
- Anderer, Christin, Andreas Dür, and Lisa Lechner, 'Trade policy in a "GVC world": Multinational corporations and trade liberalization' (2022) 22 *Business and Politics*, 639–666.
- Anderson, Bridget, 'Mobilizing migrants, making citizens: Migrant domestic workers as political agents' (2010) 33 *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 60–74.
- Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Anderson, Bridget, and Rutvica Andrijasevic, 'Sex, slaves and citizens: The politics of anti-trafficking' (2008) 40 *Soundings*, 135–145.
- Anderson, Bridget, and Ben Rogaly, 'Forced labour and migration to the UK', Trades Union Congress Report, 2005, [http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/id/eprint/11418/1/Forced\\_Labour\\_TUC\\_Report.pdf](http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/id/eprint/11418/1/Forced_Labour_TUC_Report.pdf).
- Anderson, Elizabeth, *Private Government: How Employers Rule Our Lives (and Why We Don't Talk about It)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017).
- Andrees, Beate, *Forced Labour and Human Trafficking: A Handbook for Labour Inspectors* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 2008).
- Andrees, Beate, and Amanda Aikman, 'Raising the bar: The adoption of new ILO standards against forced labour', in Prabha Kotiswaran (ed.), *Revisiting the Law and Governance of Trafficking: Forced Labor and Modern Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 359–394.
- Andrees, Beate, and Patrick Belser, *Forced Labor: Coercion and Exploitation in the Private Economy International Labour Office* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2009).
- 'Strengthening labour market governance against forced labour', in B. Andreas and P. Belser (eds.), *Forced Labor: Coercion and Exploitation in the Private Economy* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2009), 109–129.
- Andrijasevic, Rutvica, 'Beautiful dead bodies: Gender, migration and representation in anti-trafficking campaigns' (2007) 86 *Feminist Review*, 24–44.
- 'Forced labour in supply chains: Rolling back the debate on gender, migration and sexual commerce' (2021) 28 *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 410–424.
- Migration, Agency and Citizenship in Sex Trafficking* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Andrijasevic, Rutvica, and Nicola Mai, 'Trafficking (in) representations: Understanding the recurring appeal of victimhood and slavery in neoliberal times' (2016) 7 *Anti-trafficking Review*, 1–10.
- Andrijasevic, Rutvica, and William Walters, 'The International Organization for Migration and the international government of borders' (2010) 28 *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 977–999.
- Anghie, Antony, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Anti-Slavery International, 'A call for EU human rights and environmental due diligence legislation', 2 December 2019, [www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/cso\\_eu\\_due\\_diligence\\_statement\\_2.12.19.pdf](http://www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/cso_eu_due_diligence_statement_2.12.19.pdf).

- 'A call for pan-European action to tackle forced labour and child labour in global supply chains', June 2018, [www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/EU-Supply-Chains-briefing.pdf](http://www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/EU-Supply-Chains-briefing.pdf).
- Anti-Slavery International and European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights, *Position on Import Controls to Address Forced Labour in Supply Chains*, June 2021, [www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Anti-Slavery-International-ECCHR-Import-Controls-Position-Paper-1.pdf](http://www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Anti-Slavery-International-ECCHR-Import-Controls-Position-Paper-1.pdf).
- Anti-Slavery International, International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), European Coalition for Corporate Justice (ECCJ), Clean Clothes Campaign, European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR), Global Witness, 'Key considerations for an EU instrument to control the importation of forced labour products into the EU', NGO Position Paper, July 2021, [https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/Import\\_controls\\_NGO\\_Paper\\_Final\\_Design.pdf](https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/Import_controls_NGO_Paper_Final_Design.pdf).
- Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group (ATMG), *Wrong Kind of Victim? One Year On: An Analysis of UK Measures to Protect Trafficked Persons* (London: Anti-Slavery International for the Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group, 2010) [www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/full_report.pdf).
- Aradau, Claudia, 'The perverse politics of four-letter words: Risk and pity in the securitization of human trafficking' (2004) 33 *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 251–277.
- Arnold, Dennis, and Martin Hess, 'Governmentalizing Gramsci: Topologies of power and passive revolution in Cambodia's garment production network' (2017) 49 *Environment and Planning A*, 2183–2202.
- Askola, Heli, *Legal Responses to Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation in the European Union* (Oxford: Hart, 2007).
- Atkins, Judi, '(Re)imagining Magna Carta: Myth, metaphor and the rhetoric of Britishness' (2016) 68 *Parliamentary Affairs*, 603–620.
- 'Rhetoric and audience reception: An analysis of Theresa May's vision of Britain and Britishness after Brexit' (2022) 42 *Politics*, 216–230.
- Baccaro, Lucio, and Valentina Mele, 'Pathology of path dependency? The ILO and the challenge of new governance' (2012) 65 *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 207–210.
- Balch, Alex, 'Defeating "modern slavery", reducing exploitation? The organisational and regulatory challenge', in Gary Craig, Alex Balch, Hannah Lewis, and Louise Waite (eds.), *The Modern Slavery Agenda: Policy, Politics and Practice in the UK* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2019), 75–96.
- 'Labour and epistemic communities: The case of "managed migration" in the UK' (2009) 11 *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 613–633.
- 'Regulation and enforcement to tackle forced labour in the UK: A systematic response?' Joseph Rowntree Foundation Programme Paper, February 2012, [www.jrf.org.uk/report/regulation-and-enforcement-tackle-forced-labour-uk-systematic-response](http://www.jrf.org.uk/report/regulation-and-enforcement-tackle-forced-labour-uk-systematic-response).
- Balch, Alex, and Andrew Geddes, 'Opportunity from crisis? Organisational responses to human trafficking in the UK' (2011) 13 *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 26–41.
- Bale, Tim, 'Putting it right? The Labour Party's big shift on immigration since 2010' (2014) 85 *Political Quarterly*, 296–303.

- Bales, Katie, 'Immigration raids, employer collusion and the Immigration Act 2016' (2017) 46 *Industrial Law Journal*, 279–288.
- Bales, Kevin, *Blood and Earth: Modern Slavery, Ecocide, and the Secret to Saving the World* (New York: Random House, 2016).
- Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
- Ending Slavery: How We Free Today's Slaves* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
- 'Slavery and the human right to evil' (2004) 3 *Journal of Human Rights*, 53–63.
- 'What predicts human trafficking?' (2007) 31 *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 269–291.
- Bales, Kevin, and Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick, 'The anti-slavery movement: Making rights reality', in Alison Brysk and Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick (eds.), *From Human Trafficking to Human Rights: Reframing Contemporary Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 195–215.
- Bales, Kevin, and Alison Gardner, 'Free soil, free producers, free communities', in Genevieve LeBaron, Jessica R. Piley, and David W. Blight (eds.), *Fighting Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking: History and Contemporary Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 73–96.
- Bales, Kevin, and Zoe Trodd, 'Addressing contemporary forms of slavery in EU external policy', Briefing Paper, Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union, Directorate B, Policy Department, December 2013, EXPO/B/DROI/2012/20.
- Balibar, Etienne, *Politics and the Other Scene* (London: Verso, 2002).
- Barkan, Joshua, 'Law and the geographic analysis of economic globalization' (2011) 35 *Progress in Human Geography*, 589–607.
- Batty, David, 'David Cameron launches election campaign with economy pledge,' *Guardian*, 2 January 2010.
- Barnard, Catherine, and Sarah Fraser Butlin, 'Why are criminal offences criminal in labour law?' in Alan Bogg, Jennifer Collins, Mark Freedland, and Jonathan Herring (eds.), *Criminality at Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 70–96.
- Barrientos, Stephanie, *Gender and Work in Global Value Chains: Capturing the Gains?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- Bauder, Harald, *Migration Borders Freedom* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).
- Berket, Mariyana Radeva, 'Labour exploitation and trafficking for labour exploitation: Trends and challenges for policy-making' (2015) 16 *ERA Forum*, 359–377.
- Berman, Cindy, 'Shaping the Modern Slavery Act: A look back beyond trafficking and slavery', *Open Democracy*, 25 September 2016.
- Berman, Jacqueline, 'The left, the right, and the prostitute: The making of US antitrafficking in persons policy' (2005) 14 *Tulane Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 269–294.
- '(Un)popular strangers and crises (un)bounded: Discourses of sex-trafficking, the European political community and the panicked state of the modern state' (2003) 9 *European Journal of International Relations*, 37–86.
- Berman, Paul Schiff, 'From international law to law and globalization' (2005) 43 *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, 485–556.

- Bernards, Nick, *The Global Governance of Precarity: Primitive Accumulation and the Politics of Irregular Work* (London: Routledge, 2018).
- 'The global politics of forced labour' (2017) 14 *Globalizations*, 944–957.
- Bernstein, Elizabeth, 'Militarized humanitarianism meets carceral feminism: The politics of sex, rights, and freedom in contemporary anti-trafficking campaigns' (2010) 36 *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 45–72.
- Beutin, Lyndsey P., *Trafficking in Antiracism: Modern-Day Slavery, White Indemnity and Racial Justice* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2023).
- Biden, Joseph, 'Presidential Proclamation on National Human Trafficking Prevention Month', 2022, 3, White House, Office of the Press Secretary, News release, [www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2021/12/30/a-proclamation-on-national-human-trafficking-prevention-month-2022/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2021/12/30/a-proclamation-on-national-human-trafficking-prevention-month-2022/).
- Bishop, Matthew, and Michael Green, *Philanthro-Capitalism: How the Rich Can Save the World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008).
- Blackett, Adelle, 'On the presence of the past in the future of international labour law' (2020) 43 *Dalhousie Law Journal*, 947–962.
- 'Following the drinking gourd: Our road to teaching critical race theory and slavery and the law, contemplatively, at McGill' (2017) 62 *McGill Law Journal* 1251–1277.
- Blackett, Adelle, and Anne Trebilcock (eds.), *Research Handbook on Transnational Labour Law* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2015).
- Bogg, Alan, 'Illegality in labour law after *Patel v Mirza*: Retrenchment and restraint', in Sarah Green and Alan Bogg (eds.), *Illegality after Patel v Mirza* (Oxford: Hart, 2018), 255–287.
- Bonilla, T., and C. H. Mo, 'The evolution of human trafficking messaging in the United States and its effect on public opinion' (2019) 39 *Journal of Public Policy*, 201–234.
- Boris, Eileen, and Magaly Rodríguez García, '(In)decent work: Sex and the ILO' (2021) 33 *Journal of Women's History*, 194–221.
- Bosworth, Mary, 'Border control and the limits of the sovereign state' (2008) 17 *Social and Legal Studies*, 199–215.
- Bosworth, Mary, and Mhairi Guild, 'Governing through migration control: Security and citizenship in Britain' (2008) 48 *British Journal of Criminology*, 703–719.
- Brace, Laura, and Julia O'Connell-Davidson, 'Slavery and the revival of antislavery activism', in Laura Brace and Julia O'Connell-Davidson (eds.), *Revisiting Slavery and Antislavery: Towards a Critical Analysis* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 3–34.
- Brankovic, Jelena, 'Measure of shame: Media career of the Global Slavery Index', in L. Ringel, W. N. Espeland, M. Sauder, and T. Werron (eds.), *Worlds of Rankings, Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, Vol. 74 (Bingley: Emerald, 2021), 103–125.
- Broad, Rose, and David Gadd, *Demystifying Modern Slavery* (London: Routledge, 2023).
- Broad, Rose, and Nick Turnbull, 'From human trafficking to modern slavery: The development of anti-trafficking policy in the UK' (2019) 25 *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 119–133.
- Burdney, James, 'Hidden in plain sight: An ILO Convention on labour standards in global supply chains' (2023) 23 *Chicago Journal of International Law*, 272–341.

- Bruggeman, Jean, 'Freedom Network USA now supports sex workers' rights', *Open Democracy*, 10 September 2021, [www.opendemocracy.net/en/beyond-trafficking-and-slavery/freedom-network-usa-now-supports-sex-workers-rights/](http://www.opendemocracy.net/en/beyond-trafficking-and-slavery/freedom-network-usa-now-supports-sex-workers-rights/).
- Brysk, Alison, and Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick (eds.), *From Human Trafficking to Human Rights: Reframing Contemporary Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).
- Bulmer, Simon, 'New labour, new European policy? Blair, Brown and utilitarian supranationalism' (2008) 61 *Parliamentary Affairs*, 597–620.
- Bunting, Annie, and Joel Quirk, 'Contemporary slavery as more than rhetorical strategy? The politics and ideology of a new political cause', in Annie Bunting and Joel Quirk (eds.), *Contemporary Slavery: Popular Rhetoric and Political Practice* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 22–52.
- Bush, George, 'President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly,' White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 23 September 2003, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030923-4.html>.
- Business and Human Rights Resource Centre (BHRRC), 'EU Commission publishes legislative proposal on corporate accountability', 23 February 2022, [www.business-humanrights.org/en/eu-commissioner-for-justice-commits-to-legislation-on-mandatory-due-diligence-for-companies](http://www.business-humanrights.org/en/eu-commissioner-for-justice-commits-to-legislation-on-mandatory-due-diligence-for-companies).
- 'FTSE 100 at the starting line: An analysis of company statements under the UK Modern Slavery Act', January 2017, [https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/files/documents/FTSE\\_100\\_Modern\\_Slavery\\_Act.pdf](https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/files/documents/FTSE_100_Modern_Slavery_Act.pdf).
- Modern Slavery Act: Five Years of Reporting Conclusions from Monitoring Corporate Disclosure*, February 2021, [https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/Modern\\_Slavery\\_Act\\_2021.pdf](https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/Modern_Slavery_Act_2021.pdf).
- Modern Slavery in Company Operations and Modern Supply Chains: Mandatory Transparency, Mandatory Due Diligence and Public Procurement Due Diligence*, September 2017, <https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/fb7a2e03e33bcec2611655db2276b4a6a086c36c.pdf>.
- 'Wage theft and pandemic profits: The right to a living wage for garment workers', 11 March 2021, [www.business-humanrights.org/en/from-us/briefings/wage-theft-and-pandemic-profits-the-right-to-a-living-wage-for-garment-workers/](http://www.business-humanrights.org/en/from-us/briefings/wage-theft-and-pandemic-profits-the-right-to-a-living-wage-for-garment-workers/).
- Buxbaum, Hannah, 'Territory, territoriality, and the resolution of jurisdictional conflict' (2009) 57 *American Journal of Comparative Law*, 631–676.
- Cameron, David, 'PM speech on immigration', *Guardian*, 21 May 2015, [www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-speech-on-immigration](http://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-speech-on-immigration).
- 'Prime minister's address to Conservative Party members on the government's immigration policy', *Guardian*, 14 April 2011.
- Campana, Paolo, and Federico Varese, 'Exploitation in human trafficking and smuggling' (2016) 22 *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 89–105.
- Carrington, Michal, Andreas Chatzidakis, and Deirde Shaw, 'Consuming worker exploitation? Accounts and justifications for consumer (in)action to modern slavery' (2021) 35 *Work, Employment and Society*, 432–450.
- Centre for Social Justice, *It Happens Here: Equipping the United Kingdom to Fight Modern Slavery* (London: Centre for Social Justice, 2013).
- It Still Happens Here: Fighting UK Slavery in the 2020s* (London: Centre for Social Justice, 2020).

- A Modern Approach to Modern Slavery* (London: Centre for Social Justice, 2015).
- Charnysh, Volha, Paulette Lloyd, and Beth A. Simmons, 'Frames and consensus formation in international relations: The case of trafficking in persons' (2015) 21 *European Journal of International Relations*, 323–351.
- Chimni, B. S., 'The international law of jurisdiction: A TWAIL perspective' (2022) 35 (1) *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 29–54.
- Choi-Fitzpatrick, Austin, 'From rescue to representation: A human rights approach to the contemporary antislavery movement' (2015) 14 *Journal of Human Rights*, 486–503.
- 'Rethinking trafficking: Contemporary slavery', in Alison Brysk and Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick (eds.), *From Human Trafficking to Human Rights: Reframing Contemporary Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 13–24.
- 'To seek and save the lost: Human trafficking and salvation schemas among American evangelicals' (2014) 1 *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, 119–140.
- Christodoulidis, Emiliios, 'Labour constitutionalism in a genealogical key' (2018) 9 *Jurisprudence*, 413–417.
- Chuang, Janie A., 'Exploitation creep and the unmaking of human trafficking law' (2014) 108 *American Journal of International Law*, 609–649.
- 'Giving as governance? Philanthrocapitalism and modern-day slavery abolitionism' (2015) 6 *UCLA Law Review*, 1517–1556.
- 'Rescuing trafficking from ideological capture: Prostitution reform and anti-trafficking law and policy' (2010) 158 *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 1655–1728.
- 'The United States as global sheriff: Using unilateral sanctions to combat human trafficking' (2005–2006) 27 *Michigan Journal of International Law*, 437–494.
- Cimino-Isaacs, Cathleen, Christopher A. Casey, and Katarina O'Reagan, Congressional Research Service, 'Section 307 and U.S. imports of products of forced labor: Overview and issues for Congress', Report, 1 February 2021, [sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/R46631.pdf](https://sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/R46631.pdf).
- Coalition to End Forced Labour in the Uyghur Region, 'Coalition statement on European Commission's proposed ban on products made with forced labour', 21 September 2021, <https://enduyghurforcedlabour.org/news/coalition-statement-on-european-commissions-proposed-ban-on-products-made-with-forced-labour/>.
- Cockayne, James, *Developing Freedom: The Sustainable Development Case for Ending Modern Slavery, Forced Labour and Human Trafficking* (New York: United Nations, 2021).
- 'Working with the financial sector to correct the market failure of modern slavery' (2021) 6 *Business and Human Rights Journal*, 159–162.
- Commission of the European Communities, 'Communication from the commission to the council and the European Parliament: On Trafficking in Women for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation,' Brussels, 20 November 1996, COM(96) 567 final.
- 'Communication from the commission to the European Parliament and the council: Fighting trafficking in human beings – An integrated approach and proposals for an action plan', Brussels, 18 October 2005, COM(2005) 514 final.

- Conservative Party, *A Strong Leadership: The Conservative Party Manifesto 2015*, 2015, [www.theresavilliers.co.uk/sites/www.theresavilliers.co.uk/files/conservativemanifesto2015.pdf](http://www.theresavilliers.co.uk/sites/www.theresavilliers.co.uk/files/conservativemanifesto2015.pdf).
- The Conservative and Unionist Party Manifesto 2017, *Forward, Together: Our Plan for a Stronger Britain and a Prosperous Future*, 2017, <https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/ukmanifestos2017/localpdf/Conservatives.pdf>.
- The Conservative and Unionist Party Manifesto 2019, *Get Brexit Done Unleash Britain's Potential*, 2019, [https://assets.website-files.com/5da42e2cae7ebd3f8bde353c/5dda924905da587992a064ba\\_Conservative%202019%20Manifesto.pdf](https://assets.website-files.com/5da42e2cae7ebd3f8bde353c/5dda924905da587992a064ba_Conservative%202019%20Manifesto.pdf).
- Cook, Chris, 'Christian Tories rewrite party doctrine', *Financial Times*, 12 February 2010.
- Cooper, Christine, Olivia Hesketh, Nicola Ellis, and Adam Fair, *A Typology of Modern Slavery Offences in the UK*, Research Report 93 (London: Home Office, 2017), [www.gov.uk/government/publications/a-typology-of-modern-slavery-offences-in-the-uk](http://www.gov.uk/government/publications/a-typology-of-modern-slavery-offences-in-the-uk).
- Cooper, Matthew, 'UK "voodoo" nurse first person convicted under modern slavery laws' *Independent*, 28 June 2018.
- CORE and Business and Human Rights Resource Centre, 'UK Modern Slavery Act: First 75 statements in', Press release, 7 March 2016.
- Costello, Cathryn, 'Migrants and forced labour: A labour law response', in Alan Bogg, Cathryn Costello, A. C. L. Davies, and Jeremias Prassl (eds.), *The Autonomy of Labour Law* (Oxford: Hart, 2013), 189–228.
- Council of Europe, 'Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings' (2005) 197 *Council of Europe Treaty Series*, Warsaw, 16. V.2005.
- Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, 'Prostitution, trafficking and modern slavery in Europe, Resolution 1983 (2014), Final version', <https://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=20716>.
- 'Recommendation No 1545 (2002) on a campaign against trafficking in women' (21 January 2002).
- Council of Europe Steering Committee for Equality between Women and Men, *Feasibility Study for a Convention of the Council of Europe on Trafficking in Human Beings*, Doc. DG-11 (2002).
- Council of the European Union, 'Council conclusions on human rights and decent work in global supply chains', Brussels, 1 December 2020 (OR. en), 13512/20 SOC 772, EMPL 542, <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-13512-2020-INIT/en/pdf>.
- 'Proposal for a comprehensive plan to combat illegal immigration and trafficking of human beings in the European Union', 2002/C 142/02, *Official Journal*, C142, 14 June 2002.
- Craig, Gary, 'The UK's modern slavery legislation: An early assessment of progress' (2017) 5 *Social Inclusion*, 16–27.
- Craig, Gary, Alex Balch, Hannah Lewis, and Louise Waite (eds.), *The Modern Slavery Agenda: Policy, Politics and Practice in the UK* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2019).
- Crane, Andrew, Genevieve LeBaron, Allain Jean, and Behbahani Laya, 'Governance gaps in eradicating forced labor: From global to domestic supply chains' (2019) 13 *Regulation and Governance*, 86–106.



- Crosby Medlicott, Lauren, 'Experts blame Suella Braverman's borders act as stats show record number of potential victims being turned away', *Open Democracy*, 26 May 2023.
- Cruz, Katie, 'Beyond liberalism: Marxist feminism, migrant sex work, and labour unfreedom' (2018) 26 *Feminist Legal Studies*, 65–92.
- Currie, Samantha, 'Compounding vulnerability and concealing unfairness: Decision-making processes in the UK anti-trafficking framework' (2019) 3 *Public Law*, 495–516.
- Daddow, Oliver, "'Globalbritain™': The discursive construction of Britain's post-Brexit world role' (2019) 5 *Global Affairs*, 5–22.
- Danielson, Dan, 'Situating human rights approaches to corporate accountability in the political economy of supply chain capitalism', in David Brinks, Julia Dehm, Karen Engle, and Kate Taylor (eds.), *Power, Participation, and Private Regulatory Initiatives: Human Rights under Supply Chain Capitalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), 224–241.
- Datta, Monti Narayan, and Kevin Bales, 'Slavery is bad for business: Analyzing the impact of slavery on national economies' (2013) 19 *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 205–223.
- Davies, Jon, 'Criminological reflections on the regulation and governance of labour exploitation' (2020) 23 *Trends in Organized Crime*, 57–76.
- Davies, Nick, 'Prostitution and trafficking – The anatomy of a moral panic', *Guardian*, 20 October 2009.
- Davies, William, *The Limits of Neoliberalism: Authority, Sovereignty and the Logic of Competition* (London: Sage, 2014).
- Davis, David Brion 'The problem of slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823', in Thomas Bender (ed.), *The Antislavery Debate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 161–179.
- Day, Sophia, 'The re-emergence of "trafficking": Sex work between slavery and freedom' (2010) 16 *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 816–834.
- Dearden, Lizzie, 'No evidence of Suella Braverman's claims migrants are "gaming" slavery laws, watchdog says', *Independent*, 9 December 2022.
- 'UK's first independent anti-slavery commissioner resigns citing government interference', *Independent*, 17 May 2018.
- Dehbi, Fatimazahra, and Olga Martin-Ortega, 'An integrated approach to corporate due diligence from a human rights, environmental, and TWAIL perspective', *Regulation and Governance*, 19 June 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1111/rego.12538>.
- Dehm, Sara, 'Framing international migration' (2015) 3 *London Review of International Law*, 133–168.
- Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy and Home Office, *UK Labour Market Enforcement Strategy 2018/19: Government Response*, December 2018, [https://data.parliament.uk/DepositedPapers/Files/DEP2018-1269/Director\\_of\\_Labour\\_Market\\_Enforcements\\_Strategy\\_-\\_Government\\_Response.pdf](https://data.parliament.uk/DepositedPapers/Files/DEP2018-1269/Director_of_Labour_Market_Enforcements_Strategy_-_Government_Response.pdf).
- Deva, Surya, 'Mandatory human rights due diligence laws in Europe: A mirage for rightsholders?' (2023) 36 *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 389–414.
- Devereux, Cecily, "'The Maiden Tribute" and the rise of the white slave in the nineteenth century: The making of an imperial construct' (2000) 26 *Victorian Review*, 1–23.

- Diller, Janelle. M, 'Pluralism and privatization in transnational labour regulation: Experience of the International Labour Organization', in A. Blackett and A. Trebilcock (eds.), *Research Handbook on Transnational Labour Law* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2015), 329–342.
- 'The role of the state in the exercise of transnational public and private authority over labour standards' (2020) 17 *International Organizations Law Review*, 41–74. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15723747-01701003>.
- Doezema, Jo, 'Loose women or lost women? The re-emergence of the myth of white slavery in contemporary discourses of trafficking in women' (1999) 18 *Gender Issues*, 23–50.
- 'Now you see her, now you don't: Sex workers at the UN Trafficking Protocol negotiations' (2005) 14 *Social and Legal Studies*, 61–89.
- Doonan, Christina, 'A house divided: Humanitarianism and anti-immigration within US anti-trafficking legislation' (2016) 24 *Feminist Legal Studies*, 273–293.
- Dorsett, Shaunnagh, and Shaun McVeigh, *Jurisdiction* (London: Routledge, 2012).
- Dottridge, Mike, 'Collateral damage provoked by anti-trafficking measures', in Ryszard Piotrowicz, Conny Rijken, and Baerbel Heide Uhl (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Human Trafficking* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 342–353.
- 'Eight reasons why we shouldn't use the term "modern slavery"', *Open Democracy*, 17 October 2017.
- 'Global trafficking prevalence data distorts efforts to stop patterns of human trafficking' (2017) 8 *Anti-trafficking Review*, 161–164.
- 'Private donors: The pied pipers of 'modern slavery'?' *Open Democracy*, 29 March 2021, [www.opendemocracy.net/en/beyond-trafficking-and-slavery/private-donors-the-pied-pipers-of-modern-slavery/](http://www.opendemocracy.net/en/beyond-trafficking-and-slavery/private-donors-the-pied-pipers-of-modern-slavery/).
- 'Trafficked and exploited: The urgent need for coherence in international law', in Prabha Kotiswaran (ed.), *Revisiting the Law and Governance of Trafficking: Forced Labor and Modern Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 59–82.
- Drubel, Julia, 'Regulation by visibility: New forms of global social governance' (2019) 19 *Global Social Policy*, 188–206.
- Dugan, Emily, 'Home Office accused of deliberately leaving anti-slavery post unfilled', *Guardian*, 29 August 2022.
- 'UK signs trafficking directive after 10-month delay', *Independent on Sunday*, 27 March 2011.
- 'Watchdog disputes Braverman's claim modern slavery laws being "gamed"', *Guardian*, 9 October 2022.
- Ebert, Franz Christian, Francesca Francavilla, and Lorenzo Guarcello, 'Tackling forced labour in supply chains: The potential of trade and investment governance', in Marva Corley-Coulibaly, Franz Christian Ebert, and Pelin Sekerler Richiardi (eds.), *Integrating Trade and Decent Work, Volume II. The Potential of Trade and Investment Policies to Address Labour Market Issues in Supply Chains* (Geneva: ILO, 2023), 103–142.
- Edwards, Alice, 'Traffic in human beings: At the intersection of criminal justice, human rights, asylum/migration and labor' (2007) 36 *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy*, 9–53.

- EFRA (Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Committee), *Fourteenth Report* (London: House of Commons, 2003).
- El-Enany, Nadine, *Bordering Britain: Law, Race and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).
- Ergon Associates, *Modern Slavery Statements: One Year On*, April 2017, [http://ergonassociates.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/MSA\\_One\\_year\\_on\\_April\\_2017.pdf?x74739](http://ergonassociates.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/MSA_One_year_on_April_2017.pdf?x74739).
- Reporting on Modern Slavery: The Current State of Disclosure*, May 2016, <http://ergonassociates.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Reporting-on-Modern-Slavery2-May-2016.pdf?x74739>.
- Ethical Trading Initiative, 'Modern slavery statement 2017/18,' 2018, [www.ethicaltrade.org/sites/default/files/shared\\_resources/ETI%20MS%20statement.pdf](http://www.ethicaltrade.org/sites/default/files/shared_resources/ETI%20MS%20statement.pdf).
- Eurofound, *Regulation of Labour Market Intermediaries and the Role of Social Partners in Preventing Trafficking of Labour* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2016), [www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/report/2016/labour-market-industrial-relations/regulation-of-labour-market-intermediaries-and-the-role-of-social-partners-in-preventing-trafficking](http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/report/2016/labour-market-industrial-relations/regulation-of-labour-market-intermediaries-and-the-role-of-social-partners-in-preventing-trafficking).
- European Coalition for Corporate Justice, 'An EU mandatory due-diligence legislation to promote businesses' respect for human rights and the environment', 1 September 2020, <https://corporatejustice.org/publications/principal-elements-of-eu-due-diligence-legislation/>.
- European Commission, 'Communication from the commission to the European Parliament and the council, reporting on the follow-up to the EU strategy towards the eradication of trafficking inhuman beings and identifying further concrete actions', Brussels, 4 December 2017, COM(2017) 728 final.
- 'Communication from the commission to the European Parliament, the council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: The EU Strategy towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings, 2012–2016', Brussels, 19 June 2012, COM(2012) 286 final.
- 'Communication from the commission to the European Parliament, the council, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions, on the EU Strategy on Combatting Trafficking in Human Beings, 2021–2025', Brussels, 14 April 2021, COM(2021) 171 final.
- 'The EU strategy towards the eradication of trafficking in human beings, 2012–2016', 2012, [www.khartoumprocess.net/resources/library/download/file?fid=20.68](http://www.khartoumprocess.net/resources/library/download/file?fid=20.68).
- 'Mid-term report on the implementation of the EU strategy towards the eradication of trafficking in human beings', Brussels, 17 October 2014, COM(2014) 635 final.
- 'New EU guidance helps companies to combat forced labour in supply chains,' Press release, 13 July 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP\\_21\\_3664](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_21_3664).
- 'Proposal for a directive of the European Parliament and of the council on corporate sustainability due diligence and amending directive (EU) 2019/1937,' Brussels, 23 February 2022, COM(2022) 71 final, 2002/0051 (COD).
- 'Proposal for a directive of the European Parliament and of the council on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings, and protecting victims, repealing

- Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA', Brussels, 29 March 2010, COM(2010)95 final, 2010/0065 (COD).
- 'Report from the commission to the European Parliament and the council assessing the extent to which member states have taken the necessary measures in order to comply with directive 2011/36/EU on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims in accordance with Article 23(1)', Brussels, 2 December 2016, COM(2016) 722 final.
- 'Report from the commission to the European Parliament and the council assessing the impact of existing national law, establishing as a criminal offence the use of services which are the objects of exploitation of trafficking in human beings, on the prevention of trafficking in human beings, in accordance with Article 23 (2) of the Directive 2011/36/EU', Brussels, 2 December 2016, COM(2016) 719 final.
- 'Report from the commission to the European Parliament and the council on the progress made in the fight against trafficking in human beings (2016) as required under Article 20 of Directive 2011/36/EU on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims', Brussels, 19 May 2016, COM (2016) 267 final.
- Report of the Experts Group on Trafficking in Human Beings*, Brussels, 22 December 2004, <https://documentation.lastradainternational.org/lisdocs/49%20Report%20of%20the%20Experts%20Group%20on%20Trafficking%20in%20Human%20Beings.pdf>.
- 'Sustainable corporate governance: Inception impact assessment', Ref. Ares(2020) 4034032-30/07/2020, [https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/better-regulation/have-your-say/initiatives/12548-Sustainable-corporate-governance\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/better-regulation/have-your-say/initiatives/12548-Sustainable-corporate-governance_en).
- 'Trafficking in women: The misery behind the fantasy – From poverty to sex slavery a comprehensive European strategy', Brussels, 6 March 2001, Memo/01/64, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/api/files/document/print/en/memo\\_01\\_64/MEMO\\_01\\_64\\_EN.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/api/files/document/print/en/memo_01_64/MEMO_01_64_EN.pdf).
- European Commission, Directorate-General Justice and Consumers, 'Sustainable corporate governance initiative: Summary report – public consultation', Ref. Ares(2021)3297206-18/05/2021.
- European Commission, Directorate-General for Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs, 'Just and sustainable economy: Commission lays down rules for companies to respect human rights and environment in global value chains', 23 February 2022, [https://single-market-economy.ec.europa.eu/news/just-and-sustainable-economy-commission-lays-down-rules-companies-respect-human-rights-and-2022-02-23\\_en](https://single-market-economy.ec.europa.eu/news/just-and-sustainable-economy-commission-lays-down-rules-companies-respect-human-rights-and-2022-02-23_en).
- European Labour Authority, 'ELA's mission', 2023, [www.ela.europa.eu/en/ela-mission](http://www.ela.europa.eu/en/ela-mission).
- European Parliament, Report A8-0269/2017, Committee on International Trade, Rapporteur: Maria Arena, 'Report on the impact of international trade and the EU's trade policies on global value chains', 20 July 2017, 2016/2301 (INI), [www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-8-2017-0269\\_EN.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-8-2017-0269_EN.html).
- European Union, '2001/220/JHA: Council framework decision of 15 March 2001 on the standing of victims in criminal proceedings'.
- '2002/629/JHA: Council framework decision of 19 July 2002 on combating trafficking in human beings', *Official Journal of the European Communities*, L 203/1.

- '2002/946/JHA: Council framework decision of 28 November 2002 on the strengthening of the penal framework to prevent the facilitation of unauthorised entry, transit and residence', *Official Journal of the European Communities*, L 328/1.
- 'Council directive 2002/90/EC of 28 November 2002 defining the facilitation of unauthorised entry, transit and residence', *Official Journal of the European Communities*, L 328/17.
- 'Council directive 2004/80/EC of 29 April 2004 relating to compensation to crime victims', *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 261/15.
- 'Council directive 2004/81/EC of 29 April 2004 on the residence permit issued to third-country nationals who are victims of trafficking in human beings or who have been the subject of an action to facilitate illegal immigration, who cooperate with the competent authorities', *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 261/19.
- 'Council framework decision of 19 July 2002 on combating trafficking in human beings', *Official Journal of European Communities*, L 203/1.
- 'Directive 2009/52/EC of the European Parliament and of the council of 18 June 2009 providing for minimum standards on sanctions and measures against employers of illegally staying third-country nationals', *Official Journal of the European Union*, 30 June 2009.
- 'Directive 2011/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the council of 5 April 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA', *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 101/1, 1–11.
- 'Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 establishing minimum standards on the rights, support, and protection of victims of crime, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2001/220/JHA', *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 315/57.
- 'Directive 2014/95/EU of the European Parliament and of the council of 22 October 2014 amending Directive 2013/34/EU as regards disclosure of non-financial and diversity information by certain large undertakings and groups', *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 330/1.
- 'European Parliament resolution of 5 July 2016 on the fight against trafficking in human beings in the EU's external relations', 2015/2340(INI).
- 'European Parliament resolution of 10 March 2021 with recommendations to the Commission on corporate due diligence and corporate accountability', Brussels, 10 March 2021, 2020/2129(INL).
- 'European Parliament resolution of 26 February 2014 on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality', 2013/2103(INI).
- 'European Parliament resolution of 25 October 2016 on corporate liability for serious human rights abuses in third countries', 2015/2315(INI).
- 'Regulation (EU) No 2017/821 of the European Parliament and of the council of 17 May 2017', *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 130/1.
- Evans, Alice, 'Overcoming the global despondency trap: Strengthening corporate accountability in supply chains' (202) 27 *Review of International Political Economy*, 658–685.
- Ewins, James, *Independent Review of the Overseas Domestic Workers Visa*, 16 December 2015, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a806ceee5274a2e87db9c85/ODWW\\_Review\\_-\\_Final\\_Report\\_\\_6\\_11\\_15\\_.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a806ceee5274a2e87db9c85/ODWW_Review_-_Final_Report__6_11_15_.pdf).

- Faucher-King, Florence, and Patrick Le Galès, *The New Labour Experiment: Change and Reform under Blair and Brown* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).
- Feasely, Ashely, 'Eliminating corporate exploitation: Examining accountability regimes as a means to eradicate forced labor from supply chains', (2016) 2 *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 15–31.
- Feingold, David, 'Trafficking in numbers: The social construction of human trafficking data', in P. Andreas and K. M. Greenhill (eds.), *Sex, Drugs, and Body Counts: The Politics of Numbers in Global Crime and Conflict* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 46–74.
- Field, Frank, 'David Cameron could have been an anti-slavery hero', *Spectator Magazine*, 16 August 2014.
- 'Extension to Michael Dottridge's "How did we get the Modern Slavery Act"', *Open Democracy*, 14 December 2016.
- FitzGerald, Sharron A., 'Vulnerable bodies, vulnerable borders: Extraterritoriality and human trafficking' (2012) 20 *Feminist Legal Studies*, 227–244.
- 'Vulnerable geographies: Human trafficking, immigration and border control in the UK and beyond' (2016) 23 *Gender, Place and Culture*, 181–197.
- Fitzpatrick, Joan, 'Trafficking and a human rights violation: The complex intersection of legal frameworks for conceptualizing and combating trafficking' (2003) 24 *Michigan Journal of International Law*, 1143–1167.
- Ford, Richard, 'Law's territory (A history of jurisdiction)' (1999) 97 *Michigan Law Review*, 843–930.
- Foret, François, and Lucrecia Rubio Grundel, 'European morality politics in the European Union: The case of prostitution' (2020) 24 *Sexuality and Culture*, 1798–1814.
- Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1995).
- Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977).
- 'Society Must Be Defended': *Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976* (London: Picador, 2003).
- FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights), *Severe Labour Exploitation: Workers Moving within or into the European Union: States' Obligations and Victims' Rights* (Vienna: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015).
- Fraser, Nancy, 'From exploitation to expropriation: Historic geographies of racialized capitalism' (2018) 94 *Economic Geography*, 1–17.
- Freedom Fund, 'Freedom in the supply chain: Mobilising solutions to address slavery throughout the supply chain ecosystem', 2018, <https://d1r4goyjvcc7lx.cloudfront.net/uploads/20180815142414/FF-supply-chains-strategic-plan-.pdf>.
- 'Our vision is a world free of slavery', 2018, [https://freedomfund.org/wp-content/uploads/FF\\_2PAGE\\_2018\\_WEB1.pdf](https://freedomfund.org/wp-content/uploads/FF_2PAGE_2018_WEB1.pdf).
- Fudge, Judy, 'Bad for business: The construction of modern slavery and the reconfiguration of sovereignty' (2022) 10 *London Review of International Law*, 3–31.
- 'Governing global labour migration: Compacts and contradictions', in Eileen Boris, Heidi Gottfried, and Julie Green (eds.), *Global Labour Migration* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2022), 280–296.

- 'Feminist reflections on the scope of labour law: Domestic work, social reproduction, and jurisdiction' (2014) 22 *Feminist Legal Studies*, 1–23.
- 'Illegal working: Migrants and labour exploitation in the UK' (2018) 38 *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 557–584.
- 'Migrant domestic workers in British Columbia, Canada Unfreedom, trafficking and domestic servitude', in Johanna Howe and Rosemary Owens (eds.), *Temporary Labour Migration in a Globalised World: The Regulatory Challenges* (Oxford: Hart, 2016), 151–172.
- '(Re)Conceptualising unfree labour: Local labour control regimes and constraints on workers' freedoms' (2019) 10 *Global Labour Journal*, 108–122.
- 'Modern slavery, unfree labour and the labour market' (2018) 27 *Social and Legal Studies*, 414–434.
- 'What makes labour free? (And why this question matters)' (2019) 7 *Futures of Work*, <https://futuresofwork.co.uk/2019/05/24/what-makes-labour-free-and-why-this-question-matters/>.
- 'Why labour lawyers should care about the Modern Slavery Act 2015' (2018) 29 *King's Law Journal*, 377–406.
- Fudge, Judy, and Genevieve LeBaron, 'Regulatory design and interactions in worker-driven social responsibility initiatives: The Dindigul agreement' (forthcoming) *International Labour Review*.
- Fudge, Judy, and Guy Mundlak, 'Peeling the onion: On choices judges make in transnational labour litigation', in Ann Trebilcock and Brian Langille (eds.), *Global Justice and the World of Work* (Oxford: Hart, 2023), 249–260.
- Fudge, Judy, and Kendra Strauss, 'Migrants, unfree labour, and the legal construction of domestic servitude', in Cathryn Costello and Mark Freedland (eds.), *Migrants at Work: Immigration and Vulnerability in Labour Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 160–179.
- Fukushima, Annie Isabel, *Migrant Crossings: Witnessing Human Trafficking in the U.S.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019).
- G7 Trade Ministers' Statement on Forced Labour, London, UK, 22 October 2021, [www.g7.utoronto.ca/trade/211022-forced-labour.html](http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/trade/211022-forced-labour.html).
- G20 Labour and Employment Ministers Meeting – Germany, 'Ministerial declaration: Towards an inclusive future – Shaping the world of work', 19 May 2017, [www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/how-the-ilo-works/multilateral-system/g20/WCMS\\_554414/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/how-the-ilo-works/multilateral-system/g20/WCMS_554414/lang-en/index.htm).
- Gadd, David, and Rose Broad, 'Troubling recognitions in British responses to modern slavery' (2018) 58 *British Journal of Criminology*, 1440–1461.
- Gallagher, Anne, 'Human rights and human trafficking: A reflection on the influence and evolution of the US Trafficking in Persons reports', in Alison Brysk and Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick (eds.), *From Human Trafficking to Human Rights: Reframing Contemporary Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 172–194.
- 'Human rights and the new UN protocols on trafficking and migrant smuggling: A preliminary analysis' (2001) 23 *Human Rights Quarterly*, 975–1004.
- The International Law of Human Trafficking* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

- 'Recent legal developments in the field of human trafficking: A critical review of the 2005 European Convention and related instruments' (2006) 8 *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 163–189.
- 'What's wrong with the Global Slavery Index?' (2017) 8 *Anti-trafficking Review*, 90–112.
- Gallagher, Anne T., and Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, 'The UN Special Rapporteur on Trafficking: A turbulent decade in review' (2015) 37 *Human Rights Quarterly*, 913–940.
- Ganesan, Arvind, 'Business and human rights during Trump' (2018) 3 *Business and Human Rights Journal*, 265–270.
- Gangmasters Labour Abuse Authority, *The Nature and Scale of Labour Exploitation across all Sectors within the United Kingdom*, 2018, [www.gla.gov.uk/media/3537/external-nature-and-scale-of-labour-exploitation-report-final-version-may-2018.pdf](http://www.gla.gov.uk/media/3537/external-nature-and-scale-of-labour-exploitation-report-final-version-may-2018.pdf).
- García, Magaly Rodríguez, 'The ILO and the oldest non-profession', in Ulbe Bosma and Karin Hofmeester (eds.), *The Lifework of a Labor Historian: Essays in Honor of Marcel van der Linden* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 90–114.
- Geddes, Andrew, 'Getting the best of both worlds? Britain, the EU and Migration Policy' (2005) 81 *International Affairs*, 723–740.
- 'The politics of irregular migration, human trafficking and people smuggling in the United Kingdom', in Elspeth Guild and Paul Minderhoud (eds.), *Immigration and Criminal Law in the European Union* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2006), 371–385.
- Gerstle, Gary, 'A real opening', (2023) 3 *Dissent*, 17–19.
- 'The rise and fall (?) of America's neoliberal order' (2018) 28 *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 241–264.
- The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order: America and the World in the Free Market Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).
- Gevers, Christopher, 'Refiguring slavery through international law: The 1926 Slavery Convention, the 'Native Labor Code' and Racial Capitalism' (2022) 25 *Journal of International Economic Law*, 312–333.
- Giammarinaro, Maria Grazia, Report of the Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, UN GA, 74th Session, 18 July 2019, A/74/189, 12.
- Gifford, Chris, 'The people against Europe: The Eurosceptic challenge to the United Kingdom's coalition government' (2014) 52 *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 512–528.
- 'The UK and the European Union: Dimensions of the sovereignty and problem of Eurosceptic Britishness' (2010) 63 *Parliamentary Affairs*, 321–338.
- 'The United Kingdom's Eurosceptic political economy' (2016) 18 *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 779–794.
- Gish, Oscar, 'Color and skill: British immigration, 1955–1968' (1968) 3 *The Internationalist*, 19–37.
- The Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking, 'About', 2023, [www.modernslaverycommission.org/about/](http://www.modernslaverycommission.org/about/).
- 'A message from the chair', 2023, [www.modernslaverycommission.org/message-from-the-rt-hon-theresa-may-mp/](http://www.modernslaverycommission.org/message-from-the-rt-hon-theresa-may-mp/).
- Global Fund to End Modern Slavery, 'Funding principles', 2018, on file with author.
- 'Theory of change', 2018, on file with author.



- Gómez-Mera, Laura, 'The global governance of trafficking in persons: Toward a transnational regime complex' (2017) 3 *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 303–326.
- Goodwin, Matthew, and Caitlin Milazzo, 'Taking back control? Investigating the role of immigration in the 2016 vote for Brexit' (2017) 19 *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 450–464.
- Gordon, Todd, 'Capitalism, neoliberalism, and unfree labour' (2018) 54 *Critical Sociology*, 921–939.
- Gower, Melanie, 'Calls to change overseas domestic worker visa conditions', House of Commons Library, Briefing Paper, No. 4786, 13 May 2016.  
*Immigration and Asylum: Changes Made by the Coalition Government, 2010–2015*, Standard Note: SN/HA/5829, House of Commons Library, 24 March 2015.
- Grant, Melissa Gira, 'Beyond strange bedfellows: How the “war on trafficking” as made to unite the left and the right' (Summer 2018) *The Public Eye*, 11–16.  
 'The Trump administration finally broke the anti-trafficking movement', *New Republic*, 18 February 2020, [newrepublic.com/article/156579/trump-administration-finally-broke-anti-trafficking-movement](https://newrepublic.com/article/156579/trump-administration-finally-broke-anti-trafficking-movement).
- GRETA (Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings), 'Human trafficking for the purpose of labour exploitation,' *Thematic chapter of the 7th General Report on GRETA's Activities, 2019 (Covering the Period from 1 January to 31 December 2017)* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2019), <https://respect.international/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Human-Trafficking-for-the-Purpose-of-Labour-Exploitation.pdf>.
- Report concerning the Implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings by the United Kingdom* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2012), [www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/trafficking/docs/Reports/GRETA\\_2012\\_6\\_FGR\\_GBR\\_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/trafficking/docs/Reports/GRETA_2012_6_FGR_GBR_en.pdf).
- Report concerning the Implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings by the United Kingdom, Second Evaluation Round*, Adopted 8 July 2016 (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2016).
- Griffiths, Melanie, and Colin Yeo. 'The UK's hostile environment: Deputising immigration control' (2021) 41 *Critical Social Policy*, 521–544.
- Gross, Ariela, and Chantal Thomas, 'The new abolitionism, international law, and the memory of slavery' (2017) 35 *Law and History Review*, 99–118.
- Grundell, Lucrecia Rubio, 'The EU's approach to prostitution: Explaining the 'why' and 'how' of the EP's neo-abolitionist turn' (2021) 28 *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 425–439.
- Guilbert, Kieran, 'Taking UK's lead, Commonwealth lawmakers set sights on modern slavery', *Reuters*, 14 December 2017.
- Guild, Elspeth, and Anita Magdalena Barylska, 'Decent work for migrants? Examining the impacts of the UK frameworks of gangmasters legislation and modern slavery on working standards for irregularly present migrants' (2021) 1 *Global Public Policy and Governance*, 279–299.
- Guth, Andrew, Robyn Anderson, Kasey Kinnard, and Hang Tran, 'Proper methodology and methods of collecting and analyzing slavery data: An examination of the Global Slavery Index' (2014) 2 *Social Inclusion*, 14–22.

- Guy, Christian, 'Prime minister announces new international modern slavery and migration envoy', *Justice and Care*, 2019, <https://justiceandcare.org/new-international-modern-slavery-and-migration-envoy/>.
- Halliday, Terence, and Gregory Shaffer, 'Transnational legal orders: A theoretical framing', in Terence C. Halliday and Gregory Shaffer (eds.), *Transnational Legal Orders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 8–79.
- Harvey, David, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Haynes, Jason, 'The Modern Slavery Act (2015): A legislative commentary' (2016) 37 *Statutory Law Review*, 33–56.
- Heine, Jorge, and Ramesh Thakar, *The Dark Side of Globalization* (Shibuya-ku: United Nations University Press, 2011).
- Henry, Carla, and Jacqueline Adams, *Spotlight on Sexual Violence and Harassment in Commercial Agriculture: Lower and Middle Income Countries*. Research Department Working Paper No. 31 (Geneva: International Labour Office, 2018).
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, Fire and Rescue Service, *Stolen Freedom: The Policing Response to Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking*, October 2017, <https://hmicfrs.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/publications/stolen-freedom-the-policing-response-to-modern-slavery-and-human-trafficking/>.
- Hetherington, Philippa, and Julia Laite, 'Introduction to the issue: trafficking, a useless category of historical analysis' (2021) 33 *Journal of Women's History*, 7–39.
- Hewett, Jennifer, 'Andrew Forrest and the fight against slavery', *Financial Review*, 24 September 2017.
- Hill, Angela, "'This modern day slavery": Sex trafficking and moral panic in the United Kingdom', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley (2011).
- Hill, Amelia, 'Child slave smugglers will face jail at last', *Guardian*, 9 November 2003.
- Hill, Annie, 'How to stage a raid: Police, media and the master narrative of trafficking' (2016) 7 *Anti-Trafficking Review*, 39–55.
- HM Government, 2018 *UK Annual Report on Modern Slavery*, HM Government, 2018, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5f2c0263e90e0732e16a7b52/2018\\_UK\\_Annual\\_Report\\_on\\_Modern\\_Slavery.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5f2c0263e90e0732e16a7b52/2018_UK_Annual_Report_on_Modern_Slavery.pdf).
- 2019 *Report on Modern Slavery* (London: 2019), [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5da73f18e5274a5cbodf831f/Modern\\_Slavery\\_Report\\_2019.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5da73f18e5274a5cbodf831f/Modern_Slavery_Report_2019.pdf).
- UK Government *Modern Slavery Statement*, 2020, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5e7c5b5d86650c743bcode95/UK\\_Government\\_Modern\\_Slavery\\_Statement.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5e7c5b5d86650c743bcode95/UK_Government_Modern_Slavery_Statement.pdf).
- Victims of Modern Slavery: Government Response to the Committee's Twelfth Report of Session 2016–17*, 30 November 2017, <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmworpen/672/67202.htm>.
- Hodal, Kate, 'High court suspends Home Office policy of limiting support for slavery victims', *Guardian*, 17 April 2019.
- Home Office, 'Government to launch new modern slavery research centre', 9 July 2019, [www.gov.uk/government/news/government-to-launch-new-modern-slavery-research-centre](http://www.gov.uk/government/news/government-to-launch-new-modern-slavery-research-centre).
- Hopkin, Jonathan, 'When Polanyi met Farage: Market fundamentalism, economic nationalism, and Britain's exist from the European Union' (2017) 19 *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 465–478.

- Hoyle, Carolyn, Mary Bosworth, and Michelle Madden Dempsey, 'Researching trafficked women: On institutional resistance and the limits to feminist reflexivity' (2011) 17 *Qualitative Inquiry*, 769–779.
- Hubbard, Phil, Roger Matthews, and Jane Scoular, 'Regulating sex work in the EU: Prostitute women and the new spaces of exclusion' (2008) 15 *Gender, Place and Culture*, 137–152.
- Huckerby, Jane, 'Same, but different: Assessing the interaction of the migrant workers' rights and anti-trafficking regimes under international law' (2014–2015) 47 *New York University Journal of International Law and Policy*, 593–645.
- Hyland, Kevin, 'Letter to Theresa May', 4 May 2018, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/708125/20180504\\_IASC.PDF](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/708125/20180504_IASC.PDF).
- ILO (International Labour Organization), *Addressing Governance Challenges in a Changing Labour Migration Landscape*. Report IV, International Labour Conference, 106th Session, 2017.
- Application of International Labour Standards* 2015, International Labour Conference, 104th Session, 2015, ILC.104/III(1A).
- The Cost of Coercion: Global Report under the Follow-Up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work* (Geneva: ILO, 2009).
- Decent Work in Global Supply Chains*, International Labour Conference, 105th Session, 2016, Report IV, ILC.105/IV.
- Ending Forced Labour by 2030: A Review of Policies and Programmes* (Geneva: ILO, 2018), [www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed\\_norm/-ipecc/documents/publication/wcms\\_653986.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed_norm/-ipecc/documents/publication/wcms_653986.pdf).
- Follow-Up to the Resolution concerning Decent Work in Global Supply Chains: Roadmap for the Programme of Action*, International Labour Office, Governing Body, 329th Session, Geneva, 9–24 March 2017, GB.329/INS/3/2.
- General Principles and Operational Guidelines for Fair Recruitment and Definition of Recruitment Fees and Related Costs* (Geneva: ILO, 2019).
- General Survey concerning the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105) *Eradication of Forced Labour Convention*, International Labour Conference, 96th Session, 2007, [www.ilo.org/resource/conference-paper/eradication-forced-labour-general-survey-concerning-forced-labour](http://www.ilo.org/resource/conference-paper/eradication-forced-labour-general-survey-concerning-forced-labour).
- A Global Alliance against Forced Labour: Global Report under the Follow-Up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work* 2005. Report of the Director-General, International Labour Conference, 93rd Session, 2005, ILC93/I(B).
- Hard to See, Harder to Count: Survey Guidelines to Estimate Forced Labour of Adults and Children*. Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour (SAP-FL) International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), 2012, [https://ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed\\_norm/-declaration/documents/publication/wcms\\_182096.pdf](https://ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed_norm/-declaration/documents/publication/wcms_182096.pdf).
- ILO Strategy on Decent Work in Supply Chains*, Governing Body, 347th Session, Geneva, 13–23 March 2023, GB.347/INS/8.

- Meeting of the Tripartite Working Group on Options to Ensure Decent Work in Supply Chains, Geneva, 27 June–1 July 2022, [www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-dgreports/-dcomm/documents/meetingdocument/wcms\\_858677.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-dgreports/-dcomm/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_858677.pdf).
- ‘More than 12 million are trapped in forced labour worldwide,’ 11 May 2005, ILO, News, [www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS\\_005162/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_005162/lang-en/index.htm).
- Note on the Proceedings*, Technical Meeting on Achieving Decent Work in Global Supply Chains, ILO, Geneva, 25–28 February 2020, TMDWSC/2020/7 (Governance and Tripartism Department, 2020).
- ‘Operational indicators of trafficking in human beings: Results from a Delphi survey implemented by the ILO and the European Commission’, March 2009, [www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed\\_norm/-declaration/documents/publication/wcms\\_105023.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed_norm/-declaration/documents/publication/wcms_105023.pdf).
- Profits and Poverty: The Economics of Forced Labour* (Geneva: ILO, 2014).
- Promoting Fair Migration: General Survey Concerning the Migrant Workers Instruments*, 2016, ILC.105/III/1B, [www.refworld.org/docid/5c77a62b7.html](http://www.refworld.org/docid/5c77a62b7.html).
- Reports of the Committee on Decent Work in Global Supply Chains: Resolution and Conclusions Submitted for Adoption by the Conference*, International Labour Conference, Provisional Record, 105th Session, Geneva, May–June 2015, ILC105-14-1 (2016).
- Reports of the Committee on Decent Work in Global Supply Chains: Summary of Proceedings*, Provisional Record, 105th Session, Geneva, May–June 2015, ILC105-PR14-2(Rev) (2016).
- ‘Roger Plant, winner of the William Wilberforce Award,’ 20 August 2010, ILO, News, [www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/news/WCMS\\_143830/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/news/WCMS_143830/lang-en/index.htm).
- Stopping Forced Labour: Report of the Director General – Global Report under the Follow-Up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work* (Geneva: ILO, 2001).
- Strategy on Decent Work in Supply Chains, Governing Body, 347th Session, Geneva, 13–23 March 2023, [www.ilo.org/gb/GBSessions/GB347/ins/WCMS\\_869573/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/gb/GBSessions/GB347/ins/WCMS_869573/lang-en/index.htm).
- Strengthening Action to End Forced Labour*, International Labour Conference, 103rd Session 2014, Report IV(1), [www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed\\_norm/-relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms\\_217752.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed_norm/-relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_217752.pdf).
- Towards the ILO Centenary: Realities, Renewal and Tripartite Commitment*, Report of the General-Director, International Labour Conference, 102nd Session, 2013, Report 1(A).
- Trafficking in Human Beings: New Approaches to Combatting the Problem*, May 2003.
- Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy (MNE Declaration)* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 2001).
- ‘Update on the Alliance 8.7 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development’, International Labour Office, Governing Body, 335th Session, Geneva, 14–28 March 2019, GB.335/INS/INF/4.
- ‘Questions and answers on “The cost of coercion”’, 11 May 2009, [www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/mission-and-objectives/features/WCMS\\_106206/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/mission-and-objectives/features/WCMS_106206/lang-en/index.htm).

- ILO and Walk Free Foundation, *Global Estimates of Modern Slavery* (Geneva: ILO, 2017), [www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@dcomm/documents/publication/wcms\\_575479.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_575479.pdf).
- ILO, Walk Free Foundation, and IOM, *Global Estimates of Modern Slavery* (Geneva: ILO, Walk Free, IOM, 2022), [www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed\\_norm/-ipecc/documents/publication/wcms\\_854733.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed_norm/-ipecc/documents/publication/wcms_854733.pdf).
- Independent Commission for Aid Impact, *The UK's Approach to Tackling Modern Slavery through the Aid Programme: A Review*, October 2020, [www.antislaverycommissioner.co.uk/media/1482/icai-report-the-uk-s-approach-to-tackling-modern-slavery-through-the-aid-programme.pdf](http://www.antislaverycommissioner.co.uk/media/1482/icai-report-the-uk-s-approach-to-tackling-modern-slavery-through-the-aid-programme.pdf).
- International Justice Mission, 'Trafficking and slavery', 2023, [www.ijm.org/slavery](http://www.ijm.org/slavery).
- International Labour Organization (ILO), Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), *Ending Child Labour, Forced Labour and Human Trafficking in Global Supply Chains* (Geneva: ILO, 2019), [www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed\\_norm/-ipecc/documents/publication/wcms\\_728062.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed_norm/-ipecc/documents/publication/wcms_728062.pdf).
- International Labor Rights Forum, 'Trade subcommittee hearing on the global challenge of forced labor in supply chains: Strengthening enforcements and protecting workers,' 21 July 2021, ILRF, News, [laborrightrights.org/blog/archive/202107](http://laborrightrights.org/blog/archive/202107).
- International Organization of Employers (IOE), 'IOE paper on state policy responses on human rights due diligence', May 2018, [www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/Business/WGSubmissions/2018/IOE.pdf](http://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/Business/WGSubmissions/2018/IOE.pdf).
- Business at OECD, Business Europe, 'Joint business response to the revised draft legally binding instrument to regulate, in International Human Rights Law, the activities of transnational corporations and other business enterprises ("Revised Draft Treaty")', October 2019, Position paper, [www.buinesseurope.eu/publications/joint-business-response-revised-draft-legally-binding-instrument-regulate-international](http://www.buinesseurope.eu/publications/joint-business-response-revised-draft-legally-binding-instrument-regulate-international).
- IOM (International Organization for Migration), *International Response to Trafficking in Migrants and the Safeguarding of Migrant Rights* (Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 1994).
- Iossa, Andrea, and Maria Persdotter, 'Cross-border social dumping as a "game of jurisdiction": Towards a legal geography of labour relations in the EU internal market' (2021) 59 *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1086–1102.
- 'Italian PM Matteo Renzi condemns "new slave trade" in Mediterranean', BBC, 19 April 2015, [www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-32374027](http://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-32374027)
- Jacob, Cécile, Pierre Hausemer, Klaus Friesenbichler, and Birgit Meyer, 'Trade-related policy options of a ban on forced labour product,' In-Depth Analysis, Directorate General for External Policies, EU, November 2022, [www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2022/702570/EXPO\\_IDA\(2022\)702570\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2022/702570/EXPO_IDA(2022)702570_EN.pdf).
- Jessop, Bob, 'Neoliberalization, uneven development, and Brexit: Further reflections on the organic crisis of the British state and society' (2018) 26 *European Planning Studies*, 1728–1746.
- Jones, Katherine, 'A "north star" governing global labour migration? The ILO and the Fair Recruitment Initiative' (2002) 22 *Global Social Policy*, 303–322.

- Jovanovic, Marija, 'The essence of slavery: Exploitation in human rights law' (2020) 20 *Human Rights Law Review*, 674–703.
- 'International law and regional norm smuggling: How the EU and ASEAN redefined the global regime on human trafficking' (2020) 68 *American Journal of Comparative Law*, 801–835.
- State Responsibility for Modern Slavery in Human Rights Law: A Right Not to Be Trafficked* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).
- Kahn-Freund, Otto. *Labour and the Law. Volume 24 of Hamlyn Lectures* (London: Stevens [for] the Hamlyn Trust, 1972).
- Kara, Siddharth, *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
- Kaushal, Asha, 'The politics of jurisdiction' (2015) 78 *Modern Law Review*, 759–792.
- Kawar, L., 'Assembling an international social protection for the migrant: Juridical categorization in ILO migration standards, 1919–1939' (2022) 22 *Global Social Policy*, 244–262.
- Kelly, Liz, and Linda Regan, *Stopping Traffic: Exploring the Extent of, and Responses to, Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation in the UK*, Police Research Series, Paper 125 (London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, 2000).
- Kempadoo, Kamala, 'Abolitionism, criminal justice, and transnational feminism: Twenty-first-century perspectives on human trafficking', in Kamala Kempadoo, Jyoti Sanghera, and Bandana Pattaniak (eds.), *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work, and Human Rights* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), vii–ix.
- 'Anti-slavery as development: A global politics of rescue' (2015) 93 *Geoforum*, 22–31.
- Kenway, Emily, *The Truth about Modern Slavery* (London: Pluto, 2021).
- Kerry, John (US Secretary of State), 'Remarks at the White House Forum on combating human trafficking in supply chains,' 29 January 2015, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2015/01/236950.htm>.
- Kessler, Glen, 'The false claim that human trafficking is a "\$9.5 billion business" in the United States', *Washington Post*, 2 June 2015, [www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2015/06/02/the-false-claim-that-child-sex-trafficking-is-a-9-5-billion-business-in-the-united-states/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2015/06/02/the-false-claim-that-child-sex-trafficking-is-a-9-5-billion-business-in-the-united-states/).
- Kirkup, James, and Robert Winnett, 'Theresa May interview: "We're going to give illegal migrants a really hostile reception"', *Telegraph*, 25 May 2012.
- Klein, Betsy, 'Ivanka Trump delivers anti-human trafficking speech at UN', CNN, 19 September 2017, [www.cnn.com/2017/09/19/politics/ivanka-trump-united-nations-human-trafficking](http://www.cnn.com/2017/09/19/politics/ivanka-trump-united-nations-human-trafficking).
- Kolben, Kevin, 'The consumer imaginary: Labor rights, human rights, and citizen-consumers in the global supply chain' (2020) 52 *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, 839–898.
- Kotiswaran, Prahba, 'Beyond sexual humanitarianism: A postcolonial approach to anti-trafficking law' (2014) 4 *University of California Irvine Law Review*, 353–406.
- Dangerous Sex, Invisible Labor: Sex Work and the Law in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

- 'Protocol at the Crossroads: Rethinking Anti-trafficking Law from an Indian Labour Law Perspective' (2015) *Anti-trafficking Review*, <https://doi.org/10.14197/atr.20121543>.
- 'From sex panic to extreme exploitation: Revisiting the law and governance of human trafficking', in Prabha Kotiswaran (ed.), *Revisiting the Law and Governance of Trafficking: Forced Labor and Modern Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1–56.
- 'The sexual politics of anti-trafficking discourse' (2021) 29 *Feminist Legal Studies*, 43–65.
- 'Trafficking: A development approach' (2019) 72 *Current Legal Problems*, 375–416. (ed.), *Revisiting the Law and Governance of Trafficking, Forced Labor and Modern Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Krajeski, Jenna, 'The hypocrisy of Trump's anti-trafficking argument for a border wall', *New Yorker*, 5 February 2019, [www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-hypocrisy-of-trumps-anti-trafficking-argument-for-a-border-wall](http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-hypocrisy-of-trumps-anti-trafficking-argument-for-a-border-wall).
- Krieg, Sarah H., 'Trafficking in human beings: The EU approach between border control, law enforcement and human rights' (2009) 15 *European Law Journal*, 775–790.
- Krisch, Nico, 'Jurisdiction unbound: (Extra)territorial Regulation as Global Governance' (2022) 33 *European Journal of International Law*, 481–514.
- Kurasawa, Fukuyi, 'Show and tell: Contemporary Anti-Slavery Advocacy as Symbolic Work', in Annie Bunting and Joel Quirk (eds.), *Contemporary Slavery: Popular Rhetoric and Political Practice* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 158–179.
- La Hovary, Claire, 'A challenging ménage à trois?' (2015) 12 *International Organizations Law Review*, 204–236.
- Labour Exploitation Advisory Group, *Detaining Victims: Human Trafficking and the UK Immigration Detention System* (London: LEAG, 2019).
- Laczko, Frank, and David Thompson (eds.), *Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling in Europe: A Review of the Evidence with Case Studies from Hungary, Poland and Ukraine* (Geneva: International Organization of Migration, 2000).
- Laffin, Martin, and Eric Shaw, 'British devolution and the Labour Party: How a national party adapts to devolution' (2007) 9 *British Journal of Politics*, 55–72.
- LaFianza, Josh, 'Threatening ill-gotten gains: Analyzing the effectiveness of a forced labor import ban in the European Union', Stanford-Vienna European Union Law Working Papers No. 60, 2022.
- Lake, Quintin, Jamie MacAlister, Matthew Gitsham, and Nadine Page, *Corporate Leadership on Modern Slavery: How Have Companies Responded to the UK Modern Slavery Act One Year On?* (Boston: Hult International Business School/Ethical Trading Initiative, 2016).
- Landman, Todd, 'Measuring modern slavery: Law, human rights, and new forms of data' (2020) 42 *Human Rights Quarterly*, 303–331.
- Landman, Todd, and Bernard W. Silverman, 'Globalization and modern slavery' (2019) 7 *Politics and Governance*, 275–290.
- Landau, Ingrid, 'Human rights due diligence and the risk of cosmetic compliance' (2019) 20 *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, 221–247.

- Human Rights Due Diligence and Labour Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).
- Leary, Mary, 'Religious organizations as partners in the global and local fight against human trafficking' (2018) 16 *Review of Faith and International Affairs*, 51–60.
- LeBaron, Genevieve, *Combatting Modern Slavery: Why Labour Governance Is Failing and What We Can Do* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2020).
- 'The coming and current crisis of indecent work', in Colin Hay and Tom Hunt (eds.), *The Coming Crisis* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 43–52.
- 'Introduction', in Genevieve LeBaron (ed.), *Researching Forced Labour in the Global Economy: Methodological Challenges and Advances* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 1–22.
- 'Slavery, human trafficking, and forced labour: Implications for international development', in Jean Grugel and Daniel Hammett (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of International Development* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 381–398.
- 'Unfree labour beyond binaries' (2015) 17 *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1–19.
- LeBaron, Genevieve, and Andreas Rühmkorf, 'The domestic politics of corporate accountability legislation: Struggles over the 2015 UK Modern Slavery Act' (2019) 17 *Socio-economic Review*, 709–43.
- 'Steering CSR through home state regulation: A comparison of the impact of the UK Bribery Act and Modern Slavery Act on global supply chain governance' (2017) 8 *Global Policy*, 15–18.
- LeClercq, Desiree, 'A worker-centered trade policy' (2023) 61 *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, 733–797.
- Legg, Stephen, 'The life of individuals as well as of nations: International law and the League of Nations' anti-trafficking governmentalities' (2012) 25 *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 647–664.
- Prostitution and the Ends of Empire: Scale, Governmentalities, and Interwar India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).
- 'Of scales, networks and assemblages: The League of Nations apparatus and the scalar sovereignty of the Government of India' (2009) 34 *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 234–253.
- Lerche, Jens, 'A global alliance against forced labour? Unfree labour, neo-liberal globalization and the International Labour Organization' (2007) 7 *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 425–452.
- Lewis, Hannah, and Louise Waite, 'Migrant illegality, slavery and exploitative work', in Gary Craig, Alex Balch, Hannah Lewis, and Louise Waite (eds.), *The Modern Slavery Agenda: Policy, Politics and Practice in the UK* (Bristol: Policy Press 2019) 219–242.
- Liechtenstein Initiative, 'A blueprint for mobilizing finance against slavery and trafficking', 2 September 2019, [www.fastinitiative.org/the-blueprint/](http://www.fastinitiative.org/the-blueprint/).
- Lindsay, Rae, Anna Kirkpatrick, and Jo En Low, 'Hardly soft law: The Modern Slavery Act 2015 and the trend towards mandatory reporting on human rights' (2017) 18 *Business Law International*, 29–50.
- Lipscombe, Sally, and Jacqueline Beard, *Human Trafficking: UK Responses*, House of Commons Library, SN/HA/1324, 13, January 2014.



- Lloyd, Paulette, and Beth A. Simmons, 'Framing for a new transnational legal order', in Terrance Halliday and Gregory Shaffer (eds.), *Transnational Legal Orders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 400–438.
- Lobasz, Jennifer, *Constructing Human Trafficking: Evangelicals, Feminists, and an Unexpected Alliance* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- Locher, Birgit, 'International norms and European policy making: Trafficking in women in the EU', CEuS Working Paper No. 2002/6.
- Longo, Matthew, *The Politics of Borders: Sovereignty, Security, and the Citizen after 9/11* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Loughlin, Martin, 'The shibboleth of sovereignty' (2018) 81 *Modern Law Review*, 989–1016.
- Mantouvalou, Virginia, 'Legal construction of structures of exploitation', in Hugh Collins, Gillian Lester, and Virginia Mantouvalou (eds.), *Philosophical Foundations of Labour Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 188–204.
- Mantouvalou, Virginia, *Structural Injustice and Workers' Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).
- Mattson, Gregor, *The Cultural Politics of European Prostitution Reform: Governing Loose Women* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015).
- Maul, Daniel, *The International Labour Organization, One Hundred Years of Global Social Policy* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019).
- 'The International Labour Organization and the struggle against forced labour from 1919 to the present' (2007) 48 *Labor History*, 477–500.
- Maupain, Francois, *The Future of the International Labour Organization in the Global Economy* (Oxford: Hart, 2013).
- May, Theresa, 'Anti-slavery service: Prime Minister's speech', 12 October 2016, [www.gov.uk/government/speeches/anti-slavery-service-prime-ministers-speech](http://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/anti-slavery-service-prime-ministers-speech).
- 'Immigration: Home secretary's speech of 5 November 2010', 2010, [www.gov.uk/government/speeches/immigration-home-secretarys-speech-of-5-november-2010](http://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/immigration-home-secretarys-speech-of-5-november-2010).
- 'A model that works: A government's role in combating human trafficking', Speech by Home Secretary Theresa May to the Vatican Conference, 9 April 2014, [www.gov.uk/government/speeches/a-model-that-works-a-governments-role-in-combatting-human-trafficking](http://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/a-model-that-works-a-governments-role-in-combatting-human-trafficking).
- 'My Government will lead the way in defeating modern slavery', *Telegraph*, 30 July 2016, [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/30/we-will-lead-the-way-in-defeating-modern-slavery/](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/30/we-will-lead-the-way-in-defeating-modern-slavery/).
- McCarthy, Lauren A., 'Human trafficking and the new slavery' (2014) 10 *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 221–242.
- McGoey, Linsey, 'Philanthrocapitalism and its critics' (2012) 40 *Poetics*, 185–199.
- McGrath, Siobhan, and Samantha Watson, 'Anti-slavery as development: A global politics of rescue' (2018) 93 *Geoforum*, 22–31.
- Mediavilla, Juanjoj, and Jorge Garcia-Arias, 'Philanthrocapitalism as a neoliberal (development agenda) artefact: Philanthropic discourse and hegemony in (financing for) international development' (2019) 16 *Globalizations*, 857–875.
- Melhuish, Francesca, 'Euro-scepticism, anti-nostalgic nostalgia and the past perfect post-Brexit Future' (2022) 60 *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1758–1776.
- Members of the Research Network on the Legal Parameters of Slavery, '2012 Bellagio-Harvard Guidelines on the Legal Parameters of Slavery', in Jean Allain (ed.), *The*

- Legal Understanding of Slavery: From the Historical to the Contemporary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 375, Guideline 2.
- Menon, Anand, and Alan Wager, 'Taking back control: Sovereignty as strategy in Brexit politics' (2020) 8 *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 279–284.
- Merry, Sally Engel, 'Counting the uncountable: Constructing trafficking through measurement', in Prabha Kotiswaran (ed.), *Revisiting the Law and Governance of Trafficking: Forced Labor and Modern Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 273–304.
- The Seductions of Quantification: Measuring Human Rights, Gender Violence, and Sex Trafficking* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).
- Metcalf, David, *United Kingdom Labour Market Enforcement Strategy: Introductory Report 1, April 2016–31, July 2017*.
- United Kingdom Labour Market Enforcement Strategy 2018/19*, May 2018.
- United Kingdom Labour Market Enforcement Strategy 2019/20*, May 2019.
- Mezzadra, Sandro, and Brett Neilson, *Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).
- Mezzadri, Alessandra, 'Class, gender and the sweatshop: On the nexus between labour commodification and exploitation' (2016) 37 *Third World Quarterly*, 1877–1900.
- The Sweatshop Regime: Labouring Bodies, Exploitation and Garments Made in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Milberg, William, and Deborah Winkler, *Outsourcing Economics: Global Value Chains in Capitalist Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- Milivojevic, Sanja, and Sharon Pickering, 'Trafficking in people, twenty years on: Sex, migration, and crime in the global anti-trafficking discourse and the rise of the "global trafficking complex"' (2013) 25 *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 585–604.
- Miller, Alice, and Tara Zivkovic, 'Orwellian rights and the UN Trafficking Protocol', in Ryszard Piotrowicz, Conny Rijken, and Baerbel Heide Uhl (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Human Trafficking* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 328–341.
- Miller, Rebecca, and Sebastian Baumeister, 'Managing migration: Is border control fundamental to anti-trafficking and anti-smuggling interventions?' (2013) 2 *Anti-trafficking Review*, 15–32.
- Morgan, Jamie, and Wendy Olsen, 'Forced and unfree labour: An analysis' (2014) 4 *International Critical Thought*, 21–37.
- Mortimer, Caroline, 'US and UK pledge millions for largest-ever fund to fight modern day slavery', *The Independent*, 25 January 2018, [www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/modern-slavery-global-fund-davos-us-uk-government-a8176801.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/modern-slavery-global-fund-davos-us-uk-government-a8176801.html).
- Mügge, Daniel, '40.3 million slaves? Four reasons to question the new global estimates of modern slavery', *Open Democracy*, BTS Policy Brief No. 1, 2018, 1, [https://cdn-prod.opendemocracy.net/media/documents/Mugge\\_4\\_reasons\\_to\\_question\\_GEMS.pdf](https://cdn-prod.opendemocracy.net/media/documents/Mugge_4_reasons_to_question_GEMS.pdf).
- Mullally, Siobhán, and Clíodhna Murphy, 'Migrant domestic workers in the UK: Enacting exclusions, exemptions and rights' (2014) 36 *Human Rights Quarterly*, 397–427.
- Mulvihill, Natasha, 'The criminalisation of paying for sex in England and Wales: How gender and power are implicated in the making of policy' (2018) 38 *Journal of Public Policy*, 165–189.

- Mundlak, Guy, 'De-territorializing labor law' (2009) 3 *Law and Ethics of Human Rights*, 188–222.
- Munro, Vanessa E., 'A tale of two servitudes: Defining and implementing a domestic response to trafficking of women for prostitution in the UK and Australia' (2005) 14 *Social and Legal Studies*, 91–114.
- Murphy, Laura T., 'The new slave narrative and the illegibility of modern slavery' (2015) 32 *Slavery and Abolition*, 382–405.
- Murray, Christine, 'U.S. anti-trafficking groups urge Biden to shift focus from sex to labor', *Reuters*, 10 November 2020.
- Nail, Thomas, *The Figure of the Migrant* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press 2015).
- Theory of the Border* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- National Audit Office, *Reducing Modern Slavery* (London: Home Office, 2017).
- Naved, Ruchira, Tabassum Rahman, Samantha Willan, Rachel Jewkes, and Andrew Gibbs, 'Female garment workers' experiences of violence in their homes and workplaces in Bangladesh: A qualitative study' (2018) 196 *Social Science and Medicine*, 150–157.
- Nozick, Robert, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (New York: Basic Books, 1974).
- Obama, Barack, 'Presidential Proclamation: National Slavery and Human Trafficking Prevention Month, 2015', White House, Office of the Press Secretary, News release, 31 December 2014, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/12/31/presidential-proclamation-national-slavery-and-human-trafficking-prevent>.
- 'Presidential Proclamation: National Slavery and Human Trafficking Month, 2017', White House, Office of the Press Secretary, News release, 28 December 2016, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/12/28/presidential-proclamation-national-slavery-and-human-trafficking>.
- 'Remarks by the President to the Clinton Global Initiative', White House, Office of the Press Secretary, News release, 25 September 2012, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/09/25/remarks-president-clinton-global-initiative>.
- O'Brien, Erin, and Michael Wilson, 'Clinton, Bush and Obama: Changing policy and rhetoric in the United States Annual Trafficking in Persons Report', in M. Dragiewicz (ed.) *Global Human Trafficking: Critical Issues and Contexts* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 123–137.
- O'Connell-Davidson, Julia, *Modern Slavery: The Margins of Freedom* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- 'New slavery, old binaries: Human trafficking and the borders of "freedom"' (2010) 10 *Global Networks*, 244–261.
- O'Donoghue, Saskia, 'Headed up by former British prime minister Theresa May, the Global Commission for Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking seeks to eradicate the ever-increasing issue by 2030', *Europe News*, 7 October 2023, [www.euronews.com/2023/10/07/new-commission-set-to-tackle-rising-human-slavery-in-europe-and-beyond](http://www.euronews.com/2023/10/07/new-commission-set-to-tackle-rising-human-slavery-in-europe-and-beyond).
- Office for National Statistics, *Modern Slavery in the UK: March 2020*, 2020, [www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/modernslaveryintheuk/march2020](http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/modernslaveryintheuk/march2020).

- Offner, Amy, 'A durable concept' (2023) 3 *Dissent*, 21–22.
- Ollus, Natalia, and Anniina Jokinen, 'Exploitation of migrant workers and trafficking in human beings: A Nexus of the demand by employers, workers and consumers', in Ryszard Piotrowicz, Conny Rijken, and Baerbel Heide Uhl (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Human Trafficking* (London: Routledge 2017), 473–486.
- Pahuja, Sundhya, 'Laws of encounter: A jurisdictional account of international law' (2013) 1 *London Review of International Law*, 63–98.
- Paul, Regine, *The Political Economy of Border Drawing: Arranging Legality in European Labor Migration Policies* (New York: Oxford Berghahn, 2019).
- Paz-Fuchs, Amir, 'Badges of modern slavery' (2016) 79 *Modern Law Review*, 757–785.
- Peake, Katrina, and Jeff Kenner, "'Slaves to fashion" in Bangladesh and the EU: Promoting decent work?' (2020) 11 *European Labour Law Journal*, 175–198.
- Peksen, Dursun, Shannon Blanton, and Robert Blanton, 'Neoliberal policies and human trafficking for labor: Free markets, unfree workers?' (2017) 70 *Political Research Quarterly*, 673–686.
- Peters, Alicia W., *Responding to Human Trafficking: Sex, Gender and Culture in the Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
- Phillips, Nicola, 'The politics of numbers: Beyond methodological challenges in research on forced labour – What is forced labour? A practical guide for humanities and social science research', in Genevieve LeBaron (ed.), *Researching Forced Labour in the Global Economy: Methodological Challenges and Advances* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 44–59.
- 'Unfree labour and adverse incorporation in the global economy: Comparative perspectives from Brazil and India' (2013) 4 *Economy and Society*, 171–196.
- Phillips, Nicola, Genevieve LeBaron, and Sara Wallin, 'Mapping and measuring the effectiveness of labour-related disclosure requirements for global supply chains', ILO Working Paper No. 32, Geneva, 2018.
- Phillips, Nicola, and Fabiola Mieres, 'The governance of forced labour in the global economy' (2015) 12 *Globalizations*, 244–260.
- Pietropaoli, Irene, Owain Johnstone, and Alex Balch, 'Policy brief: Effectiveness of forced labour import bans', Modern Slavery and Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre, 2021, <https://modernslaverypec.org/assets/downloads/PEC-Policy-Brief-Effectiveness-Forced-Labour-Import-Bans.pdf>.
- Pilkington, Ed, 'Trump labor secretary who cut Epstein deal plans to slash funds for sex trafficking victims', *Guardian*, 10 July 2019.
- Pinto, Mattia, 'Discursive alignment of trafficking, rights and crime control' (2023) 19 *International Journal of Law in Context*, 122–142. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1744552322000209>.
- Piper, Nicola, 'The International Labour Organisation as nodal player on the pitch of networked governance: Shifting the goalposts for migrant workers in Qatar' (2022) 22 *Global Social Policy*, 323–340. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14680181211065240>.
- Planitzer, Julia, 'GRETA's first years of work: Review of the monitoring of implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings' (2012) 1 *Anti-trafficking Review*, 31–42.
- Plant, Roger, 'Combatting trafficking for labour exploitation in the global economy: The need for a differentiated approach', in Prabha Kotiswaran (ed.), *Revising the*

- Law and Governance of Trafficking: Forced Labour and Modern Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 422–442.
- 'Forced labor: Critical issues for US business leaders' (Background paper prepared for conference on Engaging Business: Addressing Forced Labor, Atlanta, Georgia, 20 February 2008).
- 'Forced labour, slavery and poverty reduction: Challenges for development agencies' (Paper presented to UK High-Level Conference to Examine the Links between Poverty, Slavery and Social Exclusion, Foreign and Commonwealth Office and DFID, London, 30 October 2007).
- 'Foreword', in Beate Andrees and Patrick Belser (eds.), *Forced Labor: Coercion and Exploitation in the Private Economy* (Boulder, CO: ILO/Lynne Rienner, 2009), vii–xi.
- 'Trafficking for forced labour: ILO approaches', Statement, US Congress Washington, 11 October 2007.
- 'Trafficking for labour exploitation: Conceptual issues, and challenges for law enforcement' (Paper presented to the Fifth International Law Enforcement Conference, Kiev, 31 March to 2 April 2009).
- Plant, Roger, and Caroline O'Reilly, 'The ILO's Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour' (2003) 142 *International Labour Review*, 73–85.
- Posthuma, Anne, and Arianna Rossi, 'Coordinated governance in global value chains: Supranational dynamics and the role of the International Labour Organization' (2017) 22 *New Political Economy*, 186–202.
- Pratt, Anna C., and Jessica Templeman, 'Jurisdiction, sovereignties and Akwesasne: Shiprider and the re-crafting of Canada-US cross-border maritime law enforcement' (2018) 33 *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 335–357.
- Prentice, Rebecca, 'Labour rights from labour wrongs? Transnational compensation and the spatial politics of labour rights after Bangladesh's Rana Plaza garment factory collapse' *Antipode* (2021) 53, 1767–1786.
- Quirk, Joel, *The Anti-Slavery Project: From the Slave Trade to Human Trafficking* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).
- 'When human trafficking means everything and nothing', in Annie Bunting and Joel Quirk (eds.), *Contemporary Slavery* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 67–96.
- Raffaelli, Rosa, 'The European approach to the protection of trafficking victims: The Council of Europe Convention, the EU Directive, and the Italian experience' (2009) 10 *German Law Journal*, 205–221.
- Raigrodski, Dana, 'Creative capitalism and human trafficking: A business approach to eliminate forced labor and human trafficking from global supply chains' (2016) 8 *William and Mary Business Law Review*, 71–134.
- Ramos, Gabriela, 'Abolish modern slavery!', OECD Observer, 25 January 2018, [www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/724a5be3-en/index.html?itemId=/content/paper/724a5be3-en](http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/724a5be3-en/index.html?itemId=/content/paper/724a5be3-en).
- Reed, Sasha, Stephen Roe, James Grimshaw, and Rhys Oliver, 'The economic and social costs of modern slavery', Research Report 100, Home Office, London, July 2018.
- Richland, Justin B., 'Jurisdiction: Grounding law in language' (2013) 42 *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 209–226.

- Rijken, Conny, 'Trafficking in human beings for labour exploitation: Cooperation in an integrated approach' (2013) 21 *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice*, 9–35.
- Rittich, Kerry, 'Making natural markets: Flexibility as labour market truth' (2019) 65 *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, 323–343.
- 'Representing, counting, valuing: Managing definitional uncertainty in the law of trafficking', in Prahba Kotiswaran (ed.), *Revisiting the Law and Governance of Trafficking: Forced Labor and Modern Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 238–270.
- Roberts, Kate, 'The UK government is undermining decades of anti-slavery efforts', *Open Democracy*, 21 October 2022.
- Robertson, Katie, 'A mining billionaire takes his war on slavery to the UN', *Bloomberg*, 21 September 2017.
- Robinson, Caroline, 'Claiming space for labour rights within the United Kingdom modern slavery crusade' (2015) 5 *Anti-Trafficking Review*, 129–143.
- 'The problem with the British government's approach to exploitation', *Open Democracy*, 25 September 2016.
- Rodgers, Gerry, Lee Swepston, Eddy Lee, and Jasmien van Daele, *The International Labour Organization and the Quest for Social Justice, 1919–2009* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 2009).
- Rodríguez-López, Silvia, '(De)constructing stereotypes: Media representations, social perceptions, and legal responses to human trafficking' (2018) 4 *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 61–72.
- Roe, Mark, Holger Spamann, Jesse M. Fried, and Charles C. Y. Wang, 'The sustainable corporate governance initiative in Europe' (2021) 38 *Yale Journal on Regulation Bulletin*, 133–153.
- Rogaly, Ben, 'Migrant workers in the ILO's global alliance against Forced Labour Report: A critical appraisal' (2008) 29 *Third World Quarterly*, 1431–1447.
- Ruggie, John Gerard, 'Global governance and "new governance theory": Lessons from business and human rights' (2014) 20 *Global Governance*, 5–17.
- 'International regimes, transactions, and change: Embedded liberalism in the post-war international organizations' (1982) 36 *Economic Order*, 379–415.
- '"Making economic globalization work for all": Achieving socially sustainable supply', *Chains*, February 2017, <https://shiftproject.org/making-economic-globalization-work-for-all-achieving-socially-sustainable-supply-chains/>.
- Ruhs, Martin, and Bridget Anderson (eds.), *Who Needs Migrant Workers? Labour Shortages, Immigration, and Public Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Ryan, Bernard, 'Employer checks of immigration status and employment law', in Cathryn Costello and Mark Freedland (eds.), *Migrants at Work: Immigration and Vulnerability in Labour Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 239–256.
- Ryder, Guy, "Address by Guy Ryder, Director-General of the International Labour Organization," Paris, France, 20 June 2015.
- Ryngaert, Cedric, *Jurisdiction in International Law*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

- Sanford, Rachaelle, Daniel E. Martínez, and Ronald Weitzer, 'Framing human trafficking: A content analysis of recent US newspaper articles' (2016) 2 *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 139–155.
- Santa Marta Group, 'About', 2023, <https://santamartagroup.com/about-santa-marta-group/>.
- Santos, Boaventura de Sousa, 'Law: A map of misreading – Toward a post-modern conception of law' (1987) 14 *Journal of Law and Society*, 279–302.
- Sarfaty, Galit, 'Shining light on global supply chains' (2015) 56 *Harvard International Law Journal*, 419–446.
- Sassen, Saskia, *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- 'When territory deborders territoriality: Territory, politics, governance' (2013) 1 *Governance*, 21–45.
- Savage, Michael, 'Suella Braverman makes fresh attack on European Court of Human Rights', *Guardian*, 24 September 2023.
- Scanlan, Pádraic, *Slave Empire: How Slavery Built Modern Britain* (London: Robinson, 2020).
- Scarpa, Silvia, *Trafficking in Human Beings: Modern Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Schmitt, Carl, *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europaeum*, translated by G. Ulmen (New York: Telos Press, 2003).
- Scoular, Jane, *The Subject of Prostitution: Sex Work, Law and Social Theory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).
- Scoular, Jane, and Maggie O'Neill, 'Regulating prostitution: Social inclusion, responsabilization and the politics of prostitution reform' (2007) 47 *British Journal of Criminology*, 764–778.
- Sen, Amartya, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor, 1999).
- Sereni, Anna, *Real People, Real Lives: Ten Years of Advocacy for Victims of Slavery in the UK*, 2019, [www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Real-people-real-lives-ATMG-report-1.pdf](http://www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Real-people-real-lives-ATMG-report-1.pdf).
- Shamir, Hila, 'A labor paradigm for human trafficking' (2012) 60 *UCLA Law Review*, 76–136.
- Sharapov, Karil, 'Giving us the "biggest bang for the buck" (or not): Anti-trafficking government funding in Ukraine and the United Kingdom' (2014) 3 *Anti-Trafficking Review*, 16–40.
- '"Traffickers and their victims": Anti-trafficking policy in the United Kingdom' (2017) 43 *Critical Sociology*, 91–111.
- Sharma, Nandita, *Home Rule: National Sovereignty and the Separation of Natives and Migrants* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020).
- Shelley, Louise, *Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Silva, Vincente. 'The ILO and the future of work: The politics of global labour policy' (2021) 22 *Global Social Policy*, 341–358.
- Silverman, Bernard, *Modern Slavery: An Application of Multiple Systems Estimation*, 27 November 2014, [www.gov.uk/government/publications/modern-slavery-an-application-of-multiple-systems-estimation](http://www.gov.uk/government/publications/modern-slavery-an-application-of-multiple-systems-estimation).

- Simpson, Kathryn, and Nick Startin, 'Tabloid tales: How the British tabloid press shaped the Brexit vote' (2022) 61 *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1–22.
- Slobodian, Quinn, *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).
- Smith, Adam, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London: Methuen, 1776).
- Somers, Margaret, *Genealogies of Citizenship: Market, Statelessness and the Right to Have Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Stoyanova, Vladislava, *Human Trafficking and Slavery Reconsidered: Conceptual Limits and States' Positive Obligations in European Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Strauss, Kendra, 'Sorting victims from workers: Forced labour, trafficking, and the process of jurisdiction' (2017) 41 *Progress in Human Geography*, 140–158.
- 'Unfree again: Social reproduction, flexible labour markets and the resurgence of gang labour in the UK' (2013) 45 *Antipode*, 180–197.
- Strauss, Kendra, and Siobhán McGrath, 'Temporary migration, precarious employment and unfree labour relations: Exploring the "continuum of exploitation" in Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program' (2017) 78 *Geoforum*, 199–208.
- Suchland, Jennifer, *Economies of Violence: Transnational Feminism, Postsocialism, and the Politics of Sex Trafficking* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).
- Sum, Ngai-Ling, and Bob Jessop, *Towards a Cultural Political Economy: Putting Culture in Its Place in Political Economy* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2013).
- Sweptson, Lee, 'Trafficking and forced labour: Filling in the gaps with the adoption of the Supplementary ILO Standards, 2014', in Prabha Kotiswaran (ed.), *Revisiting the Law and Governance of Trafficking: Forced Labor and Modern Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 395–421.
- Tansey, Rachel, 'Off the hook? How business lobbies against liability for human rights and environmental abuses', *Report for Friends of the Earth, European Coalition for Corporate Justice, and Corporate Observatory Europe*, June 2021, <https://corporatejustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/OffTheHook.pdf>.
- Taylor, Diane, 'Revealed: Just 7% of trafficking victims given leave to remain in UK', *Guardian*, 4 January 2022.
- 'Suella Braverman U-turns on new rules targeting trafficking victims', *Guardian*, 2 July 2023.
- Taylor, Russell, *Impact of 'Hostile Environment' Policy Debate on 14 June 2018*, House of Lords, Library Briefing, 11 June 2018.
- Thachuk, Kimberly, *Transnational Threats: Smuggling and Trafficking in Arms, Drugs, and Human Life* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2007).
- Theimann, Inga, 'Beyond victimhood and beyond employment? Exploring avenues for labour law to empower women trafficked into the sex industry' (2019) 48 *Industrial Law Journal*, 199–224.
- Thomas, Chantal, 'Convergences and divergences in international legal norms on migrant labor' (2010) 32 *Comparative Labor Law and Policy Journal*, 405–442.
- Thomas, Huw, and Mark Anner, 'Dissensus and deadlock in the evolution of labour governance: Global supply chains and the International Labour Organization (ILO)' (2023) 184 *Journal of Business Ethics*, 33–49.



- Thomas, Huw, and Peter Turnbull, 'From a "moral commentator" to a "determined actor"? How the International Labour Organization (ILO) orchestrates the field of international industrial relations' (2021) 59 *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 874–898.
- 'From horizontal to vertical labour governance: The International Labour Organization (ILO) and decent work in global supply chains' (2018) 71 *Human Relations*, 536–559.
- Tomkins, Stephen, *William Wilberforce: A Biography* (Oxford: Lion Books 2007).
- Trump, Donald, 'State of the Union Address', CNN, 1 February 2019, [www.cnn.com/2019/02/05/politics/donald-trump-state-of-the-union-2019-transcript](http://www.cnn.com/2019/02/05/politics/donald-trump-state-of-the-union-2019-transcript).
- Tumbull, Nick, and Rose Broad, 'Bringing the problem home: The anti-slavery and anti-trafficking rhetoric of UK non-government organisations' (2022) 42 *Politics*, 200–215.
- Turner, Ian, 'Human rights, positive obligations, and measures to prevent human trafficking in the United Kingdom' (2015) 4 *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 296–317.
- Ucnikova, Martina, 'OECD and modern slavery: How much aid money is spent to tackle the issue?' (2014) 3 *Anti-trafficking Review*, 133–150.
- UK, 2019 *UK Annual Report on Modern Slavery*, October 2019, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/840059/Modern\\_Slavery\\_Report\\_2019.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/840059/Modern_Slavery_Report_2019.pdf).
- The Coalition: Our Program for Government*, 2011, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/78977/coalition\\_programme\\_for\\_government.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/78977/coalition_programme_for_government.pdf).
- Establishing Britain as a World Leader in the Fight against Modern Slavery*, Modern Slavery Bill Evidence Review, 2013.
- First Annual Report of the Inter-departmental Ministerial Group on Human Trafficking*, October 2012, Cm 8421.
- Government Reply to the Sixth Report from the Home Affairs Committee Session 2008–09 HC 23: The Trade in Human Beings – Human Trafficking in the UK*, August 2009, Cm 7693, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/228681/7693.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/228681/7693.pdf).
- Human Trafficking: The Government's Strategy*, July 2011, [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/97845/human-trafficking-strategy.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97845/human-trafficking-strategy.pdf).
- Independent Review of the Modern Slavery Act 2015: Final Report* (London: HM Government, 2019).
- Joint Statement of the Inter-Departmental Ministerial Group (IDMG) on Modern Slavery*, 2014, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7eb9ac40f0b6230268b24c/IDMG\\_statement\\_v5\\_WEB.PDF](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7eb9ac40f0b6230268b24c/IDMG_statement_v5_WEB.PDF).
- 'PM speech at ILO centenary conference: 11 June 2019', 2019, [www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-speech-at-ilo-centenary-conference-11-june-2019](http://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-speech-at-ilo-centenary-conference-11-june-2019).
- 'PM statement on illegal migration: 13 December 2022', 2022, [www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-statement-on-illegal-migration-13-december-2022](http://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-statement-on-illegal-migration-13-december-2022).
- Report on the Internal Review of Human Trafficking Legislation*, 2012, <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a78a22040f0b62b22cbb8de/human-trafficking-legislation.pdf>.
- Second Annual Report of the Inter-departmental Ministerial Group on Human Trafficking*, October 2013, Cm 8731.

- The UK Government Response to the Independent Review of the Modern Slavery Act* 2015, 2019, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/815410/Government\\_Response\\_to\\_Independent\\_Review\\_of\\_MS\\_Act.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/815410/Government_Response_to_Independent_Review_of_MS_Act.pdf).
- UK Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy and Home Office, *UK Labour Market Enforcement Strategy 2018/19: Government Response*, December 2018, [https://data.parliament.uk/DepositedPapers/Files/DEP2018-1269/Director\\_of\\_Labour\\_Market\\_Enforcements\\_Strategy\\_-\\_Government\\_Response.pdf](https://data.parliament.uk/DepositedPapers/Files/DEP2018-1269/Director_of_Labour_Market_Enforcements_Strategy_-_Government_Response.pdf)
- UK, Department for International Development, 'A call to action to end forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking', 20 September 2017, [www.gov.uk/government/publications/a-call-to-action-to-end-forced-labour-modern-slavery-and-human-trafficking](http://www.gov.uk/government/publications/a-call-to-action-to-end-forced-labour-modern-slavery-and-human-trafficking).
- UK, Home Office, 'Alarming rise of abuse within modern slavery system', Press release, 20 March 2021.
- Changes to Tier 5 of the Points Based System and Overseas Domestic Worker Routes of Entry, Impact Assessment*, 15 March 2012, [www.legislation.gov.uk/ukia/2012/115/pdfs/ukia\\_20120115\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukia/2012/115/pdfs/ukia_20120115_en.pdf).
- Controlling Our Borders: Making Migration Work for Britain – Five Year Strategy for Asylum and Immigration* (London: Home Office, 2005).
- A Coordinated Prostitution Strategy and a Summary of Responses to Paying the Price* (London: Home Office, 2006).
- Draft Modern Slavery Bill*, Cm 8770 (London: HMSO, 2013), [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7c8fafe5274a0bb7cb7bb6/Draft\\_Modern\\_Slavery\\_Bill.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7c8fafe5274a0bb7cb7bb6/Draft_Modern_Slavery_Bill.pdf).
- 'Government to launch new modern slavery research centre', 9 July 2019, [www.gov.uk/government/news/government-to-launch-new-modern-slavery-research-centre](http://www.gov.uk/government/news/government-to-launch-new-modern-slavery-research-centre).
- 'Historic law to end Modern Slavery passed', [www.gov.uk/government/news/historic-law-to-end-modern-slavery-passed](http://www.gov.uk/government/news/historic-law-to-end-modern-slavery-passed).
- The Modern Slavery Act Review*, 31 July 2016, [www.gov.uk/government/publications/modern-slavery-act-2015-review-one-year-on](http://www.gov.uk/government/publications/modern-slavery-act-2015-review-one-year-on).
- Modern Slavery Strategy* (London: HMSO, 2014), [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7e460340f0b6230268a4b1/Modern\\_Slavery\\_Strategy\\_FINAL\\_DEC2015.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7e460340f0b6230268a4b1/Modern_Slavery_Strategy_FINAL_DEC2015.pdf).
- Paying the Price: A Consultation Paper on Prostitution* (London: Home Office, Communication Directorate, 2004).
- A Points-Based System: Making Migration Work for Britain* (London: Home Office, 2006).
- Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain* (London: Stationary Office, 2002).
- Setting the Boundaries: Reforming the Law on Sex Offences*, vol. 1 (London: Home Office, 2000).
- Tackling Human Trafficking Consultation on Proposals for a UK Action Plan* (London: Home Office, 2006).
- Tackling the Demand for Prostitution: A Review* (London: Home Office, 2008).
- Transparency in Supply Chains etc.: A Practical Guide* (London: Home Office, 2015).

- ‘Overarching equality impact assessment [EIA] of the compliant environment’, 9 February 2023, [www.gov.uk/government/publications/compliant-environment-overarching-equality-impact-assessment](http://www.gov.uk/government/publications/compliant-environment-overarching-equality-impact-assessment).
- UK, House of Commons, Committee of Public Accounts, *Reducing Modern Slavery*, Thirty-Sixth Report, Sess. 2017–2019.
- UK, House of Commons, Home Affairs Committee, *The Trade in Human Beings: Human Trafficking in the UK*, Sixth Report, Sess. 2008–2009, vol. 1.
- UK, House of Commons, Work and Pensions Committee, *Victims of Modern Slavery*, Twelfth Report, Sess. 2016–2017.
- Human Rights and Business 2017: Promoting Responsibility and Ensuring Accountability*, Sess. 2016–2017.
- UK, House of Lords, Modern Slavery (Transparency in Supply Chains) Bill, Sess. 2016–2017, <http://bills.parliament.uk/bills/1799>.
- UK, House of Lords and House of Commons, Joint Committee on Human Rights, *Human Trafficking*, Twenty-Sixth Report, Sess. 2005–2006, vol. 1.
- UK, House of Lords, House of Commons, Joint Committee on the Draft Modern Slavery Bill, Sess. 2013–2014, <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt201314/jtselect/jtselect/166/166.pdf>.
- UK, Home Office and Scottish Executive, *UK Action Plan on Tackling Human Trafficking* (London: Home Office, 2007).
- UK, Home Office and Scottish Government, *Update to the UK Action Plan on Tackling Human Trafficking* (London: Home Office, 2009).
- UK, Ministry of Justice, ‘Slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour: Implementation of section 71 of the Coroners and Justice Act 2009’, Circular 2010/07, 19 March 2010.
- UK, Parliament, ‘Illegal migration bill: Question for Home Office’, *Written Questions Answers and Statements*, 8 March 2023, Robert Jenrick, Answered on 22 March 2023, <https://questions-statements.parliament.uk/written-questions/detail/2023-03-08/161356>.
- UK, Prime Minister’s Office, *The Queen’s Speech 2022*, 2022, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/627a57f88fa8f57d893d3008/Lobby\\_Pack\\_10\\_May\\_2022.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/627a57f88fa8f57d893d3008/Lobby_Pack_10_May_2022.pdf).
- UK, Treasury, *Minutes: Government Response to the Committee of Public Accounts on the Thirty First to the Thirty Seventh Reports*, Sess. 2017–2019, Cm 9643.
- UN, ‘“G7 Trade Ministers’ strong stance” against forced labour in supply chains is welcome but must be followed by concrete action on forced labour and other human rights abuses, says UN expert group’, 2 November 2021, [www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2021/11/g7-trade-ministers-strong-stance-against-forced-labour-supply-chains-welcome](http://www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2021/11/g7-trade-ministers-strong-stance-against-forced-labour-supply-chains-welcome).
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), *The SDGs in Action*, 2023, [www.undp.org/sustainable-development-goals](http://www.undp.org/sustainable-development-goals).
- United States, *The National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking*, 2021, [www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/National-Action-Plan-to-Combat-Human-Trafficking.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/National-Action-Plan-to-Combat-Human-Trafficking.pdf).
- Trafficking in Persons Report*, June 2008, 2009–2017, [state.gov/documents/organization/105501.pdf](http://state.gov/documents/organization/105501.pdf)

- Trafficking in Persons Report*, June 2019, [www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/2019-Trafficking-in-Persons-Report.pdf](http://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/2019-Trafficking-in-Persons-Report.pdf).
- United States, Customs and Border Protection, *Withhold Release Orders and Findings List*, 2024, [www.cbp.gov/trade/forced-labor/withhold-release-orders-and-findings](http://www.cbp.gov/trade/forced-labor/withhold-release-orders-and-findings).
- United States, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, 2022 *Trade Policy Agenda & 2021 Annual Report*, March 22, 2022, [https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/2022%20Trade%20Policy%20Agenda%20and%202021%20Annual%20Report%20\(1\).pdf](https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/2022%20Trade%20Policy%20Agenda%20and%202021%20Annual%20Report%20(1).pdf).
- UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime), *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons* (Vienna: United Nations, 2021), [www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTiP\\_2020\\_15jan\\_web.pdf](http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTiP_2020_15jan_web.pdf).
- Valverde, Marianna, 'Analyzing the governance of security: Jurisdiction and scale' (2008) 1 *Behemoth a Journal on Civilisation*, 3–15.
- Chronotopes of Law: Jurisdiction, Scale and Governance* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- 'Jurisdiction and scale: Legal "technicalities" as resources for theory' (2009) 18 *Social and Legal Studies*, 139–157.
- Van Dyke, Ruth, 'The UK's response to modern slavery', in Gary Craig, Alex Balch, Hannah Lewis, and Louise Waite (eds.), *The Modern Slavery Agenda: Policy, Politics and Practice in the UK* (Bristol: Policy Press 2019), 47–74.
- Van Houtum, Henk, 'The geopolitics of borders and boundaries' (2005) 10 *Geopolitics*, 672–679.
- Vaughan-Williams, Nick, 'Borders, territory, law' (2008) 2 *International Political Sociology*, 322–338.
- Vigeswaran, Darshan, 'Methodological debates in human rights research: A case study of human trafficking in South Africa', in Annie Bunting and Joel Quirk (eds.), *Contemporary Slavery* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 180–201.
- Villiers, Charlotte, 'A game of cat and mouse: Human rights protection and the problem of corporate law and power' (2023) 36 *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 415–438.
- Waite, Louise, Hannah Lewis, Rebecca Murray, and Emma Tomalin, 'Faith, bordering and modern slavery: A UK case study' (forthcoming) *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/23996544231212208>.
- Walk Free, 'The Global Freedom Network,' 2023, [www.walkfree.org/projects/global-freedom-network/](http://www.walkfree.org/projects/global-freedom-network/).
- Global Slavery Index* (Perth: Minderoo Foundation, 2013, 2016, 2018, 2023).
- Harnessing the Power of Business to End Modern Slavery* (Perth: Minderoo Foundation, 2016).
- Measurement, Action, Freedom: An Independent Assessment of Government Progress towards Achieving Sustainable Development Goal 8.7* (Perth: Minderoo Foundation, 2019).
- Towards a Common Future: Achieving SDG 8.7 in the Commonwealth* (Perth: Minderoo Foundation, 2018), [https://cdn.walkfree.org/content/uploads/2020/10/06155017/Commonwealth-Report\\_PAGES\\_180405\\_FNL\\_Digital-p.pdf](https://cdn.walkfree.org/content/uploads/2020/10/06155017/Commonwealth-Report_PAGES_180405_FNL_Digital-p.pdf).
- 'What is modern slavery?' 2023, [www.walkfree.org/what-is-modern-slavery/](http://www.walkfree.org/what-is-modern-slavery/).

- Weinar, Agnieszka, Saskia Bonjour, and Lyubov Zhyznomirska, 'Introduction: The case for regional approach to study politics of migration', in Agnieszka Weinar, Saskia Bonjour, and Lyubov Zhyznomirska (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the Politics of Migration in Europe* (London: Routledge, 2019), 1–12.
- Weitzer, Ronald, 'Moral crusade against prostitution' (2006) 43 *Society*, 33–38.
- 'New directions in research on human trafficking' (2014) 653 *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 6–24.
- Wellings, Ben, *English Nationalism, Brexit and the Anglosphere: Wider Still and Wider* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2019).
- Wen, Shuangge, 'The cogs and wheels of reflexive law and business disclosure under the Modern Slavery Act' (2016) 43 *Journal of Law and Society*, 327–359.
- Wijers, Marjan, 'How we got here: The story of the Palermo protocol on trafficking', *Open Democracy*, 1 February 2021, [www.opendemocracy.net/en/beyond-traffic-ing-and-slavery/how-we-got-here-story-palermo-protocol-trafficking/](http://www.opendemocracy.net/en/beyond-traffic-ing-and-slavery/how-we-got-here-story-palermo-protocol-trafficking/).
- 'Purity, victimhood and agency: Fifteen years of the UN Trafficking Protocol' (2015) 4 *Anti-trafficking Review*, 56–79.
- Wijers, Marjan, and Lin Lap-Chew, *Trafficking in Women, Forced Labour and Slavery-Like Practices in Marriage, Domestic Labour and Prostitution*, rev. ed. (Utrecht/Bangkok: Foundation Against Trafficking in Women/GAATW, 1999), 189–210.
- World Bank, *Trading for Development in the Age of Global Value Chains* (Washington, DC: World Bank Group, 2020).
- Wray-Bliss, Edward, and Grant Michelson, 'Modern slavery and the discursive construction of a propertied freedom: Evidence from Australian business' (2022) 179 *Journal of Business Ethics*, 649–663.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, Georgie Wemyss, and Kathryn Cassidy, *Bordering* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2019).

