

A Typology of Modern Slavery Offences in the UK

Research Report 93

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- Unseen, UK modern slavery helpline.

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Executive summary

This report presents findings from research to create an evidence-based typology of modern slavery offences in the UK. Modern slavery is an umbrella term that encompasses the offences of human trafficking and slavery, servitude, forced or compulsory labour, as set out in the different anti-slavery legislation in place in the four UK countries (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland). Modern slavery frequently involves multiple victims, offenders and places, and it is often hidden and involves or takes place alongside a wide range of abuses and other criminal offences. The Home Office estimated there were 10,000–13,000 potential victims of modern slavery in the UK in 2013.

Aim and approach

This research sought to devise a typology of modern slavery offences to improve our understanding of the different ways that modern slavery manifests in the UK and to inform tailored policy and operational responses.

The typology is based on analysis of detailed data on 328 confirmed cases of modern slavery in the UK. As modern slavery is often a hidden crime, these data sources are partial and only cover modern slavery that has come to the attention of the authorities. However, this approach was considered appropriate given the exploratory nature of this research. The typology was refined through consultation with experts including the Joint Slavery and Trafficking Analysis Centre, academics, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and frontline staff such as police officers.

Findings

The typology identified 17 types of modern slavery offences in the UK (see figure below). It sets out the characteristics of the victims, offenders and offences involved for each type. In particular we looked for how members of law enforcement, other statutory agencies, NGOs and communities may recognise the exploitation and tackle the different manifestations of the crime. Some cases of modern slavery may span multiple types in the typology. This research did not estimate the prevalence of each type of modern slavery.

The typology of 17 types of modern slavery offences in the UK



Labour exploitation _____

Victims exploited for multiple purposes in isolated environments

Victims who are often highly vulnerable are exploited for labour in multiple ways in isolated rural locations. Victims live on offenders' property in squalid conditions, are subject to repeated abuse and are very rarely paid.

Victims work for offenders

Victims are forced to work directly for offenders in businesses or sites that they own or control (some offenders may be gangmasters). The main method of exploitation is not paying or illegally underpaying victims.

3 Victims work for someone other than offenders

Victims are employed in a legitimate and often low-skilled job, with legal working conditions, by an employer unrelated to the offenders. Most or all wages are taken by offenders often through control of the victims' bank accounts.



Domestic servitude

4 Exploited by partner

Victims are forced to undertake household chores for their partner and often their partner's relatives. If married, the marriage may have been arranged or forced and the servitude often occurs alongside domestic abuse and sexual exploitation.

Exploited by relatives

Victims live with and exploited for household chores and childcare by family members, usually extended family. Many victims are children.

6 Exploiters not related to victims

Victims live with offenders who are often strangers. Victims are forced to undertake household chores and are mostly confined to the house.



Sexual exploitation _____

Child sexual exploitation – group exploitation

Children are sexually exploited by groups of offenders. This is usually for personal gratification, but sometimes the exploitation involves forced sex work in fixed or changing locations and will include characteristics of types 9 and 10. Offenders frequently transport victims to different locations to abuse them.

8 Child sexual exploitation – single exploiter

Similar to type 7, often involves the grooming of children and transporting them for the purposes of sexual exploitation, although the offending is carried out by one individual.

Forced sex work in fixed location

Victims are trafficked and exploited in established locations set up specifically for sex work. This can include brothels or rooms in legitimate business premises (e.g. massage parlour).

Forced sex work in changing location

Victims are forced into sex work where the location of exploitation frequently changes. Locations include streets, clients' residence, hotels or 'pop-up' brothels in short-term rented property. Victims are frequently advertised online.

Trafficking for personal gratification

Victims are trafficked to residential sites controlled by offenders and sexually exploited for the offenders' own gratification. Some victims may be confined to the site for a long period of time.



Financial fraud

(including benefit fraud)

Criminal exploitation _____

Forced gang-related criminality	Victims are forced to undertake gang related criminal activities, most commonly relating to drug networks. Victims are often children who are forced by gangs to transport drugs and money to and from urban areas to suburban areas and market and coastal towns.
13 Forced labour in illegal activities	Victims are forced to provide labour to offenders for illegal purposes. The most common example is victims forced to cultivate cannabis in private residences.
14 Forced acquisitive crime	Victims are forced by offenders to carry out acquisitive crimes such as shoplifting and pickpocketing. Offenders may provide food and accommodation to victims but rarely pay them.
15 Forced begging	Victims are transported by offenders to locations to beg on the streets for money, which is then taken by offenders. Victims are often children vulnerable adults.
16 Trafficking for forced sham marriage	Traffickers transport EU national victims to the UK and sell these victims to an exploiter in a one-off transaction. Exploiters marry victims to gain immigration advantages and often sexually abuse them.

alongside other types.

Victims are exploited financially; most commonly their identity

documents are taken and used to claim benefits. This type often occurs

Underpinning the typology, the research identified the following four conceptual dimensions that are central to understanding how modern slavery offences manifest.



Recruitment

How victims are coerced or deceived into slavery or trafficking. This ranges from situations where victims are deceived by offenders who they have approached about employment or other opportunities, to situations where offenders deliberately target highly vulnerable victims such as children.

Victims approach offenders

Offenders offer opportunities to victims

Offenders target very vulnerable victims



Profit

The extent to which modern slavery exploitation is driven by financial profit. This ranges from offenders using a business model to generate large sums of money, to cases where exploitation is not motivated by financial profit, but other drivers such as personal gratification.

Run like business Limited financial gain No financial gain



Organisation

The extent of organised crime involvement in modern slavery exploitation. This ranges from the involvement of organised crime groups, to little organisation and more opportunistic offending.

Highly organised Some organisation No/minimal organisation



Control

The main method(s) of control used by offenders during the exploitation of victims. These include the use of violence, financial or emotional abuse including grooming of children, or exploiting substance dependencies. Often, more than one method of control will be used by offenders.

Repeated violence

Threats and occasional violence

Substances

Financial

Emotional

Social isolation

The typology and the dimensions demonstrate the wide diversity of modern slavery, the range of methods used by offenders and the different experiences of victims.

Discussion and next steps

The typology enhances our understanding of the crime of modern slavery in the UK. It provides an overarching framework for classifying and recognising different modern slavery crimes. Although it may be challenging to classify some cases of modern slavery into a distinct type, understanding the different ways that the offence manifests is crucial for developing tailored policy and operational responses.

This typology can be used to enhance the response to tackling modern slavery. In particular, the typology could be used in the following ways.

- To inform and develop a toolkit for frontline staff and agencies in the UK. The toolkit could include indicators of and practical opportunities to tackle each type of modern slavery.
- To adapt for use in other countries, to help to build up a global picture of the nature of modern slavery.
- As a basis for further data collection and research, to gain a better understanding of the prevalence of each type of modern slavery.

1. Introduction

This report presents findings from research undertaken by the Modern Slavery Research Team in the Home Office to create an evidence-based typology of modern slavery offences in the UK. The aim of the typology is to improve understanding of the crime(s) and to inform and guide:

- policies to tackle and prevent modern slavery in the UK;
- operational guidance for combating the crime;
- provision of services to victims and survivors; and
- advice to the public on spotting the signs of modern slavery and raising awareness.

This typology is the first attempt to categorise modern slavery offences in the UK in a systematic way. It provides a framework for understanding the multi-faceted crime of modern slavery as it takes place in the UK.

Geographical scope of the report

Modern slavery is a complex crime that takes a number of different forms. It encompasses slavery, servitude, forced and compulsory labour and human trafficking. This research covers modern slavery across the UK. There is different legislation in place to tackle modern slavery in the different jurisdictions of the UK. This report takes the definition of 'modern slavery' as the range of conduct and forms of exploitation that amount to the slavery and trafficking offences in the three current pieces of legislation in the UK (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Summary of current human trafficking and slavery offences in England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland

England and Wales	The Modern Slavery Act 2015¹ consolidated existing slavery and trafficking offences into two offences:
	Human Trafficking, defined as "arranging or facilitating the travel of another person with a view to exploitation". Travel includes within a country, not just across international borders.
	 Slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour – the Act states that this offence has the 'same meaning' as for the purposes of Article 4 of the European Convention on Human Rights.²
Northern Ireland	The Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Criminal Justice and Support for Victims) Act (Northern Ireland) 2015 ³ consolidated existing offences into two offences:
	Human Trafficking, defined as "arranging or facilitating the travel of another person with a view to that person being exploited". Arranging or facilitating travel includes recruiting, transporting, transferring, harbouring, receiving, exchanging control over a person.
	 Slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour – the Act places a statutory duty on the courts to interpret this offence in line with Article 4 of the European Convention on Human Rights.
Scotland	The Human Trafficking and Exploitation Act (Scotland) 2015 ⁴ consolidated existing offences into two new offences:
	 Human Trafficking. There are two parts to the offence: the relevant action and an intention to exploit or knowledge of likely exploitation. The relevant action includes recruiting, transporting, transferring, harbouring, receiving, exchanging control over a person (or arranging facilitating these actions).
	Slavery, servitude and forced and compulsory labour – the Act states this offence is to be construed in accordance with Article 4 of European Convention on Human Rights.

There are also different strategies and approaches to tackling modern slavery and human trafficking in place in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. All emphasise the importance of identifying, supporting and protecting victims of modern slavery, disrupting perpetrator behaviour, prosecuting perpetrators and addressing the conditions that foster trafficking.⁵

- 1 National Archives (2015) Modern Slavery Act 2015. Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2015/30/contents Accessed 23 June 2017.
- 2 Article 4 of the Convention Prohibition of slavery and forced labour
 - "1. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.
 - 2. No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour.
 - 3. For the purpose of this article the term 'forced or compulsory labour' shall not include:
 - (a) any work required to be done in the ordinary course of detention imposed according to the provisions of Article 5 of [the] Convention or during conditional release from such detention;
 - (b) any service of a military character or, in case of conscientious objectors in countries where they are recognised, service exacted instead of compulsory military service;
 - (c) any service exacted in case of an emergency or calamity threatening the life or well-being of the community;
 - (d) any work or service which forms part of normal civic obligations."
- 3 **National Archives** (2015) Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Criminal Justice and Support for Victims) Act (Northern Ireland) 2015. Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/nia/2015/2/contents Accessed 17 July 2017.
- 4 **National Archives** (2015) Human Trafficking and Exploitation Act (Scotland) 2015. Available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2015/12/enacted Accessed 17 July 2017.
- 5 For further information about the work done by the UK Government, the Scottish Government and the Northern Ireland Executive to tackle modern slavery each year, please see the annual Inter-Departmental Ministerial Group reports. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/modern-slavery-inter-departmental-ministerial-group-publications Accessed 17 July 2017.

The Crime of Modern Slavery

Unlike most crimes, which are time-limited single events, modern slavery is a hidden crime of indeterminate duration.

The crime is usually made up of a series of different events, often taking place in different countries, frequently involving multiple victims and offenders, who may be involved at different times. Modern slavery crimes often consist of three stages: recruitment, exploitation and usually but not always transportation.

Modern slavery offences tend to involve, or take place alongside, a wide range of abuses and other criminal offences such as grievous bodily harm, assault, rape or child sexual abuse. Modern slavery offences are complex cases, involving multiple victims and offenders and often cross international boundaries. Not all cases that may have involved modern slavery are prosecuted as such, particularly when the other offences involved may carry similarly severe sentences. Law enforcement and prosecutors use the full range of offences available in each case to disrupt this crime.

The complexity of the crime is recognised in the Palermo Protocol⁶ on human trafficking, which is a key piece of international anti-trafficking legislation. The Protocol identifies three elements of human trafficking – act, means and purpose.

- The 'act' of human trafficking includes the recruitment of victims.
- The 'means' refers to the ways in which offenders carry out the act of human trafficking, for example, through force, abuse of power or coercion.
- The 'purpose' element of human trafficking is the exploitation of victims. This can take many different forms, such as sexual exploitation, labour exploitation, criminal exploitation and domestic servitude. Some victims may be subject to more than one form of exploitation.

Modern slavery in the UK

The nature of the crime of modern slavery means that it is challenging to measure accurately its scale. In England and Wales modern slavery was introduced as a separate crime-recording category in April 2015.⁷ In the year to March 2017 police in England and Wales recorded 2,255 modern slavery crimes.⁸ In 2016, Police Scotland recorded 29 modern slavery crimes and in the year to March 2017, 60 crimes have been recorded.⁹ In the year to March 2016, the Police Service of Northern Ireland recorded 35 modern slavery offences.

There has been a consistent and sustained increase in the number of potential victims of modern slavery identified in the UK since 2009 – partly due to the increased priority of tackling modern slavery and improved awareness of this crime. In 2016, 3,805 potential victims were referred to the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) – the UK's framework for referring and supporting victims. There are challenges associated with measuring the prevalence of modern slavery given the hidden nature of the crime. The best available estimate of the prevalence of modern slavery

- 6 United Nations (2000) Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime. Available: https://www.osce.org/odihr/19223?download=true Accessed 23 June 2017.
- 7 The Home Office Counting Rules for Recorded Crime set out guidance for police forces in England and Wales for recording modern slavery crimes. Modern slavery crimes should be recorded in addition to the most serious additional victim-based offence involving the same victim-offender relationship.
- 8 **Home Office** (2017) *Police Recorded Crime and Outcomes Open Data Tables*. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/police-recorded-crime-open-data-tables Accessed 23 June 2017.
- 9 Prior to November 2016 Police Scotland did not record crime reports until the outcome of an NRM decision was known. However, there has been a change in practice following the IASC 2016 report which explains the large jump in figures.
- 10 National Crime Agency (2017) National Referral Mechanism Statistics End of Year Summary 2016. Available: http://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/publications/national-referral-mechanism-statistics/2016-nrm-statistics/788-national-referral-mechanism-statistics-end-of-year-summary-2016/file Accessed 23 June 2017.

in the UK was produced by the Home Office in 2014.¹¹ It suggested that in 2013 there were between 10,000–13,000 potential victims of modern slavery in the UK.

The NRM operates across the UK, and potential victims can be referred from England, Wales, Scotland or Northern Ireland. Data from the NRM on referrals show the diversity of potential victims in terms of age, type of exploitation and country of origin, and the diversity of these across the UK's four countries. There were over a hundred nationalities represented in the data. The UK is primarily a destination country for victims of human trafficking. Of the 3,805 potential victims of modern slavery referred to the NRM in 2016:¹²

- around two-thirds were adults and around one-third were children;
- there was an equal split between females (51%) and males (49%);
- the most common type of exploitation for adults was labour, including criminal exploitation;
- the majority of potential victims (75%) were from non-European Economic Area (EEA) countries;
- The top three countries of origin of potential victims differed across the UK's four countries. In England, the top three countries of origin were Albania (676), Vietnam (451) and the UK (315). In Scotland, they were Vietnam (51), China (30) and Albania (13). In Wales they were Vietnam (16), Eritrea (12) and Nigeria (12), and in Northern Ireland were Romania (10), China (5) and Lithuania (3);
- the majority of potential victims who were UK nationals were children (78%) and reported sexual exploitation (71%); and
- the majority of potential victims were referred from England (92%), followed by Scotland (4%), Wales (3%) and Northern Ireland (1%).

Origins of the typology

The research to develop a typology of offences is part of wider work within the Home Office to improve the evidence base on modern slavery to support policymakers, law enforcement and other agencies in tackling the crime. The UK Government and Scottish Government have committed to improving evidence on modern slavery and human trafficking. The 2014 Modern Slavery Strategy¹³ (that covers England and Wales) included a commitment to improve evidence on modern slavery offenders:

"We will develop our understanding of modern slavery offenders through analysis of data sources, collaboration with academics and NGOs [non-governmental organisations] working in this area and by further reviewing existing literature."

Action Area 3 of the 2017 Scottish Trafficking and Exploitation Strategy¹⁴ looks at addressing the conditions that foster trafficking. There is a commitment that "people know about the extent of trafficking in Scotland" and in order to achieve this outcome there is a further commitment for "research and investigation into how trafficking affects Scotland".

"The Scottish Government will also commission research to identify the presence of young people who have been trafficked and to establish their routes to arrival in Scotland."

- 11 **Home Office** (2014) *Modern Slavery: An Application of Multiple Systems Estimation*. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/386841/Modern_Slavery_an_application_of_MSE_revised.pdf Accessed 23 June 2017.
- 12 **National Crime Agency** (2017) *National Referral Mechanism Statistics End of Year Summary 2016*. Available: http://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/publications/national-referral-mechanism-statistics/2016-nrm-statistics/788-national-referral-mechanism-statistics-end-of-year-summary-2016/file Accessed 23 June 2017.
- 13 **Home Office** (2014) *Modern Slavery Strategy*. London: Home Office. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/383764/Modern_Slavery_Strategy_FINAL_DEC2015.pdf Accessed 23 June 2017.
- 14 **Scottish Government** (2016) *Trafficking and Exploitation Strategy*. Available: https://consult.scotland.gov.uk/human-trafficking-team/a-human-trafficking-and-exploitation-strategy/supporting_documents/683630_v2_20161007.pdf Accessed 16 August 2017.

The typology was informed by previous research by the Modern Slavery Research Team. The work brought together data and information about modern slavery offences. Focusing on offences allowed us to look at victims and places as well as offenders. We reviewed the existing evidence from academic research, government and NGOs' reports, and administrative data sources. There were little data from official sources and overall there was limited high-quality policy oriented research on the crime of modern slavery. Most literature focused on trafficking for sexual exploitation rather than other forms of modern slavery. This finding has been echoed in the academic literature:

"Human trafficking has generated a tremendous amount of public attention throughout the world ... much of the discourse, policymaking, and enforcement has lacked an evidence basis, because so little high-quality research has been done on the topic." (Weitzer, 2014)¹⁵

The team looked to fill some of these evidence gaps by drawing on the expert and detailed knowledge of local law enforcement practitioners. Although modern slavery is often a transnational crime, the exploitation of victims happens in local areas. How the crime manifests is contingent on the local situation, as well as wider social and political factors. We interviewed representatives of local law enforcement in three police force areas. This gave us invaluable information about the operations they had been involved in and great insight into their understanding of modern slavery in the local area.

From this research, we began to build a picture of modern slavery offending in the UK.

- In England and Wales, official data show that there have been very few prosecutions specifically
 for modern slavery or human trafficking offences, although prosecutions are increasing.
 A number of defendants whose cases involve modern slavery offending may have been
 prosecuted for other offences.
- Most modern slavery offenders in the UK were convicted of sex trafficking offences. The
 majority were male, nearly three-quarters were aged 25–59 (older than the average offender),
 and included EEA and non-EEA nationals.
- Most sources agreed that the primary motivation for offenders' involvement in modern slavery crimes was financial, with perceived low risk of conviction.
- There were debates in the academic literature about the extent of organised crime involvement in modern slavery. Many law enforcement officers suggested that most modern slavery is organised to some extent, often through ad hoc networks of offenders.
- Accounts, in particular from police operations, often described victims being exploited in more than one way, with overlaps between the different forms of exploitation. Benefit fraud, in particular, frequently occurred alongside other forms of exploitation.

These initial findings suggested that there was no 'typical' modern slavery offender and no typical offence of modern slavery. Offenders used different means to recruit, traffic, control and exploit victims. However, within this diversity there were consistent patterns, suggesting that we could look more closely at these factors to categorise offences into a typology.

¹⁵ **Weitzer, R.** (2014) 'New Directions in Research on Human Trafficking', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 653 (6), pp 6–24.

2. Methodology

Aims and approach

The aim of this research was to devise a typology that went beyond a classification of the labour sectors and places where modern slavery crimes are found. It includes operational and policy-focused descriptions of the types of modern slavery, alongside a conceptual framework. This means that it provides a framework that can take account of the changing manifestations of the crime, although new types may emerge. The approach was data driven, exploratory and iterative. As the typology is based on UK sources of data, it only seeks to describe how modern slavery manifests in the UK. However, the approach could be used to build an international typology based on data in other countries.

Other typologies

There have been other categorisations of modern slavery or human trafficking crimes and offenders, using different criteria and data. There are a number of typologies that use a small number of broad categories. For example, researchers at the University of Texas, Austin used published literature and information on prosecuted cases to categorise traffickers. They identified four types of traffickers who operated in the fields of domestic servitude, forced labour, sex trafficking of children and international sex trafficking. The International Labour Organisation, in producing its global estimate of forced labour, distinguished between state imposed and private economy imposed forced labour and, within this, sexual and labour exploitation.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) developed a typology for human trafficking based on the level of organisation employed by the offenders. ¹⁸ It differentiated small local operations that included domestic trafficking flows with a small number of victims, medium sub-regional operations and large trans-regional operations that trafficked people across borders, with high investments and high profits.

A recent and comprehensive typology has been produced by Polaris in the USA. ¹⁹ Polaris operates the National Human Trafficking Hotline and BeFree Textline in the USA. It analysed over 32,000 calls, emails and webforms to the helpline to develop 25 types of sex and labour trafficking in the USA. The typology categorises labour exploitation by the different industries or sectors. Sexual exploitation is categorised mainly by where the exploitation takes place.

¹⁶ Busch-Armendariz, N. B., Nsonwu, M., Cook Heffron, L. and Hernandez, M. (2009) *Understanding Human Trafficking: Development of Typologies of Traffickers*. Austin, USA: University of Texas. Available: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237774919 Accessed 23 June 2017.

¹⁷ International Labour Organisation (2012) *ILO Global Estimate of Forced Labour: Results and Methodology*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Organisation. Available: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_182004.pdf Accessed 23 June 2017.

¹⁸ **United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime** (2014) *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2014*. New York, USA: United Nations. Available: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/GLOTIP_2014_full_report.pdf, Accessed 23 June 2017.

¹⁹ **Polaris** (2017) *The Typology of Modern Slavery: Defining Sex and Labour Trafficking in the USA*. Available: https://polarisproject.org/typology-report Accessed 23 June 2017.

In developing this typology we considered and drew from these approaches. However, there were limitations. None of the typologies focus specifically on the UK or cover the full range of offences in the Modern Slavery Act 2015. Some typologies were not based on analysis of hard data and others were not set up to focus on operational responses.

Data sources

The typology is based on data on victims and on offences in confirmed cases of modern slavery within the UK. These data provide wide-ranging information on victims, perpetrators and offences. They are the most robust and reliable available in the UK and provide a strong foundation given the exploratory nature of the work.

The data sources for this typology were as follows.

- National Referral Mechanism (NRM). Anonymised case files for 250 victims referred to the NRM since 2015 who had received a positive conclusive grounds decision²⁰ and had been exploited in the UK. The cases were selected to give a range of exploitation types and victims' ages and nationalities. The NRM is the UK's identification and support mechanism for potential victims of modern slavery. Potential victims can be referred to the NRM from England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- Offences of modern slavery in the UK. Details from 78 cases where offenders had been convicted for modern slavery and human trafficking offences in England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland since 2004. This included cases convicted under current and previous anti-trafficking legislation (more details are given in Annex 1).

We used this information to build a database. For each case, we extracted information from case files or detailed case accounts and recorded the details in a standardised way. The database consisted of over 140 variables covering details of victims, offenders, recruitment, transportation, exploitation and case outcomes (details in annex 2). We systematically analysed the data identifying the core features that distinguished distinct types of offences. The types identified were periodically reviewed and revised by members of the team. A qualitative and iterative approach was more appropriate for this analysis than using quantitative statistical methods. This was partly due to the exploratory nature of the work and partly because the data were not amenable to statistical manipulation, given the amount of missing data and the comparatively small number of cases.

The team tested out the preliminary typology in a range of forums with experts who included practitioners, policy makers and academics. We took account of their comments to develop and modify the types. We anticipate that the publication of the typology will lead to further discussions of the types and refinements to the classification.

At the same time as building the typology we consulted with law enforcement practitioners on the potential for tackling and preventing each type of modern slavery. We hope that the typology will be used to refine local enforcement and partners' responses to tackling the wide range of modern slavery offences.

²⁰ The NRM decision is a two-stage process. A reasonable grounds decision is made soon after a referral into the NRM and is a low threshold of 'suspect but cannot prove'. Evidence is gathered and then a conclusive grounds decision is made based on whether, on the balance of probabilities, the individual is a victim of modern slavery.

Data limitations

The approach we have taken to develop the typology is data driven, using information on confirmed cases of modern slavery. However, because of the hidden nature of modern slavery, only a small proportion of victims become known to the authorities and few offenders have been prosecuted. This means that the data are partial and only cover a small proportion of all modern slavery in the UK. For example, we have not included organ harvesting in the typology, although there was some reference to this in discussions, as there were no cases in the dataset. Because of these data limitations the research does not attempt to estimate the prevalence of each type of modern slavery.

We were also aware that child trafficking was likely to be under-represented. There is (anecdotal) evidence that practitioners may not refer trafficked children to the NRM as, unlike adults, children will receive support from local authorities under their statutory safeguarding duties regardless of an NRM referral. In terms of conviction data very few cases with child victims (in particular child sexual exploitation cases) were prosecuted using modern slavery or human trafficking legislation. To address this gap, we consulted with experts from the Child Sexual Abuse Centre of Expertise and the Children's Task and Finish Group.²¹

We also recognised that although using confirmed cases provides a sound basis for the emerging typology, it limits our ability to identify new and emerging manifestations of the crime. However, we anticipate that further refinements could be made to the typology using a wider range of information such as law enforcement intelligence and accounts from potential victims who have not entered the NRM.

²¹ The Children's Task and Finish Group is a subgroup of the Modern Slavery Strategy and Implementation Group (MSSIG) that supports implementation of and advises on the Government's modern slavery strategy. The Children's Task and Finish Group consists of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and supports the delivery of key projects in England and Wales and initiatives that specifically relate to children.

3. Findings

Introduction

The typology is based on an analysis of data sources about confirmed cases of modern slavery in the UK and takes account of consultations and discussions with a range of experts. The typology identifies 17 distinct types of modern slavery with detailed profiles of each type and an underlying conceptual framework with 4 dimensions.

The dimensions

We identified four dimensions²² that are central to understanding the crime of modern slavery:

1. Recruitment

2. Profit

3. Organisation

4. Control

For these dimensions we are interested in how these manifest at the exploitation phase in the UK.



Recruitment _

How victims are coerced or deceived into slavery or trafficking. For many modern slavery offences, multiple offenders may be involved and the recruiter may be different from the exploiter(s). In many cases the recruitment happened outside the UK.

Victims approach offenders

Victims are actively looking for opportunities, but are deceived into situations of slavery. This includes victims responding to job adverts (including on-line). Victims and recruiters are generally strangers.

Offenders offer opportunities to victims

Victims are approached by recruiters with job offers or other opportunities but are deceived about the nature of these. Recruiters are often known to victims.

Offenders target very vulnerable victims

Recruiters deliberately target victims who have limited understanding or high levels of vulnerability. This includes children, people with mental health issues or those with substance dependencies.



Profit

The extent to which modern slavery exploitation is driven by financial profit.

Run like business

The primary motive for offending is maximising profits, usually by exploiting multiple victims and minimising outgoings.

Limited financial gain

The offenders take more limited financial gain from the victims. For example, using the victim to provide very cheap or free labour on a farm or provide domestic services.

No financial gain

The exploiters make no financial gain from the offence. The motivation may be solely for personal gratification or gaining non monetary advantage such as immigration status from forced sham marriages.



Organisation _

The extent of organised crime involvement in the exploitation.²³

Highly organised

Offending is highly organised, with the involvement of recognised Organised Crime Groups (OCG) who may be involved in other types of criminality.

Some organisation

The offence involves multiple offenders who co-operate in different stages of the crime, but are not necessarily part of a recognised OCG.

No/minimal organisation

There is minimal organisation. The offenders are often opportunistic individuals who take advantage of situations as they present.

- 22 We considered including a separate dimension about how offenders transport victims. However, the data suggested that within each type of modern slavery, a range of transportation methods were used (depending on factors such as the nationality status of the victim and transport links in the local area). Therefore transportation does not help to distinguish between types of modern slavery.
- 23 The National Crime Agency defines organised crime as serious crime planned, coordinated and conducted by people working together on a continuing basis. Their motivation is often, but not always, financial gain. Organised criminals working together for a particular criminal activity or activities are called an organised crime group. See: www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/crime-threats/organised-crime-groups



Control

The main method(s) of control used by offenders during the exploitation of victims. Unlike the other dimensions, control does not exist on a scale, as more than one method of control may be used.

Repeated violence	Threats and occasional	Substances	Financial	Emotional	Social isolation
The exploiters use repeated physical or sexual violence to control the victim.	violence The exploiters use threats and some violence, either directly on the victims or by threats to their families.	The offenders control the victims' access to substances (drugs or alcohol) that they are dependent on or cultivate dependency as a means of control.	Financial control ranges from withholding payment for labour to debt bondage. This requires victims to earn a certain amount of money to pay back debts owed to offenders (often for transport to UK) after which time they may or may not be released.	Victims are deceived into believing that they are in a relationship with the offender (for example 'grooming' of some child victims) or the offender uses existing ties to exploit the victim. It also includes using cultural controls, such as religious oaths or concepts of honour or obligation.	Offenders control victims through restricting their contact with society. This ranges from having their passport and papers withheld to more extreme cases where the victims are kept in total isolation away from anyone other than the exploiters.

These four dimensions show the range of methods used by offenders and the different situations of victims. They were valuable in helping to build up profiles of the types of modern slavery and in clarifying distinctions between types.

The types of modern slavery

The types of modern slavery are descriptions of the basic features of the offence. One offence may span more than one type, for example, offenders may exploit victims for labour, but also sexually exploit them. The starting point was the categorisation of modern slavery into four broad groupings commonly used in the UK: domestic servitude, labour, criminal and sexual exploitation. Within each of these categories we looked for commonalities that distinguished the ways in which the exploitation took place in the UK. In particular we looked for how members of law enforcement, other statutory agencies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and communities may recognise the exploitation and tackle the different manifestations of the crime. From the data we identified 17 types of modern slavery exploitation in the UK.

- For labour exploitation, we distinguished three types, based on the nature of the employment relationship between the victim and offender(s).
- For domestic servitude, we distinguished three types based on the nature of the personal relationship between the victim and the exploiter.
- For sexual exploitation, we distinguished three types where the victims were adults, based on the location of the sexual exploitation; a further two were child specific types. Children were those aged under 18.
- For criminal exploitation, we distinguished six types based on the form of criminality victims were forced to engage in.

For domestic servitude, labour and criminal exploitation the victims may be adult or children.

The typology of 17 types of modern slavery offences in the UK



Labour exploitation _____

- 1 Victims exploited for multiple purposes in isolated environments
- Victims work for offenders
- 3 Victims work for someone other than offenders



Domestic servitude _____

- 4 Exploited by partner
- 6 Exploited by relatives
- 6 Exploiters not related to victims



Sexual exploitation _____

- 7 Child Sexual Exploitation group exploitation
- 8 Child Sexual Exploitation single exploiter
- 9 Forced sex work in fixed location
- Forced sex work in changing location
- Trafficking for personal gratification



Criminal exploitation _____

- Forced gang-related criminality
- Forced labour in illegal activities
- 4 Forced acquisitive crime
- Forced begging
- Trafficking for forced sham marriage
- Financial fraud (including benefit fraud)

The profiles

The profiles describe the main features of each of the 17 types of modern slavery in the UK. Some of the situations described in the profiles may not always be recognised as modern slavery, but they fall within the definition of modern slavery because there is an element of coercion or control present, or because the victim has been trafficked for the purposes of that form of exploitation. For example, not all sham marriages are modern slavery, it is the element of being forced or deceived into the marriage that makes it modern slavery.

The profiles include details on:

- the characteristics of victims and offenders:
- sectors where the exploitation occurs; and
- methods of recruitment, transportation and exploitation.

There is also an indication of whether there were examples of child victims in the database. The types of sexual exploitation are separate for children and adults. Details of victims, offenders, sectors and methods for each type may change over time as social and political factors change within the local area, within the UK and across the world. Offenders may adopt new methods in response to changing conditions and to law enforcement tactics and other initiatives to pursue and prevent each type of slavery. However, we anticipate that each of the 17 types is robust and will continue to describe a distinct type of modern slavery in the UK.

The profile for each type of modern slavery consists of a pen portrait, where on each of the four dimensions the type sits, and a more detailed description of the offence characteristics. There is also, for most offence types, a case study. The pen portrait outlines a typical offence of the type. The information for this is drawn mainly from the database of victims and offences. In cases where there was limited information, additional information was provided by organisations and individuals during our consultations and discussions. In particular we have used the expertise of the Child Sexual Abuse Centre of Expertise and the Children's Task and Finish Group to refine the definitions of the two types that relate specifically to child sexual exploitation, and to improve our understanding of the exploitation of children in other parts of the typology.

The detailed description uses information only from the database and represents the situation for the time period covered by the data sources for each type of modern slavery. It provides an account of victims, offenders and where and how the exploitation happened in confirmed cases of modern slavery in the UK.

The case studies were selected from the database. They only use information in the public domain on offenders convicted of modern slavery offences in the UK since 2004. The cases chosen were not necessarily typical of each type but provide an example of a 'real life' case. We were not able to find convicted cases for all 17 types; although there were victims identified in the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) data for each type, cases had either not been brought to court or the offenders had been prosecuted using different legislation. (Further details are in Annex 1.)

There is no direct overlap between these 17 types and the modern slavery offences in legislation (see Table 1.1), as the offences used to prosecute individuals suspected of modern slavery depend on the circumstances of the case and the evidence available to prosecutors. For example, the 'human trafficking' offence could be used to prosecute criminal behaviour involved in any of the 17 types, where there is evidence to support the case that the constituent elements of the human trafficking offence are present. In some cases, non-modern slavery offences may be used to prosecute.

0	Recruitment					
U	Victims approach offenders		Offenders offer opportunities to victims		Offenders target very vulnerable victims	
	Profit					
£	Run like business		Limited financial gain		No financial gain	
Organisation						
	Highly organised		Some organisation		No/minimal organisation	
Control						
	Repeated violence	Threats and occasional violence	Substances	Financial	Emotional	Social isolation

Highly vulnerable victims, such as those with learning difficulties or substance addictions, are exploited for labour in multiple ways in isolated rural locations. They suffer repeated physical and verbal abuse. Victims live in offenders' property, often in poor conditions that may not include access to fresh water or sanitation. Due to the isolated location, lack of engagement with formal workplaces or services, and the extent of the offenders' control, victims are sometimes not detected by authorities for a number of years.

Victims

The victims were almost all adult males. They were all from the UK and European Economic Area (EEA) countries, most commonly from the UK although there was one victim each from Lithuania and Slovakia. Several victims were homeless and some had mental or physical health issues.

Children

There was one example of a child victim of this type of exploitation. The victim had been exploited for 11 years from childhood to adulthood.

Offenders

The offenders were all adults and were a mix of males and females. They were British, Irish and Slovakian, and in many cases were from traveller communities. There were often multiple offenders and multiple victims involved in each offence, and some victims were passed or

'sold' to different offenders. The offenders were often related to each other and were strangers to the victims.

Recruitment

Recruitment was most commonly in person within the UK. The victims were offered work but were deceived about earnings.

Transportation

Where the victims were recruited abroad, travel to the UK was arranged by the recruiter. The victims were mostly exploited on-site and were often moved to different sites around the country.

Exploitation

The victims worked directly for the offenders in rural locations, undertaking unskilled labour such as agricultural work, construction work or laying driveways. In many cases victims were also forced to undertake domestic chores for the offenders. Victims were typically exploited for longer periods of time than in other types of labour exploitation, often a number of years. They worked long hours up to seven days a week, and were either not paid or paid only a small amount. They stayed in outdoor structures or caravans owned by the offenders, with a lack of sanitation. Methods of control included the use of violence, restriction of movement and control of substances they were dependent on. Many victims also experienced emotional and psychological control. In some cases a victim became 'trusted' by the offenders and was allowed greater freedom, but did not attempt to escape due to the emotional control and fear of reprisals.

Case study

A British man from a traveller community and his partner exploited a victim for forced labour for ten years between 2004 and 2014. The victim was British, homeless and suffered from alcohol dependency and depression. The offender recruited him in London, offering him work, food and accommodation in a flat. He was taken to a rural traveller site in St Albans.

The victim was forced to work for up to 16 hours a day doing physical labour such as digging driveways, carrying bricks and laying paving. The offender's partner would also sometimes make him clean her car and caravan, as well as look after two children and walk one of them to school. During the summer the victim was taken to various places including Manchester and Birmingham, as well as to places in Ireland and other European countries to lay paving slabs. He escaped on one occasion but was tracked down by the offender, drugged with sleeping pills in a Portakabin and then returned to work.

He was not paid for his work until 2012; after this he was paid £30 a day. The victim was housed on the traveller site, initially in a shed with no running water, and later a camper van. Neither had any sanitation. The offender bought the victim a passport but kept control of it. The victim was primarily controlled though threats of violence, which were occasionally acted on. He was isolated, being forbidden any contact with friends and family. He was briefed on how to respond to police enquiries. He was told to say that he was earning a legal wage and was well looked after.

The offences were uncovered after the victim contacted the emergency services in 2014. The offender was charged for offences from 2010 when the relevant trafficking legislation was passed. He was sentenced to four years for one count of knowingly holding a person in servitude and one count of knowingly requiring another person to perform forced labour.



Victims work for offenders in businesses or sites that offenders directly control. In more organised examples offenders act as gangmasters, controlling teams of victims on single or across multiple sites. Victims live in a single overcrowded residence. Less organised examples of this have one or two victims living with offenders, who may be subject to multiple forms of exploitation. Victims are either illegally underpaid or unpaid for long hours of work, which is usually manual or unskilled labour. Wage deductions and notional debt bondage are used as means of control, sometimes in combination with threats and violence.

Victims

The majority of victims were adult males. There was an even mix of victims from the UK and EEA countries (Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia) and from non-EEA countries (China, Ghana, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Vietnam). There were some examples of victims' partners being exploited at the same time, although not always in the same way.

Children

The majority of child victims experiencing this type of slavery were Vietnamese or Chinese. They tended to be recruited in person in their country of origin. They were exploited by male and female offenders in work including nail bars, cleaning, catering and fairground rides.

Offenders

The offenders were adults, the majority were male, and were likely to be of a similar nationality to the victim. Nationalities included

Albanian, British, Chinese, Czech, Ghanaian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Nepalese, Pakistani, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Slovakian and Vietnamese. Some cases only had a single offender. The offenders were most commonly a stranger to the victim.

Recruitment

Recruitment tended to be in person either in the victim's country of origin or in the UK, although some were recruited by phone or over the internet. Not all were deceived about the conditions and nature of their exploitation. Where there was deception it was mostly about earnings and working conditions rather than the type of work.

Transportation

Transportation varied depending on the nationality of the victims and the recruitment location. Where the victim was recruited abroad, transport was most commonly arranged by the recruiters.

Exploitation

Victims worked directly for the offenders, in businesses or sites the offenders owned or controlled. This tended to be unskilled or manual labour, in largely cash-based businesses mostly in urban areas. Labour sectors included construction, cleaning, factory work, agricultural work, restaurants, nail bars and car washes. There was also some evidence of exploitation in a maritime environment. Victims were either underpaid or unpaid, and there were also some instances of offenders using them for benefit fraud. Victims sometimes lived with offenders, and if they did were likely to experience other forms of exploitation. Other victims were housed in accommodation rented or owned by offenders, often with other victims. The most common method of control was financial (either telling the victims that they owed money, or victims not wanting to leave until they had been paid). Threats and violence were commonly used alongside financial control.

Case study

A male Vietnamese national trafficked at least three other Vietnamese nationals (two adult women and a 16 year old boy) into the UK between 2013 and 2015 to work at his nail bar in Bathgate, Scotland. The child had been transported to Scotland from Vietnam through a long series of truck rides, and had no idea what country he was in. The victims were housed in the offender's residence at a private housing estate in Bathgate.

Some of the victims were controlled through debt bondage, and were paid only small or irregular sums for their work for the offender in the nail bar, and they were also forced to undertake domestic work for the offender. They relied on the offender for their basic accommodation and food. Some victims had been in this situation for over a year. The child only received 'pocket money' for being a 'trainee' at the bar.

In 2014, Police Scotland National Human Trafficking Unit and Home Office Immigration Enforcement collaborated on a large scale operation targeting offenders that were trafficking and exploiting Vietnamese nationals in nail bars across Scotland. Through this operation, they visited the offender's nail bar, and recovered the child victim, as well as gaining evidence of

exploitation. They obtained a search warrant for the nail bar and the offender's residence, recovered the two female adult victims and arrested the offender.

The offender was found guilty of one charge of Human Trafficking at Edinburgh Sherriff Court in October 2016, and was sentenced to 12 months in prison.

Case study

A Lithuanian woman trafficked 11 Lithuanian nationals (9 men and 2 women) into the UK. The victims were mostly from the city of Siauliai. They were transported around Avon and Somerset in a van, and went door-to-door delivering, collecting and sorting the contents of 1,000 charity bags each. The work had been outsourced by the charity that reported that it was unaware of the exploitation.

The victims were dependent on the offender for work, accommodation and food. They resided with her in a squalid five-bedroom house, with one bathroom for her and one for all victims. The victims were mostly confined to the house, and had to go to soup kitchens for food. They all spoke little or no English. The victims were promised a rate of pay well below the UK minimum wage. They were nominally paid £25 a day for their work collecting donations. However, the offender charged them £50 a week rent and levied 'fines'. This meant that often the victims were not paid anything for their work. The exploitation was discovered after a school raised concerns about the six-year-old son of one of the victims.

The offender claimed that she herself had originally been trafficked into Cambridgeshire in 2009, to collect charity bags for £30 a day. She subsequently moved to Bristol and trafficked the Lithuanians into the UK. She said that she was doing this for an organised crime group with which she was associated. While the offender admitted full culpability, her defence suggested that she had personally profited very little from the offending and that the majority of the money flowed higher up into the organised crime group. The offender was sentenced to three years.



Victims are employed by someone other than offenders, often in legitimate jobs with legal working conditions. Most or all their wages are taken by the offenders, often through control of victims' bank accounts. There tends to be more than one victim per offender. Victims are brought to the UK by offenders and are reliant on them for food and accommodation.

Victims

Most victims were adult males and the majority were from EEA countries such as Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia. There were also victims from non-EEA countries (Moldova, Myanmar, Vietnam and Zimbabwe).

Children

There were two child cases, both from non-EEA countries. In both cases the victims lived with the offenders and were found work in various industries (nail bars, restaurants, gardening, cleaning). Their wages were taken by the offenders.

Offenders

The offenders were adults, mostly male and tended to be from the same country as the victims. These countries were Bangladesh, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Pakistan, Slovakia, and Vietnam. In most cases the offenders were strangers to the victims. There was usually more than one offender, although often one individual was involved in all three stages (recruitment,

transportation and exploitation). In several cases the exploiters were related to each other. Often the victims were exploited by several offenders.

Recruitment

Victims were usually recruited in person in their country of origin. In most cases they were approached by an offender and offered a 'good job' in the UK but were deceived about wages and conditions. One victim was recruited through an online job advert and another placed an advert on a website asking for work abroad.

Transportation

For victims from EEA countries travel was arranged by offenders and was generally overland by car or minibus, often in groups, entering through a port (often Dover). Victims were usually driven to their place of work by the offenders.

Exploitation

Victims worked in low-skilled jobs on temporary contracts in the following areas: food production, recycling, cleaning, gardening, packing, factory work, agricultural work, car washes and nail bars. These jobs were found through legitimate recruitment agencies and tended to be in urban areas. The offenders usually had control of the victims' bank accounts and took all or most of their wages. The control of bank accounts often overlapped with benefit fraud. In some cases the offenders used violence as another means of control.

Case study

Three Romanian nationals, two males and one female, trafficked 22 male Romanian nationals into Northern Ireland for labour exploitation between May and August 2014. The female offender was the partner of the male primary offender, and sister of the other offender. Economically vulnerable victims were recruited in a rural area in Romania, and were promised 400 Euros per week, to work eight hours a day in County Armagh, with food and accommodation provided.

Upon arrival all victims had their passports taken, were required to sign a waiver to the EU working time directive, and sign transfer forms for their wages to be transferred into the primary offender's bank account. Fifteen of the victims were housed in a single 3-bedroom property in Portadown, sharing a single toilet and shower. They slept on mattresses on the floor. The male primary offender provided minimal food (such as a salami and two loaves between 15 people), and told the victims to eat stones if they were still hungry. He controlled them primarily through threats of violence and debt bondage.

The primary offender acted as an unlicensed gangmaster, booking agricultural work for the victims at legitimate recruitment agencies for minimum wage, but then forcing them to work for over 12 hours a day for multiple agricultural businesses. These businesses were not aware of any exploitation having taken place. One victim worked for 68 hours a week, and another worked for 18 days in a row. The primary offender made an estimated £1,000 a week in this way. The other male offender lived with the victims and assisted in monitoring and controlling them. As a result, he was allowed to keep his entire wage.

The exploitation was identified when four victims reported it at Portadown police station, and identified the primary offender. The primary male offender was convicted of trafficking people into the UK and conspiracy to traffick people within the UK, and was sentenced to 2.5 years in prison. The other was convicted of conspiracy to traffick people within the UK, and received a conditional discharge for time already served. The female offender was given a suspended sentence of 2 years for acquiring and converting criminal property in the form of the victims' wages.

Case study

Two Polish brothers living in Nottingham trafficked 18 men from Poland to work in a Sports Direct warehouse in Derbyshire, between 2015 and 2016. The brothers employed 'spotters' in Poland to identify vulnerable men and approach them with an offer of work and accommodation in the UK. The men were given coach tickets to the UK.

Once in the UK the victims' passports were taken. They were forced to live in overcrowded and squalid conditions in a house in Nottingham. The offenders helped the victims to open bank accounts, and then seized their bank cards to control these accounts. The brothers used physical and verbal threats as a means of control. The victims were found work at the Sports Direct warehouse through an employment agency. The offenders took the majority of the victims' £265 weekly wage, leaving each victim with just £90 a week. The offenders reportedly made £35,000 across the exploitation period.

The case came to light when one of the victims reported his exploitation to the employment agency, which informed the police. This led to a raid on the house where he was living with at least nine other men. Both offenders pleaded guilty to human trafficking offences, and were sentenced to six years each.





Victims live with and are exploited by their partners for domestic servitude. If married, this may have been arranged or forced. This type of exploitation is often also associated with abuse and sexual exploitation by offenders. There is necessarily only one victim per offender, although victims may also perform household chores for the relatives of their partners. Offenders control victims through physical and sexual violence, and emotional manipulation. Victims may be confined to the house.

There were very few case files of this type of exploitation in the database.

Victims

All victims were Indian or Pakistani adult females.

Children

There were no child examples of this type.

Offenders

The offenders were all adult males, from India, Pakistan or the UK. In some cases the victims were also exploited by members of her spouse's family.

Recruitment

Victims were recruited into the marriage in both the UK and their country of origin, either in person or by call or text. The victims were deceived about the nature of their relationship with the offenders, not understanding that they would be exploited in the marriage.

Transportation

Where recruitment was not in the UK, the victims travelled to the UK by plane. They either arranged this travel themselves, or it was arranged through the recruiters. All victims used legal visas to enter the UK.

Exploitation

The victims were forced to undertake household chores for their spouse, and in some case their spouse's families. They sometimes also experienced sexual exploitation. The exploitation often lasted for several years. The victims were not paid for their work. They lived with their spouse in the family home. Methods of control used were physical and sexual violence, surveillance and restriction of movement, and emotional control. In one case there were several incidents of exploitation as the victim's brother forced her to marry twice; she was exploited by both husbands. In another case the victim was forced by her husband to have sex with men for money.

Case study

A British Pakistani man kept his Pakistani wife in domestic servitude for two years. The victim was well-educated and from a relatively affluent family. The arranged marriage took place in Pakistan. When the victim arrived in the UK in 2012 her husband reportedly told her that her only purpose was to look after him and his mother, who had ill health.

The victim cooked, cleaned and did household chores for her husband and mother-in-law. She often worked 19 hour days and was unpaid, only being given £10 a month to top up her mobile phone. Her husband controlled her through a combination of fear, mental abuse and repeated physical violence. She was not allowed to leave the house unaccompanied or to make friends.

In February 2014, the offender was taken into police custody after he was spotted pulling the victim back into the house by her hair. She was found to have a black eye and a broken nose, requiring surgery. The victim then signed a document asking for the offender's release, stating that she was not acting under pressure. The exploitation continued for 18 months, until the victim attempted suicide by taking an overdose of painkillers. She was taken to her brother-in-law's house for safe-keeping, and there notified the police of her exploitation by calling 999. This led to an 18-month investigation, which culminated in the offender being sentenced to two years.





Victims live with and are exploited by family members, usually the extended family. They undertake domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning and childcare. They may experience other opportunistic forms of exploitation. A substantial proportion of victims are children.

In some cultures the terms 'auntie' and 'uncle' are used for people who are not related, and so it was not always clear from the case files if the person the victim is referring to is actually related to them. There were only a few case files for this type of exploitation in the database.

Victims

The victims were a mix of adults and children, and of males and females. There was a range of nationalities including Hungarian, Nigerian, Pakistani and Slovakian.

Children

There were some child examples of this type. In most cases the children were prevented from attending school.

Offenders

The offenders were a mix of adult men and women from Hungary, Nigeria and Pakistan. Most cases had multiple offenders, all of whom were related to the victims.

Recruitment

Recruitment was most commonly in the country of origin of the victims. In some cases the victims were not aware that they would be forced to undertake household chores. In one case the victim was coerced by her husband to live with and undertake chores for his extended family.

Transportation

There was no robust information on how victims entered the country. Where known, transport was arranged by the recruiter and used overt methods.

Exploitation

Victims were forced to undertake household chores for their relatives, which included aunts and uncles, half-siblings, parents and in-laws. They lived with their relatives, but often did not have their own bedroom and were sometimes confined to the house. Victims were controlled through violence and threats of violence, as well as emotionally through their family link to the offenders. One victim was very young, and rather than seeing himself as being exploited

thought that it was his responsibility to care for his baby half-brother. Some adult victims were prevented from accessing healthcare services. Some victims experienced other forms of exploitation including forced labour and financial exploitation.



Victims live with offenders and are forced to undertake household chores. There is generally one victim per household. Some victims are specifically trafficked for work in diplomatic households. The domestic servitude is sometimes combined with other types of exploitation such as rape, forced prostitution, and benefit fraud. Victims are mostly confined to the house. They are sometimes left unsupervised, but offenders use psychological coercion and threats to maintain control in these cases.

Victims

Most victims were female and were from many nationalities, including eastern European (Bulgarian, Polish, Romanian), western European (British, Spanish), African (Beninese, Nigerian, Tanzanian, Ugandan), East and South East Asian (Burmese, Chinese, Vietnamese), and South Asian (Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani). Many could speak at least some English.

Children

In a third of the case files the victims were children. The vast majority were from non-EEA countries such as Benin, Nigeria, Pakistan and Vietnam. One was from Romania.

Offenders

The offenders were adults, both male and female, often of the same nationality as the victim. The exploiters were often a couple who either recruited victims themselves, or were introduced to them through a friend

or acquaintance. In some cases an 'agent' was used to accompany the victims during transport to the UK. The victims were often recruited by someone they knew, and were then exploited by either someone they knew or a stranger.

Recruitment

Victims were most commonly recruited in their country of origin. They often knew that they were going to be undertaking domestic chores, but were deceived about their wages or working conditions. Recruitment tended to be informal (through personal contacts) but a few victims were recruited via an agency.

Transportation

For victims who were not in the UK, travel to the UK was most commonly arranged by the recruiter. The method and means of entry varied depending on nationality. Victims from non-EEA countries were more likely to enter the country on a legal visa than by illegal methods.

Exploitation

Victims undertook domestic chores and childcare in the private homes of offenders. They lived in this home but often in poor conditions, such as having no private space. This exploitation could last from a few weeks to a number of years. The offenders used a mixture of surveillance, restriction of movement and violence or threats to maintain control. Most victims were not paid; some were sporadically given small amounts of money. There were a couple of cases of Vietnamese nationals who experienced domestic servitude on cannabis farms, but were not involved in growing the plants. The victims most commonly escaped by running away from the situation of exploitation.

Case study

A Tanzanian woman scientist living in London trafficked a 21-year-old woman from Tanzania to work as a slave in her home in February 2010. The offender offered the victim 250,000 Tanzanian shillings (~£120 at the time) a month to work as her housekeeper. The offender's family paid for the victim's visa and arranged her flights from Tanzania to the UK.

Once in the UK, the victim was taken to the offender's two-bedroom flat. The offender and her three children all lived in one room and the second bedroom was rented out. The victim was made to share a bed with the offender's 12-year-old son. The victim was forced to work for up to 19 hours a day cooking and cleaning, as well as looking after the three children. She was never paid for her work, but was given £20 on one occasion by the lodger. Her passport was taken from her and she was banned from contacting family or friends. She was regularly verbally, physically and psychologically abused. This exploitation lasted seven months.

The victim was encouraged by a friend to report her exploitation to the police, leading to the offender's arrest. The offender was sentenced to 6 months and ordered to pay £3,000 in compensation to the victim.



Particularly vulnerable child victims of either gender are targeted for grooming, building friendships or relationships with a group of offenders. Offenders sexually exploit the children for personal gratification and sometimes force them into sex work in fixed or changing locations, which will include characteristics of types 9 and 10 (see below). Victims may already be known to the authorities for other reasons, such as by being in contact with social services. There are multiple offenders and multiple victims per group, with each victim potentially experiencing multiple incidents of exploitation. In some cases existing victims are used to recruit new victims.

Victims

Almost all victims in the case files examined were females and British. There was one male British victim and one male Chinese victim, and female victims from the Czech Republic, Nigeria and Vietnam. Most victims were aged 13 or older; the youngest victim was 3. A large proportion of the victims had an unstable home life, and some had mental or physical health issues or alcohol and drug use.

Offenders

The offenders were all adults. Where known, almost all were UK nationals, but others were from China, India, Nigeria, Somalia, Slovakia and Vietnam. Some were related to each other. They were almost all male, although in a couple of cases female offenders recruited and transported victims. They may or may not have been of the same ethnicity as the victim. Some offender groups had multiple

known victims. The relationships between victims and offenders ranged from being complete strangers to believing that they were in a relationship with at least one of the offenders. The number of offenders involved was sometimes unclear, but ranged from two or three to much larger groups.

Recruitment

Recruitment was most commonly in person, sometimes on the street, although in one case social media was used. Victims were often groomed and may have been supplied with alcohol, drugs, fast food or small gifts. In other cases victims had a pre-existing relationship or friendship with the offenders, and were introduced to their associates.

Transportation

In most cases the victims were already in the UK, and were either exploited locally or transported around the UK in a wide area, usually not with other victims. Victims were primarily transported in cars by the offenders to the site(s) of exploitation. These may have been the offender's own car, another private car or a taxi. The victims were often returned to where they were picked up after the exploitation had occurred.

Exploitation

The frequency of exploitation varied from single events to prolonged periods of exploitation lasting several years. The victims most commonly lived with their family, or were in local authority or foster care. A few victims lived in accommodation owned or rented by the offenders. The most common means of control were physical and sexual violence, emotional control, use of substances (either as sedatives or gifts) and blackmail (using pictures or videos of previous exploitation). The exploitation took place in different locations including in cars/car parks, outdoors, at the homes of offenders or in hotels.

Some victims distrusted the authorities and some did not see themselves as victims. In several cases victims were advertised for sex work to other offenders, in one case online. Some cases also included elements of gang-related criminality, where the victims couriered drugs for a gang linked to at least one of the offenders. This type of exploitation was sometimes discovered through police or multi-agency investigations.

Case study

A group of five men from Coventry, aged between 19 and 24, were found guilty of trafficking and sexual offences against two teenage girls. The offenders recruited their victims through social media, contacting and grooming them over a period of several months. They arranged to meet the girls with the promise of gifts and shopping trips. The victims were picked up in taxis and taken to parties or car parks. The offenders gave them drugs and alcohol and sexually abused them. On one occasion, one of the victims discovered that the offender had filmed her being sexually assaulted while unconscious. The victims were threatened and subjected to violence if they refused or reported this abuse to the police.

The Horizon Team, a multi-agency team set up to disrupt and tackle child sexual exploitation in Coventry, played a key role in securing the convictions. The offender group first came to the attention of police when one member was flagged by a mutual friend on Facebook with several vulnerable girls in Coventry. This offender's phone contained a number of incriminating text messages and videos depicting the exploitation. Text messages between members of the gang across multiple social media platforms were used in the trial to demonstrate intent. Further investigations into the offenders' network are ongoing, using the text messages to identify other potential victims.

The group of men were sentenced to a total of 42 years for human trafficking, sexual assault and rape.



Victims are boys or girls. They may already have a relationship with the offender, or may be groomed either in person or online. Victims travel or are transported to the site of exploitation (often relatively close to their home) where the offender exploits them for personal gratification. Victims are sometimes from a relatively stable family background; some are in local authority care. This type of exploitation is sometimes enabled through mobile phone and internet use to communicate with victims, to transfer tickets for travel, and to recruit victims including through online gaming.

Victims

Most victims were females although there were a couple of male victims in the case files. The vast majority were from the UK, other nationalities included Albanian, Congolese, Czech and Spanish. Most victims were older than 13 although some were younger. Some victims had mental health vulnerabilities or an unstable home life.

Offenders

There was only one exploiter in each case, although in a couple of cases a female family member of the victim was involved in recruitment. The offenders were adults and most were UK residents. The victims were likely to have a high degree of trust in the offender prior to the offence, and may have believed that they were in a relationship with them. Some offenders had multiple victims.

Recruitment

Recruitment was either in person or online via social media. In some cases the victims were groomed, in others they had a pre-existing relationship with the offender.

Transportation

Most victims were either UK residents or were not in contact with the offender prior to their arrival in the UK. Victims were primarily transported in cars by the offenders to the site(s) of exploitation. Sometimes this was in the offender's own car, another car or a taxi. In other cases victims travelled to the site of exploitation themselves.

Exploitation

The frequency of exploitation varied from a single event to a prolonged period of exploitation. The victims most commonly lived with family or friends, or were in local authority care. The most common means of control were physical and sexual violence, emotional control, offers of gifts and blackmail. The exploitation took place in different sorts of locations including outdoors, in cars, at the offender's house, or in hotels. One victim used the internet to advertise himself as an escort to clients both inside and outside the UK. This type of exploitation was often discovered though a proactive police or multi-agency investigation. As for type 10 (see below) some victims struggled to see themselves as victims.

Case study

A man from London arranged for a 14-year-old girl to be transported from Lincolnshire to London before engaging in sexual activity with her. The offender sent a taxi to a Lincolnshire children's home to pick up the victim and her 15-year-old friend. They were taken to a hotel in East London where both girls were given alcohol. The offender sexually abused the younger girl.

The offender took both girls in a taxi, ostensibly to travel to his home. He disappeared after they exited the taxi, leaving them in London in an unknown area at night. The victims sought help, leading to a police investigation that resulted in the arrest of the offender. The police investigation found that the offender had met the younger victim in London two months earlier and had sexually abused her then.

The offender was sentenced to 12 years. He was also put on the sex offender's register and given an indefinite sexual harm prevention order.



Adult victims are deceived into travelling to the UK, either by being offered work (including sex work) or by believing that they are in a relationship with offenders. On arrival in the UK victims are forced into sex work. This can be in an established venue used solely for the purposes of sex work, a room in legitimate business premises (for example, a massage parlour or nail bar) or in a private residence. Victims are often advertised online. Offending is often highly organised, and can be linked to organised crime groups.

Victims

The victims were all adult females. They were of a range of nationalities, most commonly eastern European (Albanian, Czech, Hungarian, Romanian, Ukrainian), East Asian (Chinese, Thai and Vietnamese), and African (Angolan, Cameroonian, Gambian, Malawian, Nigerian).

Offenders

The offenders were adults, both males and females. Where their nationality was known they were often from the same region as the victim, if not the same country. These included eastern Europe (Albania, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia and Ukraine), East Asia (China, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam), Africa (Malawi and Nigeria), India and western Europe (Italy, UK). There were a few examples of offender groups of mixed nationalities.

The offenders were most commonly strangers to the victims. Most cases had multiple offenders who often knew or were related to each other, each taking on different roles (such as transportation or taking pictures for advertising). A minority of cases had a single offender being involved in all stages of the exploitation.

Recruitment

Recruitment was most commonly in person in the victim's country of origin. The victims were most frequently deceived about the type of work, although some knew that they were going to be sex workers but were deceived about their earnings or working conditions. Victims were sometimes recruited online, either via an advert or less commonly through social media. There was anecdotal evidence of some victims of this type going on to recruit other victims.

Transportation

Travel to the UK was most commonly a flight arranged by the recruiter. Fraudulent documents were often used when the victim was from a non-EEA country.

Exploitation

Victims worked as sex workers in a fixed location. These locations were established 'brothels', private residences, massage parlours or nail bars. They often resided on site. Victims were frequently advertised online through specialised sex work websites. Common means of control were debt bondage. surveillance and violence and/or threats of violence. The exploitation had a duration of months to years. Some victims were told that they had 'debts' often for tens of thousands of pounds. Some victims were given half their earnings, but others were given much less or nothing. Some offenders made large amounts of money from the exploitation – one made £400,000 a year from multiple victims, although others made much less.

Case study

Two Romanian nationals, one male and one female, trafficked 13 female victims between Romania, Sweden and Northern Ireland for sex work in fixed brothels between 2011 and 2013. Victims were moved both from their country of origin to Belfast, and from Belfast to Stockholm. The male offender booked accommodation for the victims, advertised their services online, arranged contact between victims and their exploiters, and collected the proceeds.

The victims were forced into sex work in brothels in Dublin, Belfast and Sweden. One victim reported that she was offered lucrative webcam sex work in Ireland. Upon arrival in Ireland, she was instead forced into sex work in a Dublin brothel, and was eventually moved to brothels in Belfast and then Sweden, along with several other victims at the same time. Some victims were forced into sex with up to 20 men a day.

In 2013 the Police Service of Northern Ireland collaborated with Swedish law enforcement in a Joint Investigation Team facilitated through Europol and Eurojust, for a two year investigation into this network of brothels. A number of victims were identified and recovered in raids in UK and Sweden, including two in Belfast. Phones, documents and computers belonging to the offenders were seized. The offenders were arrested and initially prosecuted in Sweden, and were sentenced to 4 years in prison. In 2016 they were extradited to Northern Ireland and also found guilty of Human Trafficking there as well, and were sentenced to 2 years in prison.

Case study

A Czech man and his Romanian girlfriend trafficked two women aged 25 and 26 from the Czech Republic for sex work in a private residence in Cardiff. The victims were recruited online via a job advert for an escort service targeting eastern European women. The male offender arranged for them to fly to the UK and paid for their tickets. They were taken to various addresses in South East England for sex work, and then to a two-bedroom flat in Cardiff. The offender took photographs and created listings to advertise them online. The victims saw four clients a day, seven days a week.

The victims were promised earnings of £130 an hour, but the offender said that they owed him money for 'expenses' and began making large deductions. The women were not content with the amount of money they were receiving. They were also concerned because the offender was editing their profiles to include the provision of services that they did not want to offer. They contacted a charity, which referred the case to the police.

The male offender was sentenced to 2 years 7 months and his girlfriend to 15 months. The two victims left the UK and returned to their families in the Czech Republic.



Adult victims are forced into sex work where the location of sexual exploitation frequently changes. These include street prostitution, outcall visits to clients' residences or hotels, and clients visiting victims in a location that regularly changes ('pop-up' brothels in short-term rented properties). Victims are often advertised online. This type can include cases of the 'boyfriend model', where victims are forced into sex work by their partners. The frequent movement of victims from one location to another presents challenges for the police to build up intelligence.

Victims

All victims were female adults. They were from a mixture of EEA and non-EEA countries including Hungary, Lithuania, Nigeria, Romania, Slovakia, Uganda, the UK and Vietnam.

Offenders

The offenders were all adults and were a mix of males and females. Female offenders often acted as recruiters. The offenders were often from the same region as the victim, although there were a few examples of offender groups of mixed nationalities. This type most commonly had small groups of offenders who were related to each other or friends/acquaintances. The victims tended to know their recruiter but not their exploiter.

Recruitment

Recruitment was most commonly in person in the victim's country of origin, although there was one example of social media being used. Some victims were sex workers in their country of origin. Victims were approached with an offer of better or safer work in the UK.

Transportation

Transportation to the UK was arranged by the recruiter. There was no obvious common method of transportation.

Exploitation

Victims were forced into sex work in flexible locations, which included hotels, nightclubs, clients' properties, vehicles, on street, and in short-term rented accommodation. They were often advertised online. Sometimes victims were kept in confinement; in other cases the offenders used threats and fear as methods of control. Victims either lived with offenders or in accommodation owned or rented by offenders. Victims were sometimes kept in debt bondage. In a few cases victims were subject to other forms of exploitation such as domestic servitude, criminal exploitation or sham marriage, or they were also raped by offenders.

Case study

Two Scottish nationals, one male and one female, trafficked 14 adult men and women for sex work between January 2009 and September 2010. Most victims were female and many were UK nationals, and had existing vulnerabilities that included financial difficulties. The female offender also worked as a sex worker.

The victims were trafficked internally within the UK, and were regularly rotated between rented flats across the UK. The offenders paid for the transport of the victims between Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Belfast, Cardiff and Newcastle. Where victims were in the UK illegally, they would either travel by train, or take the ferry to Belfast. The offenders used pre-paid credit cards to enable this, so that the victims would not carry any money with them when travelling.

Two or three victims would work in each flat, and offenders took around a third of their earnings, reportedly earning at least £20,000 per week. The female offender paid the male offender his cut of her own earnings from sex work. The vulnerable victims were primarily controlled through the threat of violence.

In 2010, the legacy force Strathclyde Police and the Police Service of Northern Ireland collaborated on the police investigation after brothel activity was discovered at a site in Glasgow. They identified 23 witnesses, and both offenders were convicted for Trafficking for Prostitution at Edinburgh Sherriff Court in September 2011. The male offender was sentenced to 3 years and 8 months in prison, the female offender to 1 year and 6 months.

Case study

Three offenders (a man, his girlfriend, and another man) forced three women from the Czech Republic into sex work in Bristol. Two of the victims were trafficked from the Czech Republic, one was trafficked within the UK.

One of the male offenders acted as a recruiter, identifying women in the Czech Republic and promising them a better life through legitimate work in the UK. The third victim was trafficked from Gloucester to Bristol after she was offered work as a cleaner. The women were vulnerable as they could not speak English, had no money and no relatives in the UK.

The female offender took pictures of the victims for their internet profiles and arranged bookings for them. The other male offender drove the victims to their appointments and acted as security. The victims were advertised online and were told to work on the streets if they had not earned enough money. The women were threatened with violence if they did not comply. The offenders took most of their earnings. One offender allowed his friends to exploit one of the victims for sex. There was an attempt to force one woman into a sham marriage when she refused to continue as a sex worker. However, the marriage did not go ahead because of concerns raised by the registrar.

The exploitation came to light after a proactive police investigation. Two of the offenders were arrested in the UK. The National Crime Agency and the Crown Prosecution Service worked in partnership with the Czech authorities to arrest the third offender in the Czech Republic. This offender had a substantial criminal record in the Czech Republic.

The offenders were convicted of human trafficking offences. One male offender was sentenced to 8.5 years, his girlfriend to 7.5 years and the third offender to 9.5 years.



Adult victims are transported or deceived to travel to residential sites controlled by offenders where they are sexually exploited by offenders for their own gratification. There may be a single incident of exploitation, or offenders may keep victims confined on site for a period of time. Offenders have control over victims and may also use physical violence.

Victims

The victims were females and often young adults. The majority were from non-EEA countries such as Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. However, there were also victims from Latvia.

Offenders

The offenders were all adults, and were usually males and older than the victims. Unlike many other types, the offenders were not usually of the same nationality as the victims. Nationalities included British, Ghanaian, Indian and Latvian. There was usually only one victim per offence. In some cases there was only one offender carrying out all stages of the offence (recruitment, transportation and exploitation). The offenders were almost always strangers to the victim.

Recruitment

Recruitment was either in the UK or in the victim's country of origin. It tended to be in person, although a couple of victims were recruited online through a website. The offenders used a variety of reasons to deceive the victims into travelling to meet them, including promising work, accommodation or as part of a relationship. In most cases the recruitment was opportunistic.

Transportation

Where the victim had to travel to the UK, this was arranged by the offenders. The offender either met the victim and drove them to the site of exploitation, or arranged for the victim to visit them.

Exploitation

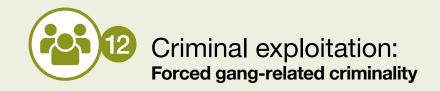
The victims were exploited by the offenders for their own personal gratification. The exploitation took place in the offender's private residence or in a location controlled by them, such as a rented flat or hotel room. The offenders controlled the victims through a combination of violence and restriction of movement. They either confined the victim in the property for an extended duration (weeks or months) or let them go after a single incident.

Case study

A British man used a fake website to deceive women into visiting his flat, who he then sexually exploited. The offender set up the scam website offering scholarships to female students to pay £15,000 for their education costs, in exchange for 4 meetings a year with fictitious 'sponsors'. Up to 40 women contacted this site. He also assumed the identity of a London School of Economics academic whom he resembled, and set up two additional sites giving positive reviews to the scam site.

The victim, an 18-year-old Kenyan woman resident in the UK, responded to an advert that she found through a Google search when looking for ways to fund her studies. She travelled to the offender's rented flat in Milton Keynes to attend an interview for the fake scholarship. The offender then told her she would need to have sex with him as part of the interview. He filmed her without her knowledge. Afterwards, when she had heard nothing, the victim contacted the offender. He told her she had been unsuccessful in her application and refunded her £60 travel costs.

The police were alerted to the case following investigative journalism into the original scam site. The offender was sentenced to 16 months for trafficking and sexual offences.





Victims are forced to take part in gang-related criminality, most commonly relating to drugs but also including knives and firearms. This involves what is known as 'county lines', which is the police term for urban gangs supplying drugs to suburban areas and market and coastal towns using dedicated mobile phone lines or "deal lines". Gangs force victims who are often children and vulnerable young people to move drugs and money to and from the urban area. Victims generally do not live with offenders and are often missing from their home area. Victims are often groomed, meaning that offenders have a high degree of emotional control over them. Other forms of control used are violence and/or threats of violence. Victims may also be forced into child sexual exploitation.

Victims

The victims were predominantly children, although there were also some vulnerable adults. There was a mixture of male and female victims. Almost all victims were from the UK and there were some from EEA countries such as Ireland, Lithuania and Poland. Two were from Pakistan. Many of the victims had vulnerabilities such as mental health issues or learning difficulties.

Offenders

The offenders were usually adult males. Where nationality was known, this was often the same as the victim. There were multiple offenders involved in most cases although often the exact number was unclear. Offenders tended to have links to urban gangs. Offenders were most commonly known to the victim before the exploitation.

Recruitment

Recruitment was almost always in the UK. In most cases the victims were not coerced or deceived about the nature of the criminal activity, but their vulnerabilities were exploited by the offenders.

Transportation

Victims were most commonly transported between locations by car. Victims frequently travelled between urban areas and suburban areas or market and coastal towns.

Exploitation

Some victims were involved in organising drug deliveries for offenders, transporting drugs or dealers, or dealing drugs directly. Some victims were paid (in cash or with expensive gifts) and others were not. Victims lived in their own accommodation, lived with family or were in local authority care. They frequently went missing for periods of time. In several cases the victims were known to the authorities because they were in local authority care, on a child protection plan, or known to the police. Control methods used included violence, threats of violence, blackmail and emotional control. Victims were sometimes also sexually exploited. Victims were most commonly found by the authorities in the situation of their exploitation.





Victims are forced to work for offenders in illegal activities, the most common example is cannabis cultivation in urban private residences. Victims are unpaid, confined on-site, and are controlled with a mix of threats and restriction of movement. Organised crime groups are very likely to be involved in this type of exploitation, although victims will often have very little insight into the organisation itself, and may deny knowledge that they were doing something illegal. Victims are often discovered when arrested by the police at the site of their exploitation, and may not be recognised as victims.

Victims

The victims in the case files were almost all Vietnamese and a large majority were children. The only non-Vietnamese victim was a Lithuanian adult male. Most were males and they often spoke no or minimal English.

Children

The majority of victims were children.

Offenders

The offenders were all adults and most were males. Female offenders were sometimes involved as recruiters and exploiters. Where nationality was known, the offenders tended to be Vietnamese or Chinese, although there was one British male. The offenders were mostly strangers to the victims, although in some cases were previously known to them. Multiple

offenders were involved in most cases, and the offenders appeared to be organised.

Recruitment

Recruitment was most commonly in person in the country of origin of the victims. Some victims approached recruiters looking for work (one responded to an online advert). Others were approached by recruiters and offered work, but were deceived about the type of work. In some cases the victims' families approached an agent in the hope of giving their child a better life. Some victims were coerced by the offenders, by being kidnapped or abducted.

Transportation

Travel to the UK from Vietnam tended to be overland through multiple countries, including China and Russia. It involved a combination of methods, which included planes, ground vehicles and walking. Victims entered the UK clandestinely, often by hiding in a lorry. Travel was most commonly arranged by the recruiter and multiple victims were transported at a time. Some victims experienced labour exploitation en route to the UK.

Exploitation

Victims were confined to a private house or flat and were told to look after cannabis plants. They would either be alone or with one or two other victims. They were not paid for their work, and in some cases were told that they owed money to the offenders for their transport to the UK. Methods of control, where known, included violence and threats of violence, surveillance and restriction of movement, and distrust of the authorities. Some victims reported their grow house being robbed by members of another organised crime group while they were on-site.

Victims either escaped by running away, or were found by authorities in the situation of exploitation, and sometimes arrested. During their initial interview with the police, some arrested victims appeared to have been coached on what to say by an offender.





Victims are forced to carry out acquisitive crime such as shoplifting or pickpocketing for the offenders. They are usually provided with food and accommodation but are seldom paid. The exploitation may be exposed if victims are caught by the police. Victims may have been briefed by offenders on what to say and do upon arrest.

There were a small number of case files for this type in the database.

Victims

The victims were a mixture of adult men and female children. They were from Romania and Germany.

Children

There were two child victims of this type, both females, one German and one Romanian.

Offenders

The offenders were all adults and were a mix of males and females. They were all of the same nationality as their victims (Romanian and German). Some offenders were known to their victims. In most cases there was more than one offender.

Recruitment

Where known, victims were recruited in their country of origin by phone call or text. They were deceived about the type of work that they would be doing.

Transportation

Travel to the UK was either by plane or overland. Some victims were taken to several different locations around the UK.

Exploitation

Victims were forced to pickpocket or shoplift, generally stealing alcohol from supermarkets. They were not given any money for this, but were usually provided with food and accommodation. The exploitation tended to take place in urban areas. Victims either lived with the offenders or in accommodation controlled by the offenders. Several victims

experienced other forms of exploitation (labour or sexual exploitation). In all cases the exploitation was discovered when the victims were arrested by the police.





Victims are forced to beg on the streets to raise money, which is then taken by offenders. Victims are often children or vulnerable adults. They live with offenders, and are transported by them to locations where they beg, before being collected again. The offending is often not very organised, with only a few offenders involved.

There were only a few case files of this type.

Victims

The victims were mostly adults with mental and physical health vulnerabilities. They were British and Romanian.

Children

There was one child victim, the characteristics were similar to the adult cases.

Offenders

The offenders were all adults, both males and females. They were all of the same nationality as the victims (Romanian and British) and were known to the victims. In most cases there was only one known offender.

Recruitment

There was limited information about the method of recruitment.

Transportation

For victims from EEA countries, travel was by plane via a transit country. When in the UK, victims tended to be driven to an urban location to beg and were moved to different locations around the country.

Exploitation

Victims were forced to beg in urban areas for money, which was then taken by the offenders. The offenders also took some of the victims' benefits. In one case the victim was forced to beg every day and made £20 to £50 a day. The duration was typically a couple of years. Victims tended to live with offenders. Offenders took advantage of victims' existing vulnerabilities and reinforced control through violence. One victim was sold for an arranged marriage to the offender and was also subject to sexual exploitation. The victims were most commonly found begging by the police when the exploitation was discovered.

Case study

A 13-year-old Romanian girl was trafficked to the UK by an organised crime group to undertake forced begging. Her father paid the gang 200 euros for this. She was driven to Spain and then flown to the UK in December 2007, accompanied by one male offender. The victim used her own Romanian identity card to travel, but her flights were paid for by the offenders using a stolen USA credit card.

The victim was placed with a male and female offender in Slough, and was instructed to call them 'aunt' and 'uncle'. The victim was driven by one offender 40 miles to another town, 5 days a week, where she was made to sell old copies of the Big Issue (a charity magazine) outside the entrance to a Post Office for over 7 hours a day. She was beaten and searched at the end of each day, and was not allowed to keep any of the money she had made. The victim was poorly fed and clothed, and this was noticed by members of the public. She was also exploited for domestic servitude by the offenders, looking after their children.

The victim was identified by the police during a raid in January 2008, following a large-scale investigation by the police into the trafficking of Romanian nationals to the UK and other European countries by an organised crime group for the purposes of forced criminality. She was placed into social services, and then returned to her mother in Romania in December 2008. The victim gave evidence against her father and three other offenders, who were convicted for trafficking a child into the UK for forced criminal exploitation. The father was sentenced to four years, served two, and then returned to his family (including the victim) in Romania.



Victims are exploited for their status as EU citizens by being forced to marry the exploiters (who are non-EU citizens) to give them an immigration advantage. Offenders are traffickers and exploiters. Traffickers bring victims into the country, confine them at a site controlled by the traffickers for up to several weeks, and then sell victims and their documents to the exploiter in a one-off transaction. Victims are often sexually exploited by both traffickers and exploiters. Exploiters are likely to be aware that victims have been trafficked.

There were a relatively small number of case files on this type.

Victims

The victims were all adult females from the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia. Some of the victims had pre-existing mental or physical health vulnerabilities, and one had both alcohol and drug dependencies.

Offenders

The offenders were either exploiters or traffickers. Exploiters were all Indian or Pakistani males. The traffickers were a mixture of adult males and females, mostly of the same nationality as the victims. They were from Afghanistan, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia. In several cases they appeared to belong to an organised crime group. There were at least three offenders in every case – at least two traffickers (who were sometimes related to each other) and one exploiter. The

relationship between traffickers and exploiters was unknown in the cases examined. The offenders were mostly strangers to the victims.

Recruitment

Victims were all recruited in their country of origin, some in person and some by phone call or text. In almost all cases the victims were deceived about the reason they were being transported to the UK. In most cases they were promised work, although one victim did know that she was being asked to marry an Indian man, and another victim was kidnapped.

Transportation

Travel into the UK was overt and by land, using cars, coaches or trains. It was always organised by the offender who recruited the victim, where details on this were known. Information on how victims were transported within the UK was limited.

Exploitation

After being trafficked into the UK, victims had their personal documents taken from them and were confined in a flat or house controlled by the traffickers, waiting for a deal being made with the exploiters. In some cases the traffickers raped the victims. The victims were forced to marry the exploiters so that the exploiters could get EU citizenship. The case files hold limited information on the details of how the transaction was arranged, but victims and their identity documents were typically sold to exploiters for £3,000 to £4,500. The victims received no money for this transaction. The exploiters then raped and sometimes violently assaulted the victims during the sham marriage. Victims were primarily controlled through this repeated physical and sexual violence, as well as through being isolated. The total duration of exploitation was quite variable, ranging from a week to three months. In the majority of cases victims were discovered by the authorities in or outside the situation of exploitation, mostly through reactive police investigations.

Case study

A 22-year-old woman from Hungary was trafficked into the UK with the intention of selling her into a sham marriage. The woman was recruited via an online advert for a babysitting job in London, for which she was interviewed over the phone. She travelled by train to Budapest where she was met by three offenders. They drove her to Slovakia and then took her on a coach to London. The offenders told her that she could not use her mobile phone, and used threat and intimidation as means of control.

Over the course of three weeks she was held at several different addresses in Manchester and Chorley, being supervised at all times. The police visited one of these addresses on an unrelated matter, but the victim lacked the language to communicate her situation to them. She was then 'sold' to a Pakistani man for marriage for £3,500. Before the marriage took place the victim was able to call her mother, who told her how to alert the UK police and who also alerted the Hungarian police.

One of the offenders, a Slovakian man who organised the operation, was sentenced to four years and two months. A Pakistani man who acted as a 'go between' was sentenced to 20 months. A third offender, a Pakistani man who organised the 'sale' of the victim, was sentenced to three years following his arrest in Germany. The Pakistani man who was the client was not found by the police.

The victim returned to her family in Hungary. Two other women who were believed to be victims of this group were repatriated to Slovakia.



This type of exploitation includes a range of situations where victims' identities are used by the exploiter to commit financial fraud. The most common form is benefit fraud where victims' identity documents are taken and used to claim benefits. Other forms include victims being forced to open several different bank accounts or to engage in other forms of money laundering. Financial fraud often overlaps with other types. The children of victims are sometimes exploited to claim benefits.

Victims

The victims were adults, both males and females. They were more commonly from EEA countries (Hungary, Latvia, Romania and Slovakia). One victim from China was forced to engage in forms of money laundering.

Children

None of the victims were children, although in one case the victim's children were also exploited to claim benefits.

Offenders

The offenders were adults and were both males and females. They tended to be the same nationality as the victim (Chinese, Latvian, Romanian and Slovakian). In several cases there were multiple offenders operating as part of an organised crime group that was also involved in other forms of organised crime. However, there were also cases of a single offender who exploited one or two victims.

Recruitment

Recruitment methods and location varied. The victims were often deceived about the type of work, or the work offered did not materialise.

Transportation

Travel to the UK varied depending on the nationality of the victims and where they were recruited. Where victims were recruited abroad the transport was most commonly arranged by the recruiter.

Exploitation

Victims' identities were used fraudulently to claim benefits and/or to set up multiple bank accounts. This type of exploitation also included money laundering such as buying and selling casino chips, or buying mobile phones for resale. The victims were helped to register for a National Insurance number or a provisional driving licence to facilitate this. Victims were also likely to experience other forms of exploitation, including labour

exploitation where the offenders took control of their wages. The victims did not always live with the offenders. The most common methods of control were financial or threats of violence. This type of exploitation was not tied to particular places or labour market sectors.

4. Conclusions

The typology enhances our understanding of how modern slavery manifests in the UK and demonstrates the diversity of modern slavery offences. This research adds to the limited evidence base about modern slavery. The findings are presented to stimulate discussion, to shape future research into modern slavery and as a starting point to develop focused operational and policy responses.

Modern slavery is an umbrella term that brings together a wide variety of crimes, victims, offenders and locations. This means that modern slavery takes many forms and different tools and policies are required to pursue and prevent the different manifestations. The typology provides an overarching framework for categorising modern slavery offences in the UK in a systematic way. The variety of behaviours and levels of organisation across the dimensions demonstrate the diversity in ways of offending and the different experiences of victims of modern slavery. Although the complexity of the crime means that some cases cannot be neatly categorised and may overlap across multiple types, understanding the different ways that the exploitation plays out is crucial in putting together tailored strategies and interventions to tackle modern slavery.

Although the typology is based on UK data the approach and methodology allows the typology to be adapted for use in other countries. The typology is especially relevant to other destination countries for human trafficking. Some types of slavery will be everywhere, others may be specific to some countries. For example, while 'domestic servitude by relatives' will be found in most settings, the detailed profile for each type will look different outside of the UK. However, there may also be types of slavery that are only found in some countries, for example, child soldiers, which could be identified using data from these countries. The value of using a similar typology is that we could create detailed profiles of what modern slavery looks like in each country and compare across countries.

Next steps

This typology presents opportunities to guide the development of policy and research on modern slavery. During this research, our consultations with law enforcement, financial institutions and other practitioners highlighted opportunities to use the typology to enhance their response to tackling modern slavery.

The Home Office will take forward the following actions.

- Work with partners across the UK such as law enforcement, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and financial institutions to develop a toolkit for operational staff, based on the typology. The toolkit will help frontline professionals to identify and tackle different types of modern slavery, including identification of both victims and offenders. The toolkit will include detailed 'spot the signs' indicators and details of bespoke approaches and tactics to tackle each type.
- Promote the typology internationally through our partnerships with other countries and global multilateral organisations, to encourage the wider application of the typology and underpinning methodology. This will enable us to look at what each type of modern slavery looks like in different settings and compare across countries.

- Use the findings to inform work to be undertaken by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) to help FATF member states and banks use typologies and financial indicators associated with modern slavery to identify suspicious activity. This can help banks to support law enforcement in tackling modern slavery.
- Work with partners such as law enforcement and NGOs, including the modern slavery helpline, to identify data and intelligence that could be used to add further detail to the typology. This will enrich our understanding of each type. This will also improve our understanding of new and emerging types and the nature of modern slavery that does not come to the attention of the authorities. In particular, the Home Office will look to improve the understanding of child trafficking.
- Encourage local partnerships to apply the typology in their local areas, to assess the types of modern slavery that exist in their area.
- Consider building the typology into administrative data collections and/or analysis (such as the National Referral Mechanism) to improve our understanding of the scale of each type of modern slavery.
- Use the typology to inform targeted communications activity aimed at preventing modern slavery.

The typology has wide applicability and could be used by others in the following ways.

- In training frontline practitioners, to give a high-level overview of the forms that modern slavery takes in the UK.
- To inform strategic intelligence assessments undertaken at the national, regional and police force level, for example, by the recently formed Joint Slavery and Trafficking Analysis Centre (JSTAC).
- For researchers and academics, as a framework for further research and development. In particular, we would welcome further research on child trafficking and about types of modern slavery where there were limited data for this study.
- By communities to raise awareness amongst the public about the many different forms that modern slavery takes.

Annex 1 - Methodology

Data sources

Two data sources were used in this research, National Referral Mechanism (NRM) case files and information about convicted slavery and trafficking offences. There were no cases in common across the two datasets, given the time lag between victim identification and achieving a conviction through the criminal justice system.

National Referral Mechanism case files

The NRM is the UK's system for identifying and supporting victims of modern slavery. A specified list of 'First Responder' organisations, including statutory agencies and some non-governmental organisations (NGOs), can refer potential victims into the NRM if they suspect they have been a victim of modern slavery.

The first stage of the identification process is the 'reasonable grounds' decision, made on the basis of 'suspect but cannot prove' that someone has been a victim of modern slavery. This decision is made by one of two Competent Authorities:

- the Modern Slavery Human Trafficking Unit in the National Crime Agency; or
- UK Visas and Immigration.

Adult potential victims who receive a positive reasonable grounds decision can then access at least 45 days support for reflection and recovery. Child potential victims are supported by local authorities through their statutory safeguarding procedures.

The Competent Authority gathers more evidence and information about the case to make the 'conclusive grounds' decision. This has a higher threshold than the reasonable grounds decision, and means that on the evidence available it is 'more likely than not' that the potential victim is a victim of modern slavery.

NRM case files contain all the information brought together as part of the decision-making process. The information is collated by the Competent Authorities from the relevant agencies in each case. A case file always contains information given by the victim to the First Responder on referral. It can also include information from the police, local authorities, asylum teams, support providers and health professionals, depending on the circumstances of the case.

For the typology project, members of the team examined 250 NRM case files that had a positive conclusive grounds decision and where the exploitation had taken place in the UK. All victims had been referred to the NRM since 2015. The sample of case files was selected to cover a range of different nationalities and exploitation types (see Tables A1.1 – A1.7).

We extracted details from the case files about victims, offenders, recruitment, transportation, exploitation, and case outcome, to populate a database. All the information extracted was anonymised and did not contain any personal identifying information.

Convicted slavery and trafficking offences

We used open source research to identify offenders who had been convicted of modern slavery offences in the UK since 2004. This included offenders convicted under the current modern slavery and trafficking legislation in place across the UK (Table 1.1) and under previous slavery and trafficking legislation.²⁴

We examined a total of 78 convicted cases involving 176 convicted offenders. We brought together information about each of these offences from a range of sources including reports from the relevant police force and the Crown Prosecution Service, newspaper accounts, judges' sentencing remarks, and information from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Human Trafficking Case Law Database.²⁵

Limitations

Both data sources were created for reasons other than research and did not contain all the information we were looking to collect. This meant that there were missing data for some variables in each case.

- NRM case files generally contained information about the characteristics of victims and their exploitation, but less information about offenders. There was also very limited information about the criminal justice outcome for the case, as this usually occurred after the NRM decision was made.
- Case files for convicted offences contained information about victims, offenders and case outcomes. There was often information about the structure of the offender group and the amount of profit generated. However, there was generally limited information about how the victims were recruited or how they were transported.
- In both data sources there was more information about the exploitation stage than the recruitment or transportation stage of each offence.
- There was also limited information about the vulnerabilities of victims before they were exploited, and what happened to them after they had received a positive conclusive grounds decision through the NRM.

Using the two data sources with different types of information meant that we were able to compare information about each type across different cases and between data sources to fill in these 'gaps'.

²⁴ In England and Wales, prior to the introduction of the Modern Slavery Act 2015, modern slavery offences were covered by section 59A Sexual Offences Act 2003 (inserted by section 109 of the Protection of Freedoms Act 2012), section 4 Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants) Act 2004 and section 71 of the Coroners and Justice Act 2009.

In Scotland, prior to the introduction of the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Act 2015, human trafficking and exploitation offences were covered by section 22 of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003, section 4 and 5 of the Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc) Act 2004 and section 47 of the Criminal Justice and Licensing (Scotland) Act 2010.

In Northern Ireland, the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Criminal Justice and Support to Victims) Act (Northern Ireland) 2015, slavery and trafficking offences replaced the former offences of human trafficking (under sections 57 to 59 of the Sexual Offences Act 2003 and section 4 of the Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc) Act 2014) and of slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour (under section 71 of the Corners and Justice Act2009) which were repealed.

²⁵ https://www.unodc.org/cld/en/v3/htms/index.html

Analysis

We collated and coded information from each case file into a database in a standardised way using a coding framework (see Annex 2). To develop the coding framework, we looked at a sample of cases and brought together the information from these cases. We developed a list of variables and closed data input options where possible to ensure that data input into the database was consistent.

We coded a small sample of cases using the framework, noting and discussing adjustments, refinements or additions to the coding framework. A third independent researcher checked the coding framework to ensure consistency.

We systematically analysed the database to identify common groupings of cases that were similar across a range of variables. This process occurred alongside the coding. The types were periodically reviewed and revised by members of the team.

We initially developed a list of types based on victim nationality and the sectors they were exploited in. However, it became apparent that it was necessary to move beyond this framework, as the nationality of victims exploited in different sectors could change while the characteristics of the exploitation remained the same. We wanted to ensure that the typology would be applicable in the future. We therefore shifted towards a more conceptual framework, with types distinguished by the potential operational response to each.

The database

The database consisted of 328 cases, made up of 250 NRM case files and information from 78 convicted cases involving 176 convicted offenders. In the convicted cases some offenders were convicted of modern slavery offences whilst other linked offenders were convicted of other offences such as sexual offences; these have not been included in the tables, but were included in the database.

The following tables provide breakdowns of the characteristics of victims, offenders and offences in the 328 cases. Just over a third (38%) of cases involved child victims, in more than half of cases (60%) female victims and in under a half (45%) of cases victims were from non-European Economic Area (EEA) countries. All convicted offenders were adults and the majority (74%) were male, with half (50%) of convicted offenders from EEA countries and 11 per cent UK nationals, although the nationality of 19 per cent of convicted offenders was unknown. For all cases the highest proportion (40%) involved sexual exploitation; 62% of the convicted cases involved sexual exploitation. In the NRM files there was a more even split with 34% involving sexual exploitation, 30% labour and 22% criminal exploitation.

Table A1.1 Age of victims

	Convicted cases	NRM case files	Total	% of Total
Adult	56	147	203	62%
Child	20	103	123	38%
Both	2	0	2	<1%
Total	78	250	328	

Table A1.2 Gender of victims

	Convicted cases	NRM case files	Total	% of Total
Male	13	111	124	38%
Female	58	139	197	60%
Both	6	0	6	2%
Unknown	1	0	1	<1%
Total	78	250	328	

Table A1.3 Nationality of victims

	Convicted cases	NRM case files	Total	% of Total
UK	20	43	63	19%
EEA excluding UK	39	76	115	35%
Non-EEA	15	131	146	45%
Both EEA and non-EEA	1	0	1	<1%
Unknown	3	0	3	1%
Total	78	250	328	

Table A1.4 UK country of referral of victims

	Convicted cases	NRM case files	Total	
England	67	185	252	77%
Wales	2	1	3	1%
Scotland	4	9	13	4%
Northern Ireland	2	2	4	1%
Multiple	3	5	8	2%
Unknown	0	48	48	15%
Total	78	250	328	

Table A1.5 Gender of convicted offenders

	Number of convicted offenders	% of Total
Male	131	74%
Female	45	26%
Total	176	

Table A1.6 Nationality of convicted offenders

	Number of convicted offenders	% of Total
UK	20	11%
EEA excluding UK	88	50%
Non-EEA	35	20%
Unknown	33	19%
Total	176	

Table A1.7 Primary exploitation type

	Convicted cases	NRM case files	Total	% of Total
Sexual	48	84	132	40%
Labour	17	76	93	28%
Criminal	6	55	61	19%
Domestic Servitude	7	34	41	13%
Unknown	0	1	1	<1%
Total	78	250	328	

Typology

This table sets out the number of case files of each type that were examined as part of this research. It should not be taken as an indication of the prevalence of each type of modern slavery offence in the UK.

Table A1.8 Number of case files examined, by type of exploitation

	Convicted cases	NRM case files	Total	% of Total
Labour exploitation – victims exploited for multiple purposes in isolated environments	6	3	9	3%
Labour exploitation – victims work directly for offenders	4	44	48	15%
3. Labour exploitation – victims work for someone other than offenders	7	22	29	9%
4. Domestic servitude –exploited by partner	1	3	4	1%
5. Domestic servitude –exploited by relatives	0	5	5	2%
6. Domestic servitude – exploiters not related to victims	6	26	32	10%
7. Child sexual exploitation – group offending	11	30	41	13%
8. Child sexual exploitation – single exploiter	5	11	16	5%
9. Sexual exploitation – forced sex work in fixed location	21	21	42	13%
10. Sexual exploitation – forced sex work in changing location	9	12	21	6%
11. Sexual exploitation – trafficking for personal gratification	2	3	5	2%
12. Criminal exploitation – forced gang-related criminality	0	11	11	3%
13. Criminal exploitation – forced labour in illegal activities	0	26	26	8%
14. Criminal exploitation – forced acquisitive crime	0	4	4	1%
15. Criminal exploitation – forced begging	1	3	4	1%
16. Criminal exploitation – trafficking for forced sham marriage	5	3	8	2%
17. Criminal exploitation – financial fraud	0	5	5	2%
Multiple	0	8	8	2%
Not clear from case file*	0	10	10	3%
Total	78	250	328	

^{*} Cases where the exploitation type was known but there were limited details in the case file to classify in the typology. For example, cases of sexual exploitation where it was not clear where the exploitation took place.

Case studies

The case studies use information in the public domain on offenders convicted of modern slavery offences in the UK since 2004. This includes offenders convicted under existing and previous slavery and trafficking legislation. The cases were selected from the database created for the typology. The cases where there had been a conviction were identified from open source research for high quality and detailed newspaper articles and police press releases relating to the case. The details of cases were checked with the Crown Prosecution Service, Police Scotland and the Police Service of Northern Ireland.

The criteria for cases selected for case studies were:

- predominantly matching just one of the types;
- having a good level of detail on offenders, victims, recruitment process, exploitation and outcomes; and
- all content is publicly available.

It was not possible to identify case studies that matched these criteria for all 17 types for a number of reasons. For some types the offences may have been prosecuted under other legislation, for example, drug offences for type 13 or the offences may not have been recognised as modern slavery. In other cases, identifying and prosecuting offenders can be challenging, for example, cannabis cultivation. It can also take time for practitioners to make the best use of new legislation. It is expected that more case studies will be identified as more cases of modern slavery are successfully prosecuted.

Care has been taken not to include the names of victims or offenders in these case studies, and to excise the frequently emotive language used in the some of the original reports.

Annex 2 – Coding framework

The coding framework consists of a list of variables that are the pieces of information we extracted from each case file, for example, 'exploitation type'. For each variable there is also a list of closed data input options, for example, 'labour exploitation', 'sexual exploitation', 'criminal exploitation', 'domestic servitude' and 'unknown exploitation type'. The coding framework was used to input data from the case files into the database in a standardised way, as discussed in Annex 1.

Link to case file coding template for typology of modern slavery in the UK.

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