Contents

List of Tables xv

1 Introduction and current context 1
1.1 Conducting the research 3
1.1.1 Research questions and approach 3
1.1.2 Sampling 5
1.1.3 Accessing respondents 6
1.1.4 Interviews 9
1.1.5 Ethical considerations 11
1.1.6 Limitations and implications 12
1.2 Chapter outline 14

2 Defining slavery and conflict 17
2.1 Definition of slavery 17
2.1.1 The abolition of the transatlantic slave trade 17
2.1.2 Widening parameters in international understandings of slavery 19
2.1.3 Diversification of terminology: successes and limitations 22
2.1.4 Distinguishing between exploitation and modern slavery 26
Forced marriage 27
Armed forces and prisoners 28
Slavery perpetuated by a system 29
The importance of a distinction 32
2.1.5 Implications of definitions on accountability 34
2.1.6 The terminology of perpetrators and victims 37
2.2 Definition of conflict 38
2.2.1 Conflict or competition: the impact of regulation 39
2.2.2 International humanitarian law 39
2.2.3 Non-legal definitions of conflict 42
2.2.4 Conflict resolution in defining conflict 42
2.2.5 The motivations of conflict in generating its definition 43
2.2.6 Widening the remit of conflict 44
2.3 Conclusion 47

3 Current understandings of conflict and modern slavery 49
3.1 Victims of modern slavery in conflict 50
3.1.1 Methods of recruitment 51
3.1.2 Experiences of exploitation 53
3.1.3 Demobilisation and reintegration of child soldiers 53
3.1.4 Summary 55
3.2 Perpetrators of modern slavery in conflict 56
3.2.1 Generating demand for victims of modern slavery 57
3.2.2 Enforcement and convictions of perpetrators 60
3.2.3 Summary 62
3.3 Modern slavery in a post-conflict situation 63
3.3.1 The impact of political and economic transition 64
3.3.2 The role of corruption 65
3.3.3 Refugees and internally displaced persons at risk 66
3.3.4 The disproportionate effect on women 68
3.3.5 Demobilisation of armed forces 69
3.3.6 Summary 70
3.4 Modern slavery related to conflict beyond war 71
3.4.1 Disagreement and modern slavery 72
3.4.2 Arguments and modern slavery 73
3.4.3 Divorce and modern slavery 73
3.4.4 Support breakdown and modern slavery 74
3.4.5 Summary 75
3.5 Conclusion 75

4 Fleeing conflict to modern slavery 79
4.1 Victims of modern slavery in conflict 80
4.1.1 Chiku 81
4.1.2 Mahal 81
4.1.3 Louise 82
4.1.4 Summary 83
4.2 Victims of modern slavery in the UK 84
4.2.1 Beth 84
4.2.2 Andrea 86
4.2.3 Zoe 86
4.2.4 Tara 87
4.2.5 Padma 88
4.2.6 Hattie 88
4.2.7 Francine 92
4.2.8 Ifra 93
4.2.9 Summary 97

4.3 Victims of modern slavery in interim countries 97
4.3.1 Edan 98
4.3.2 Catherine 98
4.3.3 Summary 100
4.4 Conclusion 101

5 Fleeing conflict to safety 103
5.1 UK government intervention: stories of success 103
5.1.1 Resettlement programmes 104
5.1.2 The Border Force 114
5.1.3 Restricted repatriation 117
5.2 Searching for safety in the wake of failing systems 120
5.2.1 The support of strangers 120
5.2.2 Non-statutory support 125
5.3 Conclusion 133

6 Generating the conditions for risk 135
6.1 Intersectionality and structural dynamics 136
6.2 The restrictive policies of the UK government 141
6.2.1 The modern slavery response 141
Conflation of modern slavery and immigration crime 142
Focus on source countries 143
The National Referral Mechanism 145
Impact of decision-making 149
6.2.2 The asylum system 152
Lack of clarity 153
Environment of distrust 155
Psychological impact 158
Surviving the asylum system 163
6.2.3 Tied visas 168
6.3 Conclusion 169

7 From victim blaming to victim agency 173
7.1 Victim terminology 173
7.1.1 The removal of agency 174
7.1.2 Gendering of the 'ideal victim' 176
7.1.3 The impact of victim terminology on agency 179
7.1.4 The notion of rescue 183
7.2 The victim/agent binary 185
7.3 Macro- and micro-level impacts on agency 189
7.3.1 Structure and agency 195
7.4 Conclusion 201

8 Conclusion 203
8.1 Slavery triggered by conflict 204
8.1.1 Lack of choice 205
8.1.2 Lack of support 205
8.2 A scale of victimhood and agency 206
8.3 Risk generated by UK policy 206
8.4 The roles of structure and agency 208
8.5 Practical applications and further research 210

References 217
Index 239