

# A systematic literature review of modern slavery in supply chain management: State of the art, framework development and research opportunities



Vanja Strand <sup>a,\*</sup>, Maryam Lotfi <sup>a</sup>, Anthony Flynn <sup>a</sup>, Helen Walker <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Logistics and Operations Management Section, Cardiff Business School, Cardiff University, Aberconway Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff CF10 3EU, Cardiff, UK

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## ABSTRACT

Given increased awareness about modern slavery in supply chain management (SCM), this paper undertakes a systematic literature review (SLR) covering 106 published articles. We first carry out a descriptive analysis, with results showing that modern slavery research is on an upward trajectory but suffers from a lack of primary data and theory application. We then extract themes from the published articles and use them to provide theory elaboration of Gold et al. (2015) model of modern slavery in SCM. Specifically, we introduce business culture and high impact risk factors like pandemics as new institutional factors; highlight external stakeholders like recruitment agents and audit firms as integral to understanding the business context of modern slavery; and add prevention and remediation to detection and response as discrete categories in managing modern slavery risks. We also discuss the gaps in modern slavery research in supply chains. Finally, we propose that reshoring, industry 4.0 and supply chain collaboration represent SCM specialisms that can inform modern slavery research going forward.

## 1. Introduction

Modern slavery has received increasing attention in recent years, across a range of stakeholders such as businesses, non-government organisations (NGOs), policy makers, and academics (Gold et al., 2015; New, 2015). In practice, high profile modern slavery cases have heightened public awareness. Across social media, recent protests including those around the Qatar FIFA World Cup have highlighted social injustices, and modern slavery exemplifies global social injustice, as workers in supply chains from the global south are more likely to be subjected to it. There has been a raft of legislation in the last decade, with California being the first US State to introduce the 'Transparency in Supply Chains' Act (California, 2010), followed by the [UK Modern Slavery Act \(2015\)](#), [Australia Modern Slavery Act \(2018\)](#) and the EU has proposed sweeping new regulations to ban products made with forced labour, which are likely to be in force from 2025. The effectiveness of such legislation is however questioned, with recent studies indicating that the modern slavery equivalent of "greenwashing" is taking place, e.g., through the commodification of anti-slavery initiatives in marketisation (Gutiérrez-Huerter et al., 2021; McGrath et al., 2022; Richards, 2022; Pesterfieldc and Rogerson, 2023).

There has also been a spike in academic interest in modern slavery, with journal papers exploring modern slavery increasing year on year. Much of it has been driven by the recent availability of corporate statements on modern slavery in US, UK, and Australian contexts. Researchers have mined this source of secondary data to investigate what firms are doing to tackle modern slavery and why they are doing it (Birkey et al., 2018; Stevenson and Cole, 2018; Christ and Burritt, 2021; Flynn and Walker, 2021; Schaper and Pollach, 2021; Jones et al., 2022; Pinnington et al., 2023). Another significant development has been the Covid-19 pandemic. It exposed modern slavery risks in the supply chains of personal protective equipment (PPE), apparel and other manufactured products (Trautrimis et al., 2020b; Cole and Shirgholami, 2021; Hughes et al., 2023) and ensured that the issue stayed in the public spotlight. Attempts at reviewing existing research on modern slavery have already been made, both from accounting (Mehmood et al., 2022) and supply chain perspectives (Han et al., 2022; Ishaya et al., 2023) and these have yielded useful insights on progress to date. This SLR aims to provide a more comprehensive review of modern slavery in supply chains literature by searching a broader range of journals and updating and extending Gold et al.'s (2015) early framework with recent literature.

\* Corresponding author.

E-mail address: [strandv@cardiff.ac.uk](mailto:strandv@cardiff.ac.uk) (V. Strand).

In our exploration of the literature on modern slavery in supply chains, we address the following research questions:

1. What research currently exists on modern slavery in supply chains?
2. How has modern slavery in supply chains been approached by researchers, and how could Gold et al.'s (2015) model be updated?

This study makes three important and novel contributions to the SCM field. First, we extend recent reviews of modern slavery studies (Han et al., 2022; Mehmood et al., 2022) by using Scopus and Web of Science databases to explore research across the fields of law, human rights, business ethics, operations management, and SCM. By including a broader scope of journals from related fields, the result is a holistic view of modern slavery in a SCM context based on an in-depth analysis of 106 articles published since 2010. Second, we build on the conceptual model on modern slavery in supply chains provided by Gold et al. (2015). Much has happened in research on modern slavery since their model was developed, and so we use insights from our systematic review to refine it. Specifically, we introduce business culture and high impact risk factors like pandemics to the institutional context level; highlight external stakeholders like recruitment agents and audit firms as integral to understanding the business context of modern slavery; emphasise prevention and distinguish between response and remedy in the management of modern slavery. Third, based on our findings we identify three contemporary SCM research streams that can inform research on modern slavery, namely: (1) reshoring (2) industry 4.0 and (3) supply chain collaboration. We believe that these streams provide ways to integrate modern slavery research with overarching SCM trends.

The SLR is structured as follows. The next sections will describe the theoretical underpinnings and the methodology of the review. This will be followed by a quantitative content analysis of selected articles focused on modern slavery in supply chains, and then a qualitative thematic analysis of the same papers. Finally, conclusions are drawn by outlining gaps in the literature and suggesting avenues for future research in the SCM domain.

## 2. Theoretical underpinnings

Gold et al. (2015) drew attention to the challenges modern slavery poses to SCM and provided a framework (Fig. 1). Our aim in this paper is to conceptually update the framework suggested by Gold et al. (2015). This is worth doing since substantial new insights have been gained in the interim years. We aimed for theory elaboration (Fisher and Aguinis, 2017; Gehman et al., 2018), reviewing studies on modern slavery to elicit novel insights into the phenomenon, in order to reflect and elaborate on Gold et al.'s (2015) framework. Seuring et al. (2021) explain the importance of theory in SLRs. They find four approaches in which theory can be comprehended in conducting SLRs, and the theory modification approach best aligns with our study, which "takes a starting point in some existing constructs but in the abductive process modifies this in a major fashion, so that new meaning is obtained" (Seuring et al., 2021). In this emerging research area of modern slavery in SCM, we have an impression that the field is currently constituted by its gaps as much as by its achievements, so we aim to also identify the voids that have not received significant research attention to date, or are hard to address, and where to find promising research opportunities for the SCM community. In terms of theoretical contribution (Corley and Gioia, 2011; Fawcett et al., 2014), we aspire to go beyond explaining why the phenomena of modern slavery in supply chains happens, to developing arguments for how we could think about the phenomena and the interrelationships between its conceptual themes going forward. The aim is mid-range theorizing (Stank et al., 2017) or intermediate theorizing (Durach et al., 2021), which begins with knowledge that has accumulated about modern slavery in the specific SCM context. The themes presented in Gold et al.'s (2015) framework were taken as the starting point for coding and categorising the themes in our literature

review papers (see Appendix B).

## 3. Methods

### 3.1. Definition

Modern slavery has been variously defined. Traditional slavery was based on the transatlantic slave trade where slaves were legally owned by slaveholders. However, slavery was later abolished and determined illegal by most countries, hence the new forms of modern slavery do not proclaim that slaves are owned (Craig, 2017). The term modern slavery has increasingly circulated through media, civil society, policy, and legislation, but there is no commonly agreed upon definition. Modern slavery encompasses different elements of slavery in different definitions. Extreme labour exploitation is one of these elements, but it can also encompass other forms of slavery, such as human trafficking, sexual exploitation, child labour, organ harvesting, domestic servitude, debt-bondage, criminal exploitation and forced marriage (Cooper et al., 2017; Voss et al., 2019).

The SCM literature has largely focused on the definition provided by Gold et al. (2015), who defined modern slavery as:

"the exploitation of a person who is deprived of individual liberty anywhere along the supply chain from raw material extraction to the final customer for service provision or production" (p.5, Gold et al., 2015).

This definition has been adopted across a number of subsequent studies (Benstead et al., 2018; Stevenson and Cole, 2018; Rogerson et al., 2020; Caruana et al., 2021). In the SCM literature, modern slavery has been argued to include forced labour but exclude servitude and human trafficking, since they happen outside the supply chain. However, Van Buren et al. (2021) notes that the definition of human trafficking is all encompassing, since it "includes all links in the human supply chain", not excluding the recruitment of workers, as well as forced or coerced exploitation and exploitation through deception, abuse of power or vulnerability. Crane et al. (2021) noted that modern slavery usually manifests as forced labour, debt bondage and human trafficking in a business context.

In this study we adopt the definition of Gold et al. (2015), but as well as the product supply chain will also include the human or labour supply chain (rather than stopping at raw material extraction/product supply chain) to account for workers that are facing exploitation through recruitment (see example<sup>1</sup>). This is when people are recruited through an employment or recruitment agency, but then find they are charged additional fees over time and exploited. We also suggest that those who are exploited are deprived of their individual liberty, and by liberty we mean freedom from oppression. The definition we put forward of modern slavery in supply chains is as follows:

"the recruitment and subsequent exploitation of a person (or a person in chattel or debt bondage slavery), who is deprived of their individual liberty anywhere along the product, human or labour supply chain to the final customer for service provision or production".

### 3.2. Systematic literature review

We conducted a SLR, which is a method of collecting and analysing available literature in a systematic way (Govindan and Hasanagic, 2018). SLRs help researchers to determine the status of a specific field and reach clear conclusions (Denyer and Tranfield, 2009). We use a four-step process for conducting our SLR (Seuring and Müller, 2008; Seuring and Gold, 2012). The four steps are (1) material collection (2)

<sup>1</sup> Modern slavery victim speaks of exploitation by job agency - BBC News.

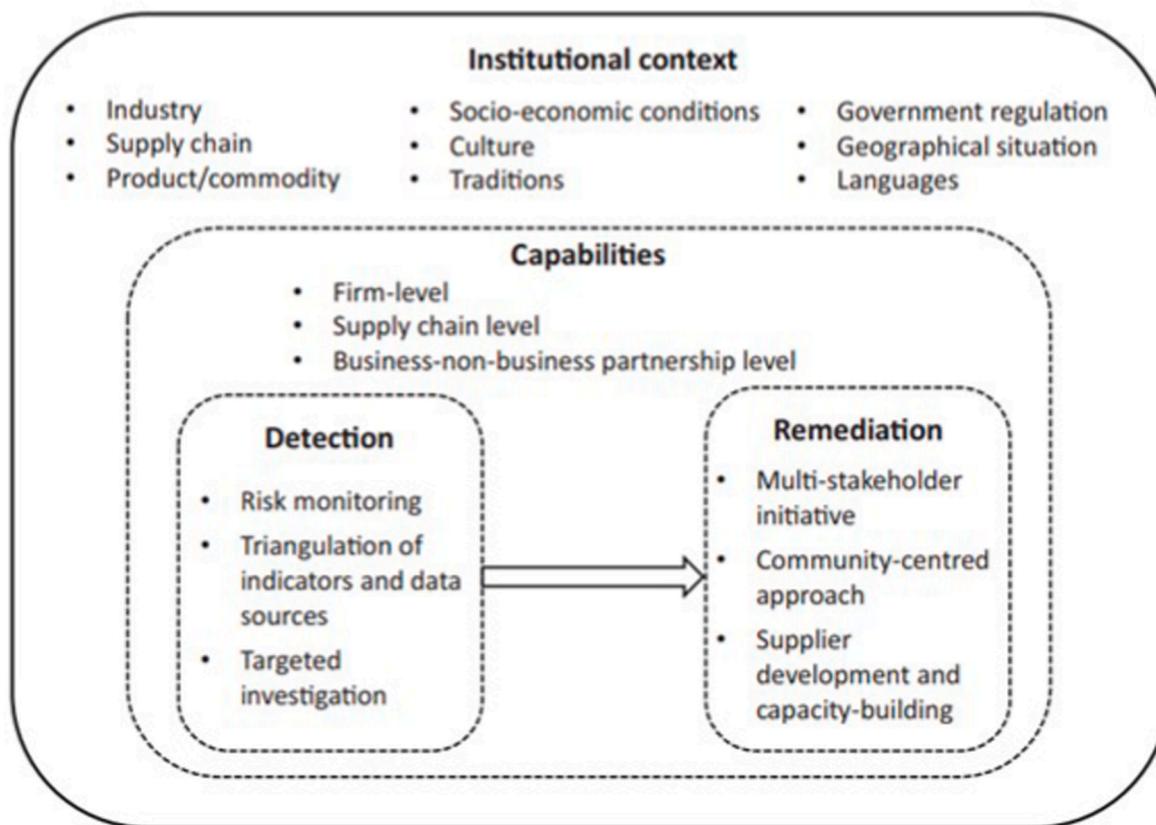


Fig. 1. Conceptualising the challenges of slavery to SCM (Gold et al., 2015).

descriptive analysis (3) category identification and (4) material evaluation. We describe each of these four steps below and present the results thereafter. We were also mindful of describing the search process as fully as possible, as recommended by the modified AMSTAR criteria (A Meaurement Tool to Assess systematic Reviews) (Carter and Washispack, 2018), which was developed to assess SLR quality. The SLR method has been widely used by researchers, including in the field of sustainability e.g., Koberg and Longoni (2019).

### 3.2.1. Material collection

In the first step the material to be analysed is delimited and the unit of analysis, namely ‘supply chains’, is defined (Koberg and Longoni, 2019). Our articles were delimited to those which were published in English-language journals and employing keywords that emerged during the scoping of the literature (see Table 1). Web of science was used to test the different keywords for their relevance. All potential keywords were used, and each keyword was left out in turn to determine if there was any change in results, along with employing AND/OR Boolean operators (see Table 1).

The included keywords for supply chain were “suppl\*”, “value chain” and “commodity chain”. “Value chain” is a similar term to supply chain, often used by economists and employment relations specialists interested in labour standards, power relations and the global economy e.g., Gereffi et al. (2005). Since it generated further articles in the inclusion/exclusion phase of keywords, it was decided to retain it. “Commodity chain” is a similar term to supply chain and value chain. It was first used by economists but has since been used in multidisciplinary global chains research e.g., Lee (2010). Since commodity chain generated two more articles than “suppl\*” and “value chain”, it was retained. “Supply chain”, “demand chain”, “procurement”, “product chain”, “production network”, “operation management”, “logistics network” and “supply network” made no difference to the results, and hence were

Table 1  
Keywords considered for the SLR (Boolean search terms in CAPITALS).

	‘Modern slavery’ keywords	AND ‘supply chain’ keywords
Included keywords	Modern slavery OR Human trafficking OR Forced labo\$R/forced labour OR Labo\$R exploitation/labour exploitation OR Sweatshop OR Compulsory labo\$R/compulsory labour OR Unfree labo\$R/unfree labour OR Debt bondage OR Child labo\$R/child labour OR Slavery	Suppl* OR Value chain OR Commodity chain OR Supply chain Demand chain Procurement Product chain Production network Operation management Logistics network Supply network Global economy Business Management
Excluded keywords	Sweat factory Labo\$R violation/labour violation Neo-bondage Contract slavery	

excluded from the search. It was also found that potential keywords like “global economy”, “business” and “management” were too general terms (as our research focused on supply chains) and were excluded as a result.

In searching for modern slavery related articles, the keyword “slavery” was excluded since it generated a large amount of journal articles based on historical forms of slavery e.g., transatlantic slavery.

Instead, “modern slavery” was included to avoid this problem and because it is an established term in academic and media discourse. “Forced labour”, “debt bondage”, “labour exploitation”, “compulsory labour” and “unfree labour” are similar terms to modern slavery that

explain its exploitative nature within supply chains. All were included on that basis. “Child labour” was found to be a problematic keyword as it generated many articles on child labour that did not amount to child slavery e.g., children working on family farms or other family-run

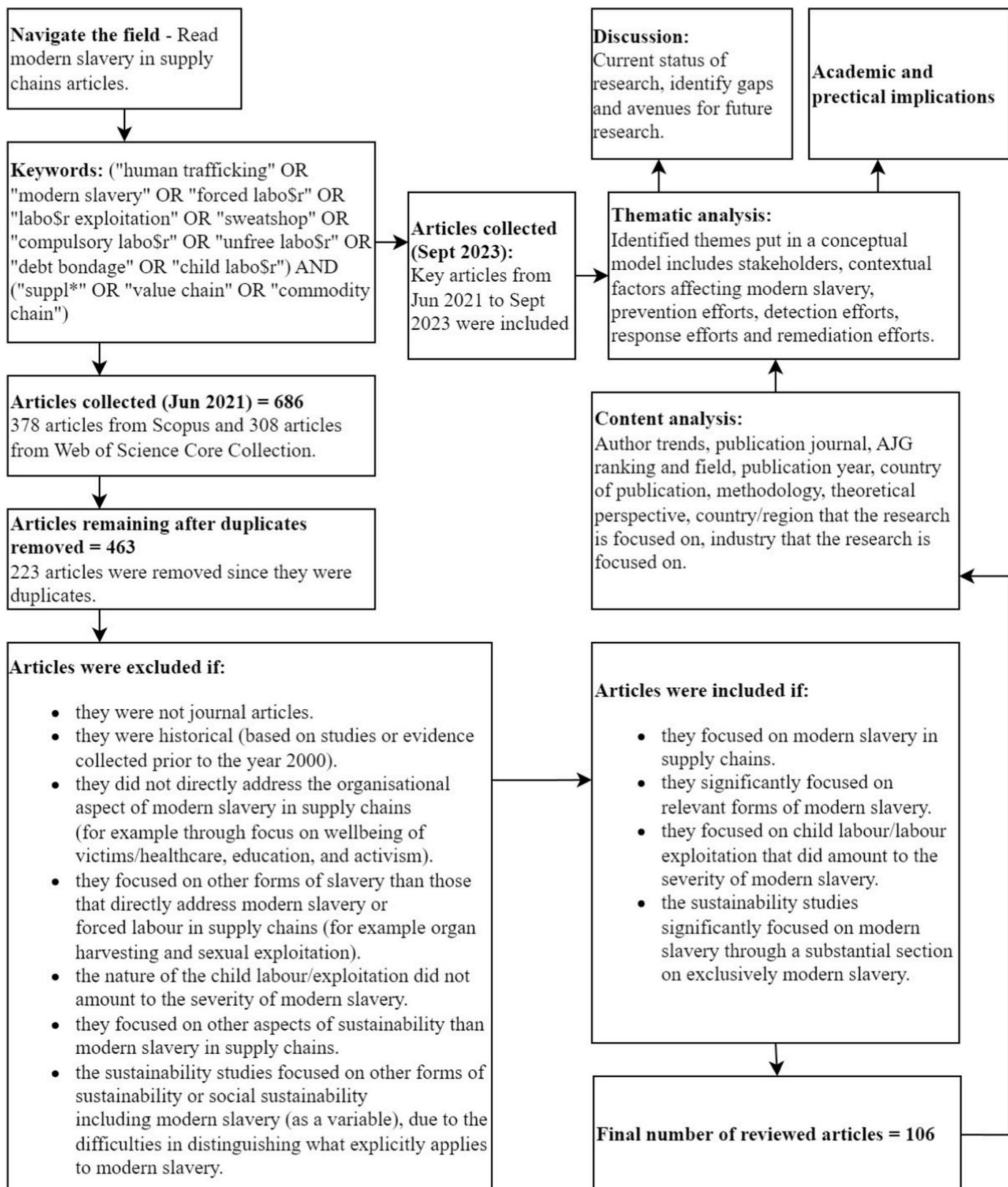


Fig. 2. Flowchart of the SLR process.

enterprises.

“Human trafficking” is not necessarily the same as forced labour. However, there are components of human trafficking that can be found within a supply chain, which other terms of modern slavery might miss. Hence, it is included in the keyword search terms. “Sweatshop” is a term used to explain inhumane working conditions in the textile and fashion industry. It has been included since it may be used instead of other terms when forced labour is explored within that industry. Terms such as “sexual exploitation”, “organ harvesting”, “domestic servitude” and “forced marriage” may fall within the scope of modern slavery but are outside the scope of our study, as our focus is on business supply chains and not what happens in domestic settings or in criminal enterprises.

### 3.2.2. Inclusion/exclusion criteria

Using the final set of keywords, 686 articles were collected, 378 from Scopus and 308 from Web of Science. Scopus and Web of Science were used because they are considered reliable databases for SLRs and can lead to the identification of different articles (Meho and Yang, 2007; Schaltegger et al., 2016; Govindan and Hasanagic, 2018). We did not limit the subject area in Scopus and Web of Science to ‘business, management and accounting’, as we did not wish to exclude papers on e.g. human rights, human trafficking, legal issues etc. The publication year ranged from 2010 to 2023<sup>a</sup>, as exploratory searches suggested few papers on modern slavery in supply chains were published before 2010. In part, this was because there was no government legislation in this area before 2010 (reporting requirements for large firms were only introduced in the US in 2012 and the UK in 2015) and less societal awareness of modern slavery in supply chains.

From the initial set of papers, 223 duplicate articles were removed, leaving 463 articles. The search fields were defined as the article title, abstracts and keywords (Kraus et al., 2022), and these were read against the inclusion/exclusion criteria to ensure consistency. If necessary, the main body of the article was read to determine eligibility for inclusion. The first 100 abstracts were independently screened by three researchers. When the results were compared, the level of agreement was over 90%, indicating that our system had good discriminatory power. One researcher then took responsibility for determining the eligibility of the remaining 363 articles. Where uncertainty over an article existed, the other researchers were consulted, and a consensus was reached as to include or exclude it. A summary of the various steps involved in the article search and screening process is illustrated in Fig. 2.

As summarised in Fig. 2 articles were excluded from further analysis if they fell into one of the following categories:

- Non-academic articles, articles that were not peer reviewed and grey literature e.g., newspaper articles, book reviews, conference papers
- Historical articles i.e., studies or evidence collected before 2000
- Articles that did not address modern slavery in a supply chain context e.g., articles that focused on the wellbeing of people with lived experience of modern slavery
- Articles on modern slavery activism
- Articles on other forms of slavery like organ harvesting or sex trafficking
- Articles on child labour that did not amount to modern slavery e.g., children working in family businesses or on family farms
- Articles on aspects of sustainability other than modern slavery in supply chains e.g., environmental sustainability or other social sustainability
- Articles on sustainability that had an insubstantial section on, or a variable of, modern slavery

After the abstracts (and main text if the abstract was inconclusive) were read against the exclusion criteria, 357 of the 463 articles were excluded. The full text of the remaining 106 articles was reviewed through a content and thematic analysis. A list of analysed papers in alphabetic order can be found in Appendix A. The outputs from these

analyses are examined next.

## 4. Descriptive analysis

In the second step of the Seuring and Müller (2008) process, the formal characteristics of articles are descriptively assessed. This is done with the aim of providing background information for the subsequent categorisation and evaluation of the 106 articles. For the sake of brevity, we have limited ourselves to reporting the descriptive analysis of publication date, research context (industry and country), and theoretical perspectives used.

### 4.1. Year of publication

Fig. 3 shows the number of articles on modern slavery published each year since 2010. Few studies were published between 2010 and 2015, but the trend has been upward since then. Almost half of all articles appeared in 2020 and 2021, which suggests that research momentum is building behind modern slavery in supply chains. As the article extraction was conducted in 2021 it is likely that other articles on modern slavery in supply chains were published that year. Thus, the number from 2021 is not an accurate representation of published articles. Based on the data trend, academics are taking notice of modern slavery and are driving the research agenda forward.

### 4.2. Journal, academic journal guide (AJG) and field

Table 2 shows the number of times a journal has published an article on the topic. Interestingly, half of the articles in this SLR were published by a journal that has published no more than one article on modern slavery and supply chains. A substantial group of the journals that have published one article are legal journals e.g., Alternative Law Journal, however most of the journals that have published two or more articles on the topic are focused on business or human rights/human trafficking.

Furthermore, Fig. 4 shows that 52 articles were not published by an AJG ranked journal. This could partially be due to the number of legal journals that have published in this area, since the AJG only assess journals that are salient or central to business and management studies. Most journals that have published on modern slavery and supply chains and are rated by AJG, have an average AJG rating of 3 and there seems to be less journals with a higher rating that has chosen to publish in the area. The reason as to why higher-ranking journals have omitted from publishing on the topic is unknown, but this could be due to the difficulty of acquiring data, especially primary data, on modern slavery in supply chains and thus the quality of the work that academics are able to produce. Since there is an increase in publications on the topic, it will be interesting to see if future research is published in higher-ranking journals.

The field in which the journal belongs to was collected for articles that were AJG ranked. The most prevalent fields were General Management, Ethics, Gender and Social Responsibility (13), Operations and Technology Management (10), Social Sciences (9), Sector Studies (6) and International Business and Area Studies (5). 8 articles were published in other fields. As previously mentioned, a portion of the journals that were non-rated by AJG were legal journals, hence it is likely that these would fall within a legal field. It is not surprising that the field encompassing sustainability and ethics is the field that has the most publications, since modern slavery is often considered an issue of ethics and sustainability in supply chains (Caruana et al., 2021; Flynn and Walker, 2021; Rosile et al., 2021). Neither is it surprising that the field focused on operations management is the field with the second most publications, since journals and academics in this field are increasingly attentive to sustainability issues (e.g., Gold et al., 2015; New, 2015; Flynn, 2020).

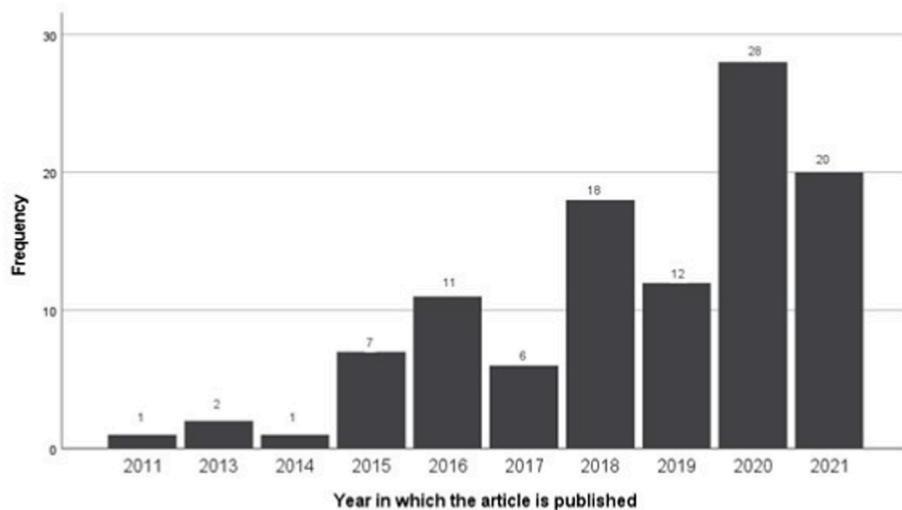


Fig. 3. Number of articles per year.

#### 4.3. Industry setting

Some papers focus on specific industry settings. This is because certain industries have a higher risk of modern slavery in their supply chains. Specifically non-technological, traditional work such as agriculture, mining, textile manufacture, construction and fishing are high risk industries (Crane, 2013; Gold et al., 2015; Flynn, 2020). The articles in our analysis were grouped based on the UK government standard industry classification (SIC). Most articles were not industry specific (70). The ones that were industry specific focused primarily on the labour intensive and low-skilled industries that have a high risk of modern slavery. There were 21 articles on agriculture, forestry and fishing e.g., (Barrientos, 2013; Stringer et al., 2016a; Chesney et al., 2019; Clark and Longo, 2021), nine articles on manufacturing such as textiles (Dewey, 2018; Peake and Kenner, 2020; Benstead et al., 2021) and two articles on construction (Russell et al., 2018; Trautrimas et al., 2020a). Although the public sector is not considered a high-risk industry, four articles were published using it as the research context (Martin-Ortega, 2017; Sandler et al., 2018; Rogerson et al., 2020; Meehan and Pinnington, 2021). These articles focused on the supply chains of public sector organisations, which are as susceptible to modern slavery risks as the supply chains of the private sector. Since certain industries have a higher risk of modern slavery in supply chains, more research can be done on specific industry settings, particularly industries with high risk goods and a record of using recruitment agencies.

#### 4.4. Country

Modern slavery in supply chains research is often looked at in a country specific setting due to differences in socio-cultural factors and preventative efforts e.g., labour legislation, socio-cultural aspects, country wealth/poverty and democracy – all of which affect the prevalence and prevention of modern slavery in supply chains (Crane, 2013). Most articles did not look at one specific country (42), either because no specific countries were mentioned or because they looked at multiple countries. The countries that were explored the most frequently were the UK with 22 articles, the US with 14 articles and Australia with 11 articles. Many of the articles from these countries were focused on country-specific legislation or obligations attached to the legislation e.g., the UK *Modern slavery act, 2015*; Mantouvalou (2018); LeBaron and Ruhmkorf (2019) or Transparency in Supply Chain (TISC) reports from businesses active in the UK (Flynn, 2020; Monciardini et al., 2021). A large proportion of articles focused on these countries did not deal directly with the offence of modern slavery in supply chains but rather

the institutional context for the prevention and detection of modern slavery. Moreover, the representation of these countries in research does not reflect their risk exposure to modern slavery based on the Global Slavery Index (Walk Free Foundation, 2018).

However, some country-specific studies did focus on modern slavery in domestic supply chains. New Zealand and Thailand have had cases of modern slavery in their fishing and seafood supply chains, which is the focus of the four articles published on New Zealand (Stringer et al., 2016a, 2016b, 2021; Stringer and Harré, 2019) and three articles published on Thailand (Marschke and Vandergeest, 2016; Wilhelm et al., 2020; Clark and Longo, 2021). Two articles were published on Slovakia, one which focuses on a modern slavery case study of Samsung (Andrijasevic and Novitz, 2020) and one which addresses the unfree status of workers posted to Slovakia from their home country (Novitz and Andrijasevic, 2020). Other country-specific studies involved Argentina (Dewey, 2018), Bangladesh (Peake and Kenner, 2020), Canada (Haynes, 2020), China (Tang and Zhang, 2019), Ghana (LeBaron and Gore, 2020), Pakistan (Arslan, 2020), Spain (Chesney et al., 2019) and Turkmenistan (Korkmaz, 2019). It is clear from the SLR that country specific research is scarce and there is an opportunity for scholars to conduct more research on modern slavery in supply chains in specific countries around the world, especially in Africa.

#### 4.5. Theories adopted in research on modern slavery in SCM

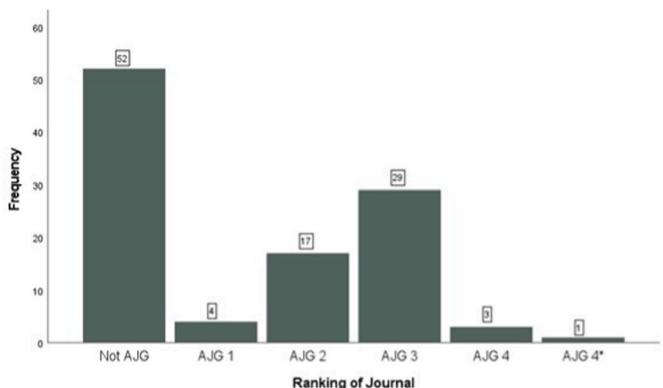
The field of operations and SCM is known to lack a strong, consolidated theoretical base and often borrows theories from other disciplines (Walker et al., 2015). It is therefore interesting to look at the theoretical underpinnings of modern slavery in supply chain research. Only 30 articles used theory to underpin their arguments, whereas 76 articles had no theoretical perspectives. Not all research in this review is from the operations and SCM field, and the lack of theoretical underpinning is at least partly due to the large number of legal articles generated through the search.

The most frequently used theory in modern slavery and supply chains research is institutional theory. It features in five articles e.g., (Flynn, 2020; Flynn and Walker, 2021). This is followed by global value chain theory, which features in four articles e.g., (Stringer and Michailova, 2018; Crane et al., 2019). Critical political economy theory (LeBaron and Ayers, 2013a; LeBaron, 2014a), feminist theory (LeBaron, 2015; Andrijasevic, 2021) and social reproduction theory (Gore and LeBaron, 2019; LeBaron and Gore, 2020) have each been used twice. Other theories that have appeared once in research include game theory, principal-agent theory, relational theory and organisational legitimacy

**Table 2**

Number of articles published by journals.

Number of times the journal has published an article	Publication Journal
6	Supply Chain Management: An International Journal
5	Australian Journal of Human Rights
4	Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal; Anti-Trafficking Review; Business and Society; Marine Policy
3	Global Policy; Journal of Human Trafficking
2	Business and Human Rights Journal; Business Strategy and Development; Economia Agro-Alimentaire/Food Economy; Global Trade and Customs Journal; International Journal of Operations and Production Management; Journal of Business Ethics; Journal of Cleaner Production; Socio-Economic Review; The Journal of Development Studies; Third World Quarterly
1	Alternative Law Journal; Australian Journal of Management; Business Horizons; Capital and Class; Catholic University Law Review; Children and Society; Columbia Journal of Transnational Law; Company and Securities Law Journal; Conflict Management and Peace Science; Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management; Crime, Law and Social Change; Critical perspectives on international business; Critical Sociology; Economic Systems Research; Environment and Planning; A European Business Law Review; European Business Review; European Journal of Women's Studies; European Labour Law Journal; Federal Law Review; Global Networks; Human Rights Review; Industrial Relations Journal; International Feminist Journal of Politics; International Journal of Law and Management; International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice; Journal of Business Research; Journal of Common Market Studies; Journal of Financial Crime; Journal of International Criminal Justice; Journal of Labor and Society; Journal of Risk Research; Journal of Supply Chain Management; Journal of the American College of Surgeons; Law and Social Inquiry; Management Science; Multinational Business Review; Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights; New Political Economy; Ofnati Socio-legal Series; Production Planning & Control The Management of Operations; Regulation & Governance; Regulation and Governance; Science Advances; SIYASAL: Journal of Political Sciences; Social Inclusion; Sustainability; The Business Lawyer; The George Washington Law Review; The International Journal of Human Rights; The Journal of Peasant Studies; The Modern Law Review; Vanderbilt Law Review

**Fig. 4.** AJG ranking of journals.

theory.

## 5. Thematic analysis

We followed a two-step process combining deductive and inductive approaches for identifying analytic categories (Seuring and Gold, 2012). First, we deductively established base analytic categories from the framework of Gold et al. (2015), including institutional context, and detection and remediation efforts facilitated by capabilities at firm, SC and business to non-business stakeholder levels (see Appendix B). The subsequent thematic analysis allowed us to (re)organise the literature review content (Kraus et al., 2022), and new themes emerged during the course of analysis, and were added to the coding structure. The themes were inductively and iteratively refined during the analysis of our selected articles. Therefore, the final analytic categories used to synthesise the content of the reviewed articles were abductively developed during the process of completing the literature review. A full list of new themes and subthemes found in this research (shown in bold italics), example quotes, and source numbers, is included in Appendix C. The number of times the themes emerge across articles is also included, which gives a sense of which are the dominant and less explored themes within research in modern slavery in SCM to date. Our thematic analysis allowed for the identification of relevant issues and the interpretation of results, as discussed below.

### 5.1. Institutional factors

In order to respond to our research question of how researchers are approaching research on modern slavery in supply chains, it was necessary to investigate contextual factors. Scholars suggest that there are multiple factors affecting the presence and prevalence of modern slavery in supply chains. LeBaron (2021a) argues that modern slavery in supply chains is not “a simple consequence of greed or moral shortcomings of individuals”. Instead, it is traceable to factors such as the supply of highly exploitable workers and demand for their labour that drive the phenomenon.

The analysis of literature confirmed several institutional context sub-themes in Gold et al.’ (2015) original figure shown in Fig. 1, including industry, geography, and product/commodity. It was confirmed that several conditions enable modern slavery in supply chains, such as **industry context** and **geographic context** (Chesney et al., 2019; Siegmann et al., 2022; Bodendorf et al., 2023). Regarding specific **products/commodities**, it has been found that forced labour is heavily present in simple non-technological work such as construction, manufacturing, agriculture, forestry and fishing, wholesale trade, as well as mining and quarrying (Gold et al., 2015; Stringer and Michailova, 2018; Christ et al., 2020; Blindell, 2021) and certain food products or commodities contribute to forced labour risks (Blackstonea et al., 2023). By contrast, several sub-themes were removed from Gold et al.’s framework, such as ‘traditions’ and ‘language’, as evidence was not identified to support them in the analysis.

Several subthemes were modified from the original framework. Modern slavery is often found in **lower tier supply chains** and in the extraction of raw materials, cultivation, harvesting, production, or the manufacturing of the products sold downstream (Feasley, 2016; Greer and Purvis, 2016). Feasley (2016) argues that the existence of forced labour can be found in any part of the supply chain. This also means that modern slavery is present in nearly every country. Nevertheless, it is more likely to take place in developing countries. We adapted the sub-theme ‘government regulation’ to the ‘**regulatory context**’ within a country, such as strict migration laws, which can also facilitate modern slavery (Stringer et al., 2021).

We also expanded ‘socio-economic conditions’ to include ‘**socio-economic, -cultural and -political context**’. Conditions such as discrimination, conflict, the level of economic development and poverty are linked to forced labour in supply chains (Feasley, 2016). The kafala

system practised in Qatar up until recently is a case in point. Also, more recent research has looked at the socio-political arena in the UK construction sector, where responses to modern slavery are discussed and contested. Pesterfieldc and Rogerson (2023) found that the state and market logics operate in both conflictual and complimentary ways, whilst Gutierrez-Huerter et al. (2021) showed the politics of frames and framing, exposing the interests of actors using particular frames and framing practices. It is clear from the literature that the institutional environment quality is negatively associated with the vulnerability to and prevalence of modern slavery (Moussa et al., 2022).

Several new sub-themes were added to Gold et al.'s original model, including business culture and high risk events such as the pandemic. It has been claimed that the underlying reason for modern slavery in supply chains is the behaviour of multi-national corporations, in which they rely on cheap labour, rapid production turnarounds, and narrow profit margins (Christ and Burritt, 2018). They observe:

"Slavery, and in particular forced labour and debt bondage, is prevalent in many business models; however, it is most common in business organisations characterized by narrow profit margins, labour intensive activities, and where the majority of value is captured by large companies downstream in the supply chain." (p. 105, Christ and Burritt, 2018)

This business culture has been thriving due to globalization and is a product of neo-liberal capitalist structures that demand faster delivery times and cheaper goods (Lebaron and Ayers, 2013a; Christ and Burritt, 2018; Greer, 2018). Multi-national corporations have control within the power-dynamics between them and smaller suppliers, which creates an environment in which labour exploitation is possible (Crane et al., 2019). Such a business culture is not necessarily ubiquitous, and may differ between organisations of different sizes, sectors, countries, and between public, private and not-for-profit organisations. Such a business culture should move towards responsible capitalism by balancing the power in relationships, accepting consequences, and generating profits ethically (Uddin et al., 2023). While there is a need to understand the business culture that allows for modern slavery to thrive, there is still a criminal element to modern slavery that is necessary to address. New (2015) argues that "no one uses forced labour accidentally, or through negligence or ignorance". The criminal element of forced labour can make it difficult to detect, since it is hidden in the shadows (Gold et al., 2015; New, 2015).

Another new factor affecting modern slavery is high impact risk events such as the pandemic, which showcased the fragility of supply chains and highlighted the unsafe and precarious working conditions of workers upstream, but also workers in developed countries. It has been observed that:

"The COVID-19 pandemic is increasing the vulnerability of workers to find themselves in exploitative conditions and in modern slavery as the most extreme form of exploitation." (p.1065, Trautrimis et al., 2020b)

Covid-19 has "caused extreme shifts in demand patterns, disrupted supply flows, and diminished the effectiveness of risk management and mitigation mechanisms", which in turn has increased workers' vulnerability and thus susceptibility to forced labour (Trautrimis et al., 2020b). The shift in demand due to Covid-19 meant that new industries could be considered to have a high-risk of modern slavery such as personal protective equipment (PPE) (Christ and Burritt, 2021). The pandemic has also acted as a "double edged sword" where less audits and other due diligence measures were conducted (Fellows and Chong, 2020; Christ and Burritt, 2021). Nevertheless, it is argued that the pandemic provides an opportunity to change current SCM practices to benefit workers' safety and dignity, e.g., through reshoring (Trautrimis et al., 2020b).

## 5.2. Corporate-stakeholders context

There are a range of actors and stakeholders found within and outside the supply chain. They all play a role in either preventing, facilitating, or experiencing the occurrence of modern slavery and forced labour within supply chains. Stakeholders include the focal firm, first-tier suppliers, other upstream suppliers, workers, governments, third parties such as NGOs, recruitment agencies, auditing companies, social activists and consumers. Therefore, we put them together in a new corporate-stakeholder theme.

### 5.2.1. Firm level

The focal firm is often held responsible for forced labour in their supply chains and can thus be subjected to reputational damage if modern slavery is discovered (Flynn, 2020). Hence, they have been given a responsibility to make sure that their own operations and supply chains are free from exploitative labour conditions. This responsibility has been reiterated by many stakeholders, such as consumers, media, and NGOs, through activism with the intention of creating reputational damage and economic loss, as well as governments through TISC legislation (Aronowitz, 2019). Firms are adjusting their structures and practices in response to modern slavery risks e.g., appointing modern slavery officers, establishing working groups/advisory groups on modern slavery (Flynn and Walker, 2021). Nevertheless, the impact of modern slavery allegations on a firms operating performance is not long lasting, although negative (Yagci Sokat and Altay, 2023). It is also found that firms put more effort into addressing modern slavery in their supply chains when they have better sustainability performance, they source from countries with higher risks of modern slavery, and when media covers the issue (Geng et al., 2022).

### 5.2.2. Supply chain level

Suppliers at different tiers of the supply chain will have to comply with the code of conduct of the focal firm and are often monitored by focal firms through audits and other due diligence measures (Benstead et al., 2021). Monitoring can lead to information sharing between companies, which can furthermore lead to collaboration between the first-tier supplier and the focal firm (Gold et al., 2015). However, there is an imbalance in the power structures between the focal firm and suppliers (Crane et al., 2019; Benstead et al., 2021) This can be addressed by involving third parties in the prevention, detection and remediation phases (Benstead et al., 2021). Most focal firms expect their first-tier suppliers to make sure that no modern slavery is present further upstream the supply chain as part of a "cascade" approach to managing the issue (Rogerson et al., 2020; Flynn and Walker, 2021; Emberson et al., 2022).

Much of the risk of modern slavery lies further down the supply chain (Rogerson et al., 2020). Some firms choose to work with their suppliers to reach their tier 1+n suppliers and other firms choose to directly target beyond first-tier suppliers if they deem it necessary (Stevenson and Cole, 2018). The complexity of global supply networks makes it near impossible to track and monitor every supplier upstream to identify modern slavery practices, even for businesses committed to tackling modern slavery (Benstead et al., 2018; Christ and Burritt, 2018).

Certain firms have contractual provisions prohibiting sub-contracting. However, if the supplier is pressured to produce more at short notice or reduce costs, they may choose to utilize unauthorized sub-contracting (Stringer and Michailova, 2018; Stringer et al., 2021). Knowledge of who supplies the suppliers of a firm is difficult to access due to the prevalence of sub-contracting (Christ and Burritt, 2018). Focal firms and suppliers are often reluctant to give information on other tiered suppliers due to competition, although this argument has been debunked (New, 2015). This can leave businesses unaware of the source of the product and the workers connected to it. Upstream and sub-suppliers are less likely to be targeted for audits and other due diligence measures than first-tier suppliers (Stevenson and Cole, 2018;

Ford and Nolan, 2020). This is problematic since there is a growing body of evidence that suppliers upstream, where sub-contracting is the highest, are more likely to be using forced labour since they cannot meet the low consumer prices and the rising cost of raw materials (Stringer and Michailova, 2018).

### 5.2.3. Business-non-business stakeholder level

We modified Gold et al.'s (2015) 'business-non-business partnership level' to replace partnership with stakeholders, being those external stakeholders outside the buyer-supplier relation. Our findings highlight external stakeholders to the traditional supply chain, including:

- (i) recruitment agencies that workers who experience modern slavery and debt-bondage are often employed through (LeBaron and Ruhmkorf, 2019; Wilhelm et al., 2020; Stringer et al., 2021)
- (ii) third-party organisations e.g., NGOs, that work with focal firms to detect and remediate modern slavery (Benstead et al., 2018, 2021)
- (iii) social activists or consumers who third-party organisations and legislation try to mobilise in order to make changes to the practices of supply chains, although there is mixed evidence that this translates to consumer action (Gold et al., 2015; New, 2015; Koekkoek et al., 2017; Aronowitz, 2019; Caruana et al., 2021; Islam and Van Staden, 2022; Lusty et al., 2022; Stringer et al., 2022b)
- (iv) governments which, depending on the country, facilitate modern slavery in supply chains through corruption or migration laws or try to prevent it from happening through legislation and raising awareness (Greer and Purvis, 2016; Crane et al., 2019; Stringer et al., 2021) and
- (v) auditing companies that try to detect and remediate modern slavery in business supply chains, but who face questions over their effectiveness and independence (Christ et al., 2019).

With regards to business-non-business stakeholders, it has been observed that:

"If businesses and enterprises do not voluntarily self-regulate, and if legislation and enforcement are inadequate to deter trafficking or labour exploitation, consumers and workers may have to directly advocate for change. Advocacy campaigns aim to elevate consumer awareness with the purpose of altering consumer behaviour." (p. 156, Aronowitz, 2019)

Specifically, what is missing in the Gold et al. (2015) framework and in many other studies in the field is the voice of workers. Situations that can leave a worker vulnerable to modern slavery includes poverty, debt-bondage and their migration status (LeBaron, 2014a; Stringer et al., 2021). Workers can also be vulnerable due to being a child, and it is found that gender plays a role in forced labour in supply chains as women are disproportionately affected by it (Berlan, 2016; LeBaron and Gore, 2020; Vijeyarasa, 2020).

## 5.3. Efforts to tackle modern slavery

There has been a range of efforts by different stakeholders in supply chains to tackle modern slavery. While Gold et al. (2015) framework considers detection and remediation, we extend these themes to encompass prevention, detection, response and remediation efforts. These are important for focal firms, not only for their moral obligation to protect workers from exploitative situations, but as a response to being held responsible for precarious working conditions of suppliers upstream (Stevenson and Cole, 2018). There is, however, little agreement on the most effective way to approach the issue of modern slavery in supply chains (Christ and Burritt, 2018).

### 5.3.1. Prevention efforts

Prevention efforts such as disclosure required by regulation, codes of conduct, and certifications, place the onus for prevention on firms. As the following sections discuss, such prevention efforts have mixed success, but regardless of whether the initiatives are effective in preventing modern slavery or not, the original aim of such initiatives was prevention. Some firms adopt these initiatives as a means of risk avoidance, particularly reputational risk, which is one of the downfalls of such measures (Bayne et al., 2022). It very much depends on the individual business and its approach to such prevention efforts. At the very least, modern slavery reporting has put firms under the public spotlight and prompted them to make improvements in supply chain management that would otherwise not have happened.

**5.3.1.1. Disclosure required by legislation.** TISC legislation, codes of conduct and modern slavery statements are efforts introduced by businesses and governments to prevent modern slavery in supply chains. TISC legislation has evolved over time, and some examples include the California Transparency in Supply Chains Act (2010), the UK [Modern slavery act \(2015\)](#), and the Australian [Modern slavery act \(2018\)](#). Although these legislations vary in their scope and jurisdiction, they have in common that businesses operating within a certain geographic location, with an annual turnover larger than a specified sum, must publicly report on actions to tackle modern slavery within their supply chains (Gold et al., 2015; New, 2015). This approach has received criticism for being "light-touch" regulation. TISC legislation is ultimately reliant on experimentalist governance such as third-party activism, reputational damage, and consumer behaviour changes rather than criminal liability and enforcement mechanisms (New, 2015; Greer and Purvis, 2016; LeBaron and Ruhmkorf, 2017, 2019; Flynn, 2020; Rogerson et al., 2020).

Passing responsibility on to firms to tackle modern slavery can be problematic, since it "represents a retreat of the state from its proper role" (New, 2015). LeBaron and Ruhmkorf (2017) believe that punitive legislation that creates criminal corporate liability, such as the UK [Bribery Act \(2010\)](#), would be more suitable. However, the principle of loosely regulated transparency legislation is to allow firms to adopt approaches that works well with their firm. TISC legislation is thus based on businesses adopting best practices of transparency through a "race to the top" approach (Stevenson and Cole, 2018). Although there is evidence of high levels of compliance to minimum requirements of TISC legislation, and an increase in the extent and quality of disclosures it is also found that companies reinforce the "status quo" of defensive reassurance rather than offering impactful change, and provide inconsistencies in reporting on the effectiveness of actions (Birkey et al., 2018; Meehan and Pinnington, 2021; Christ and Burritt, 2023; Mai et al., 2023; Moussa et al., 2023). Furthermore, there seems to be a shift in regulation, where newly introduced legislation goes beyond TISC disclosure and focus on due diligence, penalties for poor or non-compliance, and product bans (Krajewski et al., 2021; McGaughey et al., 2022; Fruscione, 2023; Lafarre, 2023). An early assessment of such legislation indicates a "race to the top", and may therefore succeed where TISC legislation falls short (McGaughey et al., 2022). Nevertheless, it can also serve to enhance the legitimacy of due diligence techniques which are already criticised (Nolan, 2022).

**5.3.1.2. Code of conduct.** Codes of conduct that reference modern slavery have been present in many business strategies before 'mandatory' modern slavery reporting was introduced through TISC legislation (Koekkoek et al., 2017). Codes of conducts are never going to overcome modern slavery unless they are followed up by corporate action and combined with improved regulation at both national and international levels (Christ, Rao and Burritt, 2019). Codes of labour practices fail to reach the most vulnerable workers, specifically those employed by labor contractors and do not tackle issues like freedom to join a trade union

(Barrientos, 2013).

**5.3.1.3. Training.** Modern slavery is central to business decisions, specifically those related to the supply practices. Therefore, modern slavery awareness needs to be filtered through the organisation and this could be achieved through training all levels and departments (Benstead et al., 2018). Furthermore, training supports anti-slavery policies to achieve the desired effect. However, little has been done to expand training beyond procurement staff to the company and its supply chain as part of making it standard practice (Martin-Ortega, 2017). Furthermore, most of the companies only report on the scale of their training program and not its effectiveness (Dean and Marshall, 2020).

**5.3.1.4. Certifications.** Certifications are a principal means through which firms signal their efforts to combat modern slavery across product categories as diverse as cotton, coffee, timber, fish and diamonds (Flynn and Walker, 2021). The heavy reliance of multinational corporations on certification as a main mode of governing sustainability in their global supply chains has come under scrutiny (Wilhelm et al., 2020). Certification schemes are reliant on the available data about product sourcing. Yet it is impossible to guarantee slave free sourcing or to prevent underreporting of modern slavery incidences. Therefore, certification schemes seem to be an ineffective means of combating modern slavery and may amount to little more than superficial demonstrations of conformity with expected corporate behaviour (LeBaron and Gore, 2020; Caruana et al., 2021).

### 5.3.2. Detection efforts

A number of detection efforts have been identified in the SLR, including audits, technology and whistleblowing, discussed below.

**5.3.2.1. Audits.** Audits are often used by companies to ensure compliance with codes of conduct (Ford and Nolan, 2020). Through an audit, the supplier is investigated for its working conditions through documents reviews, site tours, and interviews with managers and workers to understand whether there could be risks of forced labour and exploitation present (Ford and Nolan, 2020; Benstead et al., 2021). Benstead et al. (2021) observed that targeted audits are more likely to identify indicators of modern slavery. Collaboration between businesses and NGOs is also found in the auditing process. NGOs can offer expertise in the field, and they can continue working with the suppliers if any indicators of modern slavery are found (Benstead et al., 2018).

There is scepticism over the effectiveness of audits. Audits can be announced or unannounced (Ford and Nolan, 2020). Announced audits are more likely to be biased, with active deceit from managers of illicit practices (New, 2015; Stevenson and Cole, 2018). Suppliers can use commonly occurring business mechanisms, adjust accounting books, allow only certain people in work during the audit, determine who is interviewed by auditors, and re-locate production to unknown 'shadow factories' to avoid the detection of modern slavery (Gold et al., 2015; New, 2015; Benstead et al., 2021). Still, Benstead et al. (2021) argue that announced audits will help to build trust between the supplier and focal firm, and the trust will improve the supplier's implementation of any corrective actions needed.

There is a power imbalance between suppliers and focal firms that is unlikely to be remediated without the presence of an NGO. Moreover, the multitude of varied and changing audit requirements can create confusion and audit fatigue for the suppliers (Benstead et al., 2021). Ford and Nolan (2020) state that "the use of social auditing could result in cosmetic, shallow or narrow, self-legitimizing, compliance-oriented responses by firms" where the auditors are trying to prove that something is not there instead of finding things out (Christ and Helliar, 2021). Furthermore, audits might be constructed and executed in ways that conceal problems of forced labour instead of bringing them to light (Stevenson and Cole, 2018). Even if audits are conducted in an ethical

manner, private auditors have little power to change the situation of forced labour (Aronowitz, 2019).

**5.3.2.2. Technology.** Technology has been increasingly used to improve worker voice and transparency in supply chains, which are both important to detect cases of modern slavery (Ford and Nolan, 2020; Rogerson et al., 2020). Blockchain is a new technology that creates a record of every moment of a product journey through the supply chain (Christ and Helliar, 2021). Considering opacity in supply chains is one of the main reasons why modern slavery exists, end-to-end transparency within a supply chain could help reduce abuses (Christ and Helliar, 2021). Nevertheless, few firms are seeking to use blockchain technology beyond tier 1 due to the complexity of the supply chain. This could also be due to the focal firms needing to protect their proprietary information (Christ and Helliar, 2021). Blockchains can also capture an 'objective' score of working conditions, which are obtained through digital worker engagement tools (Berg et al., 2020).

Technologies that can be used to extract information of modern slavery in supply chains include, but are not limited to, satellite pictures, big data analytics, mobile phones, machine learning and the Internet of Things (Gold et al., 2015; Berg et al., 2020). Mobile-phone-based technologies can be used to collect worker feedback, empower workers and improve employment standards (Berg et al., 2020; Ford and Nolan, 2020). Furthermore, Jiang et al. (2023) found that firms tend to promote high-complexity technology from normative pressures by NGOs and low-complexity technology from coercive pressures by governments.

**5.3.2.3. Whistleblowing.** Whistleblowing is underused and has received only very limited attention in the SCM literature, even though it can be a valuable weapon in the fight against modern slavery (Stevenson, 2021). Whistleblowing facilities should be made available to members of the public, workers, people with lived experiences, suppliers, and corporate staff. In reality, according to Blindell (2021), whistleblowing mechanisms tend to be limited to company employees as opposed to workers throughout the supply chain. Whistleblowing mechanisms should include dedicated hotlines, email addresses and other electronic devices that can be used to report any unethical and illegal activity anonymously (Esoimeme, 2020).

### 5.3.3. Response and remedy efforts

We differentiate between response and remediation phases after modern slavery has happened. Response is defined as the reaction to the incident and can be a verbal or written statement or a specific course of action e.g., contract termination. Remediation, on the other hand, is 'the action of remedying something, of reversing or stopping its damage through remedial training or therapy' (Collins Dictionary, 2022). Due to this, it is likely that response efforts will be attempted prior to remediation efforts.

For instance, Benstead et al. (2021) discussed detecting and remediating modern slavery in supply chains through a targeted auditing approach. The boundary between the first response of a company after modern slavery is detected and then remediation practices for suppliers and people with lived experiences are either blurred or missed. In Stevenson and Cole's (2018) model that encompasses detection and remediation practices, there is no direct consideration of people with lived experiences and the remediation process that should be available to them. Most companies are reluctant to disclose if they have modern slavery in their supply chains, likely because they are fearful of stakeholder responses. Thus, there is little transparency with detected cases of modern slavery and, therefore, little transparency with examples of response and remediation. Nevertheless, some focal companies are transparent in their reporting of detected cases, and remedy and response efforts. Nestlé decided to publicly speak out about instances of forced labour in their fisheries supply chains (Stringer and Michailova, 2018; Stringer et al., 2021) and Flynn and Walker (2021) found that

"where modern slavery is uncovered, 53.5 per cent of FTSE 100 firms and 29 per cent of FTSE 250 firms have remediation procedures to deal with it". However, few companies emphasise response and remediation for tier 1+n suppliers (Stevenson and Cole, 2018).

### 5.3.3.1. Response efforts

**5.3.3.1.1. Worker related response.** Worker related responses that focal firms can engage with includes e.g., to compensate workers that have been financially exploited or paid recruitment fees, or rescue workers if they are subjected to working standards amounting to modern slavery (Aronowitz, 2019; Benstead et al., 2021; Chin, 2023). Nevertheless, compensation is not always required by law and there is found to be little TISC statement disclosure of any provision or policy for the welfare of people with lived experiences of modern slavery (Mantuvalou, 2018; Blindell, 2021).

**5.3.3.1.2. Supplier related response.** Some companies decide to give a warning to suppliers that show signs of modern slavery whilst others decide to terminate the contract and switch supplier (Benstead et al., 2018, 2021; Aronowitz, 2019). However, New (2015) found that warnings and continual engagement with suppliers using forced labour could make firms directly complicit in criminal activity. Firms can also decide to stop sourcing from the region where modern slavery is detected, but this could lead to detrimental socio-economic effects (Gold et al., 2015; Benstead et al., 2021). This specific supplier related response effort is the only response effort that Gold et al. (2015) mentioned. Another response effort is to withhold payment to the supplier until remedial corrective action has been taken (Aronowitz, 2019). However, Stevenson and Cole (2018) found that some businesses acknowledge how their behaviour contribute to modern slavery by e.g., claiming that they would not withhold payments to their suppliers. Hence, it is clear that effective supplier related response efforts are disputed.

**5.3.3.1.3. Authority related response.** Focal firms can choose to report instances of modern slavery to the relevant authorities and help victims through formal proceedings towards prosecution. Interestingly, few companies state in their modern slavery statements that they would report violations to authorities (Stevenson and Cole, 2018). This goes directly against New (2015) argument that authorities should be involved if modern slavery is detected, due to the illegality and severity of modern slavery. There are however instances where government has been contacted about modern slavery practices and have "refused or failed to cooperate with regulators to varying degrees" (Aronowitz, 2019). This is worrying, but not surprising, since modern slavery in supply chains can also be state governed (Feasley, 2016; Korkmaz, 2019).

**5.3.3.2. Remedy efforts.** Appropriate ways to hear the voice of workers and people with lived experiences of modern slavery in remediation phases is needed. The current focus is on response and remediation at supplier level rather than worker level. More is needed on accessible grievance mechanisms and providing clear processes for resolving complaints and consulting with those impacted (Nolan and Frishling, 2019; Simpson et al., 2021). While the literature is weak on people with lived experiences' remediation processes, it does cover collaborative approaches between the buyer and supplier to remediate unfair labour practices. Few remediation practices that clearly include survivor voices, their remediation processes, and the necessary follow ups, were found. Part of this is down to legislation and its failure to increase prosecutions and provide adequate remedies to people with lived experiences (Mantuvalou, 2018). Recent studies have explored the successful intervention against modern slavery through an innovative joint action worker-driven program, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers Fair Food Programme (FFP) (Rosile et al., 2021; Kunz et al., 2023). Kunz et al. (2023) looked at the replicability of FFP and found that "a well-designed programme using market-based incentives has a strong

potential to jointly combat modern slavery and bring positive change to an industry". There is a slower adoption of the joint action worker-driven program when the farmer size is heterogeneous, and a faster adoption when the buyer size is heterogeneous.

Non-compliant suppliers may be subjected to additional audits and action plans, and firms could collaborate with other stakeholders in a multi-stakeholder initiative and provide remediation training to develop their own organisation and suppliers (Benstead et al., 2021). Corrective action plans are the most common remediation to non-compliance (Stevenson and Cole, 2018), and we consider them remediation rather than an immediate response as they seek to correct or remedy the situation over time. However, for action plans to work in a remediating manner, they should also be worker centred and facilitate for rehabilitation and reintegration of survivors into the labour market (Blindell, 2021). Gold et al. (2015) put forward that multi-stakeholder initiatives such as disseminating and imitating industry best practices, and community-centred approaches such as culturally sensitized learning, as remediation approaches. Although collaboration e.g., multi-stakeholder initiatives, can act as a form for remediation effort, we believe that the remediation efforts suggested by Gold et al. (2015) were more preventative. Remediation practices need to be more clearly defined in a survivor-centric approach, and successful remediation efforts can then facilitate robust prevention and detection efforts, shown in feedback arrows in the model.

## 6. Discussion and conclusion

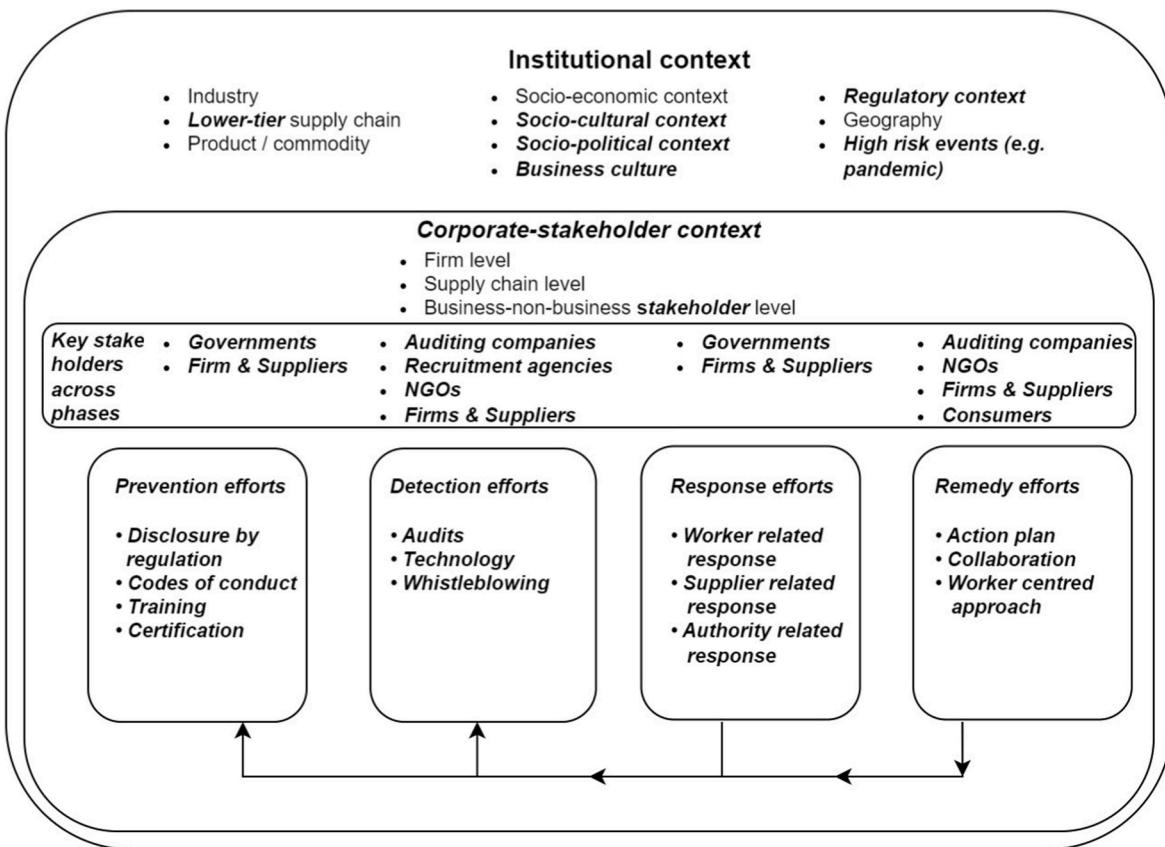
This literature review study sought to answer two research questions, which are discussed in the sections below.

### 6.1. What research currently exists on modern slavery in supply chains?

This paper reviews the recent research on modern slavery, and the previous findings sections presented the analysis of literature in seeking to answer this research question. As the thematic analysis is the focus of the second research question, we provide a brief summary of the findings of the descriptive analysis here, especially focusing on the gaps. Overall, the descriptive analysis showed the different aspects and trends of modern slavery in supply chains research. It is clear that the field is underdeveloped in its number of publications, with few articles before 2015 then an upward trajectory. The industry focus is also limited to mainly agriculture, forestry, fishing, textiles, and construction sectors. The country focus has room for expansion, with the majority of studies in the UK, US and Australia focusing on responses to specific legislation, and a lot fewer country-specific studies. There is a lack of theoretical underpinning across the articles, and the most frequently adopted theories were institutional theory (5 articles) and global value chain theory (4 articles). With regards to methods, more studies collecting primary data with the direct voices of people with lived experiences of modern slavery, unions and workers are needed in the field. We strongly suggest getting away from secondary data analysis by introducing first-hand accounts and experiences.

### 6.2. How has modern slavery in supply chains been approached by researchers, and how could Gold et al.'s (2015) model be updated?

We have synthesised the findings of a range of studies by researchers of modern slavery in supply chains. Based on the thematic analysis, we present our model which took its base analytic factors from Gold et al. (2015) model. We elaborated upon the model presented below in Fig. 5, and through a process of abduction, we were able to reflect on the original themes in the model. Some themes were confirmed in our analysis and remain in normal font (e.g. industry is confirmed), some themes were removed (e.g. languages is removed), some themes were modified and are shown in bold italics (e.g. government regulations becomes regulatory context) and some new themes were added and are



**Fig. 5.** Conceptual model on modern slavery in supply chains as an extension of Gold et al. (2015) model [The bold italic themes and subthemes newly emerged during our analysis (Appendix C), and were added to the revised conceptual model].

shown in bold italics (e.g. we add 'High risk events e.g. pandemic'). These revised themes flesh out the framework of Gold et al. (2015).

In the institutional context, the themes of geography and socio-economic conditions (modified to socio-economic context and socio-cultural context) were confirmed (e.g., Gold et al., 2015; Chesney et al., 2019). Newer research also illustrated the socio-political arena as a theme in the institutional context (e.g., Gutierrez-Huerter et al., 2021; Pesterfieldc and Rogerson, 2023). We also found that the traditional business culture based on short lead time and low cost play an important role in modern slavery occurrence (e.g., LeBaron and Ayers, 2013b; Christ and Burritt, 2018; Crane et al., 2019). The dominant sub-themes were business culture ( $n = 21$ ), industry ( $n = 29$ ), and regulatory context ( $n = 23$ ). Furthermore, high impact risk events such as a pandemic can influence modern slavery incidences (e.g., Trautrimas et al., 2020b; Christ and Burritt, 2021). Therefore, the whole institutional context should be seen as dynamic rather than static.

Within the model, Gold et al. (2015) put capabilities at firm, supply chain and business-non-business stakeholder levels. We have renamed this aspect the corporate-stakeholder context and confirmed research has addressed modern slavery issues fairly evenly across the different levels (firm  $n = 17$ , supply chain  $n = 25$ , business-non-business stakeholder  $n = 27$ ). We also add detail to the business-non-business stakeholder sub-theme, identifying recruitment agencies, auditing companies, consumers and government as important stakeholders for firms tackling modern slavery, and identify which key stakeholders are most influential at each phase of the model. For example, firms and suppliers play an important role across all phases, audit companies have a role in detecting and remediating modern slavery in supply chains, and consumers are most likely to be interested in the remedy efforts made by firms and suppliers.

Gold et al. (2015) had two phases in the management of modern

slavery in supply chains: detection and remediation. We reconceptualize these phases to include prevention, detection, response, and remedy efforts, and identify new sub-themes within each of the phases. These phases will involve different actors at firm, supply chain and external stakeholder levels. Prevention efforts include disclosure due to regulation and legislation (e.g., Stevenson and Cole, 2018; Flynn, 2020; Rogerson et al., 2020), which was the sub-theme that emerged most strongly across articles ( $n = 52$ ). Other prevention efforts include training (e.g., Martin-Ortega, 2017; Benstead et al., 2018), codes of conducts (e.g., Koekkoek et al., 2017; Christ et al., 2019), and certification (e.g., Wilhelm et al., 2020; Flynn and Walker, 2021). Detection efforts include audits despite them receiving much criticism from researchers and practitioners (e.g., Ford and Nolan, 2020; Benstead et al., 2021; Christ and Helliar, 2021). Technology is increasingly playing an important part in detection efforts (e.g., Berg et al., 2020; Christ and Helliar, 2021) and so is whistleblowing, although it is underutilised and under researched (e.g., Esoimeme, 2020; Stevenson, 2021).

Previous literature has not differentiated between the two phases of response and remedy after modern slavery has happened, but we feel it is a useful distinction, even if there will inevitably be some overlap. Most literature tends to miss the response phase and jump to the remediation phase or use one instead of the other (Gold et al., 2015; Stevenson and Cole, 2018; Benstead et al., 2021). This could be one of the reasons the response and remediation phase has remained under researched ( $n < 15$  for all sub-themes). We suggest looking to supply chain risk management literature to shed light on the definition and differentiation of the response and remedy phases in a survivor-centric approach. We also believe this is a live dynamic model rather a static model, and that lessons learnt from response and remedy phase should feed into the prevention and detection phases.

### 6.2.1. Gaps in the model

There are a number of gaps in the model, and in research on modern slavery in SCM to date. Modern slavery can be referred to as ‘hiding in plain sight’, and likewise there are opaque patches across the research field and within our framework. Sub-themes identified from few articles could point to gaps in our understanding, such as the pandemic (n = 5), or whistleblowing (n = 6).

Compared to prevention and detection, there is a lack of research on response and remediation, possibly because much of the corporate approach to managing modern slavery in supply chains comes from a place of risk avoidance, and is reactive rather than proactive. Also, most of the response efforts seem negative (e.g. termination, withholding of payments), and there is the potential for expanding the research and sub-themes around more positive response efforts.

There is a lack of clarity around what firms say they are doing, and what they are actually doing to avert modern slavery in supply chains, a gap between espoused and actual efforts. Just as some corporate sustainability efforts have been criticized as greenwashing, it may be that ‘ethics washing’ exists around modern slavery efforts (Gutierrez-Huerter et al., 2021; McGrath et al., 2022; Richards, 2022; Pesterfieldc and Rogerson, 2023). There is also a lack of clarity around how governments can assist organisations and communicate the risks of modern slavery in supply chains (Strand and Rinaldi-Semione, 2023).

There is also a gap relating to alternatives to the traditional business culture that seeks to maximize profit and lower costs providing the systemic pressures that perpetuate of modern slavery in supply chains. There is little research on how to change this business culture, and what the alternatives might be. This massive elephant in the room has been acknowledged in research (n = 21), and it is clear that something needs to change around the way we do business, but there is a black hole around how it might be addressed.

## 6.3. Modern slavery and contemporary supply chain research trajectories

Building on our systematic review, we identify three SCM lines of inquiry that can inform empirical and theoretical understanding of modern slavery in supply chains, namely: reshoring, industry 4.0 and supply chain collaboration. This is not an exhaustive list, we admit, but it can help to bring modern slavery into the SCM fold and link it to contemporary research trajectories.

### 6.3.1. Reshoring and modern slavery

The relocation of manufacturing from low-cost foreign jurisdictions back to the home country i.e., reshoring or to a near neighbour country i.e., nearshoring has generated significant interest in the SCM community (e.g., Tate et al., 2014; Benstead et al., 2017). Post-pandemic, firms are planning to focus on resilience efforts, such as reshoring and nearshoring (Alicke et al., 2020), with Central and Eastern European countries among the prime destinations for nearshoring (Gadde and Jonsson, 2019). This relocation of production is part of what commentators see as a new era of “deglobalisation” (Foroohar, 2022). Reshoring also poses interesting questions for modern slavery. Will it reduce modern slavery or simply displace it to other locations? And will modern slavery risks influence reshoring decisions in future? Tate et al. (2014) argue that reshoring gives corporations better oversight of production and makes it easier to enforce corporate sustainability policies while Benstead et al. (2017) and Gadde and Jonsson (2019) suggest that social factors may have a role to play in future reshoring decisions. By further exploring these types of questions researchers will be able to shed light on the implications of reshoring or nearshoring on modern slavery risks.

### 6.3.2. Industry 4.0 and modern slavery

Injecting visibility into existing supply chain processes and, thereafter, upgrading these same processes is part of the promise of industry 4.0 technologies like internet of things (IoT), artificial intelligence (AI), data analytics and blockchain (Agrawal et al., 2020; van Hoek et al.,

2020). Improved visibility is particularly important for countering modern slavery, as “discovering” labour rights abuses is a challenge for focal firms (Pinnington et al., 2023). Analytics tools such as BSI Connect Screen and Geoquant can help firms identify, quantify, and assess environment, social and governance (ESG) risks in their supply chains. Meanwhile, blockchain and biomarker technologies are starting to provide supply chain actors with enhanced transparency, traceability, and auditability over product origins (e.g., Gold et al., 2015; Christ and Heliar, 2021; Lafargue et al., 2022). Despite its promise, questions around the use of industry 4.0 technologies to police supply chains are moot. We do not know the extent to which corporations are using industry 4.0 technologies, how adopters are using them, the effectiveness of the technologies in preventing, detecting, and responding to risks, or the challenges associated with their implementation. Attending to these questions is vital if the SCM community is to understand the role that industry 4.0 can play in the fight against modern slavery.

### 6.3.3. Supply chain collaboration

Supply chain collaboration, by which is meant two or more firms working in partnership, is a strategic response to operating in complex environments (Min et al., 2005). By collaborating firms get to exchange proprietary information, conduct joint problem solving, combine resources and capabilities, pool risk and share rewards (Min et al., 2005). Industry practice suggests that collaboration has a critical role to play in fighting modern slavery. Many corporations have joined multi-stakeholder initiatives, which is an admission that the problem requires co-ordinated industry responses (Flynn and Walker, 2021). We see this in initiatives like the Joint Alliance for CSR where telecoms firms co-operate on supplier audits and share information on supply risks. While collaboration is recognised as a facilitator of sustainable SCM, research to date has concentrated on its environmental dimension and overlooked issues like child labour and employee rights (Chen et al., 2017). Nevertheless, Stringer et al. (2022a) found that firms, as private governors, seek partnerships with NGOs (dyad and multi-stakeholder) to deal with instances of modern slavery in their supply chain. This confirms the position of Marschke and Vandergeest (2016), that stakeholders are working together to tackle modern slavery rather than using the approach of naming and shaming. Furthermore, NGOs are found to be required actors to bring about change in GVCs in a synergistic way. It is therefore imperative that more research is done on the relationship between NGOs and businesses when collaborating to tackle modern slavery in supply chains (Stringer et al., 2022a). Investigating how and why firms engage in either multi-party horizontal collaborations with peers or vertical collaborations with suppliers and/or customers as part of managing modern slavery risks deserves scrutiny. Our thematic analysis revealed the importance of stakeholders like NGOs and consultants in verifying employment standards in supply chains. Further research could therefore expand on governance roles by looking at NGO-business collaborations through a relational view lens (Walker et al., 2013). We suggest that research pays particular attention to these types of collaborations.

## 7. Conclusions

This study conducted a systematic literature review on modern slavery in SCM, provided an updated definition, and elaborated upon Gold et al.’s (2015) model. We introduce new factors to the model, highlight additional external stakeholders, and extend detection and response by adding prevention and remediation as discrete phases in managing modern slavery risks.

Our research has several limitations. This SLR is a secondary data-based study and does not provide empirical data to the research community. Although SLRs are considered rigorous, this study focuses on academic journal articles in English, published after 2010 in Scopus or Web of Science. Research on modern slavery in supply chains has been published through other organisations and databases, prior to 2010, and

in other languages than English, thus it is unlikely that this review is comprehensive of all literature. The selection process (e.g. search terms, inclusion and exclusion criteria) we followed to identify articles may have been too restrictive, potentially causing us to exclude relevant articles. We also sought to elaborate upon Gold et al. (2015) conceptual model, fleshing out the details from our review of the literature. We may have missed some occurrences of themes and sub-themes across the papers, and may have presented the new elements within Gold et al.'s model in ways that could be further refined. For example, there is inevitably overlap between remedy and response phases, but we chose to present them as separate categories for the sake of conceptual clarity. In order to scrutinize the robustness of the revised conceptual model, it would benefit from empirical testing, allowing a further iteration in theory elaboration.

The study has several implications for future research. We identify a number of gaps in our revised conceptual model (section 6.2.1), which could be a starting point for future research directions. We renamed the centre of Gold et al. (2015) model the corporate-stakeholder context as numerous studies identified the importance of stakeholders. Yet a stakeholder theory lens (Freeman, 1984) was not applied in the studies we reviewed, a theoretical gap that would be worth addressing. Institutional theory has been adopted to explore sustainable SCM practices (e.g., Yawar and Kauppi, 2018) and could help to explain organisational adaptations to modern slavery risks. Some authors have already gone down this route and found early indications of institutional isomorphism across corporate structures, policies, and practices for combating modern slavery (Flynn and Walker, 2021). We recommend that modern slavery researchers start to align their work with established theoretical and methodological approaches from SCM. It would also be fruitful to explore alternatives to traditional business culture, which seem to perpetuate the conditions for modern slavery. There is also potential in exploring how corporate stances on modern slavery relate to established environmental social governance (ESG) aspects. Are "greener" firms better at tackling modern slavery, for instance, and is there a relationship between how firms manage their own employees and attitudes to modern slavery in supply chains?

Modern slavery researchers can learn from methodological techniques that elicit primary data on sensitive subjects. Benstead et al. (2018) action research on supplier auditing in the garment sector is a case in point. Taking inspiration from this type of fieldwork is crucial because modern slavery researchers have over-relied on secondary data, especially modern slavery statements, for their empirical findings (Han et al., 2022). In terms of primary data collection, there is a need to represent the perspectives of lower tier suppliers close to the point of production, and most importantly the voices of people with lived experiences, which are currently missing from research on modern slavery

in supply chains. It would also be beneficial to conduct more quantitative research, using mathematical modelling approaches from data science to explore the relationships between the factors that influence modern slavery in supply chains. We hope this literature review is a step towards a richer understanding of the current state of modern slavery research in SCM, and potential future research directions.

#### CRediT authorship contribution statement

Helen Walker: Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analysis, Funding acquisition, Investigation, Methodology, Project administration, Resources, Software, Supervision, Validation, Visualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. Anthony Flynn: Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analysis, Funding acquisition, Investigation, Methodology, Project administration, Resources, Software, Supervision, Validation, Visualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. Maryam Lofti: Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analysis, Funding acquisition, Investigation, Methodology, Project administration, Resources, Software, Supervision, Validation, Visualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. Vanja Strand: Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Project administration, Resources, Validation, Visualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing, Funding acquisition, Software, Supervision

#### Notes

<sup>a</sup> We conducted the literature review search and analysis in 2021, and we used the same search procedure to identify and include key 2022 and 2023 papers in the analysis as ad hoc inclusions which were added in the text and Appendix C.

#### Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

#### Data availability

Data will be made available on request.

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#### Appendix A

List of analysed papers in alphabetical order.

S. no	Reference	S. no	Reference	S. no	Reference
1	Abebe and Bessell (2011)	37	Fouladvand (2018)	73	New (2015)
2	Andrijasevic (2021)	38	Fransen and LeBaron (2019)	74	Nolan and Bott (2018)
3	Andrijasevic and Novitz (2020)	39	García-Alaminos et al. (2020)	75	Nolan and Frishling (2019)
4	Aronowitz (2019)	40	Gold et al. (2015)	76	Novitz and Andrijasevic (2020)
5	Arslan (2020)	41	Gore and LeBaron (2019)	77	Peake and Kenner (2020)
6	Barrientos (2013)	42	Greer (2018)	78	Planitzer (2016)
7	Benstead et al. (2018)	43	Greer and Purvis (2016)	79	Posthuma and Rossi (2017)
8	Benstead et al. (2021)	44	Hampton (2019)	80	Ras and Gregoriou (2019)
9	Berg et al. (2020)	45	Haynes (2020)	81	Redmond (2020)
10	Berlan (2016)	46	Hays (2020)	82	Rogerson et al. (2020)
11	Birkey et al. (2018)	47	Hok et al. (2020)	83	Rosile et al. (2021)
12	Blanton et al. (2020)	48	Johnson (2015)	84	Russell et al. (2018)

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S. no	Reference	S. no	Reference	S. no	Reference
13	Blindell (2021)	49	Koekkoek et al. (2017)	85	Sandler et al. (2018)
14	Burmester et al. (2019)	50	Korkmaz (2019)	86	Sarfaty (2020)
15	Caruana et al. (2021)	51	Landau and Marshall (2018)	87	Schenner (2017)
16	Chesney et al. (2019)	52	LeBaron (2014b)	88	Schenner (2018)
17	Christ and Burritt (2021)	53	LeBaron (2015)	89	Shelley and Bain (2015)
18	Christ and Burritt (2018)	54	LeBaron (2021a)	90	Smith and Betts (2015)
19	Christ et al. (2020)	55	LeBaron (2021b)	91	Stevenson (2021)
20	Christ and Helliar (2021)	56	LeBaron and Ayers (2013a)	92	Stevenson and Cole (2018)
21	Christ et al. (2019)	57	LeBaron and Gore (2020)	93	Stringer and Harré (2019)
22	Clark and Longo (2021)	58	LeBaron and Ruhmkorf (2017)	94	Stringer et al. (2016a)
23	Cole and Shirgholami (2021)	59	LeBaron and Ruhmkorf (2019)	95	Stringer et al. (2021)
24	Cousins et al. (2020)	60	Ma et al. (2016)	96	Stringer and Michailova (2018)
25	Crane et al. (2019)	61	Mahdiraji et al. (2020)	97	Stringer et al. (2016b)
26	Davies and Ollus (2019)	62	Mantouvalou (2018)	98	Szorenyi (2016)
27	Dean and Marshall (2020)	63	Marschke and Vandergeest (2016)	99	Tang and Zhang (2019)
28	Dewey (2018)	64	Martin (2018)	100	Trautrimis et al. (2020a)
29	Esoimeme (2020)	65	Martin-Ortega (2017)	101	Trautrimis et al. (2020b)
30	Ezell (2016)	66	Meehan and Pinnington (2021)	102	Van Buren et al. (2021)
31	Feasley (2015)	67	Mehra and Shay (2016)	103	Vijeyarasa (2020)
32	Feasley (2016)	68	Mende and Drubel (2020)	104	Wen and Zhao (2020)
33	Fellows and Chong (2020)	69	Mileski et al. (2020)	105	Wilhelm et al. (2020)
34	Flynn (2020)	70	Monciardini et al. (2021)	106	Wray-Bliss and Michelson (2021)
35	Flynn and Walker (2021)	71	Nakamura et al. (2018)		
36	Ford and Nolan (2020)	72	Natta (2021)		

## Appendix B

Appendix B: Initial coding categories drawn from Gold et al.'s (2015) framework.

Themes	Sub-themes
Institutional context	Industry Supply chain Product/commodity Socio-economic conditions Culture Traditions Government regulation Geographical situation Languages
Capabilities	Firm level Supply chain level Business-non-business partnership level
Detection	Risk monitoring Triangulation of indicators and data sources
Remediation	Targeted investigation Multi-stakeholder initiative Community centred approach Supplier development and capacity building

## Appendix C

Emerging coding structure and sample evidence [The **bold italic** themes and subthemes newly emerged during our analysis and were added to the revised conceptual model in Fig. 5. S=Source number. N = number of articles theme found within].

Theme	Sub-theme	Example quote	S	n
Institutional Factors	Industry	"Slavery-related practice has also been found to occur to a greater extent in certain industries. Such industries generally involve activities that can be classified as low education labour-intensive, and often dangerous, not subject to a high level of technological development and where skilled labour is not required." (Christ et al., 2020)	2, 4, 5, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 26, 32, 40, 57, 60, 63, 69, 70, 71, 77, 84, 85, 87, 88, 93, 96, 97, 99, 100, 105	29
	Lower tier supply chain	"Across the world there are hundreds of thousands of trafficked people forced to work in controlled environments where workers can be effectively isolated and dominated: remote farms, mineral quarries, raw	32, 43	2

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Theme	Sub-theme	Example quote	S	n
	Product/Commodity	material mines, off-shore fishing platforms and industrial sweatshops" ( <a href="#">Greer and Purvis, 2016</a> ) “(There is a) high risk of forced labour in the agricultural production of numerous fruit and vegetable commodities consumed in the United States” ( <a href="#">Blackstonea et al., 2023</a> )	13, 19, 40, 96, a	5
	Socio-economic context (e.g., financial dependency)	“If the working population of a source-material country is aggregate poor, there is more likely societal acceptance of exploitative or forced-labor work situations by citizens desperate to obtain and maintain employment.” ( <a href="#">Feesley, 2016</a> )	5, 12, 14, 16, 21, 22, 32, 37, 77, 99	10
	Socio-cultural context	“The few studies that have analysed the complex ways in which exploitation occurs highlight the importance of socio-cultural context, as well as the value of a political economy perspective in uncovering and explaining the nature of exploitation.” ( <a href="#">Abebe and Bessell, 2011</a> )	1, 5, 8, 12, 14, 16, 22, 57, 103	9
	Socio-political context	“the issue of modern slavery becomes a political arena where different sets of actors communicatively compete and deliberate over its framing and assign moral legitimacy to their frames” ( <a href="#">Gutierrez-Huerter et al., 2021</a> )	b, c	2
	Business culture	“Slavery, and in particular forced labour and debt bondage, is prevalent in many business models; however, it is most common in business organisations characterized by narrow profit margins, labour intensive activities, and where the majority of value is captured by large companies downstream in the supply chain.” ( <a href="#">Christ and Burritt, 2018</a> )	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 42, 43, 54, 68, 96, 99, 102	21
	Regulatory context	“We have documented important gaps in the jurisdictions of countries that source migrant workers (in our case, Indonesia) and those at the receiving end (in our study, New Zealand). Although state regulations have improved (particularly in New Zealand), exploitative practices persist at a systemic level.” ( <a href="#">Stringer et al., 2021</a> )	3, 6, 12, 14, 16, 25, 26, 28, 32, 37, 44, 50, 51, 63, 67, 69, 76, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 105	23
	Geography (e.g., state capacity, development, conflict, democracy)	“The formal institutions in developed countries do not allow for the exploitation of labour in these countries, many firms have as a result outsourced the jobs to less developed countries to operate outside the formal institutional boundaries of their home countries.” ( <a href="#">Arslan, 2020</a> )	1, 2, 5, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 32, 47, 77, 85	15
	High risk events (e.g., covid-19 pandemic)	“The COVID-19 pandemic is increasing the vulnerability of workers to find themselves in exploitative conditions and in modern slavery as the most extreme form of exploitation.” ( <a href="#">Trautrimis et al., 2020b</a> )	17, 23, 33, 91, 101	5
Corporate-stakeholder context	Firm level	“Buyers are therefore encouraged to focus on their internal processes and embed modern slavery awareness throughout their company by improving purchasing practices and transparency, and by providing internal training and resources to support employees at all levels of the business.” ( <a href="#">Benstead et al., 2021</a> )	4, 8, 30, 34, 39, 45, 46, 49, 61, 63, 67, 68, 89, 90, 102, 105, 106	17
	Supply chain level	In the case of modern slavery, the knowledge gained from an initial collaboration can be used to inform and enhance the response of individual business actors for improving standards and transparency within the supply chain.” ( <a href="#">Benstead et al., 2018</a> )	7, 8, 18, 21, 25, 26, 29, 32, 36, 39, 40, 43, 46, 47, 49, 54, 59, 61, 63, 71, 84, 88, 96, 100, 105	25
	Business- non-business stakeholder level (e.g., recruitment agencies, auditing companies, consumers, governments)	“If businesses and enterprises do not voluntarily self-regulate, and if legislation and enforcement are inadequate to deter trafficking or labor exploitation, consumers and workers may have to directly advocate for change. Advocacy campaigns aim to elevate consumer awareness with the purpose of altering consumer behaviour.” ( <a href="#">Aronowitz, 2019</a> )	4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 28, 30, 36, 37, 38, 48, 49, 50, 52, 63, 67, 76, 79, 83, 86, 87, 88, 95, 99, 105	27
Prevention Efforts	Disclosure by regulation (e.g., domestic and international)	“Acknowledgment of both the scale and illegitimacy of modern slavery has led to new legislation such as the California Transparency in Supply Chain Act (2010) in the United States and the <a href="#">Modern slavery act, 2015</a> in the United Kingdom, urging the business community to prevent modern slavery from entering their supply chains.” ( <a href="#">Caruana et al., 2021</a> )	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 42, 43, 46, 47, 49, 51, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 78, 80, 81, 82, 86, 92, 103, 104	52
	Codes of conduct	“Suppliers are often overwhelmed, receiving limited support to fully understand and meet codes of conduct and the subsequent lengthy audit corrective action plans ( <a href="#">Flynn and Walker, 2021</a> )	4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 27, 28, 34, 35, 46, 49, 60, 66, 80, 81, 82, 90, 92	24
	Training	“The modern slavery training (Initiative 4) equips employees with modern slavery knowledge to support their day-to-day commercial decisions.” ( <a href="#">Benstead et al., 2018</a> )	4, 7, 13, 29, 60, 89, 92, 102	8

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Theme	Sub-theme	Example quote	S	n
	<b>Certification programs</b>	"The Rainforest Alliance Sustainable Agricultural standards, Fair Trade certification labor standards, UTZ certified draft standards for cocoa, and Starbucks' COCOA standards are all reportedly in compliance with the ILO's standards on child and forced labor." (Aronowitz, 2019)	4, 5, 19, 60, 63, 84, 102	7
Detection Efforts	<b>Audits</b>	"Due to the limits of social auditing as typically practiced, the over-reliance on audits in corporate MSA responses could result in a scheme that generates relatively narrow reporting by businesses and promotes an unsatisfactorily shallow, compliance-oriented approach to solving the problem of modern slavery." (Ford and Nolan, 2020)	4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 29, 36, 38, 40, 73, 88, 92	17
	<b>Technology (e.g., blockchain and worker voice)</b>	"The use of a blockchain could potentially be a very useful technology in reducing modern slavery." (Christ and Helliar, 2021)	9, 19, 20, 36, 40, 71, 82, 89, 102, 105	10
	<b>Whistleblowing</b>	"In the case of modern slavery, given the particular characteristics of the threat, whistleblowing by workers, including the victims themselves, is extremely challenging. Thus, whistle-blowers can be actors internal to the organisation under suspicion, e.g. the victims or other employees; actors internal to the supply chain, e.g. suppliers, customers and logistics providers that interact directly with the organisation; actors internal to the wider industrial environment; or actors external to the supply chain or industry sector, e.g. the general public and local community. (Stevenson, 2021)	13, 21, 29, 91, 29, 35	6
Response efforts	<b>Worker related response (e.g., rescue, establish no-recruitment fee, compensate)</b>	"Evidence also reveals action that has taken place to remediate the specific issues found during the audit relating to fees, such as paying compensation to workers." (Benstead et al., 2021)	1, 4, 8, 36, 45, 62, 79, 83, 85, 105	10
	<b>Supplier related response (e.g., withdrawal, withholding payment, do nothing, follow others)</b>	"They include suspending or terminating a relationship; but these are typically not the first responses by a buying firm, especially if the supplier provides a critical resource and there are few alternative providers." (Stevenson and Cole, 2018)	4, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 50, 64, 72, 73, 77, 83, 91, 92	14
	<b>Authority related response (e.g., report to authorities, prosecution)</b>	"If a buying firm uncovers forced labour in its supply chain, it is the discovery of serious criminality, and firms have unequivocal moral obligations (and, in some cases, potential legal obligations to bring the situation to the attention of the authorities." (New, 2015)	4, 8, 16, 18, 20, 30, 37, 46, 63, 73, 92, 100	12
Remedy efforts	<b>Action plan (e.g., new policies, re-auditing, training, rehabilitation, and reintegration)</b>	"More commonly, buyers will look to develop the supplier, putting a remediation plan in place to improve performance. This may involve special measures until standards have improved, e.g. more regular audits or co-locating staff inside the factory and training." (Stevenson and Cole, 2018)	8, 13, 44, 47, 79, 92	6
	<b>Collaboration (e.g., multi-stakeholder initiative, local NGOs)</b>	"The research also documents the evolving and ongoing remediation process, which has led to collaboration with a local NGO to support workers and develop suppliers." (Benstead et al., 2021)	7, 8, 10, 13, 36, 40, 79, 92	8
	<b>Worker centred approach (e.g., bottom-up approach, worker-driven social responsibility)</b>	A worker-centred approach requires suppliers and brands to take specific measures in response to feedback, independently evaluate those measures, and set deadlines or timeframes for that implementation (Berg et al., 2020)	3, 4, 9, 13, 36, 71, 75, 79, 83, 85, 91, 102, 105	13

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