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Labour exploitation as a social determinant of health

A structured conceptual framework focusing on

migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs

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Abstract

Introduction: The fight against labour exploitation has received increasing attention globally, and has largely focused on migrant workers or sectors where they are mostly employed. In the United Kingdom (UK), for instance, labour exploitation is covered by the Modern Slavery and Immigration Acts, thereby connecting exploitation and migration. In public health, the lack of a common understanding of what exactly constitutes labour exploitation for migrant workers has limited the study of its impacts on migrant workers' health, and hindered the generation of evidence to inform policies and provide appropriate healthcare to address exploited migrant workers' needs.

Aim: This thesis aims to clarify the concept of labour exploitation focusing on migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs, by providing a structured conceptual framework using professional experts' and migrant workers' voices. It builds on the growing conceptualisation of labour exploitation as a continuum *"between decent work and forced labour"* (1).

Methods: The main method used was Concept Mapping (CM). It was undertaken with two groups: 1) multidisciplinary professional experts; and 2) Latin American migrant workers in London (LAWs). A critical analysis and synthesis compared and combined both groups' perspectives. Interviews with LAWs and key informants working with them were also used to prepare for the CM with LAWs and explore the issue of migrant workers' exploitation in the UK context.

Key findings: The expert CM generated the main structured conceptual framework, which revealed four main dimensions of labour exploitation: 'Shelter and personal security', 'Finance and migration', 'Health and safety', and 'Social and legal protection'. The CM with LAW displayed three main dimensions: 'Poor employment conditions and lack of protection', 'Health and safety and psychosocial hazards' and 'Disposability and abuse of power' (or 'Dehumanisation'). The adaptation of the expert skeleton map using LAW's voices integrated the new dimension of 'Dehumanisation' and structural forms of coercion. Furthermore, the analysis of the interviews led to identifying an ecosocial model of labour exploitation, revealing micro (e.g. workplace) and macro (e.g. national) levels of labour exploitation.

Conclusion: This thesis posits labour exploitation as a social determinant of migrant workers' health, and clarifies its content based on professional experts' and migrant workers' inputs. The conceptual framework offers an operational tool that could support the development of a common body of evidence about the impact of labour exploitation on migrant workers' health.

Declaration of own work

I, Sabah Boufkhed, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Sabah Boufkhed

Abbreviations and acronyms index

CA	Cluster analysis
CLAUK	Coalition of Latin Americans in the UK
CM	Concept Mapping
CSI	Concept System Incorporated
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
HSE	Health and Safety Executive
ID	Identification number
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Office for Migration
LA	Latin America(n)
LAWs	Latin American workers in manual low-skilled jobs in London
MDS	Multidimensional scaling
MSLA	Modern Slavery Act
MVA	Multivariate analysis
NCA	National Crime Agency
NRM	National Referral Mechanism
OHS	Occupational Health and Safety
RA	Research assistant
RDS	Research degree student(s)
SDH	Social determinant of health
UK	United Kingdom
USA or US	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organization
WHO-SDH framework	WHO framework for action on social determinants of health

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Chapter 1.   Introduction

1.1.   Introduction

Increased involvement of healthcare workers in providing services to victims of human trafficking, along with greater public awareness of the harsh working conditions of migrant workers, have contributed to the recent growing interest in issues of labour exploitation among public health researchers. 'Labour exploitation' is a term used to describe harsh, unfair or unacceptable working conditions, often in manual low-skilled jobs. These are also jobs where migrant workers are mostly employed [2]. It is also used to refer to situations of modern slavery, as for example, in the United Kingdom (UK), where labour exploitation has been debated within modern slavery and immigration discourses [3–6]. Literature on migrant workers' labour conditions, or precarious employment often uses this term without clarifying its content.

Researchers, in common with wider society, have invoked labour exploitation as a factor which can have a negative impact on workers' health, especially for migrants in manual low-skilled jobs [7–13]. Yet, there is limited statistical or epidemiological evidence of links between labour exploitation and impacts on migrant workers' health [7,9,14,15]. The lack of common understanding of what labour exploitation is has prevented studying how labour exploitation impacts migrant workers' health. It makes it challenging to understand 'exploited' migrant workers' needs, hence limiting the development of robust evidence to inform policies and appropriate healthcare provision for this population.

This doctoral thesis contributes to addressing this gap by proposing a structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. It clarifies the content of the concept drawing on (professional) experts' and migrant workers' voices.

This chapter introduces key information on which the thesis will build. Section 1.2 provides background in five parts. First, it discusses the original setting of this research, and highlights how it has shifted to focus on a conceptualisation work. Second, it gives an overview of the conceptualisations of labour exploitation in public health, and highlights key concepts often related to labour exploitation and why I chose to focus on the exploitation of migrant workers. Third, it presents key measures that have operationalised labour exploitation and related concepts, and describes a working conceptual framework that guided the research design. Fourth, it introduces migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs as a vulnerable population. Fifth, it provides contextual information for the fieldwork in the UK with Latin American migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs in London (LAWs). Section 1.3

presents the rationale, aim and scope of the research. Section 1.4 provides an outline of the thesis.

1.2.   Background

1.2.1.   The original setting

This PhD study was initially nested within the *Work In Freedom* (WiF) programme which aimed to prevent human trafficking for the purpose of labour exploitation in South Asia among women and girls migrating for work. It quickly became apparent that challenges associated with the identification of victims of human trafficking prevented the development of robust quantitative health research exploring their health issues and needs.

Existing measures of labour exploitation have not been standardised, and the variety of tools used to identify 'extreme forms of exploitation' are mainly lists of indicators that are "*signals to investigate further*", and not specific identification tools (16). Terms like 'human trafficking', 'forced labour' and 'modern slavery', which are grounded in the concept of labour exploitation, are commonly used interchangeably in the literature, whilst their content is still debated (17–21). The lack of clear definitions of labour exploitation results in a lack of standardised measurement tools or conceptualisations within the public health field researching extreme forms of labour exploitation. In fact, as Chapter 2 will review, this concept has been discussed in several academic disciplines, such as law, social science and health fields; by different stakeholders, such as academics, or international organisations or non-governmental organisations (NGOs); and by (migrant) workers themselves.

Before starting to develop a measure of labour exploitation for the field of public health, a first crucial step was to better understand the concept to be measured, by developing a conceptual framework using a robust methodology. Therefore, I decided to focus my research on conceptualising labour exploitation with a focus on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs, using the voices of professional experts and migrant workers themselves. As the following section demonstrates, this population has a double burden of both poor labour conditions and high vulnerability to exploitation, which makes it a priority for public health research drawing on a social justice theory (22), on which this thesis is grounded (see Chapter 4). Due to delays in the WiF project and following the earthquake in Nepal where the initial fieldwork was planned, I decided to conduct my fieldwork in the UK with LAWs whose voices will be compared and integrated with those of experts'. Section 1.2.4 will highlight why the UK provided a relevant location for investigating the exploitation of migrant workers.

It is important to note here that, in this thesis, I will use the term 'expert' to refer to professional experts who have knowledge of, and expertise in, labour exploitation because of the nature of their work. Definitions of 'experts' are debated (23), and I endorse claims that research participants, here migrant workers, are also experts who have *"expertise of personal experience, or the knowledge possessed by research participants who have experienced the phenomenon or event under investigation"* (23; p.468). However, for word limit and clarity purposes, the term 'experts' in this thesis will only refer to professionals.

1.2.2. Migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs

1.2.2.a. *International migrants*

The UN 2017 International Migration Report estimates that, worldwide, there are 260 million international migrants, meaning individuals living in a country that is not the one they were born in (25). This represents 3.4% of the world population. Most migrants (64%) are living in high-income countries, within which the biggest destination countries are, respectively, the United States of America (USA; about 50 million), Saudi Arabia, Germany and Russia (about 12 million each), and the UK (nearly 9 million). The biggest regions of origin are first Asia (41% of the global emigration), followed by Europe (24%) and the Latin America and Caribbean regions (15%). This UN report acknowledges that migration brings positive outcomes for origin and destination countries. For example, for Europe, the report highlighted that migration has prevented population decline and offset population ageing.

Two-thirds of international migrants are of working age (between 20 and 64) with a median age of 39 years. Migrants have been reported to be exposed to more vulnerable situations, such as being the first to lose their jobs in case of unemployment crises, and to violations that may constitute human trafficking or other forms of human rights violations (2,9,26). In 2016, the ILO estimated that 16 million people worldwide, including 13 million adults, were victims of forced labour (including human trafficking) (27).

1.2.2.b. *Migrant workers*

The ILO defines migrant workers as *"international migrants who are currently employed or are unemployed and seeking employment in their present country of residence"* (28). This is the definition I will use in this thesis. In 2015, the ILO estimated that there are 150 million migrant workers worldwide, most of whom are concentrated in high-income countries (29). This number has been continuously increasing with globalisation. Most migrant workers were employed in the services sector (71%), followed by industry and agriculture jobs (18% and 11%, respectively) (29). International migrants are mostly employed in low-skilled jobs that are often referred

to as '3D', which stands for 'dirty, demanding and dangerous'. Sometimes a 'D' refers to 'degrading' or 'demeaning' (2,26,30,31). In practice, these jobs are manual low-skilled jobs, which mostly require no or few skills to enter the position (32).

1.2.2.c.   *Migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs and labour exploitation*

Migrant workers tend to be concentrated in low-skilled or low-paid jobs due to many factors, including a high demand for cheap labour within these sectors (33). In a review of debates on *"the rhetoric of the 'good worker'"*, McKenzie and Ford (34) discuss the widely accepted view that migrant workers concentrate in low-paid jobs because these jobs tend not to be taken by the national workers. Some studies provide a more nuanced view by highlighting that in economic crises associated with high unemployment rates, national workers have been keen to access these jobs as well (34–36). Nevertheless, employers have been reported to prefer immigrants to fill highly demanding jobs. The researchers reported that these employers believed migrant workers, especially from recently arrived communities, would be less likely to complain about the salary or working conditions, and a that they can be fired more easily because they do not know their rights (35,37).

Manual low-skilled jobs tend to expose workers to higher occupational health hazards, such as chemicals or accidents and fatalities (38), and are mostly those referred to as exploitative by international organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGO), academics and the media (1,2,28,30,39–46). Studies describing situations of 'exploitation' of workers highlight that migrant workers may be more vulnerable to employment abuses and subject to discrimination, feelings of marginalisation and social exclusion than non-migrants (41,42,44,45,47,48). Migrant workers often face several barriers, such as language and cultural barriers, barriers to access social and health services, and a lack of knowledge about their rights in the destination country (26,30,40,49,50). The situation may be even worse for migrants with an irregular immigration status, who are subject to riskier situations, especially because of their fear of detention and deportation, or even abuse by authorities (51–53).

In fact, as section 2.3.1 will discuss, the issue of exploitation appears implicit in most of the literature on the working and living conditions of migrant workers in low-skilled jobs, but what exactly constitutes a situation of labour exploitation remains unspecified and unspecific. When exploitation is invoked to describe migrant workers' conditions, studies highlight issues related to poor wages, high workloads and the ways in which workers are treated (including the use of violence), whilst not explicitly stating that this constitutes labour exploitation (54–56).

1.2.2.d.   *Migrant workers in health research*

Existing literature discusses migrant workers being at increased risk of work-related morbidity and mortality. They are frequently exposed to dangerous working conditions (2,13,26,30,57). It is well known that migrants experience high occupational health risks, are highly concentrated in higher-risk jobs and have added vulnerability (2,13,30,58–60). However, despite the continued growth of international migration and high concentration of international migrants in manual low-skilled or 3D jobs, there is still little research focusing on migrant occupational health (26,30,58,59,61); and migrant workers have been identified as one of the *"new populations"* in occupational epidemiology studies (62).

Studies in migrant occupational health have been difficult to implement because of several methodological challenges. These include the existence of various definitions of the term 'migrant', language barriers or difficulties in accessing migrant workers (30,31,62). Benach et al. emphasised that:

> *"Urgent health issues to be addressed among migrant workers include occupational safety, injury prevention, work-related diseases, barriers to accessing health services, and the associated health risks for their families and communities, in addition to discrimination and exploitation."* (2)

This thesis focuses on the exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs as this population is highly vulnerable and disadvantaged, and hence should be prioritised for public health action (22,63).

As the next section will introduce, there is currently no common conceptualisation of 'labour exploitation' in public health, and I discuss that two schools of thought address this issue. Despite their epistemological differences, described in Chapter 2, these two schools agree that migrant workers are at high risk of being (severely) exploited, making this population highly relevant for building a common conceptualisation in the field.

1.2.3.   Labour exploitation

1.2.3.a.   *Mainstream labour exploitation and human rights violations*

In recent years, the global fight against human trafficking, now called modern slavery in the UK (see section 2.2.2 for definitions), has driven the mainstream interest in labour exploitation, especially of migrant workers. Mainstream international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), media and other actors within international civil society have brought to the public's attention the global 'exploitative' working conditions of migrant workers, mostly referring to violations of human rights (1,2,9,28,30,39–45). This has coincided with an increasing body of criminal laws against 'criminal forms' of labour exploitation which

created or improved rights for victims. These rights cover improved access to healthcare, hence a growing involvement of the healthcare sector. The identification of victims of human rights violations is challenging because the different terms used correspond to different legal frameworks framing the provision of healthcare services for victims (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.2). Furthermore, as mentioned previously, 'labour exploitation' has also been used to designate various situations, including unfair or harsh working conditions that may not be considered criminal but still affect migrant workers' health.

To facilitate understanding of *"this complex social phenomenon"* and take into account *"the plethora of realities of exploitation"* (1; p.16), Skrivankova suggested that situations of labour exploitation can be conceptualised along a *"continuum between decent work and forced labour"* (1). Using this continuum led me to identify two schools of thoughts in public health which echo the two ends of the continuum. The following sections discuss Skrivankova's continuum of labour exploitation, and the two schools of thought addressing labour exploitation in public health.

1.2.3.b.   Labour exploitation as a continuum "between decent work and forced labour"

Skrivankova argues that viewing situations of exploitation along a continuum takes into account "*the plethora of realities of exploitation*" (1; p.16). Such a continuum approach has also been advocated by other researchers and stakeholders (39,64,65). Figure 1 below presents the theoretical framework that Skrivankova developed in the field of human rights and criminal justice. Her framework suggests that labour exploitation covers:

> *"situations that do not comply with the principles of decent work and represent some form of violation of standards, starting from more benign forms (e.g. discrimination, payment under minimum wage, breach of contract), with increasing severity, leading to the most serious form of violation, forced labour."* (1; p.20)

Skrivankova's framework helps to distinguish legal frameworks that should be used to outlaw different situations of labour exploitation: *"more benign forms"* located towards breaches of decent work standards (which I will refer to as the lower part of the continuum) that could be prosecuted using labour law: *"the most serious violations"* located towards forced labour (which I will refer to as the extreme part of the continuum) that could be prosecuted using criminal and/or human rights laws (1).
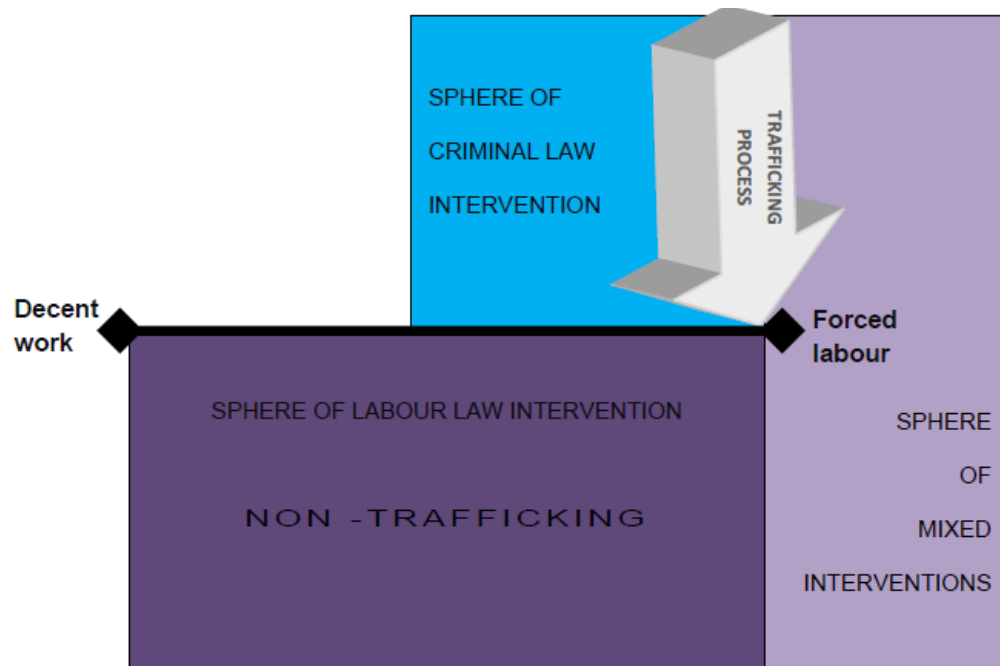
Figure 1 Skrivankova's continuum of exploitation and intervention

Skrivankova further suggests that situations of labour exploitation start with a deviation from the concept of 'decent work', which represents standards for employment and working conditions. The Director-General of the International Labour Organization (ILO) defined the concept of decent work in 1999 as: "*opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity*" (67). *"Decent work for all"* became ILO's primary goal (68,69).

As public health is lacking an operational conceptual framework of labour exploitation, Skrivankova's framework enabled me to approach the concept of labour exploitation more broadly. I expanded my take on the concept of labour exploitation from the lens of human trafficking (at the extreme part) that I had originally considered, to also explore the possible 'milder' forms of labour exploitation along the continuum. This led me to identify two schools of thought that echo with situations of violations of crimes or of labour standards and law.

1.2.3.c.   *Two schools of thoughts in public health*

Using the concept of labour exploitation as a continuum "between decent work and forced labour" revealed a conceptual gap in the public health literature. My review of the literature (see Chapter 2) using a continuum approach revealed that issues of labour exploitation were addressed by two main schools of thought in public health: 1) the Human Rights (HR) school of thought focusing on the extreme part of the continuum (close to forced labour), and the

Social Determinants of Health (SDH) school of thought on the lower part (close to breaches of decent work). I name these the Human Rights (HR) and the Social Determinants of Health (SDH) schools to reflect the approaches that they take to address labour exploitation.

The HR school covers public health literature that focuses on extreme forms of labour exploitation and relates to the fields of human rights and criminal law. It focuses on individuals' risks and exposures to hazards. As Chapter 2 will discuss, the field of human trafficking has led the way in 'mainstreaming' issues of labour exploitation in public health research and has informed the increased involvement of healthcare professionals in the provision of services for victims. Research from the HR school has positioned this issue as a public health issue (12,70), and has focused on migrant workers because of the initial view of human trafficking as a transnational crime (71,72). As Chapter 2 will discuss (see section 2.4.3), this school seems to be shifting from a 'categorical criminalisation' approach (victim or not) towards a labour approach (continuum approach). Health research on labour trafficking has increasingly examined employment and working conditions, and *"structural drivers"* of exploitation (9). Research from this mainstream school of thought to some extent gets getting close to the SDH school of thought, bringing with it its focus on migrant workers' exploitation.

The SDH school draws on literature that has approached labour exploitation issues through a focus on social determinants of health, such as employment and working conditions that echo with situations at the lower part of the continuum. It relates to the field of political economy and focuses on the role of structures in creating or enabling labour exploitation rather than on individual issues of human rights. This school goes beyond individuals' risks to look at how structures, such as employment relations and conditions determine workers' health. Research from the SDH school has not focused on migrant workers as much as the HR school has, yet it also emphasises that migrant workers are a highly vulnerable population in terms of both poor working conditions and exploitation (73). Research in this school of thought operationalised the ILO concept of decent work with the concept of *"fair employment"* for use in public health (73). It also considers precarious employment, slavery and trafficking as non-standard forms of employment. Using a continuum approach, I suggest that employment conditions fit with a continuum conceptualisation encompassing issues of precariousness and slavery, where precarious employment or precariousness could cover the lower part of the continuum. Literature on precarious employment often mentions workers' exploitation (35,74,75), and echoes with mainstream views of the concept of labour exploitation (75–77):

"[The] most distinctive property of precarious employment is uncertainty in the duration of the labor contract, although other features such as psychological job insecurity, employment strain, low wages and lack of benefits, hazardous physical and psychological working conditions, and de facto or real absence of legal protection have been included among its indicators." (77)

Precariousness, or employment precariousness, is a concept broader than precarious employment. It has been conceptualised for health research (78,79), and operationalised for social epidemiological studies as:

"a multidimensional construct encompassing contractual features of precarious employment (employment instability, individual-level bargaining over employment conditions, low wages and economic deprivation, and limited workplace rights and social protection) and workplace social dimensions of precarious employment relationships, that is, workplace power relations (defencelessness to workplace authoritarianism, powerlessness to exercise workplace rights)." (79)

In health research, there is growing evidence that survivors of extreme forms of labour exploitation, mostly migrants, face serious health issues (10,80,81), and little is known about situations at the lower part of the continuum. As Chapter 2 will review, there has been a variety of conceptualisations, definitions and tools used to assess the links between labour exploitation and health. The continuum conceptualisation taken in this research aims to build a common conceptualisation that would support the collaboration between these two groups of research to foster the development of quantitative evidence in the field, which would help understand exploited migrant workers' health needs, and hence inform the development of evidence-based policies aimed at improving and providing this population with appropriate healthcare.

The next section outlines contextual information for the fieldwork in this thesis by discussing labour exploitation in the UK, and Latin American workers in London.

1.2.4. Labour exploitation in the United Kingdom

The UK provides a particularly relevant site for this research because of the current debate on migration framed by claims of a political will to *"create a hostile environment"* (82–84) for migrants, and discussions surrounding the Immigration Bill and Brexit (85–87). This political context may place migrant workers at increased risk of exploitation, especially those employed in manual low-skilled jobs (88,89).

At the same time, the UK government has expressed its will to lead global and national discussions on fighting modern slavery and labour exploitation (90–92). The UK is the first country with a law to explicitly fight against *"modern slavery"*, "*a term used to encapsulate [...]*:

slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour; and human trafficking" (93). In parallel, the UK has created a Directorate of Labour Market Enforcement that oversees the fight against exploitation in the UK labour market (94). It focuses on the exploitation of migrant workers, yet is framed within the 2016 Immigration Act (5).

In the UK, the sectors often highlighted in reports about forced labour exploitation are: *"agriculture, food processing and packaging, construction, warehousing and logistics, the service industry and catering, and manufacturing (in sweatshops)"* (95; p.4). Most recently, employment and working conditions in the broader 'low-paid' sectors, and manual low-skilled jobs have received increased attention, in particular in the cleaning, catering and hospitality sectors (57,96–100).

Increasingly, the employment conditions of workers in these sectors have caught the attention of politicians, the media and organisations that traditionally focused on severe forms of exploitation (57,87,99,101–103). Many characteristics are relatively comparable to the conditions that are discussed in the media about 'exploited workers' in 'other' countries. Some workers in the UK are not paid their salaries, sometimes for months, can be dismissed at will and face a wide range of labour abuses referred to as 'exploitative". A report commissioned by the UK government indicated that more than half of workers in manual low-skilled jobs were foreign-born and reported the following as signs of labour exploitation:

> *"a failure to pay minimum wages; ensuring decent working conditions; forcing workers*
> *to accept sub-standard accommodation; forcing workers to pay for things that they do*
> *not need through deductions from their wages; and having workers' passports retained."*
> (58; p.36)

This highlights the difficulty of drawing a clear line between migrant workers in a situation of 'criminal' forms of labour exploitation and others who may face similar conditions. Buller et al.'s 2015 report *'Labour exploitation, trafficking and migrant health in low and middle income countries'* (81) has suggested that there may be no real difference in health outcomes for migrant workers, be they identified as victims of human trafficking or not.

1.2.4.a. *Latin American migrant workers in London*

I decided to focus my work on a population that is potentially affected by all the different aspects mentioned with regards to vulnerabilities to labour exploitation in the UK context: the Latin American workers. This population, mostly based in London, is composed of a mosaic of nationalities and experiences. Many Latin American workers have had a previous migration experience in an EU country before settling in the UK and have obtained a European passport that grants them the right to remain and work in the UK. Some members of the community are undocumented. A high proportion of the Latin American (LA)

community lacks English language skills, which pushes many of them to work in manual low-skilled jobs, such as cleaning or hospitality. The LA community in London has self-organised to fight against labour exploitation, but has also been raising awareness of the barriers they face in accessing healthcare in relation to the 'invisibility' of this community (104,105). The report *'Shadow city: Exposing human trafficking in everyday London'* has also highlighted its invisibility and the difficulties in identifying human trafficking within this community due to cultural and employment specificities (106).

1.3.   Rationale, aim and scope of the research

1.3.1.   Rationale

To date, there is a lack of quantitative research on labour exploitation in the field of public health. Due to the lack of common conceptualisation in this field, it remains difficult to develop a standardised measurement tool of 'labour exploitation'; and hence to conduct systematic studies to explore its health impacts and better understand potential causal pathways to ill health. To conduct studies that could establish a statistical link between exploitation and health, there is a need for a measurement tool that would make explicit this concept and ensure its validity, reliability and reproducibility.

The HR school of thought covers public health research that has focused on human rights violations, such as modern slavery, and has focused on migrants. There is now a shift in this school that brings its research closer to the second school of thought which I identified, namely the SDH. The HR school is increasingly interested in occupational health and structures underpinning extreme forms of labour exploitation, such as labour law or immigration. The latter topics have been addressed by the SDH school of thought, which has not focused on migrants but still acknowledges their vulnerabilities to poor labour conditions and to being severely exploited. The mainstream school of thought is getting closer to the SDH one and brings with it, its focus on migrant workers' exploitation. This shift in the mainstream global fight against modern slavery from a 'categorical criminalisation' approach (victim or not) towards a labour approach is also taking place in the general field of human rights. Human rights activists have been trying to approach issues of modern slavery from a continuum perspective rather than a categorical criminal approach. Experts in the broad field of SDH have also suggested developing collaborations with the field of HR (107,108). However, there is no common conceptual framework that could help build such collaboration for researching the impacts of labour exploitation on migrant workers' health.

A focus on this population was particularly relevant to start building a common conceptualisation of labour exploitation for public health research. As stated above, they tend to be more exposed to non-standard jobs (2,73,109) and to higher risks of occupational ill-health (26,30,55,59,62,81,110,111). Both, the SDH and the HR schools of thought highlight that migrant workers are more likely to be severely exploited (9,13,39,64,96,112).

The current thesis will contribute to addressing the lack of a common conceptualisation of labour exploitation focusing on migrant workers. It will provide a middle ground between both Schools in order to provide the empirical evidence needed for developing measurement tools in public health and support the development of common body of evidence that would inform the development of policies geared towards improving migrant workers' health and life (14).

1.3.2. Aim and objectives

The research aims to clarify the concept of labour exploitation focusing on migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs, by providing a structured conceptual framework for public health using experts' and migrant workers' voices.

To address this aim, five objectives are addressed:

Objective 1 (O1). To review the conceptualisations of labour exploitation in public health and explore points of convergence and divergence between labour exploitation and related concepts;

Objective 2 (O2). To identify the dimensions of the concept of labour exploitation, focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs, from the perspective of multidisciplinary experts;

Objective3 (O3). To explore how labour exploitation may be conceptualised in the UK context, from the perspective of support organisations who work with LAWs, and LAWs;

Objective 4 (O4). To identify the dimensions of the concept of migrants' labour exploitation from the perspective of LAWs; and

Objective 5 (O5). To explore how the expert framework can be adapted by using LAWs' voices in order to develop a joint conceptual framework of labour exploitation.

1.3.3. Scope and definitions

The scope of the thesis is to develop a structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation clarifying the concept dimensions. The structured conceptual framework was designed with the view to providing a basis for a future development of a quantitative

measure. The focus on the clarification of the concept maximises the exploratory nature of the research and addresses conceptual gaps in the literature on labour exploitation.

This research focuses on labour exploitation of adults. It excludes discussions that are non-work-related forms of exploitation, such as state-imposed forced labour or exploitation for organs or forced marriage, and the domain of domestic and sex work due to their conceptual and labour rights differences. Sexual exploitation and domestic work have received much attention from the international community (113–116). However, there are still debates about the recognition - or not - of these jobs as legal forms of occupation, and their inclusion within labour laws varies widely between countries. They, therefore, fall outside the scope of this thesis as they are more hidden and conceptually different from the other types of manual low-skilled jobs in the private sector (117–121).

As set out in the objectives, one aspect of the research is to try to disentangle differences in the conceptualisations of terms grounded in labour exploitation, such as human trafficking; however, this thesis does not specifically focus on migrants who may have been coerced or deceived into migrating for work, as implied in some definitions of human trafficking. In contrast, this research aims to understand how a continuum conceptualisation can help clarify the fundamental concept of labour exploitation, to overcome debates over the different terms grounded in this concept and foster research in the field of public health.

1.3.3.a.   *Definitions*

I use the term 'structured conceptual framework' to specify that the conceptual framework developed clarifies the dimensions, subdimensions and items composing labour exploitation. Traditionally, a conceptual framework is defined as a "*system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs [the] research*" (122; p.222). As Chapter 5 will detail, I use Trochim's concept mapping (CM) as the main research method (123,124). CM has been used to clarify the content of abstract concepts, and is increasingly used as part of scale development (125–128). It is a participatory mixed-method approach combining qualitative data collection with statistical analyses. Participants are asked to: 1) generate statements (items) describing the concept during a brainstorming exercise, and 2) structure all the statements generated during a sorting-rating exercise. The outcomes are then analysed by multivariate analyses, which lead to the production of a concept map, on which the cluster (concept dimensions) and statements are displayed. I will use the term 'concept maps' to refer to the maps directly obtained from the multivariate analyses, and the term 'structured conceptual framework' to refer to the map obtained (after the multivariate analyses) by identifying regions of meaning on the concept maps (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.5), though I

acknowledge that the latter term has also been used to refer to concept maps (127,128). The structured conceptual frameworks in this thesis, hence, display dimensions (regions of meaning), subdimensions (clusters from the CA) and statements (points).

I use the term 'migrants' instead of 'immigrants' to refer to individuals who are living in a country that is not the one that they were born in. While acknowledging the implications of terminology, for my work I decided to use the term 'migrant' to root this work in the current debates in the UK and worldwide, where mainstream media and politicians have used the latter term to conflate all types of immigrants (e.g. refugees, asylum seekers or economic immigrants with or without regular immigration status) (30,58,62). Moreover, as the ILO is a major international organisation with regard to forced labour, standards and rights, I used their terminology of 'migrant workers' (28).

In section 1.2.2 I acknowledged the issue of the interchangeable use of 'human trafficking', 'forced labour' and 'modern slavery', however, in the rest of the thesis, I will use the term 'modern slavery' as an umbrella term for these extreme forms of labour exploitation for clarity and the purpose of conciseness.

1.4.   Outline of the thesis

Chapter 1 'Introduction' presents an overview of the background information and rationale for this thesis, and sets out the outline of the research.

Chapter 2 'The concept of labour exploitation and the two schools of thought in public health' reviews the conceptualisations of labour exploitation and demonstrates the importance of building a middle ground for public health research. After a general discussion of the concept, a section discusses the importance of focusing on migrant workers' exploitation and highlights the need for and relevance of a continuum approach to better understand their issues in terms of health risks and barriers to accessing care. The two conceptualisations of labour exploitation in public health are then further discussed, along with a critique of key measures of labour exploitation which led to the generation of a working conceptual framework guiding the research design of this thesis. The chapter ends by laying the foundations to build a middle ground conceptualisation of labour exploitation in public health.

Chapter 3 'The UK and the Latin American community in London' provides key contextual information for the fieldwork in London (UK), which enables the interpretation of the findings from the fieldwork. First, it sets out the UK socio-economic context. Second,

it contextualises issues of labour exploitation. Finally, it describes the Latin American community in London.

Chapter 4 'A research frame to overcome divergences between different schools of thought and disciplines' describes the methodological frame used to design the research study. First, it explains how a mixed-methods methodology within a pragmatic epistemology allowed me to build bridges between disciplines and stakeholders involved in issues of migrant workers' exploitation. Then, the chapter explains how social epidemiological and measurement approaches were used to address the research aims.

Chapter 5 *'Methods'* details the methods used to address each objective. The chapter starts with an overview of the methods. It then describes the main method, Concept Mapping (CM). Two CM exercises were conducted to identify the dimensions of labour exploitation focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. The first was conducted with multidisciplinary experts (O.2) to capture their knowledge and expertise into what will be referred to as an *"expert skeleton map"* (129) that I consider is standardisable. The second was conducted with LAWs to assess their conceptualisation, and potential contextual and cultural specificities (O.4). To prepare for the CM with LAWs and explore the UK context for labour exploitation, interviews were conducted with key informants working with LAWs, and with LAWs (O.3). Finally, a critical analysis and synthesis of the findings was performed to compare experts' and LAWs' conceptualisations, and develop a joint conceptual framework whereby the expert skeleton map was complemented with inputs from the CM with LAWs (O.5).

Chapter 6 *'The expert skeleton map'* presents the results of the expert CM. After describing participant characteristics, it discusses the statements generated and organised by experts. The results of the multivariate analysis are presented. This led to the production of the structured conceptual framework displaying the dimensions, subdimensions and statements of labour exploitation from the experts' perspective.

Chapter 7 *'Exploring the concept of labour exploitation in the UK: an ecosocial model'* presents the findings from the key informant interviews. Thematic analysis of the interviews led to the identification of key dimensions of labour exploitation from the interviewees' perspective. This helped me to understand the content and context of labour exploitation in the UK, focusing on LAWs. The analysis led to generating an ecosocial model of labour exploitation. It revealed micro to macro level aspects of labour exploitation and helped analyse the CM with LAWs.

Chapter 8 *'A conceptual framework specific to Latin American workers in London'* presents the results of the CM with LAWs using the same structure as Chapter 6.

Chapter 9 *'A joint conceptual framework: combining experts' and Latin American workers' voices'* presents the results of the critical analysis and synthesis of all the findings. It compares the structured conceptual frameworks based on experts' and LAWs' voices, using inputs from the key informant interviews. It describes a joint conceptual framework where the expert skeleton map is adapted by incorporating LAWs' contributions.

Finally, in **Chapter 10 *'Discussion'*,** the research findings, their meaning and contributions are discussed in the context of the wider literature and the novel contribution this thesis makes. The first part discusses the key findings in relation to the research aim and objectives, the multidimensional and multilevel aspects of the concept, the empirical identification of a continuum as a middle ground; and posits labour exploitation as a social determinant of migrant workers' health, highlighting the potential health implications. Then, a section is dedicated to the discussion and critique of the methods used in this thesis and highlights the contributions made to CM. A reflective section highlights how my fluid identity and full immersion in the research topic has brought both added value and challenges for this work. It also describes the contributions to knowledge and the implications of this work; and discusses the research limitations and strengths of the thesis. Finally, recommendations for future research and policy implications are presented.

Chapter 2. The concept of labour exploitation and the two schools of thought in public health

2.1. Introduction

This Chapter reviews conceptualisations of labour exploitation and clarifies the divergences and similarities in different conceptualisations of labour exploitation, in order to start building a middle ground for improving research on labour exploitation and migrant health.

Section 2.2 is a general discussion of the concept, encompassing philosophical and ethical discussion, along with the human rights and Marxist conceptualisations underpinning the two schools of thought in public health. This helps to explain the epistemological differences between these two schools. Section 2.3 demonstrates the importance of focusing on the exploitation of migrant workers. It describes how issues of labour exploitation have been discussed in the literature on migrant workers, with a focus on Latin Americans in the USA; and shows that the case of migrant workers highlights the need for and relevance of a continuum approach to better understand their issues in terms of health risks and barriers to accessing care. Section 2.4 presents the Human Rights (HR) and Social Determinants of Health (SDH) schools of thought. It highlights their contributions to public health and key challenges that demonstrate the need for a common conceptualisation in health research. Section 2.5 then lays the foundations to build a middle ground conceptualisation of labour exploitation for the field of public health. It first compares key measures of labour exploitation and related concepts and presents a working framework that helped design the research. It then describes how the continuum approach, and a social justice theory combined with an SDH approach will allow me to build a middle ground between the two schools.

2.2. General conceptualisation of labour exploitation

> *"The concept of exploitation has assumed the role of an omnibus moral catch-all category, a term with as many meanings as those who use it, and which is, precisely for this reason, a most mercurial charge to which to respond."* (1; p.699)

Labour exploitation is a term used to describe harsh, unfair or unacceptable working conditions, mostly in manual low-skilled jobs. Key features of labour exploitation may include low wages, poor working conditions and safety, and *"the extent of labor law violations"* (129; p.162). For some, exploitation involves coercion (131), harms the victim (132), or occurs when a person benefits from another person in a way that is unfair (133). The recent mainstream interest in labour exploitation led by HR and criminal justice fields has focused on coercion and restriction of freedom, with the intention of prosecuting perpetrators and

protecting victims. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the HR interest arose from the international will to fight against human trafficking, which has focused on cross-border crimes. It has thus focused on migrants being coerced or deceived to end up in labour exploitation. However, the concept of exploitation can be traced back to Marx's influences rooted in political economy.

The following sections provide an overview of general conceptualisations of labour exploitation. I first root the debates in philosophy and ethics which underpin key differences in different conceptualisations and relate to the wrongfulness of exploitation. I then describe the HR conceptualisation that has mainstreamed the issue of migrant workers' exploitation, and the political economy conceptualisations that are traditionally categorised in "Marxism", focusing on socio-political structures, and 'liberalism', focusing on individuals' freedom. I suggest that the HR conceptualisation echoes with liberal views on exploitation. I finally demonstrate that the mainstream conceptualisation, which has used a categorical approach to labour exploitation (i.e. crime victim or not) is now shifting towards a continuum labour approach, which echoes with Skrivankova's continuum (see section 1.2.1.a).

2.2.1. Philosophy and ethics: beneficent and harmful exploitation

Many of the recent debates in philosophy and ethics have focused on sweatshop exploitation, which Zwolinski defines as:

> *"a place of employment in which worker compensation or safety is compromised, child labor is employed, and/or local labor regulations are routinely disregarded in a way that is prima facie morally objectionable." (4; p.162)*

This definition could fit manual low-skilled jobs, and Zwolinski highlights that such a sweatshop definition can be applicable to high-income countries, such as the USA or UK, even if the term 'sweatshop' was mainly used in the context of multinational corporations outsourcing labour in lower- and middle-income countries (130). He argues that much of the contemporary discussions focus on the interaction, transaction, or relationship, between two individuals or entities (i.e. potential exploited and exploiter). This approach echoes the HR criminal approach. The author claims that this focus resulted from the publication of Wertheimer's book *'Exploitation'* (1999), which changed the paradigm used in philosophy. Before that, Marxist approaches were used to discuss issues of exploitation, in terms of how structures, particularly the capitalist system, impact on this relationship.

Mayer states that philosophy has focused on trying to understand why a certain situation is called exploitation through the lens of *why exploitation is wrong* (132). For some, it is because it

is coercive, for others, because it degrades or harms the victims, or even because it violates some duty to protect the vulnerable. He adds:

> *"many cases of exploitation count as mutually advantageous, and exploited parties never lose in relation to the status quo ante. […] No doubt the exploiter should have offered more, or charged less, or behaved in a better way, but it might seem that exploitation is one of the less serious ways to gain at the expense of others."* (132; p.147)

The above quotation outlines a key theoretical debate on exploitation that could be simplified by considering three outcomes of interactions between employer and employed: both gain equally or fairly and there is no exploitation, the exploited loses or is harmed from the interaction and there is *"harmful exploitation"*, or both parties gain from the interaction but unevenly or unfairly. The latter, which Wertheimer refers to as *"cooperation"* (134), is the grey area where much of the debates are located, in particular on the notion of *"beneficent exploitation"*. It is particularly relevant for discussing the case for migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. On the one hand, they may generally receive some advantage from a labour relationship, like a better financial situation than in their country of origin. On the other hand, their wages, working conditions and safety, the level of violations of their rights, or even their access to labour rights, may be considered unacceptable or unfair.

The notions of gain compared to the 'status quo ante' and of fairness are central in the debate. Some, like Mayer, accept the idea that exploitation can be mutually advantageous or *"beneficent"* (133) when both the exploited and exploiter benefit from this relationship. Others argue that with exploitation there is no need to consider the *"status quo ante"* to call a situation exploitative but instead invokes the principle of fairness, like Meyers: *"[t]he exploiter benefits from his use of the exploited in a way that is unfair"* (133; p.320).

Wertheimer's work on exploitation can help to explain differences between those agreeing or not on the wrongfulness of beneficent exploitation (134). He argues that whether a relationship between two individuals is seen as exploitative or not, depends on people's standpoint, hence on a person's ontological stance. Those supporting the concept of beneficent exploitation take a *"libertarian approach"*, which Wertheimer describes as a before/after interaction comparison. He distinguishes this view from a *"Kantian approach"* which is related to showing respect towards people and on the fairness of the redistribution of the *"surplus"* created by the interaction. Their point of reference is not the situation *'ante'* but how the situation 'should be" (to be fair). Wertheimer suggests that for the latter, the exploited face some *"moral harm"* (135).

Furthermore, Wertheimer characterises some situations as *'harmful exploitation'* when the exploited are worse off compared to the situation before interacting with the exploiter.

These could correspond to situations of modern slavery. For example, an employer may violate migrant workers' freedom by confiscating their passport. Situations of modern slavery represent a level of exploitation that everyone would agree is unacceptable. Yet, the threshold between what would be acceptable or not is difficult to identify in practice and underpins the challenges of a categorical (HR or criminal) approach to labour exploitation. Mayer's approach brings insights into the distinction between slavery and exploitation:

> *"Exploitation […] is a thoroughly politicized concept because contestable ideas about what fairness requires determine whether taking unfair advantage is recognized or not. […] Modern individuals[…] tend to view slavery as paradigmatically exploitative because slaves are thought to receive much less than they deserve." (132; p.144)*

He claims that slavery's wrongfulness is not all due to the exploitation but also to additional wrongdoings, such as the *"theft of slave's freedom"* (132; p.143), which ties in with the HR views. This suggests that a threshold may be crossed when there is an additional layer of conditions that transforms a 'beneficent' exploitation into a 'harmful' one. The use of coercion by an individual on another to exploit him/her could be a potential 'additional wrongdoing' for example.

2.2.2. Human rights and extreme forms of exploitation

Munro (136) highlights the ambiguity surrounding the concept of exploitation and the tensions in the HR field between the need to define a (legal) threshold to identify victims of 'harmful exploitation' and the moral weight argument echoing the notion of 'fairness':

> *"Considerations of harm and coercion, while not necessary for the identification of exploitation, may continue to be of relevance when it comes to assessing what Wertheimer refers to as the 'moral weight' of the violation itself, as well as the 'moral force' that in turn supports any condemnatory, punitive or preventive social response."* (136; p.261)

The criminalisation of some forms of labour exploitation, considered so extreme that they are unacceptable, is challenging, as discussed in Chapter 1 (see section 1.2.1.a). Echoing the philosophical debates, it implies identifying the tipping point when a situation shifts from no or beneficent exploitation to harmful exploitation. Criminal forms of labour exploitation, or human rights violations, are also referred to as 'extreme' labour exploitation in the HR school of thought that interchangeably uses terms like human trafficking, forced labour or slavery (8,17,20,137). The variety of definitions and labels, and the constantly changing legal frameworks highlight the difficulty of addressing the problem (1). These violations of human rights are outlawed in different legal frameworks (4,8,138–141). Key international frameworks are respectively, the Palermo protocol, the 1930 ILO convention against Forced Labour and the 1926 Slavery convention. Their content is incorporated and often adapted at

regional and national levels. They criminalise certain forms of labour exploitation, mostly when coercion, deception (involuntariness) or restriction of freedom of movement are used by 'perpetrators' (72,114,142–145).

2.2.2.a. Human rights and criminal justice: challenges in the categorisation of victimhood

As mentioned in Chapter 1, in 2010, the 'Palermo protocol', or United Nations (UN) *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children*, produced the first and most widely used definition of human trafficking (72,113,146) that helped mainstream the issue of labour exploitation (21):

> *"'Trafficking in persons' shall mean [1] the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, [2] by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, [3] for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs."* (139)

This definition is composed of three elements: [1] an act ('movement' component), [2] a means, and [3] a purpose of exploitation (139). Yet it does not provide a clear definition of the purpose element: 'exploitation'; only examples of exploitative situations with much room for interpretation (146). The 'movement' component [1] of the Palermo protocol definition and the necessity to cross a border to be considered a victim of human trafficking is increasingly left out in practice (1,62,65,67), hence more overlap with 'forced labour'. On the one hand, the Palermo protocol has raised awareness of extreme forms of labour exploitation and has mainstreamed the issue of migrant workers' exploitation. On the other hand, it has increased confusion. For instance, some experts consider that the Palermo protocol refers specifically to extreme forms of exploitation and highlights issues of exploitation of migrant workers (146), while others believe that it is another legal framework to outlaw modern forms of slavery (147). Situations of forced labour have been increasingly included "*within the anti-trafficking law*" (46; p.8), whereas they were originally outlawed within the frame of the ILO 1930 Convention ratified by all but eleven countries (69). The convention defines forced labour as "*all work or service that is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily*" (138).

Adding to the confusion, different organisations or fields use different umbrella terms to refer to extreme forms of labour exploitation making it more challenging to act on or research. The ILO has been using the term 'forced labour' as the umbrella term

encompassing: human trafficking, debt bondage and other forms of modern-day slavery (3, 68), but 'human trafficking' has been increasingly used as the umbrella term. Some suggest that "modern slavery" is becoming the current umbrella term for these extreme forms (9). The publication of the Global Slavery Index (GSI) that aims to assess the number of modern slaves worldwide has been highly publicized (148–151), the ILO has applied the term 'modern slavery' to its 2017 global estimates including forced labour (27), and the UK has produced the first law to explicitly fight against modern slavery (91,152) (see Chapter 3). As suggested by Mayer (see section 2.2.1), a specificity of slavery compared to other forms of exploitation may be that s/he has had his/her freedom stolen (132), and signatories of the Bellagio-Harvard Guidelines on the Legal Parameters of Slavery, like Allain or Bales, are in line with this view. They emphasise the fundamental notion of 'ownership' of a person: *"Slavery will not be present in cases of forced labour where the control over a person tantamount to possession is not present."* (153; p.5)

While often used interchangeably, each of these terms is defined within different international, regional or national legal frameworks that vary in terms of state obligations to provide victims with support services. The identification of victims of extreme forms of labour exploitation, which will be further discussed in section 2.5, mostly focuses on identifying when 'perpetrators' use coercion or deception (involuntariness) (72,114,142–145), or restriction of freedom (154) towards 'victims'. Over the years, organisations have been putting pressure on governments by advocating for the reinforcement of victims' protection, sometimes through the production of new laws. In the UK, civil society pressure has contributed to the drafting of the 2013 Modern Slavery Bill (152), which became the 2015 Modern Slavery Act (4).

I will now turn to discuss the conceptualisation of labour exploitation in the field of political economy.

2.2.3. Marxist conceptualisations and liberalism: debates in political economy

In contrast with the HR conceptualisation, criticism of labour exploitation in the field of political economy focuses on a wider structural level, rather than on individuals. The following sections outline the main concept and debates on labour exploitation between Marxism and liberalism. Marxist views focus on the role of structures in capitalist societies and go beyond individual levels (73,155), while liberalism highlights individuals' freedom. I will argue that this aligns with the key feature of the HR approach where the use of coercion constrains individuals' free choice. This section does not intend to review the significant

literature on exploitation in political economy but instead highlight the roots of divergences, and helps understand epistemological differences in the SDH and HR schools.

2.2.3.a.   *Marxism: labour exploitation as the basis of capitalist societies*

Marx is considered one of the most influential theorists of labour exploitation. In his *'Labour theory of value'*, he demonstrates that capitalists extract the surplus value from workers in order to 'capitalise it' and redistribute it as profits for the owners. This extraction of 'surplus value' is considered as a form of unpaid wages (156–158).

Another key aspect of labour exploitation in Marxism is based on the relations between the exploited and exploiters which relates to class structures in capitalist societies (156,157). Wolff summarises it as follows:

> *" 'Exploitation' describes — in Marxian theory — any fundamental class process in which the person who performs surplus labor is not also the person who appropriates it. The appropriator(s) is (are) then understood to exploit the producer(s) of the surplus."*
> (157; p.157)

For Marxists, capitalism is inherently exploitative by the nature of its structures. The dominant class owns the means of production and workers are structurally constrained to sell them their labour (157). This approach to exploitation as a class mechanism underpins the SDH school of thought. The organisation of labour within such a system is exploitative because workers' have no choice but to sell their work for a living. To a certain extent, borrowing from the human rights terminology, the 'system' is coercive.

In the SDH school, Muntaner et al.'s glossary for social epidemiology states:

> *"exploitation refers to the social mechanism underlying social class inequality. Exploitation is a characteristic of employment systems where unpaid labour is systematically forced out of one class and put at the disposal of another."* (159; p. 1011)

This school of thought is grounded in Marxist approaches and focuses on the underlying social mechanisms at stake in exploitation, rather than referring to moral arguments, as in the HR approach to exploitation.

I will now present the opposing school in political economy: liberalism.

2.2.3.b.   *Liberalism: labour exploitation as a deviance*

In liberalism, 'freedom' is a key notion. Individuals should be free to make their own choices, including to freely choose their job (157,160). Initially, this view came from classical economy which holds that the wealth of society would increase if markets were free from state

intervention. It implied that in a situation of perfect competition, supply and demand would self-regulate and make societies wealthier. In this view, an 'invisible hand' regulates prices and wages based on a balance between supply and demand.

The notion of labour exploitation was mainly introduced in 'neoclassical economy' which claimed that in real life these key rules can be breached. Theories of imperfect markets indicated that situations of labour exploitation represent deviations from a 'perfect' functioning of the market (161–163). For example, situations of market monopoly (or *"monopsony"* (161)) are breaches of these rules. They may happen when there is a collusion between employers to set the prices below what they would be in a free market, but also when employers have high market power or when there are few job opportunities. In such situations, workers have limited bargaining power compared to a situation of perfect competition (162–164). Flatau (161) adds that other theorists have focused not only on the value of wages but also on workers' lack of bargaining power. The latter may be particularly true for migrant workers who have limited language or rights knowledge. Furthermore, neoclassical economists, acknowledging the existence of situations of labour exploitation, are open to the idea of the welfare state to counteract unfair situations (161,164,165).

The focus on notions of freedom and unfair power imbalance echoes with the moral aspects highlighted in the HR school of thought. In liberal countries, such as the USA or the UK, the notion of exploitation is mainly discussed through the lens of 'correcting' deviations from the norm. In the same way that states can intervene in the market to regulate some unfair situations (such as a monopoly), they can also intervene in the labour market to protect workers who are deprived of their free choice, for example, due to coercion.

As mentioned in section 2.2.2, in the HR approach the notion of coercion is central to the discussion of labour exploitation, especially in terms of criminalising some forms of exploitation. However, the main focus is not on the underlying structures, as they are in the SDH school of thought. Yet, as I will now show, there is currently a shift in the mainstream discussion on labour exploitation.

2.2.4. Mainstream shift from a categorical criminal justice approach towards a continuum labour approach

Some authors suggest that the criminal approach to fighting human trafficking is limited, and propose instead a labour approach (21,71). As Shamir explains:

> *"[a] labor approach to trafficking focuses attention on elements of the legal order that shape workers'*
> *bargaining power, such as labor and employment laws, national immigration regimes, criminal law,*
> *welfare law, and private law background rules. Its rhetoric may be less compelling, but the labor*

approach has the potential to alter fundamentally the conditions that cause workers' vulnerability and enable human trafficking." (71; p.95)

This shift in thinking implies an increased focus on the structures facilitating extreme forms of labour exploitation, inspired by political economy, which underpins the SDH school of thought. As the quote above highlights, some structures at the centre of this approach are labour and criminal laws, which echo Skrivankova's continuum of exploitation (1) presented in Chapter 1. Situations at the lower part of the continuum can mainly be addressed using labour laws, and the more extreme forms using criminal justice and human rights laws. Decent work could be considered an acceptable benchmark against which to measure labour exploitation, both for human rights and SDH. In such a case, labour exploitation starts from breaches of decent work. Skrivankova has also highlighted the added vulnerability of migrant workers to forced labour.

2.3. The need to focus on migrant workers' exploitation in public health

The following sections will stress the importance of focusing on the exploitation of migrant workers in order to start building a middle ground conceptualisation of labour exploitation in public health, as both schools of thought agree on this population's double burden of poor labour conditions and high vulnerability to exploitation. I will first give an overview of migrant workers' exploitation with a special focus on Latin American workers in the USA where literature on migrant work often refers to exploitation. Then, I will discuss the added vulnerability of migrant workers when using a categorisation approach, because they are at the intersection between 1) being victims of crime (modern slavery); or 2) being seen as 'criminals' who may be perceived as not deserving access to healthcare. This argument supports the need to shift towards a continuum conceptualisation of labour exploitation.

2.3.1. Migrant workers' exploitation

Issues of labour exploitation are frequently discussed in the literature on migrant workers, in particular in relation to Latin American workers in North America. However, the issue of exploitation appears implicit in most of the literature on migrant workers' working and living conditions, and the question of what exactly is exploitative remains unspecified.

When exploitation is invoked to describe migrant workers' conditions, issues of wages, workload and the ways in which workers are treated (including the use of violence) are mentioned, while not explicitly stating that these constitute labour exploitation (54–56). This remark applies to most of the literature on migrant workers' labour conditions, for example, Novo et al. point out the *"miserable living and working conditions endured by agricultural workers"* or

"lower wages, harsher working conditions, and lack of services" (55; p. 232). In an ethnography with undocumented Latino migrants in the USA, Bailliard describes their harsh working and living conditions (56). While there is no explicit definition of the concept of exploitation, he refers to the following as exploitative practices: no overtime compensation, delayed payment of salary, or non- or under-payment. Bailliard's participants described their job in agriculture as *"psychological slavery"* (56; p.350) because their employer constantly reminds them that they are easily replaceable. The author also highlights that Latino workers fear to lose their job in a context of harsh immigration policies, high competition and of limited opportunities. These conditions are considered by Benson (166) as structural forms of violence:

> *"Farmworkers in the United States endure conditions of structural violence, including deplorable wages and endemic poverty, forms of stigma and racism, occupational health and safety hazards, poor health and limited access to services, and the constant threat of deportation."* (166; p.591)

Benson's analysis of migrant workers' conditions is in line with Marxist views that such conditions are structural. In his ethnography, he refers to issues of payment, a lack of labour rights and enforcement, and labour that *"seems undignified and deserving of squalid conditions"* (166; p.619)p.619. Quesada also uses structural violence to refer to migrant workers' labour conditions and highlights that in the USA:

> *"Latino migrant laborers are a population especially vulnerable to structural violence because their economic location in the lowest rungs of the US labor market is conjoined with overt xenophobia, ethnic discrimination, and scapegoating. Simultaneously perceived as unfair competitors in a limited-good economy and freeloaders on the shrinking welfare safety net, they are subjected to a conjugation of economic exploitation and cultural insult."* (56; p.340)

He also points out that healthcare research uses the concept of *"structural vulnerability [that] is a product of class-based economic exploitation and cultural, gender/sexual, and racialized discrimination"* (56; p.340). His positioning of social class exploitation is taking a Marxist approach and is in line with the Employment conditions network (EMCONET) report's view of exploitation (see section 2.4.2.b).

Other work characteristics have been referred to as exploitative. In the context of migrants in agricultural work, flexible work was considered exploitative because workers *"lose stability, seniority, and many fringe benefits, and it affects those agricultural workers who were protected by labor legislation"* (167; p.401). Migrant workers' exploitation is often linked with temporary worker status that ties the workers to the employer, hence making them more vulnerable to exploitation (54,168,169). Shantz has discussed the exploitation of LA workers in a construction site in Canada who worked *"with fewer benefits and adverse living conditions"* (168;

p.76) compared with Canadian or European employees. He described this discrimination as exploitative and showed that this position had received legal support when a court determined that workers' dignity was affected because the company took advantage of workers being bound to their employer by their temporary visa arrangements and lack of English skills.

Literature on migrant workers' exploitation is also entangled with migrants' (irregular) immigration status, and emphasises how immigration policies add to workers' vulnerability to exploitation (169,170). Heyman even uses the term of "*superexploitation*" to

> *"indicat[e] that compared to normally exploited, resourceless proletarians (day laborers, farmworkers, domestics, etc.) undocumented immigrants work faster and harder for the same pay (and less frequently, for lower pay), and struggle to avoid or limit workplace authority less often."* (170; p.157)

Such entanglement highlights the interconnection of criminalisation of immigration and the resulting stigma on migrant workers who, in turn, may be prevented from accessing healthcare.

The following section will further discuss why the categorical approach used to distinguish migrant workers into victims of modern slavery versus other economic migrants is an issue for the field of public health. It will stress the need to move away from a categorical approach to labour exploitation towards a conceptualisation of labour exploitation as a continuum.

2.3.2. Crime victims entitled to state support or 'undeserving' migrants facing barriers to accessing healthcare?

The interchangeable use of terms creates difficulties in identifying victims of 'exploitation' and in providing them with appropriate healthcare because victims' access to healthcare depends on specific legal definitions. In a review of legal frameworks, Oram et al. (171) highlighted, for example, that the Palermo protocol does not oblige signatory states to address victims' health needs. The 2005 Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking (ECAT), however, proposes some recognition of health rights for trafficked persons (70-72). It includes a clause obliging signatories to provide *"emergency medical treatment"* to all persons who are suspected to be or are identified as trafficking victims and suggests *"necessary"* but non-emergency medical treatment for "*victims lawfully resident within territory who do not have adequate resources and need such help*" (171; p. 11).

The conflation of terms also jeopardises the capacity to address potential victims' healthcare needs and to develop an appropriate training tool to identify victims. Recent research in the UK has found that healthcare providers encounter potential victims of human trafficking in

their practice. However, they lack knowledge and training to identify potential victims and their specific needs, and how to refer them so they can be offered further support and protection (172,173). Furthermore, for researchers, it has resulted in a limited understanding of the situations faced by 'exploited' workers, and hence of their related needs. Whatever labels are used to identify and support these crime victims, migrant workers' life and working situations call for improved access to health and social support.

Yet, the criminal or human rights approach creates distinctions between migrant workers who are entitled to state support services, such as access to health and social protection for victims of human trafficking; and those who are not identified as victims. Chapkis (174) argues that the fight against human trafficking in the USA, which has been leading the global fight, is rooted within anti-immigration discourses and moral values. She highlights that the mainstream anti-trafficking fight which relies on criminal justice creates two categories of migrants: those 'trafficked' who deserve support in the name of social justice, and those (the biggest group) who migrate for economic reasons. I will return to this notion of social justice and moral values in section 2.5.2 as it provides a basis for a middle ground approach within the SDH school of thought in public health. Chapkis raises concerns regarding the criminalisation of the fight:

> *"By eliminating any distinctions between intentional (if exploitive) migration for work and forced enslavement of millions of Africans, Arlacchi[1] creates a moral imperative to stop the flow of undocumented workers regardless of their desire to immigrate.*
> *From this perspective, abuse of migrants becomes fully the fault of traffickers who must be stopped, not the by-product of exploitive employment practices, restrictive immigration policies, and vast economic disparities between rich and poor nations. Attempts to restrict immigration can then be packaged as antislavery measures; would-be migrants are would-be victims whose safety and well-being are ostensibly served by more rigorously policing of the borders."* (174; p. 926)

Such analysis seems relevant in the UK context, where the government has declared its will to lead the fight on global 'modern slavery' (90,91,175,176). As Chapter 3 will show, this fight related to moral values is occurring simultaneously with the creation of a "hostile environment" against migrants (82–84,90). It echoes the trend described by Chapkis in the US global crusade against human trafficking and conflates issues of exploitation with issues of immigration.

A tension also exists in current legal frameworks between protecting victims of crime and tightening immigration policies, which has the effect of impeding migrant workers' access to

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[1] Arlacchi was the Director of the United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention (UNODC), which is the UN Organisation that produced the Palermo protocol.

healthcare (171). Legal frameworks have defined victims of violations of human rights and recognised the need to improve their access to health and social care services. However, the interchangeable use of different terms grounded in the concept of labour exploitation impedes victim identification, hence further excluding those migrant workers who do not meet the 'victim' definition.

The entanglement of issues of modern slavery and migration creates difficulties in the field of public health. First, barriers to the identification of those who are eligible for support may prevent victims from accessing state support. Second, barriers in accessing 'victim' status for those experiencing modern slavery are more problematic for migrants who may have been trafficked from another country with wrong visas or fake documents (15,146). They may be considered 'illegal' by the state and may fear deportation. Migrant workers tend to be more vulnerable to being exploited but are also often excluded from labour rights protection, especially those with irregular status (146). Third, modern slavery victims and migrant workers generally have poorer access to healthcare depending on workers' rights in the destination country; they lack knowledge of the system in place, of their rights and of the language (40,49,59,177).

The differentiation of migrants who are victims of modern slavery and those who or not may not be relevant in terms of health needs for those in manual low-skilled jobs (81). For health research, identifying who a victim is or not is less relevant than understanding how exposure to different levels of labour exploitation may affect migrant workers' health. Buller et al. have suggested that migrants working in sectors that are 'known to be exploitative' may have similar health needs, be they 'trafficked' or not (81).

A continuum approach to labour exploitation makes it clearer that migrant workers are exposed to a double burden of higher risk of exploitation and poorer labour conditions.

2.3.3.   Poor labour conditions and risk of exploitation

In contrast with the HR school of thought, the SDH school does not focus on migrant workers (59,73). Still, throughout the EMCONET report, migrants are identified as a population more exposed to non-standard or exploitative employment conditions (59,73). Flynn and Wickramage highlight that the EMCONET's use of a

> *"social determinants of health paradigm allows for a greater recognition of the relationships among migration, work, and health, and facilitates the integration of migrant health concerns into the policy agendas of governments and international agencies that work at the nexus of health, development and sustainability."* (61; p.5)

As discussed in Chapter 1, the field of migrant occupational health is still relatively limited (30,59). Both schools of thought agree on migrant workers' increased risks of being exposed to 'traditional' occupational health hazards, of having non-standard forms of employment (2,73,109), and of being severely exploited (9,13,39,64,96,112). Therefore, it is relevant to start by generating a conceptual framework for this group.

Given the increased concern over growing migration with ongoing globalisation and the extremely limited research conducted on migrant occupational health (2,30,59–61), with the increase in immigration worldwide, notably towards richer countries (178), it is very likely that issues surrounding migrant health will become increasingly part of public health agendas globally. In fact, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have already included such interests along with issues of migrant workers' exploitation, hence emphasising the need for a common conceptualisation of labour exploitation (59).

The next sections will describe the contributions of the two schools of thought on labour exploitation in public health to highlight the points of convergence and divergences before discussing the middle ground.

2.4. Conceptualisations in public health: two schools of thought

This section describes the conceptualisations of labour exploitation in the public health literature. It first describes the HR school covering the extreme part of the continuum. Second, it presents the SDH school of thought covering the lower part of the continuum. I will finally show that, like in the mainstream human rights field, the HR school of thought in public health has also initiated a shift towards a labour approach, hence making a step towards the SDH school.

2.4.1. The Human Rights (HR) school of thought and the mainstream interest in migrant workers' exploitation

'Human trafficking' has been the term most often used in the HR school of thought to refer to extreme forms of labour exploitation. Zimmerman and Kiss have recently suggested that 'modern slavery' is the current term to encompass *"extreme forms of exploitation"*, such as human trafficking and forced labour (9). The HR school has focused on migrant workers, and mainstreamed and positioned extreme forms of labour exploitation as a public health issue (12,70). The 2017 release of a PLoS Medicine special issue on *'Human Trafficking, Exploitation and Health'* positioned these issues as human rights violations and confirms the focus of the HR school on extreme forms of labour exploitation (46). In this issue, Zimmerman and Kiss

offer a "*public health policy framework to guide robust responses to trafficking*" (9), thus confirming the framing of labour exploitation as part of modern slavery for this school of thought.

The following sections present the severity of health issues revealed by public health research on human trafficking victims and highlight the barriers in identifying victims and their needs faced by researchers in this school.

2.4.1.a.   Health, human trafficking and severe health concerns

A 2012 systematic review found that out of 19 studies on human trafficking and health, all focused on women and girls; with most focusing on sexual exploitation (11). Ottisova et al.'s update of this review in 2016 showed that out of 31 articles, 25 still focused on sexual exploitation of women and girls (10). Studies on labour trafficking have highlighted that, victims are subject to severe hazards at destination: extreme violence (e.g. physical and verbal assaults), working under threats, restriction of freedom, as well as unsafe and dangerous working conditions, forced substance use, and exposure to chemical or toxic materials, *inter alia* (10,11,81,172,179–181). Sexual abuse among exploited workers was often reported among trafficked women, even if not employed for sexual services. Anxiety, post-traumatic syndrome disorders and depression were reported to be common mental health issues for survivors of human trafficking, with some authors also reporting suicide risks (8,11,182–184).

Most of the human trafficking studies have focused on migrants (13,111,177), who have specific vulnerabilities that can be used by traffickers to control them, such as withholding of identity documents or threatening to report them to the authorities (81,185). Victims of trafficking also face barriers in accessing healthcare (15,49,186), and it is noteworthy that some of their barriers to accessing healthcare are related to restrictions on migrants' rights in the destination country, and which are hence faced by other migrants, as mentioned in section 2.3 (40,81).

Recent studies in this school have also been interested in labour exploitation (80,81,111,137,187). This recent interest, especially the situation of men and boys, has emphasised occupational health hazards aspects, like extensive working hours, work-related injuries (e.g. cuts and skin injuries), a lack of provision of protective equipment and violence at the workplace (8,81,111,187). There is limited peer-reviewed evidence of the physical and mental health consequences directly related to forced labour or modern slavery, but some research reports have shown health concerns similar to that in research on human trafficking (13,75,188–190). Labour trafficked victims may be prevented from accessing healthcare while being trafficked (49).

Ottisova et al.'s systematic review concluded that:

> *"Research on the health consequences of trafficking is an emerging area of study that is fundamental to developing well-informed mechanisms of identifying, referring, and caring for this population. These findings, even with their limitations, clearly indicate that human trafficking is a severe form of abuse that occurs in many corners of the globe and which has serious and often long-lasting health problems, including enduring mental distress."* (9; p.8)

2.4.1.b. *Limitations in the identification of victims and their health needs*

While there has been an increasing body of evidence on the links between extreme labour exploitation and health, the limited quantitative evidence of the health impacts of 'extreme' labour exploitation and of victims' health needs has been highlighted (9,111,137,187). In a systematic review of survivors' health needs, Hemmings et al. highlight the variety of indicators used to identify victims and the *"lack of empirical evidence to support the identification, referral, and care of victims of trafficking in healthcare"* (13; p. 6). This results in difficulties in identifying potential victims for researchers and healthcare providers (8,10,14).

The HR school has used various ad-hoc measures or legal definitions of extreme or 'criminal' forms of labour exploitation (8,9), yet, as discussed in the previous section, definitions of criminal forms of labour exploitation are still subject to debate. Most of the evidence gathered in research of the HR school is difficult to generalise and compare. It has relied on qualitative research or on non-representative samples (10,15,191). Most studies have been conducted with users of post-trafficking services, for whom it is difficult to know whether they

> *"represent more severe cases of abuse and have more extreme health needs, or conversely, if they represent a sample that is healthier and has greater access to resources, and is therefore able to contact services"* (9; p.8).

However, due to the high vulnerability of the population of interest and its intrinsically 'hidden' nature, it seems difficult to improve the sampling for this population.

The lack of a valid and reliable standardised measurement tool, and lack of clear definitions of labour exploitation and related concepts, prevents the development of robust quantitative evidence (11,191). As the next section will show, the HR school has also started to shift towards a labour approach to labour exploitation, which supports the case for a continuum conceptualisation.

2.4.1.c. *The beginnings of a shift towards a labour approach*

The following quote from Pocock et al. (187) in the HR school illustrates the beginnings of a shift towards a labour approach, which fits with a SDH approach:

"These patterns of abuse, occupational hazards, and injuries among some of the most exploited workers perhaps hint at the larger economic and structural forces that fuel, sustain, or neglect worker health and safety." (188; p.14)

The 2017 special issue on *'Human Trafficking, exploitation and health'* has paved the way for discussing structural and occupational health aspects at stake in human trafficking and labour exploitation. For example, Ronda-Pérez and Moen propose an occupational health approach to study human trafficking (111). This demonstrates a shift in the HR school of thought towards the labour paradigm, by looking at the lower part of the continuum (192). Zimmerman and Kiss have proposed a conceptual framework of *"socioeconomic determinants of labor exploitation and harm"* for public health interventions (9). In addition to traditional indicators of extreme labour exploitation, the framework highlights *"structural drivers"*, such as *"globalisation"* or *"weak labor governance"* (9). It aims to "*serve as a starting point to direct research to investigate key structural, social, and individual drivers of exploitation*" (9). This framework echoes the core focus of the SDH school of thought on structures, which is an important step towards incorporating structural aspects into the HR school. It reflects a first attempt to conceptualise labour exploitation through the lens of the fight against human trafficking and migrant workers' exploitation in the low-paid sector. However, it does not address the issues of identification of victims and their needs, identified in section 2.3.1.a. Such a framework is meant for a broad understanding of issues related to labour exploitation and cannot be operationalised to conduct quantitative studies.

There is still no structured conceptual framework that exists to specify the concept content which could be used to build a systematic body of evidence of the links between exposure to labour exploitation and health impacts (9,14). To do this, there is a need to develop an evidence-based structured conceptual framework detailing the dimensions and content of the concept, and how it relates to concepts grounded within it. This is what the current thesis aims to achieve. Using a continuum and SDH approach would support the shift of the mainstream HR's understanding of exploitation towards encompassing the role of structures (see section 2.6).

2.4.2.   The Social Determinants of Health (SDH) school of thought

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the continuum approach enabled me to connect issues of employment and working conditions with breaches of labour standards and law in Skrivankova's continuum; hence, I connected the SDH school with the relatively lower part of the continuum. Research on employment conditions are core to the SDH approach to labour exploitation and can address the lower part of the continuum.

This section discusses the research of EMCONET, particularly with regards to its theoretical frameworks positioning precarious employment, slavery and trafficking as non-standard forms of employment. The section demonstrates a wide conceptualisation of labour exploitation ranging between fair employment and slavery and encompassing precariousness.

2.4.2.a.   The Employment Conditions Network – EMCONET

In 2006, the WHO Commission on SDH established the EMCONET to better understand the links between employment relations and health inequalities (73,193,194). The EMCONET's final report describes employment conditions as social determinants of health inequalities. It is considered as:

> *"safety and health literature that connects micro, meso and macro levels of analysis of worker health in more complex models to account for impact of precarisation and outsourcing on worker's morbidity and mortality at local, regional and national levels."*
> (196; p.1-2)

The research presented in the report led to the creation of the micro and macro *"theoretical frameworks of employment relations and health inequalities"* (73; p.31-32), which are key outcomes of the final report. The development of these theoretical frameworks has, for instance, led to the development of the Employment Precariousness Scale (EPRES) (see section 2.5.1.b).

Figure 2 below, presents the macro theoretical framework proposed by EMCONET.
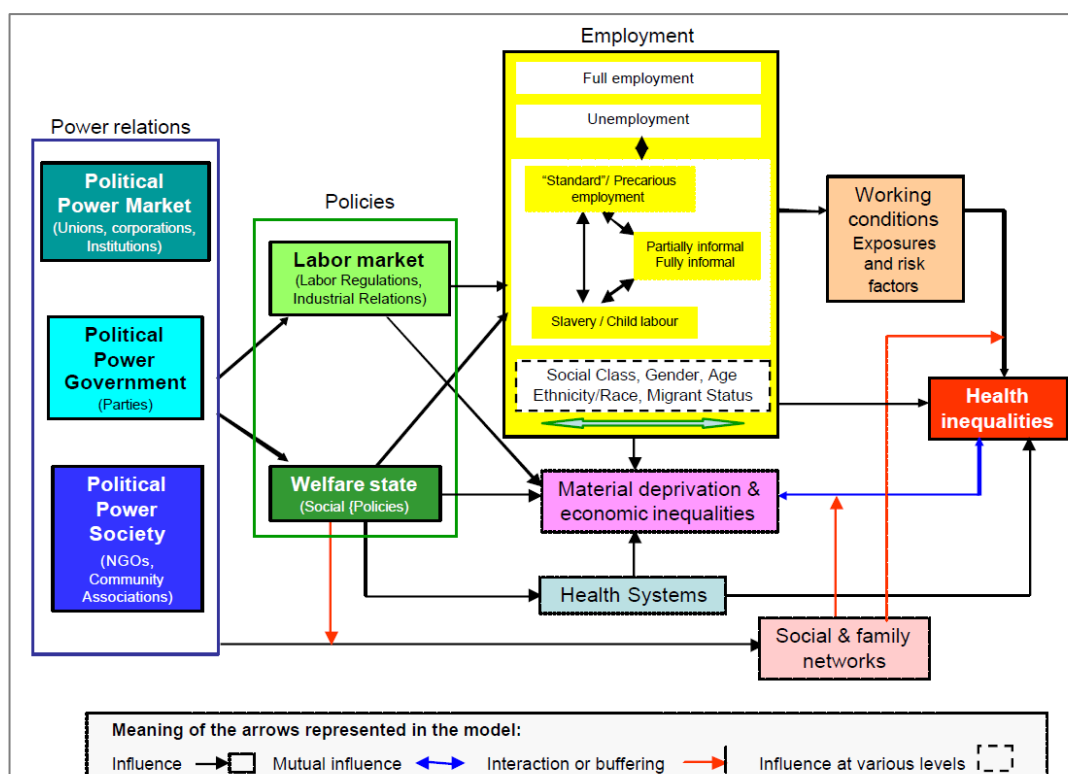
Source: EMCONET. Final report. 2010 (73; p.31)

Figure 2 EMCONET's macro-theoretical framework of employment relations and health inequalities.

This framework illustrates that employment conditions are influenced by policies (e.g. labour market and welfare state) and employment relations (e.g. power relations or social protection). In turn, employment conditions 'determine' other more proximal determinants of health, such as working conditions, which are defined as the *"tasks performed by workers, the way the work is organised, the physical and chemical work environment, ergonomics, the psychosocial work environment, and the technology being used"* (73; p.14). These working conditions have been the traditional focus of occupational health research and epidemiology. Social epidemiologists, who explore risk factors at more macro levels, have recently explored the link between employment conditions and workers' health. EMCONET highlighted such research and showed that employment conditions not only influence working conditions but also directly impact on health outcomes and inequalities. It underlines the coercive power of structures, such as *"work arrangements that are so unbalanced that workers are unable or afraid to assert their rights"* (73; p.14-15). This is in contrast with ILO's operationalisation of forced labour excluding structural forms of coercion (143).

2.4.2.b. *Precarious employment and slavery as non-standard forms of employment*

In contrast to the HR school of thought, the SDH school considers issues of slavery and human trafficking as non-standard employment conditions. They can also be considered as breaches of labour standards and/or law, or even criminal law for slavery in Skrivankova's continuum. EMCONET's report highlighted an overall higher risk of negative health for workers in non-standards form of employment, in addition to the traditional occupational health risk of the profession or sector (73,79,196). There is growing evidence that non-standard employment conditions, such as precariousness, may lead to negative health outcomes amongst workers (77,197–201).

The authors classify employment conditions into five dimensions: full employment; unemployment; precarious employment; informal employment and informal jobs; child labour; and slavery/bonded labour. For their research, they chose 'full employment'[1] as a standard for employment conditions that serves as the baseline comparison for the four other dimensions, which represent "*non-standard employment arrangements*" (194; p.3).

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[1] While the authors acknowledge another more traditional definition of standard forms of employment that is *"full-time, year-round, unlimited duration, with benefits"* (73), they decided to use *"full employment"* or *"full-time permanent employment"* instead because:

> *"[t]he growth of non-standard work arrangements in wealthy countries and the predominance of informality in low and medium income countries made us consider "Full-time permanent employment" as the reference against which these more hazardous employment relations are compared to."* (73; p.89)

In Figure 2, the box 'Employment' includes slavery and precarious employment, which are connected. This may indicate a continuum between the two forms of non-standard forms of employment (73). However, the authors place issues of exploitation as one of the *"social mechanism underlying class, gender, and ethnicity"* (73; p.32), along with concepts of domination and discrimination. This difference reflects the underlying epistemological difference between the fields of human rights (HR school) and Marxist political economy (SDH school) presented in section 2.2.

2.4.2.c. *Fair employment: decent work operationalisation in public health*

As mentioned in Chapter 1 (see section 1.2.1.c), EMCONET's report proposed operationalising the ILO concept of decent work, used in Skrivankova's continuum, with the concept of 'fair employment' for use in public health.

> *"The term "fair employment" complements that of the International Labour Organization's concept of "decent work". It encompasses a public health perspective in which employment relations, that is, the relation between buyers and sellers of labour as well as all the behaviours, outcomes, practices and institutions that emanate or impinge upon the employment relationship, need to be understood as a key factor in the quality of workers´ health."* (73; p.23)

Table 1 presents the ILO's dimensions of decent work and EMCONET's dimensions of fair employment. The ILO provides no operational definition of the concept but invites countries to set their own indicators based on the ten components described in the table (202). EMCONET proposes 'fair employment' to complement this concept for public health research, using seven operational dimensions, which also echo with literature in social epidemiology addressing employment and working conditions (159,203,204). Each dimension of fair employment could relate to key aspects of social epidemiology (205).

Table 1 Dimensions of the ILO concept of decent work and the dimensions of the EMCONET concept of fair employment

ILO dimensions of decent work[1]	EMCONET dimensions of fair employment[2]
1. employment opportunities 2. adequate earnings and productive work 3. decent working time 4. combining work, family and personal life 5. work that should be abolished (e.g. child labour, forced labour) 6. stability and security of work; 7. equal opportunity and treatment in employment; 8. safe work environment; 9. social security; 10. social dialogue, employers' and workers' representation	1. freedom from coercion 2. job security 3. fair income 4. job protection and availability of social benefits 5. respect and dignity at work 6. workplace participation 7. enrichment and lack of alienation

Sources for the definitions: [1] ILO Decent work (202,206); [2] EMCONET fair employment (73)

This conceptualisation suggests that there could be a continuum between fair employment and slavery, encompassing precariousness.

In this section, I presented different conceptualisations of labour exploitation and related concepts. The next section discusses and compares key measures that have operationalised labour exploitation and related concepts in order to provide a working conceptual framework supporting the research design in this thesis.

2.5. Operationalisation of the concept: measures and working conceptual framework

To date, there is no standardised validated tool of migrants' labour exploitation, nor is there a measure or operationalisation of labour exploitation using a continuum approach. The tools developed in both schools of thought have used a categorical approach. Definitions and tools used to conduct public health research on migrant workers' exploitation, mostly the extreme forms, have been *ad-hoc* or untested for migrant worker samples (7,10,155,191). Therefore, I identified and compared tools that could be used to measure labour exploitation and related concepts without specifying a population.

2.5.1. Key measures

Most of the studies explicitly referring to labour exploitation in public health have covered extreme forms of labour exploitation, especially human trafficking and forced labour, as they are mainstream concepts. Though two studies explicitly assessed labour exploitation and health outcomes (7,155); they used indirect indicators at organisational level, which could be classified within the SDH school of thought.

Other tools have measured concepts related to labour exploitation using direct indicators, which have presented a clear way to identify 'exploited' victims (154,207–209): one focusing on a key measure for precariousness, corresponding to the lower part of the continuum; whilst the other three have measured human trafficking, forced labour and modern slavery, corresponding to the extreme part of the continuum.

First, I will present first the indirect measures of labour exploitation, corresponding to the lower part of the continuum. Second, I will present the direct measures of labour exploitation, which will then be compared. This comparison led to developing the working conceptual framework on labour exploitation presented in section 2.5.2.

2.5.1.a.   Indirect measures

Two social epidemiological studies by Muntaner et al. (2011; 2015) explicitly aimed to quantitatively assess the links between health and labour exploitation in workers in low-skilled jobs (nursing assistants) (7,155). They found that 'workplace exploitation' and 'social class exploitation' were associated with negative health. They used proxy indicators derived from a theoretical Marxist definition of labour exploitation. These were indirect measures of exploitation using information about the organisation to define whether the workplace was exploitative or not. While grounded in theory and being replicable, these indicators are not validated. Importantly, it is unsure whether what was measured is actually labour exploitation, hence their content validity, a crucial property in measurement, remains unknown (210).

Muntaner et al. (2011) explored social class effects at an organisational level, which they measured through proxies defined as follows:

> *"a firm's ownership type (e.g., for-profit vs. not-for-profit/nonprofit) can serve as an organizational-level indicator of social class exploitation […] because for-profit institutions are privately owned and, as opposed to nonprofits, their managers are obliged by law to maximize the extraction of labor effort from their workers."* (155; p.28)

The proxy for workplace exploitation uses the notion of social class, which corresponds to Marxist conceptualisations (see section 2.2.3.a). In their article, 'workplace exploitation' is used interchangeably with the term 'social class exploitation', which their second study explores.

Muntaner et al. (2015) explicitly discuss 'social class exploitation' as a predictive factor of depression among nursing assistants (7). These authors measure it using two proxies: 1) the proxy used for 'workplace exploitation' in the previous study; and 2) a proxy for "*managerial domination*" measured as "*bureaucratic management style (i.e. "by the book"), labor relations violations, and perceptions of labor management conflict*" (6; p.273). They present exploitation as a relational determinant of health and highlight that their "*focus on relational class mechanisms has implications for the level at which prevention efforts should be targeted*" (6; p.280).

2.5.1.b.   Direct measures

Direct measures of concepts related to labour exploitation measures offer a clear way to identify 'exploited' workers, provide a questionnaire or a list of operational indicators, and describe the methodology.

For the lower part of the continuum, I identified one measure, the Employment Precariousness Scale (EPRES) (79) that is in the SDH school of thought. It is a theory-based

scale that was developed using EMCONET's research; and measures six dimensions: *'Temporariness', 'Disempowerment', 'Wages', 'Rights', 'Vulnerability' and 'Capability to exercise labour rights'*. It relates to Muntaner et al.'s proxies, however, this scale includes direct indicators that can be measured using a validated questionnaire. In contrast with the measures in the HR school, it focuses on *"contractual features of precarious employment […]; and workplace social dimensions of precarious employment relationships, i.e., workplace power relations"* (79; p.549).

For the extreme part of the continuum, where the conflation in terms matters for identifying victims entitled to support, I describe here three measures, one per term. First, the Vera Institute's Tool for the Identification of Victims of Human Trafficking[1] (TIVHT) is the only validated tool on human trafficking identified in the literature (208). It is a screening tool designed to improve the identification of human trafficking victims in the USA. It uses the US definition of human trafficking where the notion of 'movement' is dismissed, hence it also covers forced labour. It includes five dimensions: *'Abusive Labor Practices', 'Physical Harm or Violence', 'Sexual Exploitation', 'Isolation', 'Force, Fraud, Coercion'* (143; p.6). Second, the ILO operational indicators for forced labour (ILO FLI) are the most widely used measures that help to identify victims of forced labour, including human trafficking. The indicators are similar to those in the TVIHT and include: *'Abuse of vulnerability', 'Deception', 'Restriction of movement', 'Isolation', 'Physical and sexual violence', 'Intimidation and threats', 'Retention of identity documents', 'Withholding of wages', 'Debt bondage', 'Abusive working and living conditions' 'Excessive overtime'* (214; p.3). These indicators are categorised into low, medium and strong and are distributed into two main concepts (both needed to identify a potential victim): 1) *"Involuntariness"* covering *'unfree (forced or deceptive) recruitment', 'work and life under duress', and 'impossibility of leaving the employer'*; and 2) *'Penalty or menace of penalty'* corresponding to coercive measures, such as the use of threats and violence, or withholding of wages or passport. Two dimensions can be added to distinguish trafficked from non-trafficked forced labour, depending on the particular country's laws: involvement of a third party (e.g. a recruiter); and cross-border *"movement"* (143; p.19). Finally, the Global Slavery Index (GSI) (154) is a complex composite measure of modern slavery, including forced labour and human trafficking. GSI uses several sources of information to estimate the number of modern slaves, including primary data collection (i.e. questionnaires rather than policy or secondary data). Compared to the TVHIT and ILO FLI that focus on coercion, it emphasises the deprivation of freedom, which the authors claim is *"common to all forms of modern slavery"* (148; p.11). It is a direct measure, however, seems to focus on coercion and includes: asking

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[1] VERA tool was designed to capture human trafficking for the purpose of labour *and* sexual exploitation, but I only consider the labour exploitation aspects.

whether a person was forced to work by an employer, the employer kept him/her from quitting the job and if the person was offered work but ended up forced to do something else and not allowed to leave.

To have a preliminary idea of how the concepts measured overlap and differ, I compared the four direct measures, which led to the working framework discussed in the next section.

2.5.2. The working framework

The comparison of the measures' content demonstrated that there was much overlap between the different tools.

Figure 3 represents the working conceptual framework of labour exploitation that guided the research design, and highlights where the concepts measured converged and diverged. Appendix A offers a detailed version of this figure, in which different colours were used to distinguish the items from each measure. I hypothesised that the core components of labour exploitation would be indicated by the themes common to all the measures (the inner rectangle).
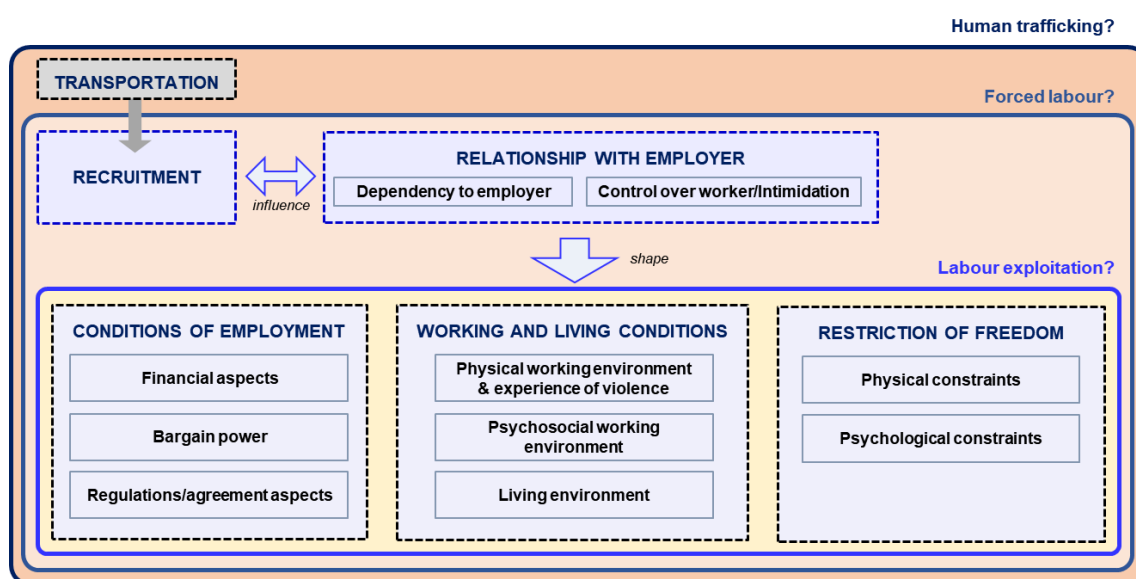
Note: Dotted line rectangles represent the dimensions hypothetically composing the concept of labour exploitation, and the added dimensions that may be specific to more extreme forms (forced labour and human trafficking), which require additional dimensions to be characterised. A question marks (?) is used to highlight the hypothesised concepts related to labour exploitation (plain line rectangles).

Figure 3 Generic framework of labour exploitation representing the hypothesised differences in the dimensions composing labour exploitation, forced labour and human trafficking

All measures covered the themes represented in the inner rectangle, hence labelled labour exploitation. All items of the EPRES, representing the lower part of the continuum were included in this inner rectangle. This scale did not have items or themes that would be specific

to precariousness in comparison to the extreme forms of labour exploitation. In contrast, additional themes were necessary for exploitation to be considered more extreme, hence their position in outer rectangles. The presence of additional themes to distinguish modern slavery from exploitation, echoes Mayer's view that slavery is wrong because of *additional* wrongdoings (132) (see section 2.2.1). This is also in line with Skrivankova's idea that forced labour and human trafficking can be prosecuted using a criminal law framework *in addition to* breaches of labour law (see section 1.2.2.b).

The inner rectangle 'labour exploitation?' in Figure 3 presents the three themes that could hypothetically be the core dimensions of labour exploitation: 'Conditions of employment', 'Working (and living) conditions', and 'Restriction of freedom.

The outer rectangles cover the items stemming from the three measures of extreme forms of exploitation (HR school-specific). Dimensions in the frames 'forced labour?' and 'human trafficking?' seemed specific to extreme forms of labour exploitation, as additional layers. They could be categorised into two 'dimensions': 'Relationship between the worker and employer', and 'Recruitment'. This implies that these additional factors may make a situation shift from a lower to an extreme form of exploitation. The worker's relationship with the employer may shape core aspects of labour exploitation (e.g. coerce him or her), and recruitment may be mutually influenced by this relationship. I have suggested that aspects of 'transportation' are likely to be specific to human trafficking, as proposed in the Palermo protocol (139) definition and the ILO (143).

The next section builds on this comparison and describes the continuum approach that was taken in this research.

2.6.   Building a middle ground for public health research

I have suggested that the use of the continuum approach proposed by Skrivankova would both overcome the definitional issues in the HR school, and offer a foundation on which to build connections between the HR school and the SDH school. Researchers in the HR school have held out a hand to the SDH school by recognising the role of socio-economic structures and employment conditions in modern slavery. It seems that for public health research, there is a way to circumvent the debates about the intrinsic "exploitative" nature of capitalism.

In the following section, I summarise how the key aspects of the two schools fit with the continuum approach ranging from breaches of decent work up to situations of modern slavery. I present a social justice theory, which offers a theoretical justification encompassing

both the moral aspects of the fight against criminal labour exploitation (HR school); and the focus on structures creating inequalities (SDH school). Finally, I propose using a SDH approach as a basis for examining migrant workers' exploitation and health, as this fits with the shift already initiated in the HR school of thought.

2.6.1. The two schools on a continuum starting from decent work breaches

As discussed in Chapter 1, using the continuum approach revealed a conceptual gap in the public health literature between the two schools of thought addressing labour exploitation, and offers a way to include the key interests of both schools.

Both schools consider decent work as a baseline for labour conditions. Skrivankova begins her continuum from decent work, acknowledging that the concept of decent work sets the very minimum of standards. EMCONET also considers fair employment as the quality standards to ensure workers' health. I claim that an agreement can be built in public health research by starting with the continuum from breaches of decent work (or fair employment). While there is still room to debate whether decent work can be exploitative (Marxism) or not (liberalism), there seems to be a middle ground for agreement founded on social justice principles. As discussed in section 2.4.1.a, the SDH school has already used the concept of decent work in public health, while basing their work on a Marxist approach. All would agree that there is a clear case of some level of exploitation when decent work standards are breached.

Section 2.2 showed that the HR school's notion of coercion echoes with the moral aspects of the fight against modern slavery, and that the SDH school of thought focused on the structural aspects, such as employment conditions. The SDH school also refers to health inequality and inequities, which implies a notion of fairness. It takes a social justice approach that allows for these moral arguments, as I will now discuss.

2.6.2. Social justice

2.6.2.a. *Promoting decent work and protecting migrants*

As mentioned in previous sections, the ILO is involved in both the fight against forced labour, human trafficking or 'modern slavery' and in promoting decent work worldwide. It seems that this international organisation, which influences the mainstream school of thought, has moved towards an increased will to enforce labour standards contained in the concept of decent work. This concept was present in the 1998 Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, and later emphasised within the 2008 ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization (212,213). Fudge discusses the rise of some core labour

rights to the status of human rights in ILO and EU discourses (213), placing these rights as fundamental or 'universal'. She suggests that this 'upgrade' of labour rights may be to promote social justice.

The promotion of decent work, such as the fight against migrant workers' exploitation, has been propelled to the forefront of global agendas by enshrining these notions into the United Nations' (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (214). They also embrace the need for more social justice, and have migration as a cross-cutting theme. The need for safe migration and protection of migrant workers, recognised as a vulnerable population, has also been acknowledged in the SDGs (215). Two of these goals are particularly relevant for the study of migrant workers' exploitation. The SDG 10 'Reduce inequality within and among countries', includes one target *"facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies"*. This goal highlights the need for countries to prevent *"abuse and exploitation of migrants"*. It complements the SDG 8 *"Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all"* that focuses on the promotion of decent work and the fight against severe forms of labour exploitation, by the target 8.7 *"take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking [...]"*. Therefore, one can expect a boost in research on the exploitation of migrant workers in upcoming years in order to reach the SDGs.

Flynn and Wickramage suggest using the SDGs and fostering multidisciplinary collaboration to promote migrant workers' health (59). However, health and public health researchers interested in this field will be unable to participate in these SDG without a robust operational conceptual framework to underpin quantitative research. The notion of social justice supported by the SDGs can be used to build a middle ground, especially when focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs, known to be exposed to worse forms of exploitation and have poor labour conditions and occupational health (9,58,59,81,216).

I will now demonstrate that public health research can develop a standardised approach to measuring labour exploitation in this population, by using a social justice theory. It is already in use in public health and social epidemiology research and could provide a solid theoretical basis for designing such a system for action in public health.

2.6.2.b.   Social justice in public health

In *'Social justice: the moral foundations of public health and health'*, Power and Faden propose a theory of social justice (22), underlining that public health has always been driven by this will for social justice:

> *"Public health in theory and practice has exhibited a special focus upon those most disadvantaged and has therefore reflected concerns far more encompassing than the standard view can accommodate. Accordingly, our view of the negative as well as the positive aims of justice captures what we believe are the twin moral impulses that animate public health: to improve well-being by improving health and related dimensions of well-being and to do so in particular by focusing on the needs of those who are most disadvantaged."* (21; p.192)

Their call to prioritise the most vulnerable for urgent public health action supports my decision to focus on migrant workers in this thesis. This focus on the most disadvantaged is also supported by other authors, who, like Power and Faden, also recommend multidisciplinary collaboration (13,63,107,108), which this research focuses on, as Chapter 4 will detail.

As discussed previously, social justice is key in Human Rights. Some researchers in the SDH school of thought also recommend closer connections between public health and social justice (63,107,108). The emphasis on moral foundations for social justice in public health can, therefore, support the connection between both schools of thought.

As mentioned previously, in Marxism the focus on structures is more important than the moral aspects of exploitation. Power and Faden's theory of social justice fits with this view and calls for further attention to how structures determine health. Like in the SDH school, it highlights the need to tackle health inequalities. They use a pragmatic view: *"what we can do or be, whatever else we might want to do and be, are what matters essentially in our theory of justice"* (21; p.192). Chapter 4 will detail how this thesis uses a similar pragmatic approach.

The next section will build upon the increased interest in "structural drivers" in the HR school of thought towards a SDH approach.

2.6.3. Social determinants of health approach

The EMCONET's theoretical frameworks used the WHO framework for action on SDH (217). In Figure 4, I propose a hypothetical conceptual framework to position labour exploitation using both frameworks that would fit the two schools of thought.
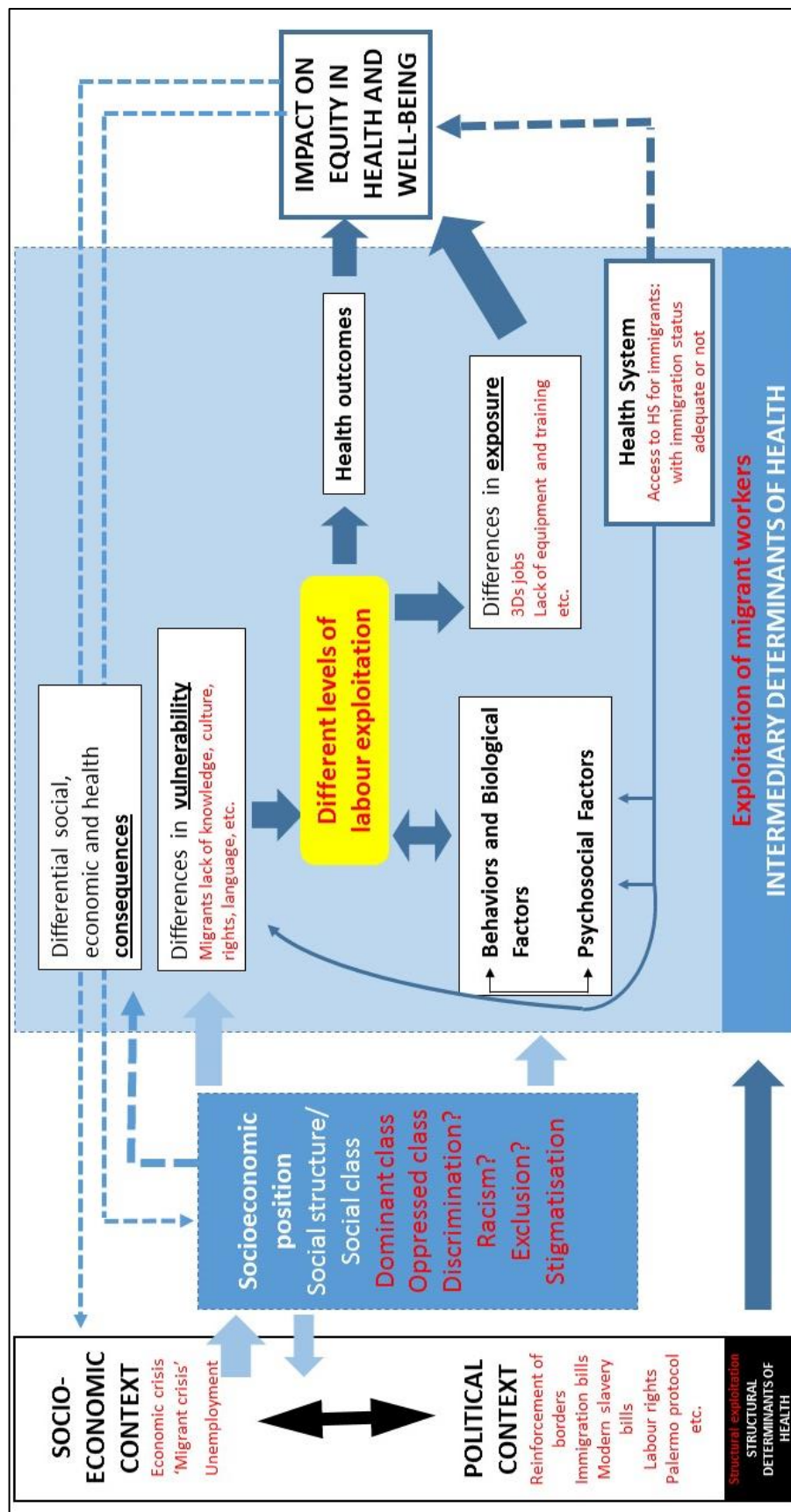
Sources: WHO conceptual framework for action on SDH (218) *and EMCONET's macro-conceptual framework* (73)
Note: In red are highlighted key concepts related to a working hypothesis of 'exploitation of migrant workers' as a social (intermediary) determinant of health

Figure 4 Adaptation of the WHO conceptual framework for action on SDH and of EMCONET's macro-conceptual framework

In contrast with the EMCONET's framework (see Figure 2) that considers exploitation as a *"social mechanism underlying class, gender, and ethnicity"* (73; p.32) (see section 2.4.2.a), I suggest that labour exploitation could be considered an intermediary determinant, which may impact health outcomes and inequities. The concept of labour exploitation may encompass both employment and working conditions, and hence covers both the HR school's increased interest in employment and working conditions, and the SDH structure of the second school of thought.

The SDH approach also allows labour exploitation to be considered as part of a bigger system, which may or may not facilitate exploitation at the workplace, as suggested by Marxists in political economy. This could correspond to a *"cause of the causes"* used in SDH approach (219–221). In this framework, interventions aimed at reducing labour exploitation could have a direct impact on 'victims' or 'exploited' workers' health outcomes.

2.7.   Conclusion

This chapter described the general conceptualisations of labour exploitation, why it is important to focus on migrant workers' exploitation in public health, and the two public health schools of thought which have addressed issues of labour exploitation (HR and SDH). It has highlighted the relevant debates underpinning the conceptualisation in public health to clarify the points of contention between the different conceptualisations, which led to demonstrating how a middle ground conceptualisation could be built for public health research. This chapter demonstrated that a conceptualisation of labour exploitation as a continuum between decent work and modern slavery, encompassing precariousness, fits within the theory of social justice and a SDH approach.

Chapter 3.   The UK and the Latin American community in London

3.1.   Introduction

In the UK, there is a growing concern about the exploitation of migrant workers in low-skilled jobs. They are a vulnerable population at higher risk of exploitation, facing several vulnerabilities, such as a lack of knowledge of the language, culture, labour and social rights compared to the local population (30,36,104,106). The UK has declared its will to lead the global fight against modern slavery (90–92,222,223). However, as this chapter highlights, national structures in place in the country (e.g. immigration policies) may also play a role in this exploitation and hinder the fight against modern slavery (3,86,89). The UK provides a relevant location for research on labour exploitation using a continuum approach.

This chapter helps to contextualise the findings of the interviews with support organisations and Latin American workers in manual low-skilled jobs in London (LAWs), and CM with LAWs. I based the description of the UK context on Siqueira et al.'s literature review on US policies and laws that impact occupational health disparities (224) to highlight key aspects that would help to understand the issue of labour exploitation along the hypothesised continuum described in Chapter 2. First, it gives an overview of the socio-economic context and the immigration trends and policies in the UK, focusing on manual low-skilled jobs. It describes the UK labour market along with policies governing workers' rights and protection, and highlights policies regulating workers' and migrant's access to social and health care. Second, it looks at the issue of labour exploitation in the UK and introduces key laws and policies governing the fight against 'labour exploitation'. Finally, it describes the situation of Latin American workers in the UK.

3.2.   Socio-economic context, immigration trends, and key immigration and health access

The UK is one of the 35 member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that promote economic liberalism, globalisation and flexibilisation of the labour market for countries development and economic growth (225,226). This echoes with the debates on labour exploitation between Marxism and liberalism in the field of political economy described in Chapter 2. It is one of the wealthiest countries in the world, with the 19th biggest Gross Domestic Product per capita (44,162 USD per capita); and is placed 16th in the ranking of Human Development Indices (HDI), which takes into consideration the country's wealth along with some health and education indicators. UK's HDI of 0.909 is higher than the average HDI of other OECD countries, which is 0.887 (227).

3.2.1. UK labour market and key laws governing workers' protections and prevention of occupational health issues

3.2.1.a.   *UK labour market*

The UK has adopted neoliberal economics and politics since the 1980s. A flexible labour market characterises its job market, with a low unionisation rate and low collective bargaining power (213,225,228). Following the 2007/2008 financial crisis, the UK's flexible market resulted in a lesser impact on unemployment compared to other European countries, yet wages and job quality have decreased (225).

The 2017 UK statistics on employment (229) estimated that 32 million people were employed: 31 million were aged between 16-64 and 1 million were 65 and over; most of them were in the private sector (26.5 million). The average time worked per week was 32 hours: 37 hours for those employed full-time and 16 hours for those employed part-time. With 38 hours per week, London was *"the region with the highest average actual weekly hours worked in full-time jobs"* (230). The services sector was by far the biggest sector of employment. It represented 83% of the jobs throughout the UK and 91% in London, which is the region with the highest concentration of work in this sector, including lower to higher skilled jobs.

The same year, non-UK nationals represented 11% of the workforce (7% EU nationals and 4% non-EU), and 75% of them were in full-time jobs (231). They were highly concentrated within 'elementary jobs', which are defined by the ILO as jobs *"consist[ing] of simple and routine tasks which mainly require the use of hand-held tools and often some physical effort"* (232). It is also a term used to refer to manual low-skilled jobs, and these jobs generally require skills that are at the lowest skill level (104,105,233). The proportion of non-UK nationals taking jobs for which they are over-qualified was higher than those of UK nationals (about 37-40% for non-UK nationals vs 15% for UK nationals) (231).

3.2.1.b.   *Labour regulations*

Income, and other employment and working conditions, such as the number of working hours or the type of contract, are known to affect workers' health (73,195,197,224,234,235). Employment protection in the UK is one of the lowest in the OECD, along with the USA. This subsection provides a brief outline of basic workers' protection included in some laws. The labour laws in the UK have been mainly influenced by UK's membership of international organisations and the EU, and have slightly changed after the economic crisis in 2007-8 (236).

Wages

Salaries vary significantly between sectors and industries. The UK is one of the OECD countries presenting the *"highest income inequality"* (225). The highest median weekly salaries are found among people classified as Corporate managers and directors (£768), Science, research, engineering and technology professionals (£728) and Protective service occupations (£674). On the lower salary scale, the lowest median weekly salaries are within jobs categorised as Sales (£179), Elementary administration and services (£194) and Caring personal services (£248).

The minimum wage is composed of five different rates depending on the age of workers, and for an apprenticeship. At the point of writing, the minimum wage varies from £4.05 for workers under 18 to £7.50 for those aged 25 and over. This rate for the 25s and over is called 'national living wage' by the government. It was introduced in April 2016 as a step from the government to reach the push towards a living wage advocated by the Living Wage Foundation (237). Their Living Wage campaign has been going on for over 25 years in the UK to *"encourage all employers that can afford to do so to ensure their employees earn a wage that meets the costs of living, not just the government minimum"* (237).

The 'real living wage' is calculated every year by the Foundation according to the living costs estimations, whereas the government's 'national living wage' is calculated with the median earnings in the country (237,238). In 2016, the living wage was £8.75. In London, it was £10.25 as it takes into account the higher living costs in the capital. Contrary to the real living wage, given voluntarily, the minimum wage constitutes a statutory right for all workers (237,238). It is defined by the 1998 National Minimum Wage Act, which also contains other basic protection for all adult workers (239).

Employment conditions

The leading UK labour law is the 1996 Employment Rights Act. It details basic workers' rights, such as wages protection, protection against unfair dismissal, or rights to compensation in case of redundancy. It also provides regulation of leaves (e.g. adoption or parental leave) and time off work (240). The Act also states that employers have the duty to provide the worker with *"written statement of employment particulars"* (241,242) within the two first months of employment. Yet, there is no obligation for an employer to give a written contract to an employee. The compulsory document provides a basic description of the employee's rights, terms and conditions, and working conditions. It includes: the amount and frequency of payment, the working hours, holiday entitlements, pensions, collective agreements, work location, and if this may change, and the notice period. However, it is not

compulsory for the employer to include information about *"sick pay and procedures, disciplinary and dismissal procedures, grievance procedures"* (243).

It is important to note that a person may have different employment status, which determines their rights. These include (244):

- '**worker**' status: a broad status for people who need to come to work, and generally have a contract (written or not) to provide work or services in exchange for money. Most people who are performing irregular or casual work, such as zero-hour workers, are also considered workers. They are entitled to some basic employment rights, including:
    - being paid the national minimum wage;
    - Statutory leave entitlement or annual leave (at least 28 days for workers working 5-day week (245));
    - Statutory minimum length of rest breaks (*"at least 20 minutes unpaid break per working day of 6 hours or more; a break from work of at least 11 hours in every 24-hour period; and at least one day off per week or 2 days off per 2 weeks"* (246));
    - protection against discrimination and for whistleblowing, and to be treated equally if they work part-time.
- '**employee**' status: the status with the most protection. It has the same rights as a 'worker', and additionally provides:
    - Statutory Sick Pay (£92.05 per week when off sick for four days or more for up to 28 weeks (247));
    - Statutory maternity, paternity, parental or adoption pay;
    - Protection against unfair dismissal, receiving a notice period, statutory redundancy pay or time off for an emergency; which a worker is not entitled to have.
- '**self-employed**' or '**contractor**': the statuses providing the least protection. Self-employed workers do not have any employment rights, except for health and safety protection. A contractor can be either self-employed or "*a worker or an employee if they work for a client and are employed by an agency*" (244).
- '**agency worker**' (or 'outsourced workers') is used for a worker who has a contract with an agency but performs work for a hirer. The agency needs to give the worker *"written terms of employment before looking for work for"* him/her (244), including: the pay, holidays entitlements, duration and type of job, working hours and any health and safety risks or required skills and training to perform the tasks (248). Following the

implementation of the 2008 European Union Temporary Agency Work Directive, agency workers are entitled to the same treatment as the hirer's employees (225).

Length of working hours and night shifts are also known to affect workers' health (249–251). The working time is regulated within the 1998 Working time regulations, which comes from the EU (European Working Time Directive) (252). It fixes the maximum weekly working hours to 48 hours (with some exceptions). If a worker works at least 3 hours over the period 11 pm to 6 am, s/he qualifies as a night worker, but there is no different pay rate for this period unless agreed. This period may vary but needs to be 7 hours that includes midnight to 5 am and to be put in writing. Night working hours are regulated, and a worker cannot *"work more than an average of 8 hours in a 24-hour period"* (253). Moreover, an employer can ask a worker to work on Sunday, but it is on a voluntary basis, and needs to be agreed upon by the employee and be put in writing. It may or may not be paid more depending on the contract (254).

Employers are responsible for ensuring workers' health and safety in the workplace (255), which is covered principally under the 1974 Health and Safety at Work etc. Act (256). Employers need to undertake risk assessments to evaluate potential occupational hazards and inform the workers about potential risks. Workers must be told "*how to do [their] job safely in a way that [they] can understand"* (257). They are entitled to free health and safety training and free protective equipment to perform the job safely, and have access to *"suitable and sufficient toilets, washing facilities and drinking water; and adequate first-aid facilities"* (257). The Health and Safety Executive (HSE) is responsible for enforcing the health and safety regulations, and oversees the enforcement of weekly hours and night work. It is the national body that registers incidents, accidents, violence and deaths at the workplace. In the guidance and advice that they provide, they identify migrant workers as workers with special needs. They highlight that employers should consider how to inform best and train workers who may not have a sufficient level of English (258).

The 2010 Equality Act (259) outlaws situations of harassment, which are psychosocial hazards, as well as discrimination at the workplace (260). Policies must be in place at the workplace to prevent discrimination against 'protected characteristics': *"age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, or sexual orientation"* (261).

Finally, employment and working conditions, as well as the implementation of health and safety regulations, can be improved through collective bargaining between unions and employers. Unions provide support and protection to their members. They can provide

representation at work, for example in case of issues at work, or occupational accident (262). Rights to collective bargaining and joining unions are guaranteed by the 1992 Trade Union and Labour Relations Act, which states that employers have the obligation to

> *"inform and consult with a recognised trade union about: collective redundancies, transfers of business ownership, certain changes to pension schemes, health and safety"* (263).

These rights are enshrined in the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and its Follow-up, which the UK committed to by becoming a member of the ILO. This Declaration requires members *"to respect, to promote and to realize"* the following (264,265):

> *"(a) freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;*
> *(b) the elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labour;*
> *(c) the effective abolition of child labour; and*
> *(d) the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation."*

This ILO Declaration also refers to migrant workers as workers with special needs (264). The UK has ratified several other international treaties aiming at protecting workers. In particular, it ratified all the ILO fundamental conventions, including the 1930 Forced Labour Convention (138).

3.2.2. Immigration in the UK and migrants' rights to health

3.2.2.a. Immigration

The UK, especially London, attracts a high proportion of international migrants and is a "*hub of employment for migrant workers around the world*" (266). In 2015, the UK population was about 65 million, including 9 million migrants. Among the migrant population, 71% were adults between 26 and 64 who came for work (267,268). The top 3 countries of immigration are Poland, India and Pakistan. These countries of origin are also reflected in the London top three countries of origin (in the following order: India, Poland and Pakistan). The biggest proportion of migrants reside in the London region (37%), which is the main region of arrivals for those who recently immigrated. London is a city of diversity with a high proportion of foreign-born Londoners representing 41% of the population living in inner London and 35% of those in Outer London (267).

The UK has also been a member of the European Union (EU) but is in the process of withdrawing from the EU (Brexit) at the point of writing. However, to date, EU citizens have had the right to reside and work in the UK without a visa. Similarly, citizens from European Economic Area (EEA) countries who are *"economically active or able to support*

themselves" (269) also have the right to reside and work under certain conditions that are much more favourable than those for non-EEA citizens, who generally need a visa to enter and/or remain and work in the country. Over the last few years, immigration policies, enforced by the Home Office, have varied and the conditions for obtaining a visa have become tighter, especially for low-skilled workers. In 2015 and 2016, the main reason invoked for visa delivery was work (46% in 2015 and 45% in 2016). The work permit visa schemes have varied, and in 2015, the 'low-skilled' visa scheme (tier 3) was withdrawn. For long-term immigration, applicants have mainly needed to apply for a visa through one of the 'tiers' depending on the types of jobs. For example, the tier 2 visa is for 'skilled' workers who have a licensed sponsor in the UK and is now the main path for visa application (270); tier 4 visa is for students; and tier 5, which was for temporary workers, and has now been restricted to some specific schemes such as youth mobility (271).

Another type of migrant is also residing and sometimes working in the UK: those with irregular immigration status. They are also labelled 'illegal', 'unauthorised' or 'irregular' migrants. Definitions are not homogeneous and vary between organisations. The Council of Europe suggests using the more neutral term 'irregular' rather than 'illegal' due to the criminal connotation of the latter (272). Moreover, the irregularity also depends on the immigration regulations in place at a certain time. For example, a person could be labelled 'irregular', 'undocumented' or 'illegal' if s/he enters the country with no or false identification documents, if s/he overstays his/her visas, uses the wrong visa, etc. Furthermore, a migrant could be a 'regular' or 'legal' resident one day and become 'irregular' if the government changes the legislation (35). The proportion of irregular migrants is always difficult to estimate due to its hidden nature, so two estimates are reported by the UK Office for National Statistics (273):

- a Home Office report estimation of 430,000 'unauthorised' migrants in 2004;
- an LSE report estimation of 533,000 'irregular' migrants in 2007.

There has been a lot of attention on immigration in the UK in recent years. One contributing factor was the media coverage of the political statement of the then Home Office Secretary and now Prime Minister to *"create a hostile environment"* (82) when presenting the Immigration Bill proposal (now the 2016 Immigration Act). In 2016, one year after the UK ratified the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, the Council of Europe published a memorandum declaring that the *"Commissioner for Human Rights [was] worried by the UK's "alarmist" political rhetoric and debate on immigration"* (272), referring to this 'hostile environment'. This political context may have placed migrant workers at increased

risk of abuse, especially within the labour market, and potentially at further risks of exploitation (3,89,99). Immigration status and migration, in general, are known to put workers into situations of increased vulnerability to labour exploitation with fear of reporting abuses they may face (99). In the UK, migrant workers, especially those with an irregular status, are considered more prone to be exploited for their work, especially in the current political context of 'hostile environment' and Brexit (35,57,83).

I will now highlight migrants' rights to health.

3.2.2.b.   *Migrants' rights to health*

As discussed in Chapter 2, literature on migration and health is scarce (30,59) despite a growing migration phenomenon worldwide, in particular within Europe and in particular regarding their occupational health (58,274–277). Researchers have highlighted the lack of data collection tools to assess the health and access to healthcare of migrants in Europe, especially among migrants who are not refugees, asylum seekers and detainees (274,278).

The situation in the UK is similar, and most of the migrants' health literature has focused on asylum seekers, refugees or detainees, or victims of human trafficking, who have different access to healthcare (278). This literature has shown in particular that migrants have the highest burden of infectious disease, especially of tuberculosis, but data are mainly based on an outdated report of the UK Health Protection Agency (274,279). Migrants in the UK, as in other countries, face barriers in access to healthcare in relation to several aspects. Related to the fact that migrants are from various countries, they often lack information about their rights or how the healthcare system functions in the UK. This may be combined for some with additional cultural and language barriers (26,40,49,50). Furthermore, the legal frameworks for migrants in the destination country also play a determining role in protecting migrants' health (104,276,280).

Migrants' rights to health are identified in several international legal instruments ratified by the UK. In particular, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states *"the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health"* (274,275). In the UK, the National Health System (NHS), in place since 1948 from the National Health Service Act 1946, is at the core of healthcare provision. Immigrants are also entitled to access NHS services under conditions that have recently changed. For example, migrants from non-EEA countries are now paying a financial contribution for healthcare during their visa application (since 2015). Some groups, including asylum seekers, victims of modern slavery, and some victims of domestic violence, are exempt from charges under the NHS (281). Primary care services are provided without charge for any patient registered with

a General Practitioner (GP practice) or as a 'temporary patient' if s/he is in the GP area for one day up to three months. Some key services available for free are (281):

- Emergency treatment;
- Diagnosis and treatment of certain communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis or HIV, and sexually transmitted infections (STIs);
- Family planning services;
- *"Treatment of a physical or mental health condition caused by: torture, female genital mutilation, domestic violence, sexual violence"* (281).

GP registration is a right for all and, to date, practices are not required to check the identity or immigration status of applicants. They can ask for an identity document and/or proof of address but cannot refuse a patient for not providing these documents. Research on immigrants' access to GP practices in the UK has suggested that immigrants are confused about how to access GP practices and some migrant organisations have raised concerns over the refusal of patients based on their nationality (278,282).

Hospital treatment is free for all UK residents, but since 2015 non-EEA can be asked to justify their immigration status at the hospital, which needs to be *"indefinite leave to remain"* to be entitled to treatment free of charge (281). Some healthcare providers and researchers have been challenging this obligation of controlling patients' immigration status in healthcare premises. They have claimed there is no evidence that these would reduce the health tourism - as the government has declared - but may increase the burden on already overloaded NHS staff and jeopardise the trust with patients (280,282–284).

To overcome these barriers, some evidence suggests that migrant organisations can help and support migrants to navigate the system and enforce their rights (282).

3.3. Labour exploitation in the UK, and key laws and policies

The obligations to fight against forced labour, as agreed by the ratification of the ILO Forced Labour Convention, and against human trafficking, as agreed by the ratification of the Palermo protocol, are now included within the 2015 Modern Slavery Act (MSLA)[1] (4). It uses modern slavery as *"a term used to encapsulate both offences in the Modern Slavery Act: slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour; and human trafficking"* (285). With this Act, the UK, which

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[1] Note: The Scottish and Northern Ireland governments have a different law but is mostly similar. In this section I will only refer to the MSLA.

declared to be leading this fight globally (90,91,175), became the first State that produced a law to fight against 'modern slavery' explicitly:

> *"because the exploitative behaviours involved in committing the crimes of human trafficking and slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour are often similar, as is the operational response to these crimes"* (176).

The 2016 GSI report highlighted that the USA and the UK were amongst the countries *"taking the most steps to respond to modern slavery"* (209). In 2014, the Home Office estimated the number of potential victims of modern slavery in the UK to range between 10 to 13 000 (286,287).

The government has established a National Referral Mechanism (NRM) to identify and support modern slavery victims. It was initially created for human trafficking victims, and the MSLA has extended it to all victims of modern slavery. In the NRM, when a first-line worker recognises signs of modern slavery in an individual, there are three possibilities. First, if the first-line worker is a public authority, s/he has a 'duty to notify' the government about a possible case of modern slavery. If the potential victim does not want to be referred, the notification remains anonymous and contributes to improving estimations of modern slavery. If the potential victim agrees to get support, there are two remaining options: 1) either the first-line worker is a first respondent, in which case s/he can register the individual in the NRM and sends a form to the competent authorities that will assess the case; or 2) the first-line worker contacts a first respondent to refer the individual to the NRM (288).

Then, a two-step identification process starts. If the potential victim is a UK or EEA citizen, the National Crime Agency (NCA) is the competent agency; if s/he is a non-EEA national, it is the Home Office Immigration and Visa unit. First, the competent authority assesses within a few days whether there are 'reasonable grounds' to believe that the individual is a potential victim. If so, s/he could receive support through *"specialist care contract"* (currently the Salvation Army and its subcontractors) for at least a 45-day reflection and recovery period, or until a 'conclusive grounds' decision (176). During that period, the competent authority investigates to determine whether there are conclusive grounds, in which case the individual will be entitled to the status of 'modern slavery victim' and could claim access to state support. A leaflet produced by the NCA specifies that:

> *"Non-British or European Economic Area Nationals will not be removed from the UK during the recovery and reflection period. If you are identified as a victim of modern slavery, you may be considered for a temporary residence permit. If you are not British or from the European Economic Area (and do not have a right to remain in the UK) then you will be assisted to return to your home country, if it is safe to do so."* (289)

In 2016, 3805 potential modern slavery victims were referred through the NRM process. The most reported type of exploitation for adults was labour exploitation (1107 cases of potential cases), before sexual exploitation (N=951). Most of the cases were referred by the Home Office and from a location in the London region. The top 5 nationalities of potential adult victims of labour exploitation were Vietnamese (N=185), Polish (N=136), Chinese (N=129), Romanian (N=124) and Indian (N=59). Out of the 3805 cases referred that year, 635 obtained the status of 'victim' of modern slavery (17%), and 2053 decisions were still pending (288). As the MSLA is relatively new, various changes are happening at the point of writing. The NRM is currently undergoing revisions by the newly created Modern Slavery Taskforce composed of different ministries, intelligence services, practitioners and chaired by the Prime Minister.

The MSLA working with the government's will to *"tackl[e]exploitation in the labour market"* (290) has been the result of successive initiatives, including the 2014 Migration Advisory Committee's report discussing the *"exploitation of migrants in low-skilled jobs"* (58; p.168) and the government consultation on *'Tackling Exploitation in the Labour Market'* (291). This has led to including in the 2016 Immigration Act the will to:

> *"improve the effectiveness of the enforcement of certain employment rights to prevent non-compliance and the exploitation of vulnerable workers, via an intelligence-led, targeted approach"* (293; p.1).

To do so, the Act created the 'Directorate of Labour Market Enforcement' that oversees and centralises *"intelligence gathered on minimum wage violations, unscrupulous employment agencies and other labour market exploitation will identify vulnerable sectors and regions and inform the most effective response"* (94).

It manages three agencies in charge of labour inspections (293):

- Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority (GLAA);
- Employment Agency Standards Inspectorate (EAS);
- HMRC National Minimum Wage and National Living Wage (HMRC NMW).

The GLAA has replaced the Gangmasters Licensing authorities (GLA), highlighting the increased power of this agency. The GLA oversaw the provision and monitoring of employers' licenses in the farming, food processing and shellfish gathering sectors to prevent the exploitation of workers (294). It has been praised in Europe for its efficiency but only focused on these specific sectors (295). Today, the GLAA's motto is *"Working in partnership to protect vulnerable and exploited workers"* (296). In comparison, the GLAA can now investigate suspicion of labour exploitation or abuse in any sector and for any employment status:

"Its mission will be to prevent, detect and investigate worker exploitation across all labour sectors. It will be given police-style enforcement powers in England and Wales to help it tackle all forms of exploitation in all sectors." (297)

This new authority is also accompanied by the creation of *"labour market enforcement officers - tasked specifically with addressing the most severe forms of labour abuse"* (298), which may overlap with some of the NRM's role currently reviewed (299). In the UK, the fight against labour exploitation seems to have followed the emerging will of the international community to shift towards a labour paradigm by acknowledging that the fight against labour exploitation needs to include the prevention and identification of labour abuse, and ensure that labour standards are implemented (293). This goes in the same direction advocated by an increasing number of researchers and activists in the field of 'extreme forms' of labour exploitation focusing on improving workers' protection by monitoring the implementation of the law and increasing workers' rights (1,266,300).

This fight against labour exploitation concerns mainly migrant workers, which are both the main population identified through the NRM, and at the core of the labour market enforcement targets. Their increased vulnerability has been acknowledged in the UK context regarding immigration status, migrants' lack of information and protection, as well as the future risks that EU workers might face when discussing the Brexit referendum (57,99,290). On that topic, Anderson suggests that the role of immigration policies in the lack of labour enforcement is likely to push migrants into further exploitation (35). Moreover, there is growing evidence that immigration policies are producing health disparities for migrant workers, especially by limiting their protection while they tend to be more exposed to occupational health hazards and have less healthcare access (224).

I will now turn to describe the LA community in London.

3.4. Latin Americans in London: a self-identified migrant community organising to fight against exploitation

In the UK, the LA community has been organising since 2011, when the report *'No longer invisible'* (NLI) presented the *"most comprehensive research on London's Latin American"* (104). The NLI report described LA in London as an *"invisible"* population, marginalised, and prone to labour abuses and exploitation. The report has also produced, for the first time, an estimation of LAs in the UK, with the highest concentration in London. Updated figures, which included second-generation migrants, estimated that in 2013 there were 245,000 LAs in the UK, with 143,000 located in London (301). In London, about 22,000 LAs had an EU passport, and about 1,300 had an irregular immigration status. The community is the *"second*

fastest growing non-EU migrant community in London", and many LAs have had previous experience of migration in an EU country (105).

The community is composed of a mosaic of nationalities. When looking at the population born abroad (from the 2011 estimates), Brazil (38%), Colombia (23%) and Ecuador (9%) were the top countries. Apart from Brazilians, community members were Spanish-speakers. Almost 20% of the community lacked English skills and this number varied by nationality. Yet, LAs came to the UK with relatively high education levels compared to other migrant groups. Half of this population had a tertiary level education or university education, but these numbers have varied for different nationalities (105).

Since 2011, organisations and campaigners for the community have organised themselves into the Coalition of Latin Americans in the UK (CLAUK) to tackle issues raised by the 2011 report (302). LAs have been fighting to become recognised as an official ethnic group. Some London boroughs have done so. CLAUK members have participated in research about the community's access to social and health services and have been raising awareness among the community about their rights to health, social services and labour rights. In particular, the NLI report and the second report on the community (105) have highlighted that LAs' living conditions are quite harsh. Almost one in four are living in overcrowded conditions, which have increased in recent years. Irregular migrants were most likely to be in such circumstances.

The 'hidden' nature of this population is likely to put them at a higher risk of exploitation when compared with other migrant workers. About half of LAs work in low-paid sectors, especially in elementary jobs, services, caring and processing jobs. A quarter of LAs works in the cleaning sector where the norm is to be given part-time contracts, pushing workers to have different jobs in different parts of town (105). The '*Shadow City*' report (106) has mentioned these sectors as sectors where exploitation has happened. It also described the difficulty in identifying victims of human trafficking among the LA community:

> *"those working with Latin American victims of trafficking felt that their cases, by being culturally specific, struggled to be recognised as cases of trafficking by the police and even by other anti-trafficking NGOs. One challenge is that many Latin American trafficking cases are informal and do not involve large criminal networks. […] Furthermore, I also discovered that two leading hotel chains were exploiting Latin Americans working in the cleaning industry. They were, perhaps unknowingly, paying them well below the minimum wage due to loopholes in their cleaning companies' contracts."* (106)

Since 2011, the community received growing attention from the media and the term 'exploitation' was often used to refer to their working and employment conditions

(97,101,303–305). Moreover, the way the community has been actively organising to fight against migrant workers' exploitation has been reported to be leading the way for other workers' categories in low-paid sectors (33).

The LA community has received little attention with regards to occupational health in the UK. Yet it is interesting to note that a significant part of the limited literature on migrant occupational health has focused on the 'Latino' community in the USA (30,55,306,307). This country has a similar labour market to the UK, despite many differences in accessing healthcare and social benefits (30). In the USA, the LAs present similar characteristics or vulnerabilities, such as a high concentration in the low-paid sector, and limited English skills while living in English-speaking countries with few employment protections. Research on LAs in the USA has reported substantial work-related health issues (308), but there is limited information on the LA in the UK. As both populations seem comparable regarding vulnerabilities, work-related health issues for this community in the UK should receive more attention.

Overall, this population presents several factors that make them relevant to the research in this thesis. This community has been considered 'invisible' and accumulates vulnerabilities, which puts LAs at high risk of both being exploited and of not being identified as victims of criminal forms of labour exploitation (57,104). Their employment and working conditions have been reported as 'exploitative' by researchers and the media (33,105,304,305). Finally, as argued in this section, they have self-organised as a community, which makes it easier to overcome barriers in defining a migrant community for participatory research. The fact that this population fight against labour exploitation also makes it easier to ask them about their opinion without risking to involuntarily harm them.

3.5.   Conclusion

This chapter has described key features of the UK setting that will help understand the context for the fieldwork with LAWs. It has first explained the functioning of its labour market, which offers a complex set of employment conditions and limited labour protection. It then showed that the country has been a major destination country for global migrants, while it offers a difficult immigration system with barriers for migrants to access healthcare. Finally, it has set out the labour exploitation context in the country and discussed to what extent and why the LA population in London is relevant for research on labour exploitation.

Chapter 4. A research frame to overcome epistemological divergences between schools of thought and underlying disciplines

4.1. Introduction

In Chapter 2, I identified the HR and SDH schools of thought in public health, which address issues of labour exploitation using different disciplines as sources of their definitions. In the HR school, the increasing focus on employment and working conditions, along with the progress of the labour approach within the human rights sphere and mainstream interest, has expanded the school's initial focus from a categorical approach (i.e. victims or not) towards a continuum conceptualisation that could connect it to the SDH school of thought. Due to the controversies about different terms grounded in the concept of labour exploitation, it is necessary to clarify the concept content with the perspective to develop a robust measure of the different levels of labour exploitation. I suggested a middle ground using a continuum approach would allow for taking into consideration both the structures that may be involved in labour exploitation (SDH school) and situations of coercion and restriction of freedom (HR school).

This chapter describes the methodology used to address this issue. Section 4.2 presents the mixed-methods methodology framed within a pragmatic approach. It gave me the flexibility required to embrace several stakeholders, sources of information and disciplines using different epistemological approaches. Section 4.3 describes the inputs from a social epidemiological approach to the research design. Section 4.4 explains the measurement framework which enabled me to suggest the use of the conceptual framework created for the future development of a replicable, reliable and valid measure. Section 4.5 summarises the key research assumptions.

4.2. The mixed-methods methodology: a flexible methodology within a pragmatic approach

This research aims to provide a conceptual framework of labour exploitation by collecting the experiences and opinions of various stakeholders from different fields and disciplines to provide a common basis for public health research on labour exploitation. It was designed with the view to assessing the possibility of developing a quantitative measure of this construct. Labour exploitation is a concept that has been discussed in several academic disciplines, such as economics, law, sociology or health. It has also been discussed by several stakeholders, such as academics, unions, lawyers, international organisations (e.g. United Nations bodies) or NGOs (e.g. Antislavery International or FLEX in the UK), and by

(migrant) workers themselves. Different stakeholders take different approaches to address the issue of labour exploitation within their domain of competence, based on their objectives and intentions, be it the development of theories and expansion of knowledge, or advocacy and policy-making. This mosaic of approaches and methodologies called for an innovative methodology that would acknowledge the current state of different works and opinions on labour exploitation, build bridges between them, and produce new knowledge.

Niglas (309) offers a useful multidimensional model of research methodologies where she emphasises the existence of *"interaction between philosophical and methodological continua"*, which needs to be taken into consideration when designing a research project. She highlights the importance of acknowledging that the "*research community and the particular research or research project*" influence the chosen methodology. When I initiated this research, I acknowledged my limited expertise within the broad field of 'exploitation' and social sciences. I entered this research with a positivist approach because of my quantitative educational background, which is mainly biology and epidemiology. However, digging deeper into the field allowed me to understand the need to take into account "*the plethora of realities of exploitation*" (1). This allowed me to acknowledge the co-existence of different approaches to issues of exploitation, and that my positivist approach evolving towards post-positivism was not enough to fully grasp issues related to labour exploitation. I looked for the best approach and methods to best address the lack of evidence-based definition or conceptualisation of labour exploitation within the field of public health. Therefore, I decided to shift towards a mixed-methods methodology framed within a pragmatic approach. This enabled me not only to focus on addressing the research aim but also to have the necessary frame to explore a field at the crossroads of health and social sciences research, hence encompassing the division between different epistemological stances.

Methodologists are still discussing terminologies and the epistemological stance of mixed-methods methodology, which is an *"emerging and quickly developing field"* (310). Greene describes it as a methodology that can be nested within a pragmatic framework while enabling *"paradigmatic pluralism"* (311). She strongly emphasises the benefit of this methodology for research aiming at *"incorporating a diversity of perspectives, voices, values and stances"* (311). Taking a mixed-methods approach shifts the focus from designing research because of epistemological considerations towards a more pragmatic approach that aims to find the best tools to address a research question (310). While the exact content of mixed-methods is still the subject of debate, Johnson et al. (312) proposed a definition of mixed-methods research that is anchored in the literature and contributions of mixed-methods methodologies' leaders:

"Mixed-methods research is an intellectual and practical synthesis based on qualitative and quantitative research; it is the third methodological or research paradigm (along with qualitative and quantitative research). It recognizes the importance of traditional quantitative and qualitative research but also offers a powerful third paradigm choice that often will provide the most informative, complete, balanced, and useful research results. Mixed-methods research is the research paradigm that (a) partners with the philosophy of pragmatism […]; (b) follows the logic of mixed-methods research (including the logic of the fundamental principle and any other useful logics imported from qualitative or quantitative research that are helpful for producing defensible and usable research findings); (c) relies on qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, and inference techniques combined according to the logic of mixed-methods research to address one's research question(s); and (d) is cognizant, appreciative, and inclusive of local and broader cognizant, appreciative, and inclusive of local and broader sociopolitical realities, resources, and needs." (312)

This methodological approach gave me the necessary flexibility to explore the richness and diversity of the concept of labour exploitation. The pragmatic framework, within which this approach is nested, fitted my intention to potentially develop a scale from the results obtained. The mixed-methods methodology permits and encourages the use of different approaches, sets of methods and stakeholders to obtain a holistic response to a research question.

Furthermore, as discussed, due to the difficulty of finding a common conceptualisation and definition of terms grounded on labour exploitation, several voices have emerged to consider labour exploitation as a continuum *"between decent work and forced labour"* (1,64,65). As Skrivankova has suggested, a continuum facilitates the understanding of "*this complex social phenomenon*" by taking into account "*the plethora of realities of exploitation*"(1). The mixed-methods methodology that I took permitted me to take into consideration individual experiences and realities of exploitation for the workers themselves and other stakeholders with different experiences and approaches. In that sense, the complexity of the concept of labour exploitation called for such a flexible methodological approach.

Therefore, this methodology fitted both my research aim and my own position within it. It allowed me to combine the strengths of quantitative research methods, corresponding to my background, with the strengths of qualitative research methods, which was the new field that I was entering. In public health research, social epidemiology is a field where epidemiology research embraces social sciences contributions.

4.3. Social epidemiology approach

This section will first provide notions of social epidemiology; second present the SOCEPID framework used in social epidemiology to situate my research within this field; and finally, show why social epidemiology is a good frame for the conceptualisation of continua.

4.3.1. Key notions

As mentioned previously, both schools of thought that have approached the issue of labour exploitation suggest potentially severe negative health impacts of labour exploitation on migrant workers. Yet, there is limited statistical or epidemiological evidence of (causal) links between exposure to labour exploitation and health impacts. Berkman et al. (204,313) have stated that social epidemiology is a relatively new field which aims to understand the influence of social factors and fundamental determinants of health. They define it as:

> *"the branch of public health that aims to identify socioenvironmental exposures that may be related to a broad range of physical and mental health outcomes."* (314; p.5)

One of the fundamental assumptions of this research field is that social factors have greater explanatory power than individual risk factors. It looks at exposures situated beyond micro levels. For instance, studies from EMCONET are social epidemiological studies as they go beyond the traditional approach in occupational epidemiology on individual risk factors or exposures at the workplace, to look at structural risk factors (*e.g.* employment arrangements, work organisation) (204,313).

While social epidemiology refers to social risk factors and more traditional epidemiology to individual risk factors, both are interested in evaluating quantitatively the relationships between risk factors (or determinants) and health impacts. This body of research seeks to establish causal links to identify which factors cause which impacts, or how much of a health outcome can be attributable to a certain exposure. To develop interventions aimed at improving people's health outcomes (or reducing health inequalities), exposures need to be eliminated or reduced. Those risks need to be defined in a standardised way to build a robust body of evidence. Furthermore, research within these fields is designed for specific populations identified as 'at-risk', which also supported my choice to focus on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs.

Epidemiological studies can help answer the following questions: what are the health impacts of labour exploitation on migrant workers? or, is labour exploitation an exposure for which we can measure or quantify the health impacts on migrant workers? These are questions that cannot be answered without a valid, reliable and reproducible measurement tool.

Furthermore, as highlighted by Berkman and Kawachi (313), whereas traditional epidemiology tends to assess the consequences of specific exposures on the health outcomes, social epidemiology focuses on socio-environmental exposures. This approach is the one used in this thesis to contribute to understanding the impacts of exposure to labour exploitation.

I will now describe Cwikel's framework (314) that clarifies the necessary steps to conducting research in social epidemiology, for public health researchers interested in applied research.

4.3.2. The SOCEPID framework: importance of culturally sensitive conceptual frameworks

Cwikel proposes the SOCEPID framework to develop social epidemiological studies targeted at developing potential future actions, such as interventions or policies (314). Figure 5 displays this framework which is composed of seven steps regrouped under three key steps of research: development of a conceptual framework (steps S,O,C), which is the focus of this thesis; conducting research and data collection (step E); and applied social epidemiology (steps P,I,D).
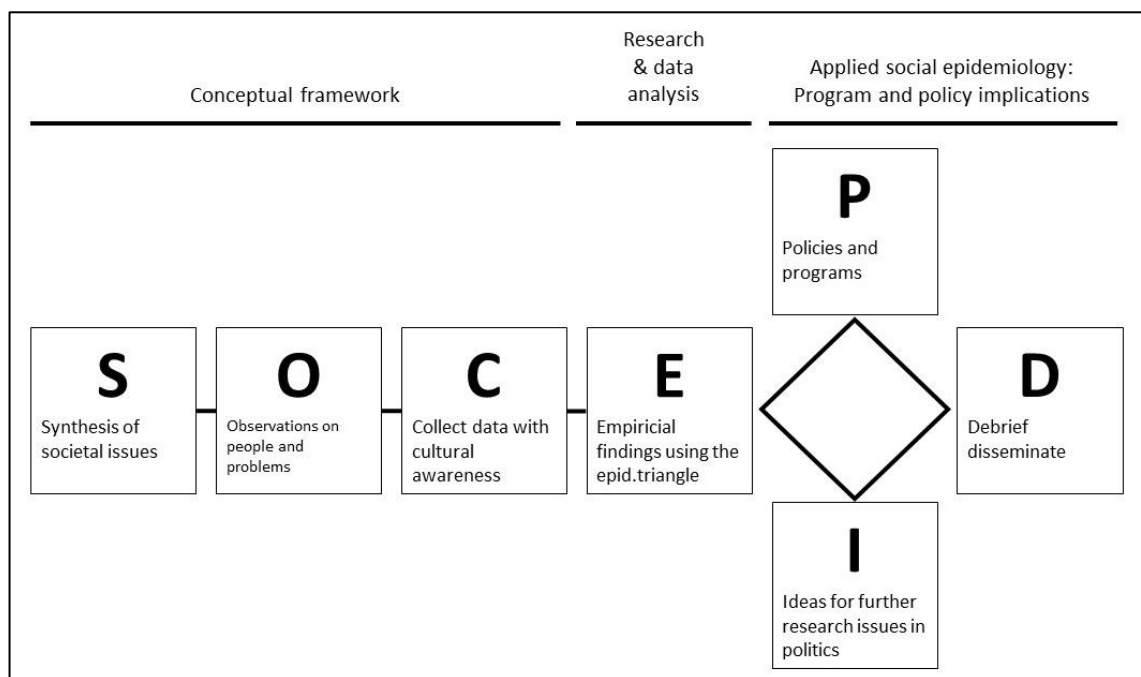
Source: Reproduced from Cwikel 2006 (314; p.168)

Figure 5 Cwikel's SOCEPID framework

The first key step, the design of a conceptual framework, is composed of three steps:

- (S) defining the Social issues: this corresponds to the work addressed in this thesis by conceptualising labour exploitation as a social concept to be measured as a continuum;

- (O) Observations on people and issues of interest: this step was addressed in Chapter 2 where I clarified the points of debates within the field and identified a population 'at-risk';

- (C) Collecting data with cultural sensitivity: this corresponds to my decision to focus on a population that is culturally and contextually similar.

My research seeks to accomplish these first steps: that is, to develop a culturally sensitive conceptual framework that would support undertaking epidemiological research on labour exploitation and its health impacts on migrant workers (steps E,P,I, D).

4.3.3. Distribution of social factors along a continuum

As discussed in Chapter 2, the labour paradigm has gained momentum in the HR school. A continuum approach that would focus on 'exploited migrant workers' or 'victims' can, therefore, serve as a basis to create a pragmatic middle ground between the two public health schools of thought. This continuum could serve as the basis for the conceptual framework mentioned by Cwikel, in the perspective of developing social epidemiological research where labour exploitation is likely to be an important risk factor. This continuum approach is also supported by one of the key assumptions in social epidemiology. Berkman et al. (204) indicate that Rose's paradigm is key in social epidemiology research, notably as it states that *"population distributions for most [social] risk factors move along a continuum with a normal distribution"* (313). For example, exposures to labour exploitation among migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs are more likely to be distributed along a continuum rather than being categorised as exploited or not. Following this assumption, most migrant workers may be located between decent work and modern slavery. This part of the continuum remains a 'grey area' that is not clearly defined, and I argue that the middle ground path using a continuum approach taken in this thesis could address this gap.

I will now demonstrate how a continuum approach also fits with a measurement approach.

4.4. Measurement and psychometrics as a framework to measure social concepts

The research was designed with the perspective of developing a measure of labour exploitation because of the gaps identified in the public health research on labour exploitation, where there is limited statistical evidence of its health outcomes on migrant workers (see Chapter 1).

This section first gives an overview of key definitions used in measurement, second, describes measurement frameworks used to develop tools; and third, positions the thesis

within such frameworks. It also highlights how a continuum approach is compatible with a measurement framework.

4.4.1. Key notions

4.4.1.a. *Measurement or psychometric properties*

Psychometrics can be defined as the field of measurement that aims to measure abstract social concepts (or constructs) which are not directly observable, such as knowledge, attitudes or personality. It is generally distinguished from metrics, which is a term generally used for measures of physical and observable features. As this research is interested in labour exploitation as a social concept (as opposed to a physical or concrete observation), the use of 'measurement' or 'psychometric properties' is used interchangeably.

Different measurement theories exist (e.g. Classical test theory and the more modern measurement theories: Item-response theory and Rasch modelling). However, they are all grounded in the fact that measures need to respect the key measurement properties of reliability and validity (315).

Reliability is a key notion that verifies the reproducibility of the measure developed: *"Reliability is the degree to which a score or other measure remains unchanged upon test and retest (when no change is expected), or across different interviewers or assessors"* (316). It can be assessed, for example, by internal consistency (all the items measure the same construct - e.g. all items or statements generated measure labour exploitation) or temporal stability (the measure provides the same results after several administrations) (317). Therefore, there needs to be enough detail for other researchers to replicate the same experiment. This reliability property has guided the focus of the research on providing a structured conceptual framework detailing the dimensions, sub-dimensions and items of the concept that may be potentially measured.

Validity is the property indicating how much an instrument measures what it is intended to measure. I will draw attention to two types of validity: content and face validity as they are important for the research design. Content validity means that the measure is composed of all the important dimensions of the concept. In this research, this property has driven the will to use several sources of information: experts from various disciplines and from different part of the (hypothesised) continuum, which would ensure that all key dimensions have been included; but also, a group of migrant workers to ensure that potential contextual and cultural dimensions, as well as dimensions related to lived experiences, are covered. Face validity is *"the degree to which users or experts perceive that a measure is assessing what it is intended to measure"* (316). It generally consists in asking experts to assess that the measure covers all the aspects

of the concept to be measured. While this property has been criticised for its subjectivity (317), the CM method used in this research provides a systematic way to include the contributions of experts, including workers, directly from the development of the conceptual framework. As the next chapter will detail, CM indeed requires participants to generate statements describing the concept content and to sort and rate all participants' contributions to generate a map displaying dimensions and items (125).

The understanding of these measurement properties was important for the design of the research. As discussed in Chapter 2, the definitions and tools used to conduct research are ad-hoc or untested for migrant worker samples (7,10,155,191); and there is no standardised validated tool that could ensure (content and face) validity. Studies on workplace and social class exploitation (7,155) were reliable in the sense that they were replicable, but it is unsure whether what was measured was actually labour exploitation (validity).

As Cook mentions, *"[b]ecause the validity of an instrument's scores hinges on the construct, a clear definition of the intended construct is the first step in any validity evaluation"* (317). This is a key reason for my use of a measurement framework in addition to a social epidemiological one.

4.4.1.b. « Attributes as continua » : categorical versus dimensional measures

Steiner and Norman distinguish what they call *"two traditions of assessment"* (315). The categorical approach has been traditionally used by clinical or medical practice and aims to separate people who present symptoms or diseases into two categories or more (e.g. sick or not). The dimensional approach has been developed in psychometrics and mostly used in education and psychology to measure abstract concepts, which are not directly observable. This latter approach *"tends to think of attributes as continua"* (315), which fits with Rose's paradigm mentioned in section 4.3.3 and Skrivankova's continuum (1). While the categorical approach implies that some individuals not meeting the criteria are *"free of disorder"* (315), the dimensional approach rather considers that the distribution of symptoms varies among individuals, and that those with the highest levels (threshold to be defined) are symptomatic or sick. Put into perspective with tools developed in both schools of thought, most have used the categorical approach. The widely used ILO indicators for forced labour employ the categorical approach to distinguish between victims and non-victims. The emerging continuum approach, therefore, fits the dimensional approach by considering different 'levels' of labour exploitation. In this case, victim identification would generally be based on a threshold defined by empirical evidence.

> *"One implication of this distinction is that there is a clear distinction between cases and non-cases with the categorical approach, but not with the dimensional. In the former, one either meets the criteria and is a case, or else the criteria are not satisfied, and one is not a case. With the later, 'caseness' is a matter of degree, and there is no clear dividing line. The use of a cut point on [a scale] is simply a strategy so that it can be used as a diagnosis tool."* (315)

I will now discuss that in the healthcare sector, there has been an increased interest in incorporating patients' views and experiences to develop scales that would include their contributions, hence guaranteeing a better quality of care and the inclusion of what they care about (318–320).

4.4.1.c.   Patient-reported outcomes (PROMs): importance of experts' and patients' contributions

Coulter in a 2017 British Medical Journal (BMJ) editorial (321) emphasised that there is currently a shift towards involving patients in building health measurements to ensure dimensions or items, which are important for them and their experiences, are included in measures. He defines patient-reported outcomes measures (PROMs) as follows:

> *"standardised questionnaires to elicit people's subjective reports of the personal impact of illness and treatment, including physical functioning, ability to maintain daily activities, and emotional wellbeing—in other words, health related quality of life."*
> (322)

This approach to measurement and to integrating patients' voices is important because it influences the quality of care and fosters patients' perceptions that what matters for them is taken into consideration (319). Situations of exploitation can be perceived in different ways depending on individual socio-economic background. Therefore, the psychometric scale that may be developed to measure labour exploitation should *"provide optimal information from the [individual]'s perspective"* (322). For my research, I applied these recommendations by involving potential 'victims' in the development of the conceptual framework that may be used to develop a measure afterwards. This also fits with the measurement approach by contributing to strengthening the potential content validity of the measure to be developed by ensuring that all dimensions are included.

4.4.2.   Steps in scale development

Keeping in mind the necessity of clarifying the concept content with the view to developing a scale of labour exploitation, I followed the first step of the traditional development of a measurement scale used in psychometrics, which is based on the four following steps (323):

1) the identification of concepts and development of the conceptual framework;

2) the creation of the instrument;

3) the assessment of the measurement properties; and

4) the modification of the instrument.

DeVellis emphasises the need to produce first the *"theoretical framework that will serve as a guide to scale development"* and to *"include a description of how the new construct relates to existing phenomena and their operationalisations"* (324; p.61). Clarifying the concept to be measured has been described as *"the most difficult step in the scale-development process"* (325: p.125).

Considering the interchangeable use of 'labour exploitation' with other terms grounded in this concept, it appeared crucial to focus my research on producing a structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation that may serve as the foundation of a scale. Psychometricians recommend starting with narrowing down the scope of the construct to a smaller population, which supports the focus on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs.

4.4.3. The overlooked but crucial role of conceptual frameworks in scale development

Skrivankova's notion of continuum can help *"to describe the complexity of the exploitative environment and concrete individual situations of workers"* (1; p.4) (1). Developing a multi-item scale hence seems the most appropriate tool to represent such a complex "*abstract and inaccessible phenomena*" (323). A good theoretical framework is critical to ensuring the content and construct validity of a scale, hence the research focuses on developing a robust conceptual framework of 'labour exploitation' from different sources: literature, multidisciplinary panel of experts, and a group of migrant workers.

The current PhD project was designed to feed into the first step of scale development described in section 4.4.2 by providing a conceptual framework of labour exploitation if the research identified that the concept is measurable. DeVellis (323) and others (126,127,322) have indicated that the weakness of many measurement tools relates to the lack of a solid conceptual framework (127,322,323). A following step in scale development is to develop a *"pool of items"* (323), which is an exhaustive list of what comprises the construct. This is generally done by the review of relevant literature that is then assessed and validated by experts (face validity). In PROMs development, focus groups can also be conducted with patients to collect their inputs and what is important for them. The involvement of experts and patients is mainly aimed at ensuring the construct validity of the scale.

There has been limited attention to using a systematic way of developing the pool of items. The CM method (123,124) has been increasingly used in scale development to develop not

only a conceptual framework clarifying the concept content but also a pool of items, by incorporating directly experts' and patients' inputs. Items of this pool are composed of statements generated during the brainstorming phase of the CM exercise. Outcomes from the rating exercise facilitated the identification of items that may not be relevant (324).

Therefore, the use of CM for my research enabled me to combine the social epidemiological and measurement frameworks, and to collect the inputs from experts and migrant workers, ensuring that no key dimension would be forgotten. The CM method provided systematic guidance in developing a structured conceptual framework, which may be used as a theoretical measurement framework facilitating the assessment of reliability and validity.

The following section will summarise the key assumptions used in this research.

4.5. Summary of the key research assumptions

By recognising that labour exploitation is a social factor embracing notions mainly from social sciences, and different individuals' perceptions, I framed the research within a social epidemiological framework, and further within a measurement frame. I attempted to connect both public health schools of thought (HR and SDH) by using the continuum approach, in order to address the lack of agreement and standardised content definition. I aimed to provide a structured conceptual framework that will clarify the dimensions and sub-dimensions of labour exploitation using contributions from a variety of stakeholders. The proposed framework is necessary for social epidemiological investigation on the health and wellbeing impacts of the exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. This work could later be operationalised into developing a measurement scale, usable in social epidemiological research.

In order to propose such a conceptual framework, I made the following key research assumptions, which were plausible within the current trends in the field of labour exploitation in public health:

1. **It is possible to build a bridge between the two main schools of thought in public health that would encompass disciplines and stakeholders** to propose a structured conceptual framework able to overcome epistemological differences. Due to the debates within the legal sphere on different terminologies, and the lack of standardisation in definitions or tools used to measure exploitation within the initial school of thought my original project belonged to, I saw the need to find a strategy to build bridges with other disciplines that also conceptualised labour exploitation. This seemed relevant as this approach built upon the increasing will within the HR school of thought to move

towards the SDH school. The mixed-methods methodology used allows such assumption.

2. **Labour exploitation can be conceptualised as a continuum between decent work and modern slavery**. To build the bridge described in my assumption 1, I endorsed the notion of a continuum in labour exploitation. I initially drew upon Skrivankova's (1) and EMCONET 's (73) theoretical frameworks to sketch out a hypothesised conceptual framework of the continuum guiding the research design, which is described in Figure 6.
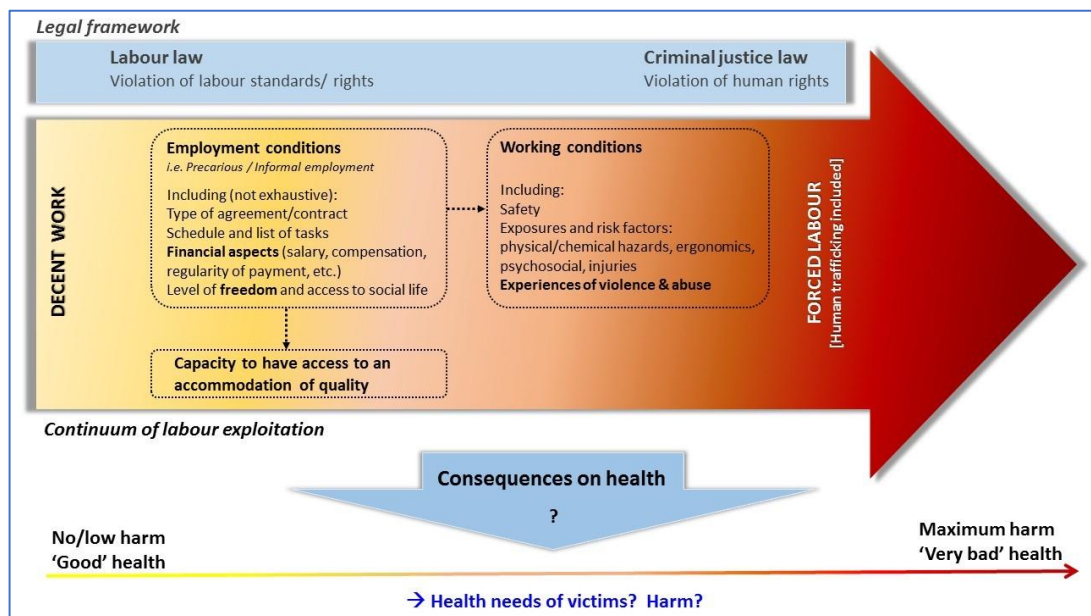
Figure 6 Hypothesised conceptual framework of labour exploitation as a continuum used to design the research

As already discussed, Skrivankova proposes considering 'labour exploitation' as a continuum through the lens of legal tools available to outlaw situations of exploitation along this continuum: 1) labour laws for 'more benign forms' of violations of standards; and 2) criminal justice laws for severe violations in combination with labour laws if necessary (1), which are indicated at the top of the figure. 'Labour exploitation' in her framework is presented as a deviation from labour standards and, thus, could be represented by the notions of employment and working conditions within the EMCONET's theoretical frameworks. To begin my research, these conditions, which are displayed within the arrow, were considered as core elements of labour exploitation, which is represented by the large arrow. Some important components identified during the literature review, such as financial aspects and level of freedom have been highlighted. I used this conceptual framework only to serve as a guide and I knew it would most probably change throughout the research in light of new evidence generated from the data collected. I have displayed it here to demonstrate how my original conceptualisation has influenced the interpretation of findings in the discussion. As discussed in sections 0

and 4.4, social epidemiology and measurement (dimensional measures) fit well with the conceptualisations as continua.

3. **Labour exploitation is a social concept composed of some objective and subjective components** (1,7) **that need to be included in a measurement tool.** I used a methodology and methods that would place the migrant workers at the centre of attention, as they need to be 'protected'. This methodology would consider experts' voices, which reflect the current academic and professional knowledge on this issue, and migrant workers' voices, which may complement experts' views with more subjective aspects. Novak and Cañas have suggested that the experts' inputs can be *"frozen"* at a certain time to help build new knowledge into an *"expert skeleton map"* (325; p.17). This guided me to consider that experts' contributions could be used to set-up a frame or 'skeleton' of labour exploitation that would serve as a standardisable conceptual framework of labour exploitation focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. This skeleton could then be complemented by adding new dimensions or items with cultural and contextual specificities through the integration of migrant workers' voices. This fits well with measurement tradition where experts are consulted to ensure that all relevant content of the concept to be measured has been included.

4. **Labour exploitation is a social risk factor or determinant of health.** Therefore, if one wants to assess its statistical associations with health and wellbeing it would better fit with a social epidemiology research framework.

5. **There is a need for increasing the strength of health and public health evidence on labour exploitation.** There is a lack of a body of evidence on the health impacts of various forms of labour exploitation (7,9,14,15). Yet, policy-makers have increasingly based their decisions upon evidence-based quantitative studies (326–329) and the current state of evidence on labour exploitation has shown that there should be increased attention on the exploitation of migrant workers (see Chapters 1 and 2). Therefore, the development of public health actions would greatly benefit from the clarification of the concept content (dimensions and items), that would support the potential future development of a reliable, replicable and valid tool which includes a variety of perspectives.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter detailed the different approaches to the methodology that were undertaken to design the research. It first provided a justification of the approach used, by explaining the use of a mixed-methods methodology framed within a pragmatic approach. This

methodology addressed the complexity of creating a conceptual framework that could clarify the dimensions of labour exploitation, a complex and controversial concept, while keeping in mind the end use of this framework. Second, it positioned the research within a social epidemiological approach by identifying labour exploitation as a social risk factor or SDH that calls for action. Third, within this social epidemiological approach, it showed how the measurement approach helped me choose the methods that would address the research aims and fit within the broader existing frameworks. Finally, the chapter highlighted the key assumptions underlying the research.

Chapter 5.   Methods

5.1.   Introduction

This chapter describes the methods used to address the research aim, which is to clarify the concept of labour exploitation focusing on migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs, by providing a structured conceptual framework for public health using experts' and migrant workers' voices.

Section 5.2 gives an overview of the combination of methods used, and reviews the notions of conceptual frameworks and the methods used to develop them. Section 5.3 provides an overview of the CM method, which is the key method used in this thesis both with multidisciplinary experts and Latin American workers in manual low-skilled jobs in London (LAWs). Section 5.4 describes the method for key informant interviews conducted with support organisations working with LAWs and LAWs themselves. Section 5.5 describes the critical analysis and synthesis used to compare and combine the experts and LAWs' conceptualisations. Section 5.6 then discusses the ethical considerations related to data collection in this study.

5.2.   A combination of methods to address a complex issue: overview of the methods

5.2.1.   A combination of methods

As I aimed to design a structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation, I decided to take a holistic approach to the issue. I designed the research based on both a deductive and an inductive approach, with a strong emphasis on the latter. Figure 7 below summarises and illustrates the research framework described in Chapter 4, and the methods used that will be described in this Chapter.

The deductive approach was first used to assess how different academic disciplines and stakeholders have conceptualised and measured concepts grounded in labour exploitation, (see Chapter 2). This was achieved by reviewing the literature on conceptualisations and measures related to labour exploitation. At the start of the PhD work, I attempted to conduct a systematic review of all validated tools (e.g. measures, scales, indexes) that have been developed on existing measures of labour exploitation and related concepts (e.g. human trafficking, slavery, precarious or vulnerable work) using the PRISMA and COSMIN (COnsensus-based Standards for the selection of health status Measurement INstruments) guidelines.
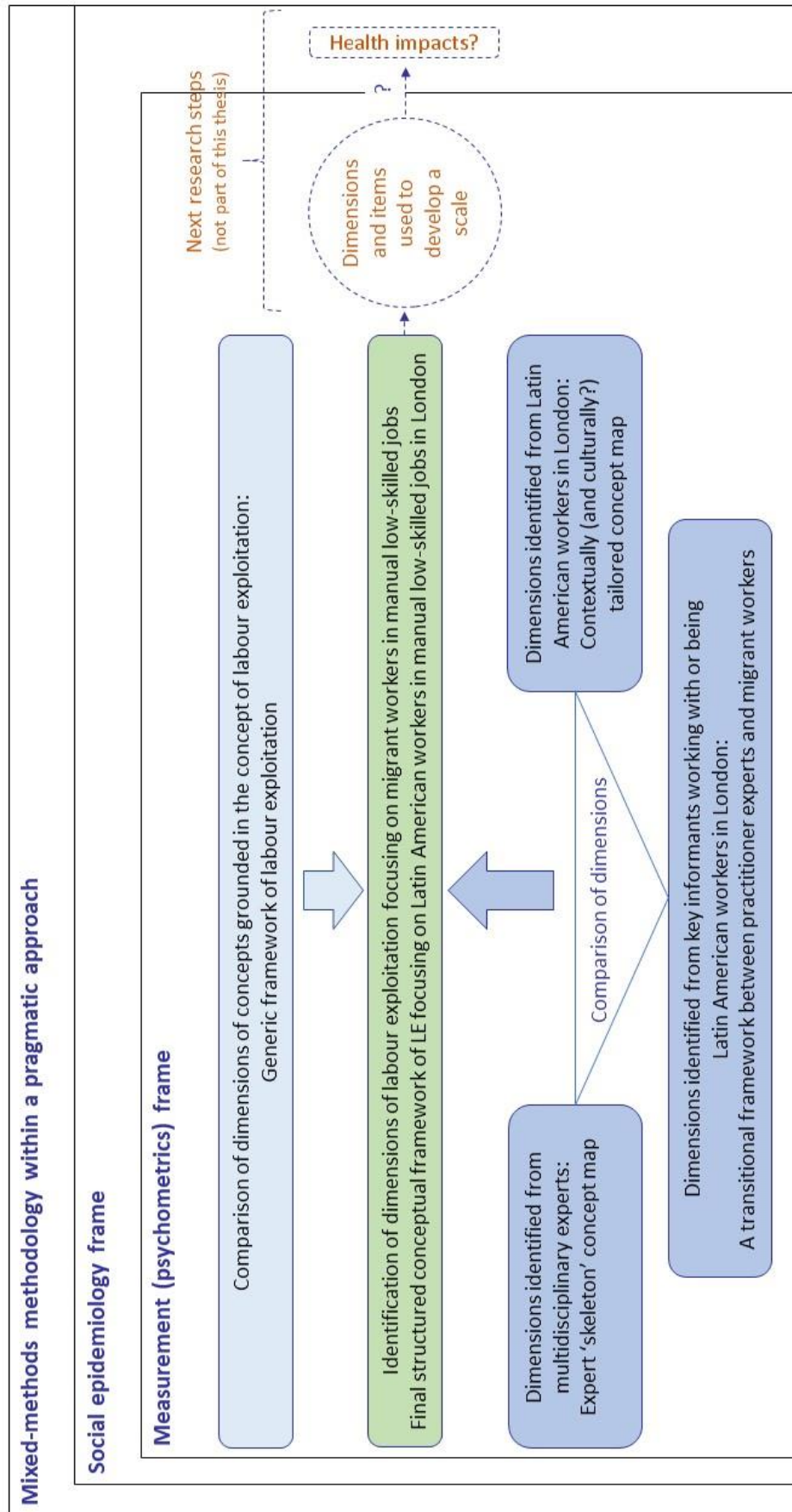
Figure 7 Research frames and methods overview

It aimed to both identify the validated measures and assess their measurement properties using the COSMIN guidelines; and understand how labour exploitation was conceptualised for operational purposes by comparing how the different concepts related to labour exploitation converged and diverged. The amount of literature to review became overwhelming. I wanted to be as broad as possible and listed 12 bibliographic databases which included publications from all disciplines (e.g. health, economics, law) and the grey literature. Terminologies used in different disciplines combined with the use of COSMIN terminology for selecting quantitative measures added to the challenges, especially when searching the grey literature, which covered reports of hundreds of pages. Moreover, the time restraints and the lack of a second reviewer with whom to discuss challenges prevented me from finishing the review in a systematic way. However, I was able to identify some key quantitative measures discussed in Chapter 2. The attempted systematic review did, however, enable me to contribute to my understanding of the different conceptualisations and compare different operationalisations of labour exploitation in a way that supported the design of the research, as described in Chapter 2.

The literature review (Chapter 2) revealed where the dimensions and sub-dimensions of the constructs measured converged and diverged prior to undertaking the data collection. This resulted in the design of a generic conceptual framework positioning the general concept of labour exploitation in relation to its related constructs (see Chapter 2, Figure 3), which would also be used in Chapter 10 to compare the framework obtained using the inductive approach.

The inductive approach focused on developing a conceptual framework on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs, who, as Chapters 1 to 3 demonstrated, are at high risk of being exploited (9,13,39,64,96,112) and of facing poor levels of occupational health (30,55,59,62,81,110,111). The main objective of this approach was to develop a framework building a bridge between the different fields of expertise and stakeholders. This was achieved by first collecting the perspectives of multidisciplinary experts, and then focusing on the conceptualisation provided by a specific group of stakeholders (LAWs). This was of crucial importance, as labour exploitation may be sensitive to cultural and contextual aspects. These aspects may not be covered by the experts' perspectives in their entirety. The final stage was to compare both conceptualisations derived from both groups to generate a joint conceptual framework using critical appraisal and synthesis.

5.2.2. Conceptual frameworks, concept maps and expert skeleton map

Traditionally, a conceptual framework is defined as a "*system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs [the] research*" (122). It also informs the study research design. In the field of education, researchers have developed tools to facilitate structured knowledge-building using techniques of visualisation. For example, "*concept maps, mind maps, conceptual diagrams*" (330) aim to facilitate knowledge building. These models of knowledge visualisation are qualitative methods used to understand and facilitate learning processes. Novak and Cañas have developed the notion of concept maps and define them as "*graphical tools for organizing and representing knowledge*" (129). They display concepts related to the specific question one wants to address ("focus question") and how they relate to each other. These concept maps and other related tools can be used by individuals, such as students, to facilitate their own learning.

The production of concept maps has spread from education into other fields (115, 124), such as health research where Trochim introduced a method for concept mapping, which is also called "*group concept mapping*" (117, 122, 125-127). It has been primarily used for research planning and evaluation (123, 124). It is:

> "*a mixed-methods participatory group idea mapping methodology that integrates well-known group processes such as brainstorming and unstructured sorting with the multivariate statistical methods of multidimensional scaling and hierarchical cluster analysis*" (128).

Trochim differentiates this CM method from others that aim to visualise knowledge and concepts to structure an *individual*'s thoughts (128). Trochim's approach allows for gathering various stakeholders' inputs concerned with a particular topic to produce a structured conceptual framework (128,331,332). Within this framework, "*the ideas are clustered in groups so that a complex set of ideas can be more readily understood*" (128). The visualisation is produced by performing a multivariate analysis on qualitative data. These data are generally obtained through brainstorming among a group of key stakeholders to generate statements describing a specific issue, followed by a sorting-rating exercise of these statements. Trochim's CM has mainly been used as a method for conceptualising abstract constructs and has been increasingly used as an integrated part of scale development (127,128). For instance, Conrad et al. (128) used CM to develop a structured conceptual framework of financial exploitation of the elderly in the USA. The concept map, in this case, was used to develop the measurement scale of this construct in the frame of care provision for elderly victims of mistreatment (129), and seemed most appropriate to the requirements of my work. Therefore, I decided to use Trochim's CM (128).

Other methods could be used to develop conceptual frameworks. For example, the Delphi method is often used with professional experts. It involves asking a panel of experts to generate statements (or answer a questionnaire). They are then iteratively asked their opinions on these statements by rating and commenting on them until reaching a consensus, generally obtained during three rounds of consultation (333). Other qualitative participatory methods, like focus groups, are often used in used in migrant health research and conceptualisation work (334,335). In both Delphi and qualitative participatory research, a qualitative analysis can facilitate the identification of themes describing the overall conceptualisation. In contrast, in CM, the overall conceptualisation is obtained in the form of a concept map using a statistical analysis of all individuals' conceptualisations. CM visualises the outputs of the analysis as a map, and generates a framework that could be directly operationalised to develop a measurement tool. Each individual contributes to producing the content of the concept (during the brainstorming by generating statements), and then each individual produces his/her own conceptualisation (during the sorting-rating exercise). Thus, CM helps reach a consensus without an iterative process and uses all the statements to generate a consensual map.

CM was, for me, the best method to use in this thesis as it fitted within the mixed-methods methodology and pragmatic approach I chose. It enabled me to use quantitative methods, which was required as part of my studentship, and to involve different stakeholders (experts and LAWs).

I conducted two CM separately for experts and LAWs, mostly because I wanted to include their lived experience, and I anticipated that the level of understanding, abstraction and language between experts and LAWs may differ. I aimed to get inputs from experts with academic or non-academic expertise on issues related to labour exploitation along the hypothesised continuum (e.g. precarious work, or human trafficking) in the following fields: health; sociology, social sciences or social work; policy, law or advocacy; economy, finance or business. This variety of knowledge would be captured into the same conceptual framework that could be used as an *"expert skeleton"* map (129) of the exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. This notion of *"expert skeleton"* has been introduced by Novak and Cañas (129) for their individual concept mapping method. They have suggested that:

"For difficult topics – whether difficult for the students as determined by the teacher's previous experience, or difficult for the teacher because of his/her background – using an "expert skeleton" concept map is an alternative. An "expert skeleton" concept map has been previously prepared by an expert on the topic, and permits both students and teachers to build their knowledge on a solid foundation. "Expert skeleton" concept maps serve as a guide or scaffold or aid to learning in a way analogous to the use of scaffolding in constructing or refurbishing a building". (129; p.20)

Therefore, I decided to elicit an *"expert skeleton"* map using the variety of expertise described above. It would describe the key content, both theoretical and empirical, of the concept of labour exploitation focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. I foresaw this skeleton map as a standardisable framework that could be complemented by knowledge from different groups of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs themselves in order to achieve a thorough understanding of labour exploitation (325). It would be a robust theoretical framework that could potentially be adapted or expanded for different contexts and populations; for example, a specific population of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs at risk of being exploited.

The second CM was conducted with one such population. The LAWs were expected to share their direct experiences of labour exploitation, be it their personal experiences or those reported by colleagues or relatives. This CM with LAWs aimed to explore labour exploitation from their perspective and to assess potential cultural and contextual specificities by comparing it with the expert CM. The joint conceptual framework used the expert skeleton map as a basis to incorporate LAWs' voices.

Table 2 below summarises for each objective the corresponding method used to address it and which chapter discusses these findings.

Table 2 Objectives, methods and corresponding results chapter

Objectives	Method	Sample used or Sources of information	Corresponding result chapter
1. To review the conceptualisations of labour exploitation in public health and explore points of convergence and divergence between labour exploitation and related concept	Literature review	Literature	Chapter 2. The concept of labour exploitation in the field of public health: two schools of thought
2. To identify the dimensions of the concept of labour exploitation, focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs, from the perspective of multidisciplinary experts	Concept mapping (key steps): • Preparation *(Sampling and recruitment, definition of focus prompts);* • Online Brainstorming *(participants generate statements);* • Online Sorting-Rating exercise *(participants group, label and rate all the statements);* • Statistical analyses *(generation of concept maps that display statements and dimensions of labour exploitation);* • Interpretation and Utilisation *(Identification of region of meaning, and production of a structured conceptual framework displaying dimensions, sub-dimensions, statements)*	Multidisciplinary experts (Overall sample size: 32)	Chapter 6. The expert skeleton map
3. To explore how labour exploitation may be conceptualised in the UK context, from the perspective of support organisations who work with LAWs, and LAWs*	Key informant interviews	Support organisations in London and LAWs* (Overall sample size: 12)	Chapter 7. Exploring the concept of labour exploitation in the UK: an ecosocial mode
4. To identify the dimensions of the concept of migrants' labour exploitation from the perspective of LAWs*	Concept mapping (key steps): • Preparation *(Key informant interviews to tailor the sampling and logistics: sampling and recruitment, definition of focus prompts)* • Face-to-face Brainstorming • Face-to-face Sorting-Rating exercise • Statistical analyses • Interpretation and Utilisation	LAWs* (Overall sample size: 27)	Chapter 8. A structured conceptual framework specific to Latin American workers in London
5. To explore how the expert framework can be adapted by using LAWs' voices in order to develop a joint conceptual framework of labour exploitation	Critical analysis and synthesis	Expert skeleton map + Conceptual framework with LAWs + Ecosocial model	Chapter 9. A joint structured conceptual framework

* LAWs stands for Latin American workers in manual low-skilled jobs in London

5.3. The Concept Mapping (CM) method

CM is an intrinsically mixed method combining qualitative data collection, with a population concerned with a particular issue, and multivariate statistical analyses (123,124). Table 3 presents the six phases of Trochim's CM and how I adapted them for the research.

Table 3 Concept Mapping steps adapted for the research from Kane and Trochim (124)

CM PHASES		Sample population	
		Multidisciplinary experts	**LAWs**
1. PREPARATION PHASE			
Tasks		-	**Key informant interviews to tailor the sampling and logistics**
		Sampling and recruitment	Sampling and recruitment
		Piloting focus prompt and CM online platform	Piloting focus prompt and CM
		Definition of the focus prompt used: *"A migrant working in manual low-skilled job is exploited when…"*	Focus prompt used: *"Un trabajador migrante es explotado cuando…"* *("A migrant worker is exploited when…")*
	Output	*Data collection tools developed and piloted*	
2. GENERATION OF STATEMENTS USING BRAINSTORMING			
Task/method		Online brainstorming	Face-to-face brainstorming
	Output	*Raw statements generated by participants*	
Task		Data reduction and synthesis performed by the researcher	
	Output	*Final list of statements processed for the sorting-rating*	
3. STRUCTURING OF THE STATEMENT USING SORTING-RATING EXERCISE			
Task/method		Online sorting and rating exercises	Face-to-face sorting using cards (1 card = 1 statement)
	Output	*Each participant structured the statements into groups (individual sorting schemes)*	
Task		Online rating of statements	Face-to-face rating of statements on paper
	Output	*Each participant rated each statement*	
4**. REPRESENTATION OF THE STATEMENTS USING MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS - PRODUCTION OF CONCEPT MAP			
Tasks/methods		Design and transformation of the database for the analysis	
		Multidimensional scaling (MDS) of the sorting outputs	
	Output	*Point map (statements are plotted on a graph)*	
Task		Cluster analysis using the coordinates from the MDS	
	Output	*Point-cluster map (statements plotted are regrouped into cluster)*	
Task		Ratings are averaged by statements	
	Output	*Point-rating map (statements are weighted by average rating and plotted)*	
Task		Ratings are averaged by clusters	
	Output	*Point-cluster-rating map (statements are regrouped into cluster that are weighted by average rating)*	
5. AND 6.** INTERPRETATION AND UTILISATION OF MAPS			
Tasks		Labelling the clusters using the statements included and participants' labels (individual sorting schemes)	
		Identification of regions of meaning (regrouping of clusters conceptually similar)	
	Final output	*Structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation from each group's perspective (statements are regrouped into clusters that represent the sub-dimensions of labour exploitation and cluster are regrouped into regions of meaning that represent the main dimensions)*	

*Notes: * LAWs stands for Latin American workers in manual low-skilled jobs; ** conducted by the researcher*

For each phase, the table presents the tasks performed by the participants (phases 2 and 3) or myself as the researcher, and the related outputs. Phases 1 to 3 were adapted for each group of participants. Phase 1 corresponds to the preparation phase during which are defined the sample, selection of participants and the focus questions shaping the data collection. Phases 2 and 3 correspond to the data collection phases. They are, respectively, the brainstorming during which participants generate the statements describing the concept content, and the phase of structuring of the statements when the participants are asked to sort and rate all the statements generated. Phases 4 to 6 were conducted similarly for both groups. Phase 4 is the multivariate analysis that leads to the production of concept maps, in which each point represents a statement and each cluster a dimension of the concept. Phases 5 and 6 are the 'Interpretation and Utilisation' phases where the maps are interpreted and finalised.

The first CM phases (1 to 3), corresponding to the preparation and data collection adapted for each group, will first be described. Section 5.3.1 describes the general CM phases 1 to 3, and sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 discusses the specificities of the expert CM and CM with LAWs. Sections 5.3.4 and 5.3.5 will then discuss phases 4 to 6 of analyses, which were similarly performed for both groups of stakeholders.

5.3.1. Phases 1 to 3: Overview of the preparation and data collection phases

5.3.1.a. Phase 1: Preparation phase

Participants' selection or sampling strategy

CM developers suggest aiming to reach groups of 10 to 40 participants and to "*achieve a broad sampling of ideas rather than a representative sampling of persons*" (123,124,331). Non-probability sampling techniques are used to select participants. Representativeness is not sought in CM, and the sampling strategy is designed to recruit the most heterogeneous group of participants, hence generating as many statements as possible covering the various components of the concept. Participants in the sorting-rating exercise can be different from those in the brainstorming. It is expected that the statements generated for the sorting-rating exercise are varied enough to cover all aspects of the concept to be mapped (124,126). Therefore, I decided to have an additional recruitment phase between these two phases. I had anticipated that some participants in the first phase might drop out, as suggested by the lower participation rate in most of CM sorting-rating in the literature (127,336).

The two CM were performed with experts and LAWs who may have different perceptions or intentions, and hence may conceptualise labour exploitation differently. The first CM was

conducted with experts to capture their expertise into *"an expert skeleton map"* (129), which is a concept I adapted for the research (see section 5.2.2). I hypothesised that the map could be adapted using a complementary CM with migrant workers. The second CM with LAWs would assess the potential contextual and cultural aspects of labour exploitation. The combination of both views would ensure that the potential development of a future scale of labour exploitation would address the most relevant components for both populations (experts and LAWs).

Definition of the focus questions

'Focus questions' or 'prompts' guide the data collection to stay within the scope of the research. They specify the issue that the CM needs to address (124), which was specifically to identify the components of labour exploitation. The questions were worded at an appropriate level of language and meaning for each group. Two 'focus questions' were used. For the brainstorming, the focus question was operationalised as a prompt to help participants generate statements. I selected the prompt using models from CM studies and advice from the CM training that I undertook in March 2016, which recommended that the prompt should be as simple as possible. For the CM with LAWs, I also discussed the potential prompt during key informant interviews (see section 5.4). The prompts were piloted for both CMs.

The brainstorming prompts used were:

- For experts: "*A migrant working in a manual low-skilled job is in a situation of exploitation when...*";
- For LAWs: "*A migrant worker is exploited when…*".

For the rating exercise, the focus question required participants to "*rate each statement according to its relative importance in characterizing a situation of 'exploitation of migrant workers'*". The following 5-point Likert scale was used: 1 - Relatively unimportant; 2 - Somewhat important; 3 - Moderately important; 4 - Very important; 5 - Extremely important (124).

5.3.1.b.   *Phase 2: Generation of statements*

For CM, several methods to generate statements are possible: from the extraction of statements using the literature to conducting (group or individual) brainstorming exercises. The latter is the most commonly used method (125). During brainstorming, participants were asked to generate an unlimited number of statements. For the expert CM, this was performed using an online platform where they undertook individual brainstorming and for CM with LAWs during group and individual face-to-face brainstorming. At the end of the

brainstorming sessions, all generated statements are gathered. The researcher then proceeds to the phase of *"ideas analysis"* (337), also called *"data reduction and synthesis"* (338). It consists of eliminating duplicate ideas and reducing the number of statements until there are less than 100 statements. The CM developers recommend that this number maintains sufficient information to describe the concept while keeping the sorting-rating task manageable for participants (124).

5.3.1.c.   Phase 3: Structuring the statements (sorting-rating phase)

Once the final list of statements is obtained, participants are asked to take part in the sorting-rating phase. The sorting phase consisted of asking each participant to sort all the statements into groups, *"in a way that make sense for them"* (124,339), using the following CM rules (124):

- all statements must be sorted;

- all statements cannot be put into one single group;

- a group needs to contain at least two statements;

- one statement can only be placed in one group; so please choose the group you feel is the most appropriate or relevant;

- there cannot be one group containing only items that would not fit in other groups created ("miscellaneous" group).

Participants were also asked to label the clusters to illustrate the underlying meaning of each group created. Then, the rating phase required each participant to rate all the statements regarding their relative importance in characterising a situation of exploitation of migrant workers. They were provided with a list containing one column with all statements randomly listed and another column with the 5-point Likert scale (124).

5.3.2.   Phases 1 to 3 for the expert CM

5.3.2.a.   Experts' identification and recruitment: preparation phase

As discussed earlier, the expert CM aimed to produce an *"expert skeleton map"* of labour exploitation, which would serve as "*a guide or scaffold or aid to learning in a way analogous to the use of scaffolding in constructing or refurbishing a building.*" (129). In this research, it will then be adapted using LAWs' inputs. The objective of this CM was to use a panel of experts from various fields of expertise (academic or non-academic), from different disciplines and with knowledge reflecting the hypothesised continuum of labour exploitation.

Working definition for the term 'expert'

When I started the process of listing 'experts', I looked for a definition of this term to guide my recruitment and selection process. While this term is widely used it appears not to be clearly defined (23,340). Therefore, I developed the following working definition for my work. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the term 'expert' is used to designate academic researchers or non-academic professionals (e.g. international organisations, NGOs) who have been working in the field of labour exploitation. To be identified as an expert for this research, individuals had to:

- have participated in the development of a measure related to labour exploitation; or
- have worked for at least five years within the field of 'labour exploitation'; or
- have developed a widely used conceptual framework or operational definition related to labour exploitation; or
- be referred to as an expert in the literature or the mass media.

Purposive sampling strategy and recruitment

I used a purposive sampling strategy to identify relevant experts fitting my working definition. To facilitate the identification of experts, I first mapped which type of experts could theoretically be concerned with labour exploitation and how they are related to the 'exploited' workers (see Appendix C). I then drew upon my hypothesised 'continuum of exploitation' (see Figure 6) to create the recruitment frame displayed in Figure 8 below.

Reference to the continuum *Hypothesised content* *reference to Skrivankova' continuum*	Milder labour exploitation *Precarious work, vulnerable or 'low-paid' work, migrant labour* *Labour standards / law violations*	Severe exploitation *Human trafficking, forced labour or slavery* *Human Rights violations / Crime*
Academic		
Health		
Sociology, social sciences or social work		
Policy and Law		
Economy, finance or business		
Non-academic / Practitioners		
Health		
Policy, law or advocacy (e.g. unions, lawyers, etc.)		
Sociology, social sciences or social work (e.g. migrant organisations)		
Economy, finance or business (in relation to economical discussion of exploitation, such as OSCE or employers)		

Figure 8 Recruitment frame for the expert Concept Mapping

I drew a list of potential experts using authors of key documents, specialised staff from relevant organisations and recommended experts. Then, I screened their publicly available professional profiles to verify whether they met my expert definition. Those who met the criteria were invited to participate by email, which presented the research and included the information letter and a written consent form (see Appendix B).

The next section describes the data collection process (CM phases 2 and 3).

5.3.2.b.   Online data collection: brainstorming and sorting-rating

This section describes the data collection tools used for these phases: an online platform for the generation of statements and sorting-rating exercise, as well as an alternative Excel document for the sorting-rating exercise. It then describes the data reduction and synthesis to produce the list of statements to be structured; and the sorting-rating exercises.

Data collection tools

Concept System Incorporated (CSI) platform, co-founded by CM method's developers (341), offers a full package including data collection and automatic statistical analysis for prices starting from a thousand pounds. I contacted CSI to discuss the possibility of obtaining access to the data collection part only. As I obtained a stipend to conduct advanced quantitative methods, I had to analyse CM data by myself to meet my funding requirements. The CSI contact person indicated that the package could not be dissociated and suggested using different websites to collect data. He indicated that there may be no platform allowing for conducting all data collection steps. I explored the available platforms. At that time, I did not find an online tool that would enable my participants to perform all the tasks (brainstorming, sorting and rating) on the same platform. I therefore decided to develop a platform to collect data for the expert CM. I developed the technical specifications, which were inspired by the CSI platform, and discussed with a web designer who designed an online platform for this data collection. I considered that having a single, unique platform that incorporated the brainstorming, sorting and rating together would be more efficient, professional, and more appealing to participants. Participants who would return for the sorting-rating part would already be familiar with the interface. I felt that using the same platform may be similar to creating a remote rapport building. It would be very useful as the second part would require more engagement from participants.

Unlike the CSI platform, my platform did not include automatic data analyses and the production of maps. Due to my studentship requirements, I performed these myself. There were several benefits to using my own platform. I could improve data security compared to

other platforms, by requiring a unique URL to access the platform in combination with a unique password. I was the only person with direct access to the data. I also developed data entry controls built into the platform, which facilitated the data entry and management. Moreover, brainstorming on the CSI platform looked like an internet discussion forum where all participants could make their contributions in the same page with their name displayed. As I was mixing a variety of experiences on a highly debated topic, I preferred contributions to remain individual and anonymous to ensure more freedom and more possibilities to capture innovative ideas. I felt that if the first few participants were from one specific expertise, it might drive the whole statement generation towards that one aspect of expertise. Furthermore, some participants might have felt uncomfortable sharing some opinions, especially if, for example, they would differ from the opinions of leading experts.

The platform was composed of two interfaces (see Appendix D1 for technical details). On the participant interface, they accessed, first, a demographic page where they could check or complete their personal information. Second, they accessed the brainstorming page where they could generate their (raw) statements. Once this phase was complete, their access was closed. They could then access the platform for the sorting-rating phase after I performed the data reduction and synthesis and uploaded the final list of statements. For this phase, they accessed first the sorting page, then, once completed, the rating page. The experts were informed beforehand that they needed to perform the sorting and statement rating tasks in one go and that it would not be possible to save their progress. The second interface was the administrator interface, where I could access, design and modify the platform parameters. In particular, I used it to download the statements generated by the participants (brainstorming outcomes), to upload the list for the sorting-rating and to export the sorting and rating outcomes.

The platform was pilot-tested with volunteers before recruiting experts and before launching the sorting-rating phase. The platform was adapted and improved according to feedback provided, and considerations of time and resources constraints. The final product was a balance between obtaining a user-friendly interface and keeping the requirements to obtain good quality data. Despite this pilot-testing, few experts reported facing some issues while trying to perform the sorting-rating tasks on the online platform. After investigation, these issues could not be fixed. Therefore, I designed an Excel file using the same content as the online platform to perform the sorting-rating task (see Appendix D.2). Participants who reported an issue were sent this alternative tool. Moreover, when I sent reminders to experts who had not completed the sorting-rating phase, I offered them to use the Excel file in case they did not complete the phase due to technical issues with the platform.

Brainstorming and data entry

Experts entered the data directly onto the online platform. They were required to generate as many short statements as they wanted, using the focus prompt "*A migrant working in a manual low-skilled job is in a situation of exploitation when...*".

At the end of the brainstorming phase, I downloaded all their contributions as an Excel file and proceeded with a data reduction and synthesis phase.

Data reduction and synthesis

Statements generated during the brainstorming were given a unique identification code (ID) that was the concatenation of the expert's identification code and the number corresponding to the order of the statement produced, which enabled me to track the statements in the data reduction process. Statements were initially screened to check whether they contained only 'one idea per statement', as per the CM rules (see section 5.3.1.b). When this rule was not respected, the statement was split into shorter statements, so that each one would contain one idea. This iterative process, which I will refer to as 'extension', is illustrated in Figure 9 below. It needed several rounds of extension separated by discussions with my supervisors. Each newly created ID was a concatenation of the original statement ID and a consecutive list of numbers. For instance, if the <u>first</u> statement generated by the expert "1234" contained three different ideas, the extension process would result in the creation of three new statements with the ID "1234-<u>1</u>-1", "1234-<u>1</u>-2" and "1234-<u>1</u>-3".

RAW STATEMENTS

FULL LIST OF SEPARATED STATEMENTS (EXTENSION PHASE: One idea per line for each raw statement generated by experts)

ID Expert raw statement	Counter raw statement per expert	ID raw statement	Raw statement (N=116)	Nu (formula) of the statement separated	ID Statement-Iidea	Statement-idea (if empty = statements modified after first extension)	Rephrased slightly for homogeneity and to reply to the prompt: "A migrant working in a manual low-skilled job is in a situation of 'labour exploitation' when..."	Counter – Number of extended statements
								276
1795	1	1795-1	he/she is confined and forced to work long hours	1	1795-1-1	he/she is confined	s/he is confined	1
				2	1795-1-2	he/she is forced to work long hours	s/he is forced to work long hours	1
1795	2	1795-2	when non employment contract has been signed and the worker has no right to days off	1	1795-2-1	when non employment contract has been signed	s/he has not signed an employment contract	1
				2	1795-2-2	when the worker has no right to days off	s/he has no right to days off	1

Grey columns present the raw statements produced by the experts and the identification codes I added for the expert and the raw statements

For each raw statement, I checked whether there was more than one idea. If more than one idea were present, I inserted as many rows as additional ideas

These blue columns present the process of extension where I presented each idea (unique statement) per row. I then generated new identification codes for the extended statements.

Once extended, I rephrased the extended statements to make them homogeneous and to correspond to statements replying to the prompt proposed to the experts.

Figure 9 Example of the extension process for the two first statements of expert 1795

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Figure 10 Photograph of the manual part of the data reduction and synthesis

Subsequently, the statements were regrouped under themes to facilitate the identification of duplicates and similar statements. As Figure 10 above illustrates, the identification of themes was initiated manually. The themes created were then used on the Excel file to identify duplicate statements, similar statements, and those out of the scope of CM. Once duplicates were identified, one statement was selected to represent the idea and the other statements were deleted (see Figure 11 for an example).

Group name	ID Statement-extended	Rephrased slightly for homogeneity	Status
Sickness	2639-3-1	s/he has no proper accident insurance covering all possible accidents at work	chosen
Sickness	4269-3-1	s/he has no rights to compensation for injuries and accidents resulting from her/his work	chosen
Sickness	7591-8-3	s/he does not benefit from sick leave	duplicate
Sickness	**2639-2-6**	**s/he is not granted sick leave**	chosen
Sickness	6939-4-1	s/he is not granted leaves for illness	duplicate
Sickness	5266-1-4	s/he does not have access to paid sick leave	chosen

Note: in the green frame are duplicate ideas; in bold the statement that has been chosen to represent these duplicate ideas

Figure 11 Example of the detection of duplicate ideas within the thematic group 'Sickness'

Description of the process of extension of the raw statements into statement containing only one idea (concept) till the reduction of statements

Figure 12 Extract of the document used for the extension-reduction process

The statements were screened to detect and withdraw statements not fitting the following criteria: being out of scope; not directly focusing on the worker him/herself; referring to a 'type' of exploitation rather than describing the content of the concept; being too abstract, vague or ambiguous. The results were reported on the initial sheet containing the whole extension-reduction process, from the raw statements to the reduced list (see an extract in

Figure 12 on the previous page). This led to producing the final list of statements that could be used for the sorting-rating exercise described in the next section.

Sorting-rating phase

As described previously, the sorting-rating tasks were performed on the online platform or the alternative Excel file. Once the sorting-rating phase was closed, I collected the outputs from the platform and from the experts' Excel files received by email. The sorting-rating outputs were rearranged and merged to form the final, anonymised CM dataset (see Appendix D.3 for details). The demographics dataset was downloaded from the platform and anonymised.

I created a simplified ID for the statements to be used for the CM analysis, ranging from one to the maximum number of statements. It replaced the long identification code (format: *idpart-#-#*) used to track the statement and was used to identify statements in the CM results (in Chapters 6 to 8).

For the analysis, I used the sorting and rating results separately. I created a sorting dataset by appending the online and excel sorting datasets in Stata, and did the same for the rating datasets. I then proceeded to the data verification and created a complete dataset which I stored securely. Appendix D provides additional technical details of the data collection tools development and datasets verification.

I will now describe the phases 1 to 3 of the CM with LAWs.

5.3.3. Phases 1 to 3 for the CM with Latin American workers in London

In contrast with the expert CM, the CM with LAWs included an additional feature. I conducted key informant interviews as part of the preparation phase, to adapt the CM to the population by gathering the advice of support organisations working with LAWs, and LAWs themselves. These interviews also aimed at exploring how labour exploitation is perceived by different organisations working with LAWs, and LAWs themselves. Section 5.3.3.a describes the rationale for including interviews in the CM preparation phase, and the plans before and after these interviews had happened. The actual method used to conduct the interviews will be described in section 5.4 as this section focuses on the CM with LAWs.

Section 5.3.3.b describes CM participants' identification and recruitment; and section 5.3.3.c the data collection (brainstorming and sorting-rating) that was conducted face-to-face with LAWs.

5.3.3.a. Role of interviews in the CM with LAWs' preparation phase

Rationale for including key informant interviews in CM preparation

Early in my PhD, I attended meetings of a union campaigning to fight the exploitation of cleaners in London. During these public meetings, I learnt about the LA community in London and their struggles and discovered the importance of this topic for this population. Once I confirmed the location and migrant population for my fieldwork, I had already started to build connections. I continued attending public events and talks about LAs to build rapport prior to recruiting participants. Importantly, I realised that being an outsider would impede my access to this population. I suspected that the power imbalance might be an issue: I could be seen as a white educated woman coming to a LA community to inquire about the 'exploitation of migrant workers'. After informal discussions with LAWs during these events, I discovered that opening up about my own migrant background and status in the UK, pointing out my imperfect English while at the same time communicating with them in my basic Spanish, seemed to make people feel more comfortable and at ease. Moreover, I felt that I would need to get more familiar with the topic of exploitation in the UK and with the community before starting recruiting. I felt that there were issues that I could not grasp at this stage, which could potentially impede my fieldwork. Therefore, I paid special attention to building rapport with the community and staff working for related support organisations. I considered rapport building a crucial element for my work, which helped me to later approach potential participants through the service providers I would interview.

In light of these reflections, I decided to seek advice from key informants to tailor my CM plans for this community (342). As a result, I decided to conduct interviews as part of the CM preparation phase. I initially planned these interviews to understand issues of labour exploitation among the community better and to foster my access to the study population. During the first two interviews, I realised that key informants were very willing to share their opinions about labour exploitation. Throughout the interviews and as my knowledge of the context increased, more and more I considered other benefits of conducting key informant interviews. I realised that they could help me compare information obtained from the literature review, the expert CM, and the planned CM with LAWs. Information obtained during the interviews helped me to adapt the data collection plans with LAWs and to contextualise findings from the CM with LAWs. It also helped me to prepare for potential

sensitive topics that might emerge during the future CM with LAWs, as well as to gather their advice about conducting focus groups.

The next section describes the CM plans I had before conducting the interviews to show how the interviews helped to tailor the CM with LAWs.

Plans for the CM with LAWs before conducting key informant interviews

Initially, I planned to recruit LAWs who may have faced situations of labour exploitation through three paths for the CM. Therefore, for the interviews, I tried to recruit key informants corresponding to each path that I will now describe.

Figure 13 below illustrates the recruitment paths planned prior to conducting the interviews.
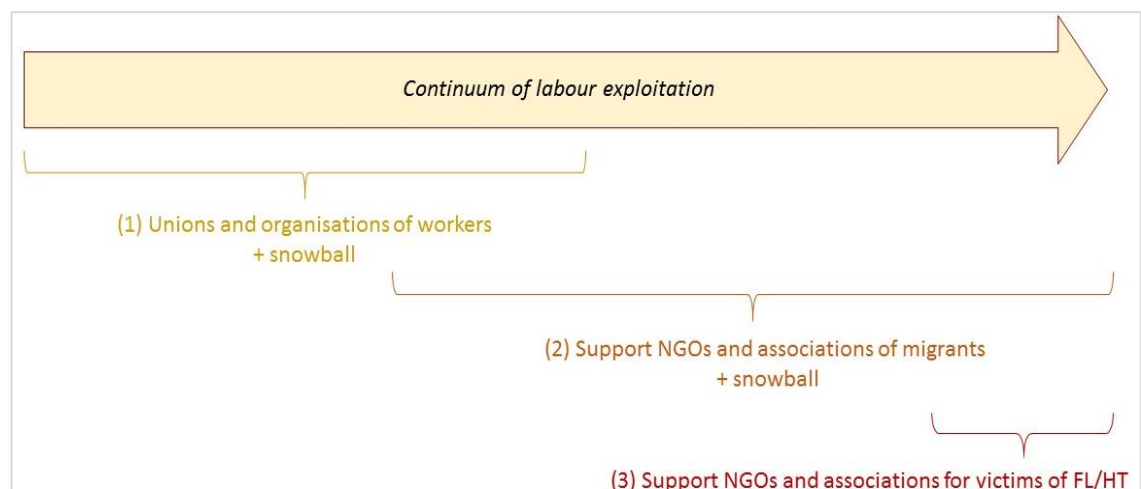
Note. 'FL' stands for 'forced labour' and 'HT' for 'human trafficking'

Figure 13 Hypothesised workers' experiences along the continuum of 'labour exploitation', and recruitment paths expected to capture them

Each path corresponded to a type of organisation providing support to LAWs along the hypothesised continuum. Recruitment through:

- Unions were expected to capture experiences on the 'lower' and 'middle' part of the continuum. Unions are generally used by workers who may face violations of labour standards and/or law. Union members may be amongst the least vulnerable migrant workers as they may be more aware of their rights and entitlements, more likely to be documented, and would have access to support.

- Associations providing support to LA migrants (LA associations) were expected to capture experiences on the 'moderate' to 'extreme' part. I expected that LAWs recruited through this path might be in more vulnerable situations than those in unions. Moreover, some LA associations have reported supporting victims of exploitation, including possible cases of human trafficking (106).

- Organisations providing support to victims of modern slavery were expected to cover the 'extreme' part of the continuum. For this path, I initially planned to assess the feasibility of recruiting survivors by contacting these organisations.

To reach the recommended sample size of 10 to 40, I used purposive sampling. I initially planned to recruit at least 10 LAWs from each recruitment path. For each path, I planned to include at least 2 groups of approximately 5 participants: one for men and one for women. This group size was expected to permit an engaging discussion while developing a variety of statements. As I will discuss in the next section, I decided to withdraw the third recruitment path aimed at collecting experiences of extreme labour exploitation and hence aimed at recruiting about 20 participants.

Finally, I anticipated that participating in the research might trigger bad memories for some LAWs (343). This also contributed to my decision to assess that, during interviews with support organisations and to recruit participants via these organisations who would be able to provide support if need be.

Key interviewees' inputs for the CM with LAWs

Revision of the CM recruitment plans

The interviews enabled me to adapt my recruitment plans for the CM with LAWs. First, the interviewee from the organisation providing support to survivors of human trafficking/modern suggested that it would be very unlikely to recruit LAWs participants through this path as his organisation has not had LA cases for forced labour exploitation. Therefore, I withdrew this path from my plans. Second, three out of four interviewees from LA associations allowed me to leave recruitment leaflets and posters in their premises. Only one of these also allowed me to attend events that they organised for me to recruit participants. Finally, two out of three unions interviewed allowed me to recruit through events they organised, such as meetings or English classes.

Participants' safety and comfort

Support organisations' interviewees agreed to refer participants in the unlikely event that they would present signs of distress during the CM. Second, to protect participants from potential discomfort, I decided to exclude LAWs who would be full-time supervisors. I understood throughout the interviews that they may be 'perpetrators' of exploitation. This was actually a finding of the CM with LAWs (see Chapter 8). Furthermore, as I expected, interviewees reported or confirmed that women were likely to face sexual harassment or assault at the

workplace. As this could be a topic emerging during the brainstorming sessions, I decided to organise separate groups for women and men.

Interviewees confirmed that I would need a Spanish-speaking research assistant (RA), because most of the LAWs would only speak Spanish. At the beginning of the fieldwork, I spoke basic Spanish but did not feel confident enough to conduct the research on my own. Therefore, I recruited an RA to help with the recruitment and to facilitate brainstorming sessions in Spanish. She was also of LA background and already in touch with some of the associations that I needed to get in touch with. As she found a full-time job before the end of the brainstorming phase, and as, in the meantime, I improved my skills and confidence sufficiently, I conducted the final brainstorming sessions and the sorting-rating phase on my own.

Finally, I decided to not explicitly use the term *'manual low-skilled jobs'* in the instructions. The term could have been perceived negatively or as offensive, especially when translated into Spanish. Interviewees highlighted that it was difficult to translate this term in Spanish. I, therefore, decided to use instead the Spanish translation of *'manual workers in jobs that required no or little previous experience'*. I also found that there was no need to specify 'manual low-skilled jobs' in the CM instructions as participants were already recruited based on the type of occupation they had. I anticipated that the participants would talk about the experiences in their own job or of acquaintances in similar jobs. This seemed a reasonable decision, as much of the community was employed in similar jobs.

The next section describes the sampling and recruitment for the rest of the CM with LAWs in the preparation phase.

5.3.3.b. *Participants' identification and recruitment: preparation phase*

The study population consisted of adult migrants who were born in a Spanish-speaking country of LA and who have been working in London in a manual low-skilled job for at least six months. Participants known to have an irregular immigration status or being full-time supervisors would be excluded.

As I discussed in section 5.3.3.a, in addition to recruitment posters and leaflets in support organisations' premises, my recruitment strategy was to attend events organised by support organisations that I interviewed and who agreed for me to attend. I could present my research project there, interact with potential participants and distribute recruitment poster and/or letter information (see Appendix B). LAWs who were interested in participating could either contact me using the contact details provided, or provide their contact details for me to

contact them. They were also encouraged to invite relatives, friends or colleagues if they met the criteria. Once potential participants contacted me, inclusion and exclusion criteria were checked, the research was explained further, and any questions they had answered.

Individuals who agreed to participate were asked for their availability and received a call, an SMS and/or an email to confirm the date and location of the CM session. On the day of the CM session, I sought participants' informed consent and asked them to fill in a demographic form. Between the brainstorming and the sorting-rating sessions, I continued attending events organised by unions from which I recruited, to maintain the rapport with the brainstorming participants and recruit new potential participants for the sorting-rating exercise.

During the recruitment, the linguistic barriers were initially an issue and may have prevented potential participants from engaging with me or with my research. I started to speak Spanish to have casual conversations and emphasised that my Spanish skills were not good, which became a useful ice-breaker, and broke the power imbalance that happened when I initially interacted with the community. Potential participants appreciated that I made the effort to speak in their language and quickly took a position of Spanish teachers or became more interested in my research. Even when I started the formal recruitment with my RA, I continued making the effort to speak in Spanish. I believe this has helped the participants to engage with me and my RA and fostered the trust and rapport building. I suspected that they could draw parallels with their own situation and experiences, which emerged later during the sessions.

5.3.3.c.   Face-to-face data collection: brainstorming and sorting-rating

Preparation for brainstorming

I designed a detailed brainstorming session guide containing the different steps of the session, from welcoming participants and CM instructions to wrap-up and debriefing with my RA (344). Appendix E contains the brainstorming kit that I developed for the CM with LAWs, using Woodsong et al.'s data collectors field guide (345).

I organised three pilots of the CM brainstorming. The first was an informal pilot in English during which I was the moderator, while my RA and research degree students' volunteers (RDS) acted as participants. A second informal brainstorming was piloted with Spanish-speaking RDS volunteers. Finally, a formal pilot was conducted, with three Latin American workers who could not be included as they were not in low-skilled jobs. I collected feedback to improve the CM for LAWs. In particular, I decided to add an open discussion after the

brainstorming exercise for participants to elaborate on their opinion or to further expand on the topics they would start debating during the brainstorming. When some topics were debated, we could tell that we would have time to elaborate in the second part, and focus on generating statements. Moreover, I tested and confirmed the added-value of using large post-it notes to initiate the brainstorming in group sessions. Participants generated statements by completing the focus prompt on large post-it notes to generate the initial statements. It helped to clarify the instructions, acted as an ice-breaker, and launched the brainstorming.

Brainstorming sessions

My RA and I facilitated the brainstorming sessions. The generation of statements was performed during group and individual brainstorming sessions, which are the most common way to generate statements (125). After each session, I used a debriefing form, the same as I used for the key informant interviews (see Appendix E), to record complementary information and thoughts. All brainstorming sessions were audio-recorded and transcribed like the key informant interviews (see section 5.4).

For group sessions, participants were given the instructions and explained the ground rules, which were also displayed on a poster on the wall for group sessions (see Figure 14 below). Participants were asked to generate statements to complete the focus prompt: *"A migrant worker is exploited when…"* (in Spanish: *"Un trabajador migrante es explotado cuando…"*). For the group sessions, participants were given large post-it notes and a marker to initiate the generation of statements. The RA and I then facilitated the generation of more statements and took notes of statements generated on a paperboard and/or on post-it notes.

For the individual brainstorming sessions, I used the same structure as the group sessions, but instead of using post-it notes or paperboard, I wrote down the generated statements in a large notebook so that participants could see. The first individual session was conducted in English at the request of a participant who wanted to practice his English skills. After that session, I conducted the rest of the individual brainstorming sessions in Spanish myself.

Note: On the left, ground rules; at the centre the focus prompt; the statements generated are on the post-it notes

Figure 14 Photographs of the room setting before and after one group session

During the group session with women LAWs, some participants used the post-it notes to note generated statements and put them on the wall throughout the session. This helped to enrich the brainstorming. Once participants agreed that all the characteristics of labour exploitation were described, the short open discussion started. Participants commented on the exercise and discussed additional issues.

In addition, I used the transcripts of two LAWs who were interviewed as key informants (see section 5.4.1). The interviewed LAWs also met the selection criteria and their interviews were also aimed at providing their own opinion of the exploitation of migrant workers in London. After few months of recruitment, I realised that I could not recruit more participants for the brainstorming, and wanted to make sure that the statements generated covered the content of labour exploitation for LAWs. CM developers suggested that in some cases statements could not only be generated by brainstorming but also extracted from relevant documents (124). As I noticed that, in practice, the individual brainstorming sessions provided similar information to what emerged from the LAWs' interviews, I decided to also extract statements from the relevant LAWs' interview transcripts. Crucially, this ensured that no important component of labour exploitation would be missing. The ID of these statements also permitted to track the statements.

Figure 15 below describes how the data were entered and processed until the final statements list was obtained.
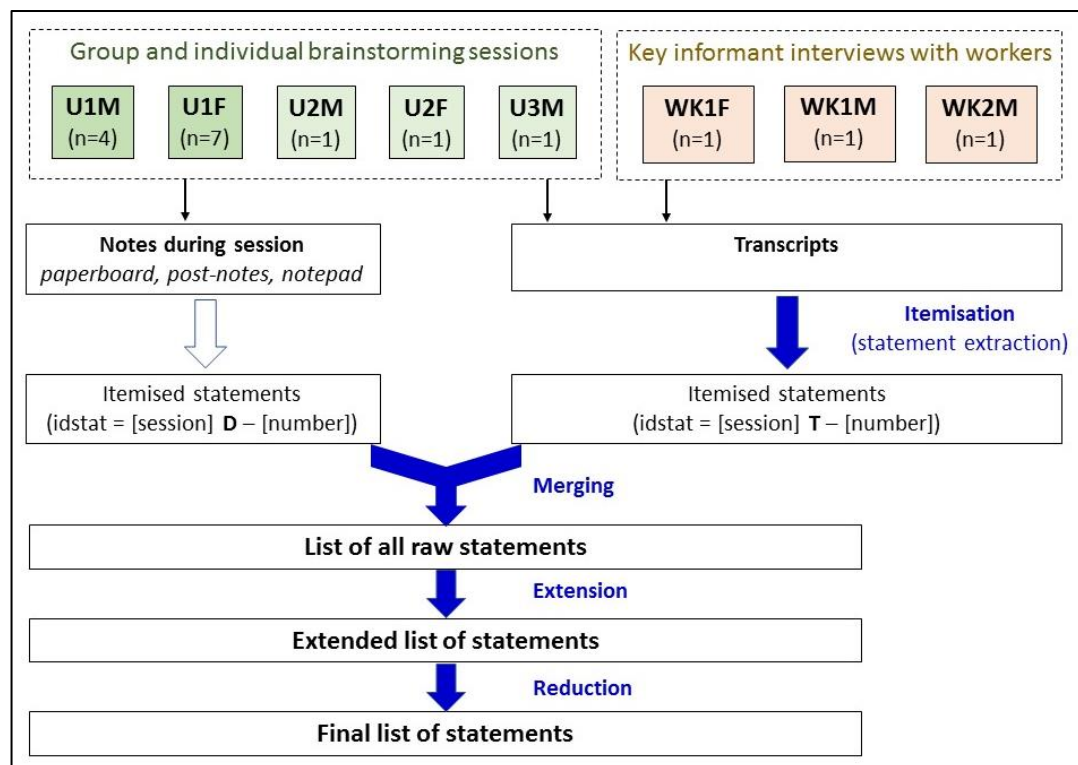
Figure 15 Data processing steps of the CM brainstorming to produce the final list of statements to be structured

The next section describes how I obtained a full list of raw statements by using both the statements generated during the session on the 'notes', and by extracting statements from transcripts.

Data entry and extraction

At the end of each brainstorming session, all statements generated on 'notes' (post-it notes, paperboard or interview notebook) during the sessions were entered into an Excel spreadsheet. These statements were given an identification code (ID) composed of the identification number of the session followed by the letter 'D' to specify that these statements were coming from notes taken '<u>d</u>uring' the sessions and a unique identification number.

The brainstorming transcripts served as a second source of data from which I extracted the statements generated during brainstorming. It enabled me to complement the notes taken during the sessions. In practice, participants generated statements very quickly, and it was difficult to write down all statements generated when several individuals spoke at the same time. All the brainstorming transcripts were exported to an Excel spreadsheet where I performed a statement extraction, also called *"itemisation"* (346).

Figure 16 below gives an example of itemisation. First, I highlighted the statements that were relevant and that could complete the brainstorming prompt. Second, I itemised the transcripts by extracting the highlighted statements into new columns.

Then, I appended all the itemised statements on new columns and generated an ID similar to the previous one, but using the letter 'T' to specify that these statements were coming from the '<u>t</u>ranscript' (instead of 'D'). The same procedure was used for the extraction of statements from the LAWs' interviews transcripts. Finally, the three sets of statements generated during the sessions, or extracted from transcripts, were merged into a new Excel file to create a list of raw statements (like I did for the expert CM). This file contained ID statements, the statement in Spanish or English (depending on the session), and an English translation when needed. This list of raw statements was then reduced and synthesised as the next section will describe.
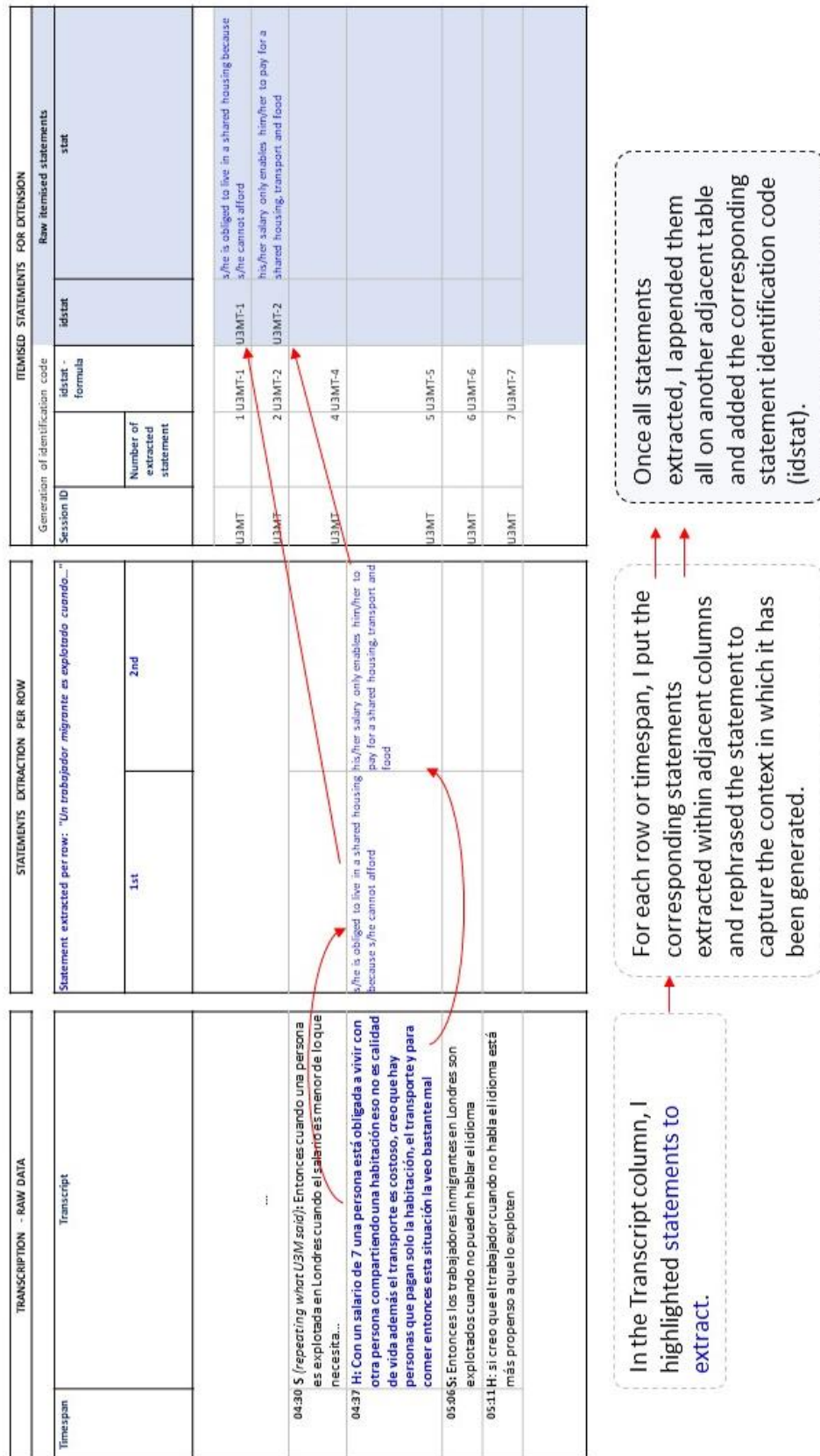
Figure 16 Example of the itemisation process for the statements generated from a transcript extract of an individual brainstorming

Data reduction and synthesis

Statements were reduced and synthesised following the same method as for the expert CM (see section 5.3.2.c). The brainstorming with LAWs generated a high number of statements, including many statements describing personal experiences they considered exploitative. Statements generated tended to be very specific. Therefore, I reduced further the number of statements by collapsing together the statements that were very specific, similar, or contained personal experiences (338). This resulted in creating slightly more general statements encompassing these individual ideas. Figure 17 gives an example of a collapsed statement.

idstat	Rephrased to respond to the prompt: *A migrant worker is exploited when…*	Chosen? Or Reason to drop?	Comments, details, idstat corresponding to the duplicate if any	
collapseContractInfo	**s/he is not given detailed information about the contract**	_chosen	U1FT-99 + U1FD-37 + U1FT-128	s/he has a contract without details about holidays, payment and salary + they do not give you the correct information about the contract + When they do not have information about the contract

Figure 17 Example of a collapsed statement

This data reduction and synthesis process was iterative and discussed with my supervisors. Where statements were slightly unclear, I went back to the transcript and rephrased the statements to capture the meaning according to the context, or withdrew the statement if it remained unclear. Once I had obtained the final list of less than 100 statements, I prepared the sorting-rating phase.

Preparation of the sorting-rating phase

Statements were translated into Spanish and back-translated by native Spanish-speakers. Then, I prepared a list of statements for LAWs; the cards for the sorting exercise (with one statement displayed on each card); and post-it notes to label the groups. I also prepared the list of statements to rate, which was given to participants when they finished the sorting to mimic the expert CM (see Appendix E for the material). I then piloted the sorting-rating exercise with a Latin American RDS. I invited four people, but on the day only one attended.

All participants who I contacted for, or who had attended, the brainstorming were invited to participate in the sorting-rating phase. In addition, new participants were recruited during events I attend in-between the two phases.

Sorting-rating phase

As I knew participants' limited availabilities, I planned the sessions according to their preferences. I organised group and individual sessions, and all the sorting-rating tasks were performed individually. The same instructions as for the expert CM were given to LAWs participants. Differences were that the sessions were in Spanish and that they were asked to manually form piles of statements. They used post-it notes to label the groups created and performed the rating on a separate document. To match participants' characteristics with the sorting-rating results, I drew a map of the room and indicated a unique ID for each table where a participant sat. I reported this ID on the envelope containing all the outputs, as well as on the rating list and on the demographics form (see Figure 18).
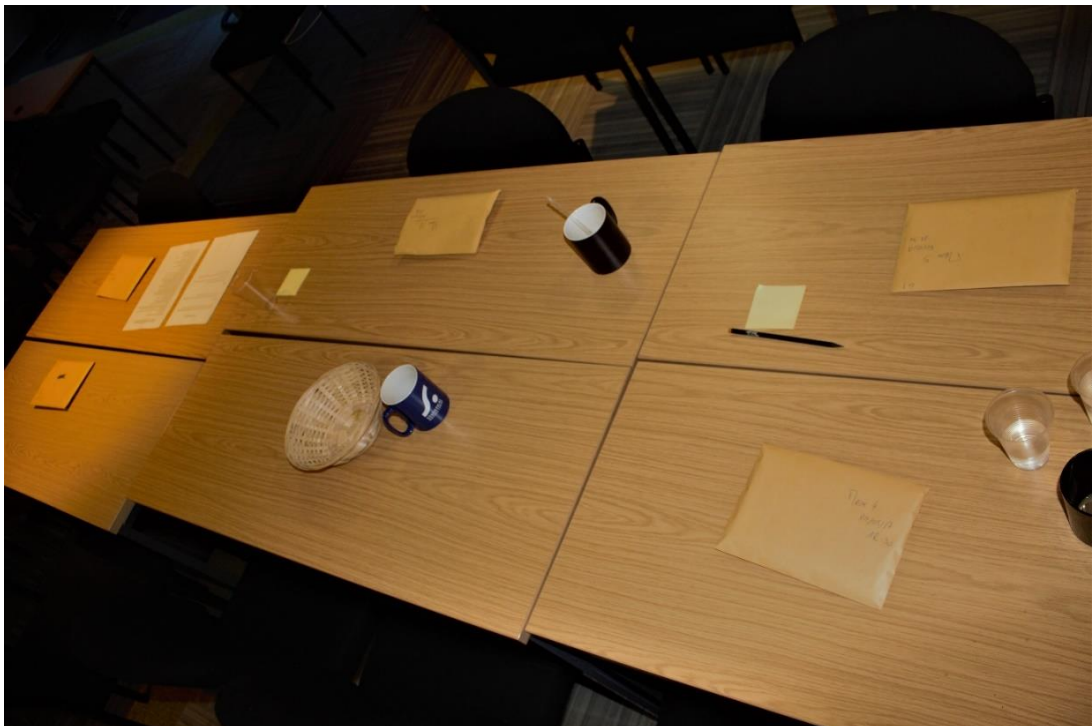
Figure 18 Photograph of the setting of a sorting-rating group session

For each participant, I created an Excel file with the outcomes of the sorting on one sheet and the ratings on another. Data were then imported and verified into Stata® version 14 (see Appendix F for details). I developed the CM with LAWs dataset, similar to that of the experts' dataset above.

Now that I have described the phases of data collection for both experts and LAWs, I will turn to describe the CM phases 4 to 6: multivariate analyses, and interpretation and utilisation of the concept maps.

5.3.4. Phase 4: Representation of statements using statistical analysis

Participants' characteristics were contained in a separate dataset. The datasets containing the demographics and results of the sorting-rating exercise were verified and corrected using Stata® version 14. The demographics analysis described categorical variables as frequencies and percentages, and the distribution of continuous variables as means and standard deviations.

This section gives an overview of the CM data analysis plan, which was the same for both CM. For each CM, the sorting-rating results were contained in a dataset that served for multivariate analyses (MVA): multidimensional scaling (MDS) followed by a cluster analysis (CA) (337). These analyses were conducted on SPSS® (version 24) and are described in the following sections.

5.3.4.a. *Multidimensional scaling (MDS)*

MDS is a method of data reduction that aims at quantifying similarities or dissimilarities between items. The outcomes are visualised on a graph, called *"point map"* in CM (123,337). On this map, each point corresponds to a statement. The distances between items represent estimates of the (dis)similarities between items (347,348). The shorter the distance (the closer the points), the more similar the statements are.

MDS is an iterative process that transforms a matrix of (dis-) similarities into a graph or two-dimensional (2D) map, which corresponds to the CM *"point map"* (123,337). On this map, distances between the points represent estimates of the dissimilarities between the CM statements (347,348). CM uses non-metric MDS as the dissimilarities are assessed using an ordinal value (number of participants who sorted statements in the same group). In contrast, metric MDS uses quantitative (continuous) variables. In the thesis, MDS refers to non-metric MDS.

The MDS analysis is composed of three main steps. First, the dataset is transformed to create the input matrix. Second, in order to transform the matrix into a point map, the MDS uses a criterion to estimate the best configuration; this criterion is the stress function. A stress function quantifies how much the distances estimated in the MDS derived configuration differ from the observed proximities in the input matrix. The MDS algorithm calculates a representation that will minimise this stress function. A lower stress value, hence, indicates that the MDS model better fits the observed relations from the input matrix (347). CM users define the stress value as follows:

The next steps of the analyses are therefore to choose an algorithm that reduces the stress function, and to define the MDS model. In particular, the initial configuration of the model to start the minimisation of the stress function (347–349).

The following sections describe further the creation of the similarity matrix for the MDS for use on SPSS, the choice of algorithm and the model definition.

Creation of the similarity matrix for the MDS

MDS uses a symmetric square matrix as an input. An illustration is given in Table G.

Table G. Example of square similarity matrix

	statA	statB	statC	statD
statA	-	3	2	3
statB	3	-	1	0
statC	2	1	-	3
statD	3	0	3	-

The first step to create this matrix with the CM sorting data was to extract from the CM sorting dataset the three following variables (columns) needed for the MDS:

- idstat
- idpart
- groupname

This dataset was imported in R Studio® (version 13) to be rearranged using the package *"reshape2"* (see for Appendix G for the programme). This package contains the command *dcast*, which rearranged the dataset from a long-format (with $(n \times p)$[1]rows and three columns) to a wide-format (with p rows and n columns). The output of this command is a dataset displaying statements (idstat) in line and experts (idpart) in columns. The content of each cell was the 'groupname' that each expert gave to the corresponding statement. The identifier for the rearrangement was 'idstat + idpart'; and the column 'groupname' gave the 'value' for the command *dcast*.

---

[1] n: number of participants ; p: number of statements

Next, an empty matrix of $(n \times p)$ rows and $(n \times p)$ columns was created, and the programme counted how many times two statements have been put together by participants in the 'wide'[1] dataset. The output is exported as a csv file containing the dataset in the format that the matrix for the MDS. I then imported the matrix dataset into SPSS to conduct the analyses.

Choice of algorithm to reduce the stress function

SPSS offers two options for the minimisation algorithms for the nonmetric MDS: ALSCAL ('Alternating Least squares SCALing') or PROXSCAL ('PROXimity SCALing'). I used the package providing the PROXSCAL algorithms, which is also called the 'Kruskal approach' (350) to optimise the stress function over each iteration. Kruskal is the reference used in the CM method (337). Moreover, the PROXSCAL methodology is a more recent development that has additional improved features compared to ALSCAL. It has become popular because it is easy to use, permitting use of similarity or dissimilarity input, and directly *"fit[ing] the distance model (rather than the squared distance model)"* (351).

Model definition

Initialisation

An important step in MDS is to plot the initial configuration from which the optimisation will start. The iteration process can then start to reduce the stress value until a termination criterion is reached; this would produce the best 2D configuration (or point map). The SPSS package implements three methods for selecting the initial configuration SIMPLEX, TORGERSON and RANDOM (352). By default, a SIMPLEX start is proposed. This option starts by placing the objects in the configuration all at the same distance of each other and taking one iteration to improve this high-dimensional configuration and then starts the iteration process. TORGERSON starts the configuration by using the metric MDS solution as a start point and RANDOM by chosing random initial configurations. There is limited information about the method used to choose the initialisation criteria in CM. As MDS is an exploratory analysis, I decided to run three models and choose the one with the lowest stress value. Once the initial configuration is set, the PROXSCAL algorithm updates the configurations throughout an iterative process until one of the termination criteria is met.

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[1] One row in the dataset representing idpart (participant), in columns were the statements and the cell contained the 'groupname' given by the participant to the corresponding statement.

Termination

Once the first configuration is set, points are rearranged iteratively until optimising the loss function (minimising the stress value). At each iteration, a stress value is calculated and informs about the 'goodness of fit' of the model, such as the lower the stress value the better the model. Hence, the model tries to minimise this stress value until a certain point is reached (350,352). By default in the PROXSCAL algorithm, the iteration terminates when the newly calculated stress value is evaluated and a stop criterion is reached (353). I used the default criteria, namely that the new stress value is smaller than or equal to the minimum stress value that is set by default at 0.0001; or if the stress value is smaller than or equal to the convergence criterion which is by default 0.0001. If neither of those two criteria is achieved the process terminates after the maximum number of iterations which is set by default at 100 (354).

Other parameters

To compute the MDS, I used the lower triangular part of the square similarity symmetric matrix containing similarity data (124). There are four options for the level of measurement: ordinal, interval, ratio or spline. As the input matrix contains count data, I used the 'ordinal' level of measurement with the sub-option *"Untie tied observations"* to find the best solutions to rank values that are equal (355). Then, I selected the two-dimension option, as recommended by the Trochim method (125,128,337).

Once the PROXSCAL algorithm ended, it provided the point maps. The coordinates of these maps were then used to perform the cluster analysis (CA) described in the next section.

5.3.4.b.   Cluster analysis using the MDS coordinates

Cluster analysis (CA) is another exploratory analysis that helps regroup statements (points on the map) into clusters, which are groups of points (statements) that share similarities. Statements within the same clusters have more in common than with those contained in the other clusters (356). In CM, the CA uses the coordinates of each statement (point) obtained by MDS to identify clusters, which correspond to the concept dimensions (337). This generates 'cluster point maps' that display the statements (points) into their dimensions (clusters).

There are "*two fundamentals methods at the heart of Cluster Analysis: hierarchical agglomerative clustering […] and k-means clustering*" (356). K-means clustering tends to be used when one has an idea of the final number of clusters (356). This is not the case in CM, which uses hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis. It consists in considering each item as an individual cluster and then agglomerating them into bigger groups to obtain a smaller number of clusters.

To agglomerate the clusters, a linkage function is used. It is an algorithm that assesses the distance between clusters ('linkage') and indicates how close the clusters were, hence how similar the underlying ideas represented by these statements were (356). There are different types of linkage possible. CM developers recommend the use of Ward's algorithm to regroup statements and create clusters (124).

For selecting the final number of clusters, I followed recommendations by the CM developers. I initially looked at the content of the cluster solutions from approximately 20 clusters and reduced the number of clusters until the cluster content was not meaningful (i.e. the statements composing them were not conceptually similar). In that case, the clusters merged would somehow be less informative and become slightly too general because they integrated a wider range of ideas. The cluster-solution with a higher number of clusters is then chosen (337).

Once the final solution was identified, I labelled the clusters with the support of the labels provided by participants (individual sorting scheme). I then refined the cluster content by checking whether some statements within the clusters did not fit well. If they were located at the edge of the cluster and close to another that would better match, then the statement was relocated (357). For both CM analyses, it appeared that some adjacent clusters shared an underlying meaning. This corresponds to a *"region of meaning"* (337). Their identification led to identifying the main dimensions of the concept. These were therefore called dimensions and the clusters subdimensions in the final structured conceptual frameworks.

5.3.4.c.   *Ratings: analysis and combination with the MVA results*

Each statement was rated on a 5-point scale during the sorting-rating phase (see section 5.3.1.c). I then averaged the ratings for each statement and used the statement average ratings to weight each statement on the map. This generated a point rating map displaying the importance of each statement. Then, the statement ratings were averaged within each cluster. This generated a cluster rating map, displaying the importance of each cluster (337).

5.3.4.d.   *Model validation*

Models were validated by comparing the model stress value obtained with the range of stress values reported in other CM studies and compared the characteristics of the CM to other CM studies (126,336).

5.3.5. Phases 5 and 6: Interpretation and Utilisation of maps

Interpretation and Utilisation phases should be ideally conducted with participants and a research team. However, due to the individual nature of a PhD programme, I performed this phase myself. This is common in PhD dissertations using CM (336).

The Interpretation phase consisted of labelling clusters on the cluster point map. I labelled the clusters according to the statements it contained and to labels given by participants. I adjusted their content by moving few statements on the edge of the cluster into adjacent clusters to improve the clarity of meaning (358). Then, I identified what CM developers refer to as regions of meaning. These are regions on the maps that bring together a set of conceptually similar clusters. In my research, these regions of meaning represented the key dimensions of the concept of labour exploitation. I used the term 'dimensions' for groups of clusters with an underlying common conceptual similarity; and 'subdimensions' for the clusters generated by the MVA, which included statements with an underlying common conceptual similarity.

In CM, the Utilisation phase generally involves a discussion within a research team and participants about how the results can be used. In this research, I knew how I would primarily use the maps generated before designing the CM exercises, like other studies using CM to clarify a concept content with the aim of contributing to a future scale development (127).

5.4. Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews had two aims. They were used to tailor the CM for LAWs (see section 5.3.3.a), and to explore how labour exploitation is perceived by different organisations working with LAWs, and LAWs themselves.

5.4.1. Selection of key informants: sampling method and recruitment

My sampling strategy for key informant interviews was shaped by my initial CM recruitment plans through three paths corresponding to types of support organisations (see section 5.3.3.a). I planned to recruit at least one staff per type of support organisation (union, LA association, organisation for victims of modern slavery). I also planned to interview two LAWs (one woman and one man) to explore the concept from their perspective and to get an initial idea of the themes that might emerge during the CM brainstorming. Snowballing was also used to foster the recruitment process.

To recruit union leaders, I used the contacts that I made during events, and snowballing. To recruit LA associations representatives, I invited by email all relevant organisations that were

members of the Coalition of Latin Americans in the UK (CLAUK) and who had their contact details publicly available. Similarly, I contacted organisations providing support for victims of modern slavery using publicly available contacts. I sent an email invitation (like the one for the expert CM) to relevant staff of these organisations (that I will refer to as 'support organisations' in the rest of this thesis). When I received no reply after three email reminders, I tried to reach these organisations by telephone. Some organisations I spoke to said that they had no time to participate, while others never replied. Among those who agreed to participate, I then set-up an appointment and shared the information sheet and consent form. Interviews were conducted face-to-face, except for three interviews which were organised remotely via Skype.

The LAWs interviewed were recruited while building rapport during events organised by unions. I targeted workers from Spanish-speaking countries of LA, currently employed in a manual low-skilled job in London, and who spoke English; who were interested in the research.

5.4.2. Data collection

5.4.2.a. Interviews: format and process

Before the interviews, I sought participants' informed written consent to take part (see section 5.6). All participants agreed for their interview to be audio-recorded. Interviews were unstructured to give participants as much *"control over the course of the interview"* as possible (359). I used a topic guide which indicated only key information which I wanted to cover in the interviews: 1) their opinions about the meaning and their understanding of labour exploitation; 2) their opinions and advice about strengths and challenges in organising focus groups with LAWs (e.g. possible criteria to consider when composing the groups, location for focus groups, sensitive topics). It was a flexible tool that I mostly used as a support (see Appendix E). Throughout the interviews, it became apparent that participants were very interested in sharing their views on the concept. Therefore, I decided to spend more time exploring their opinions and views about labour exploitation.

Interviews were mostly driven by important themes that emerged in interviewee's accounts, as I wanted to explore the concept from their perspective as much as possible. As discussed in Chapter 2, labour exploitation is a broad concept referring to various situations, such as precarious work or modern slavery. Therefore, the use of unstructured interviews allowed for the exploring of the concept of labour exploitation within the UK context, and especially for assessing potential specificities of LAWs' exploitation. This interview format also allowed

for more efficient collection of information specific to interviews' field of expertise (e.g. issues specific to unions, or to women LAWs, or LAWs' experiences).

5.4.2.b.   *Data collection and processing*

As I was new to conducting interviews, I decided to take brief notes during the interviews to enable me to follow-up on important themes that emerged. I did not feel that participants felt uncomfortable with me taking notes and it helped me not to lose track of key points. Immediately after each interview, I expanded these notes and started identifying anything surprising, or if participants used specific body language or tone of language when speaking about particular topics. I used a debriefing form (see Appendix E) and added reflexive notes, such as writing down my thoughts and reflections about the interviews and interviewees, or strengths and challenges faced to inform subsequent interviews. (345,360).

Audio-recordings of the interviews were then transcribed using Word and a media player, or NVivo® (version 11). All notes and transcripts were anonymised. All interview transcripts were imported into an NVivo file for analysis. Recordings, notes and transcripts were stored securely at LSHTM.

5.4.3.   Qualitative data analysis

The primary aim of the interviews was to understand key informants' conceptualisation of labour exploitation. I conducted a thematic analysis to describe the themes that emerged and produced a framework that would help to analyse the CM with LAWs (360–362). I started the analysis while I was conducting interviews by identifying preliminary themes in my fieldwork notes. Building on this preliminary analysis, I later identified broad themes in interviewees' discourses: how labour exploitation might occur at the workplace; and the perceived causes of this exploitation. I also identified health-related issues and information that could be used for tailoring the CM for LAWs.

I familiarised myself with the interview data by listening to the audio-recordings and reading the transcripts and notes several times. I coded the transcripts on paper first, informed by the main themes identified in my fieldwork notes. I then continued developing a list of themes that were emerging from the data and refined the coding labels while coding the transcripts. Once all transcripts were coded on paper, I generated a preliminary coding framework in NVivo where I continued the analysis. This first coding framework resembled open coding used for grounded theory analysis (363). More specifically, I tried to code most of the transcript using simple *in-vivo* coding, reflecting words or expressions repeated

throughout interviews. For example, one initial theme was 'Contract' because this was a word representing a theme that emerged in almost all interviews.

I iteratively revised the coding framework to move towards higher levels of abstraction. I created new themes by regrouping or splitting preliminary themes depending on interviewees' accounts and the relations between the themes created. The coding frameworks were discussed with my supervisors. Once all interviews were coded in NVivo, I separated the results into two main groups: interviewees' advice regarding the adaptation of the CM with LAWs (described in section 5.3.3.a); and themes that emerged to describe the concept of labour exploitation. Finally, I summarised the content of each theme and synthesised this analysis (presented in Chapter 7). This synthesis was an iterative and reflexive process.

I will now turn to describe the critical analysis and synthesis of the findings.

5.5. Critical analysis and synthesis

I carried out a critical analysis of the findings relying on critical thinking, which is an

> *"intellectually disciplined process of actively and skilfully conceptualizing, applying, analysing, synthesizing, and/or evaluating information gathered from or generated by: observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action"* (364).

I used *'The Miniature Guide to Critical Thinking: Concepts & Tools'* (364). This tool enabled me to verify that the Intellectual Standards - such as clarity, accuracy, relevance - were respected throughout the analysis. The main questions addressed in the synthesis were:

1. How do the conceptualisations of multidisciplinary experts and LAWs overlap and differ?
2. Is there a way to combine both perspectives into a joint conceptual framework?
3. Is there a difference between the criteria currently used to identify victims of severe labour exploitation and the components identified by the experts and the LAW?

Questions 1 and 2 are discussed in Chapter 9 and led to the production of a joint conceptual framework using both CM. Question 3 is discussed in Chapter 10 where I reposition the concept of labour exploitation in relation to other related concepts.

5.6. Ethical considerations

This section describes key ethical considerations for the CM exercises with experts and LAWs, including key informant interviews.

I obtained the ethical approvals from the LSHTM Ethics committee for both CM exercises. The LSHTM ethics reference numbers were 8698 for the Expert CM and 10978 for the CM with Latin American workers in London, which also covers the key informant interviews (see Appendix B for the ethical approvals and documents).

5.6.1. Informed consent

Informed consent was obtained from participants in the CM exercises. For the expert CM, potential participants were contacted individually by email to explain the purpose of the CM. The information letter and consent form were attached to the email. The email invited experts to read the letter of information, encouraged them to ask any questions and send back the signed consent form if they agreed to participate in the research. Those who agreed to participate, and sent back the signed consent form, were included in the study.

Informed consent was obtained in the same way for the key informant interviews from support organisations that may be working with LAWs. As discussed in previous sections, my recruitment strategy relied on approaching potential participants to take part in the CM during events organised by support organisations. The key informants who were LAWs were invited to participate in interviews during events that I had attended to build rapport with the LA community and for the purposes of recruitment. I invited LAWs speaking English to take part in interviews. The purpose of the study and the interview was explained to potential participants during events I attended, and they were given the information letter. During the interview, I verified whether they had read the information letter, repeated key information and answered any questions they had. I then gave them the written consent form to read, complete and sign.

For the CM with LAWs, potential participants were approached during events that I attended for recruitment. For the first wave of recruitment, I had the support of a Spanish speaking RA, who helped with translation. Participants were given leaflets and/or letter of information if they were interested in participating. Approached individuals were also asked to spread the word about the research to other LAWs. On the day of the session, participants were given the information letter for the second time (or, if recruited through word of mouth, for the first time). They were asked to read through it at the beginning of each session and invited to ask any questions. Those agreeing to participate in the study were then asked to sign the consent form.

All data collected for this research were stored in a secured locked drawer at my university, or on an encrypted computer and/or an encrypted USB stick. Electronic documents

containing names of the participants were encrypted and stored in a different folder than those containing the results.

5.6.2. Participants' safeguarding

For the CM with LAWs and key informant interviews, I took special precautions regarding participants' safeguarding. I developed research tools based on guidance developed for community-based participatory research and research for migrant workers' health research (30,62,335,365–368), and for working with vulnerable populations (343).

I began all interviews and CM sessions with informal conversations over refreshments to make participants feel comfortable, create a trustful relationship fostering rapport building and to enable them to open up and ask questions. Participants were recruited though organisations providing support if needed. At the beginning of each session, the ground rules were explained, with special attention not to share the individual experiences with external persons. These ground rules were displayed on a wall and repeated in person, when needed, at various points during the session. Participants were made aware that the RA and I would keep strict confidentiality and anonymity of participants. They were required to do the same and were also informed that we could not guarantee absolute confidentiality from all the participants (369). They were also reminded that they committed to respecting confidentiality and anonymity of other participants by signing the consent form. Only personal information necessary for the statistical analysis was collected. The audio-recordings of the sessions were uploaded and stored on my university computer, on the protected server. Electronic versions of transcripts and documents containing personal information were stored there as well. Before sharing files with my supervisors or when using quotations, I anonymised the documents.

Prior to recruiting the RA, I assessed her experience, knowledge about the LA community in London, and her awareness about the importance of confidentiality and respect of anonymity of participants taking part in the study. I provided her with intensive training about the research aim and objectives, the CM method, ethics, and her role. The RA signed a confidentiality agreement to protect the participants and the data.

5.6.3. Special precautions for potentially vulnerable participants

For the CM with LAWs, RA and I made a special effort to explain the research in simple, non-technical terms when approaching potential participants. We never mentioned the word 'victim' or stated explicitly that they might be exploited themselves. One of the key informants from a support organisation also raised my awareness about this issue. Therefore,

extra caution was taken to avoid any possible distress to LAWs. While interacting with participants, we always used the term 'migrant workers' during our interactions and sessions, except if they were describing their experiences in this way voluntarily themselves. Personal experiences were only discussed if the interviewee or participant brought up his/her own story. They were not asked to share their experiences; instead, they were asked about their 'opinions' or 'views'.

At the research design stage, I took into consideration that there might have been a risk that some LAWs participating in the research may have faced severe and/or traumatic experience related to employment, working or living conditions; be it forced labour, bonded labour, trafficking or any other form. I had a procedure in place in case signs of distress were detected during interactions with the participants or staff (370). I used the WHO recommendations for interviewing trafficked women (343), even if the study included both men and women. A list of service providers was drawn, and I discussed with the key informants I interviewed from support organisations about possible means to refer persons to their organisation if needed. During the research, there was no need to implement this protocol.

5.7.   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the methods used to address the research objectives of this thesis. It described the CM method and its application with multidisciplinary experts, to produce an 'expert skeleton map'; and with LAWs to assess potential contextual and cultural aspects. It also presented the methods used to conduct key informant interviews with support organisations in London and LAWs, which were used as part of the preparation phase of the CM with LAWs, and to explore how support organisations and LAWs conceptualised labour exploitation in a UK context. Finally, the chapter described the critical analysis and synthesis used to generate the joint structured conceptual framework, and the ethical considerations of this research

Chapter 6.   The expert skeleton map

6.1.   Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the expert CM. It describes the content of labour exploitation from the perspective of academic and non-academic experts from various disciplines. This content is visualised in the expert skeleton map described in Figure 23 that could serve as a standardisable conceptual framework of labour exploitation focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. This map was generated from the CM multivariate analysis and after identifying regions of meaning on the concept map, which revealed four main dimensions distributed along a continuum of severity: 'Shelter and personal security'; 'Finance and migration'; 'Health and safety'; and 'Social and legal protection'.

Section 6.2 describes participants' characteristics. Section 6.3 discusses first the statements generated in the brainstorming phase, then the final list used for the sorting-rating exercise. An overview of the individual sorting-rating scheme describing the labels and ratings is also provided. Section 6.4 discusses the results of the statistical analyses conducted on the sorting-rating outcomes and the resulting CM. Finally, section 6.5 presents the expert skeleton map.

6.2.   Description of participants

6.2.1.   Recruitment outcomes

Participant recruitment took place in two phases before each CM data collection phase. Overall, I invited by email 180 experts, who were identified as having academic or non-academic expertise on issues related to labour exploitation along the hypothesised continuum (e.g. precarious work, or human trafficking) in the following fields: health; sociology, social sciences or social work; policy, law or advocacy; economy, finance or business.

Figure 19 below illustrates the recruitment outcomes.

*Note: * Agreed to participate means the expert sent back the signed consent form*

Figure 19 Overview of the recruitment outcomes for the expert CM

Of the 180 invited experts, 34 (19%) agreed to participate and sent back the signed consent form. Two did not perform the exercises, hence a total of 32 experts participated in at least one phase of the data collection.

Table 4 below presents the distribution of the sample of 32 participants according to the CM phases they contributed to: 21 participated in both brainstorming and sorting-rating phases (66% of the overall sample), seven in the brainstorming only and four in the sorting-rating phase only.

Table 4 Distribution of the participants in the expert CM, according to their participation in the CM phases

	Number of participants
Overall participation:	**32**
Brainstorming	**28**
Sorting-rating	**25**
on the online platform	14
on the Excel file	11
Detailed participation:	
Both phases	**21**
on the online platform	13
on the Excel file	7
Only one phase	**11**
Brainstorming only	7
Sorting-rating only	4

6.2.2. Sample characteristics

Half of the participants were academic and half non-academic professionals. Table 5 and Table 6 below present their characteristics. All fields of expertise were included: health-related experts; sociology, social sciences or social work; policy, law or advocacy; economics, finance or business experts. While the aim was to include at least one academic and one non-academic for each discipline and each part of the continuum, the category 'economics or finance/business' contained only one academic. In 'health', there were more academic experts (6 experts) than non-academic (1 expert). For policy, law or advocacy, most experts were non-academic.

Table 5 Distribution of participants in the expert CM, according to key professional characteristics

Discipline	Part of the hypothesised continuum of labour exploitation covered				Total
	lower	severe	mixed	missing	
Academic					
Health	3	3	0	-	6
Sociology, social sciences or social work	2	1	2	-	5
Economy, finance or business	1	0	0	-	1
Policy, law or advocacy	0	1	1	-	2
Other	0	1	1	-	2
Non academic					
Health	0	0	0	1	1
Sociology, social sciences or social work	0	2	0	-	2
Economy, finance or business					
Policy, law or advocacy	3	6	0	-	9
Other	1	2	1	-	4

Table 6 Distribution of participants' characteristics. Expert CM

Participants	Overall (N=32)	
	n	*%*
Academics [1]	16	*50.0*
Main discipline or domain of expertise		
Health	7	*21.9*
Sociology, social sciences or social work	7	*21.9*
Economy, finance or business	1	*3.1*
Policy, law or advocacy	11	*34.4*
Other	6	*18.8*
Part of the hypothesised continuum of 'labour exploitation' covered		
Lower part [2]	10	*31.3*
Severe part [3]	16	*50.0*
Mixed [4]	5	*15.6*
Missing	1	*3.1*
Female	17	*53.1*
Countries		
Argentina	1	*3.1*
Australia	2	*6.3*
Austria	2	*6.3*
Belgium	1	*3.1*
Brazil	1	*3.1*
Costa Rica	1	*3.1*
France	1	*3.1*
Nepal	2	*6.3*
Nicaragua	1	*3.1*
Senegal	1	*3.1*
Spain	1	*3.1*
UK	17	*53.1*
USA	1	*3.1*

Notes: [1] defined as researchers who were part of a University; [2] includes precarious, low-paid, insecure, migrant work; [3] includes human trafficking, slavery, modern slavery, forced labour; [4] defined as lower and severe exploitation

The field of expertise coded as 'other' included experts on migration and/or labour studies. Experts were working in various regions of the world with at least one expert per continent. Half of the sample was from the UK (53% of the 32 experts).

As expected in CM (124), the sample was heterogeneous in terms of characteristics and types of expertise. Overall, the proportion of women and men was similar (53% of women and 47% of men). On average, participants were aged 48 (SD=15.1) and had been working in the field of labour exploitation for 12 years (SD=5.4). Participants' characteristics were similar for both phases.

6.3. Description of statements

This section offers a qualitative description of the statements generated by the experts, and of their sorting and rating scheme, before discussing the results of the statistical analysis.

6.3.1. Statements generation: from brainstorming to the final list

During the brainstorming phase, 28 participants generated a total of 116 raw statements. On average, each expert generated 4.1 statements (SD=3.8). These statements were then screened and those containing more than one idea were split in shorter statements including only a single idea. This resulted in a list of 276 'extended' or 'single' statements, with an average of 10 statements per expert (SD=7.6). Then, these single raw statements were gathered into thematic groups to identify duplicates or similar ideas and to verify that the statements generated addressed the scope of the exercise (see Chapter 5 for methods). These groups were created mainly using vocabulary and words that participants used in their statements. When a statement could belong to several groups, it was placed into the most relevant group. When a group contained a high number of statements, statements were classified further into subthemes. These themes, which are described below (see Appendix I for details) enabled me to reduce the number of statements to a list of 96.

The highest number of statements after extension was contained in the theme related to wages (16% of the 276 extended statements). The sub-themes covered deductions in workers' wages, non-payment of wages or situations of underpayment such as workers being paid less than they should have. The second biggest theme covered health-related issues that were considered exploitative (7% of the extended statements). This health theme included statements describing a lack of access to health services or benefits, safety issues - such as a lack of protective equipment or training to use it - and statements designating unhealthy working conditions.

Then, many statements regarding legislation were generated. For example, such statements related to breaches of labour standards or laws, or the lack of enforcement of workers' rights. Statements referring to various 'Abuses' were also generated. They covered statements that were relatively vague, such as *"s/he is abused"*; and others referring to more specific types of abuse, such as verbal, physical, sexual abuse, or abuse of labour rights. Statements describing situations of 'Discrimination' were generated indicating that this was generally considered to be exploitative; more specifically, situations when a migrant worker was treated worse than a national worker, be it by being given fewer rights, benefits or paid less than nationals. The complementary themes 'Migrant-status related' and 'Passport' covered situations of exploitation specific to migrants, such as the withholding of identity documents, threats of deportation or having a working permit dependant on the employer.

Some statements described some forms of mistreatment as constitutive of labour exploitation. The theme 'Degrading' covered statements about harassment, discrimination, humiliation, inhumane treatment and being dismissed at will. Other statements reflected the use of 'Threats' or 'Violence' as characteristics of the exploitation of migrant workers. These themes seemed complementary. They were more specific than statements covered by the themes 'Control' and 'Coercion', which were composed of either very vague statements (e.g. *"his/her employer works to keep the person in the situation as long as possible"*), or statements indicating that migrant workers are controlled to remain in harmful working conditions. The themes 'Trapped' and 'Limit contact' related to some kind of restriction of freedom, with statements describing: geographical isolation, being unable to leave the workplace or the job, or facing restrictions in communicating with their family, or with other sources of support, such as unions or migrant associations.

The remaining statements covered a variety of issues regarding employment and working conditions considered as exploitation; for example, an absence of a contract, a lack of or fake information about the work, or a lack of benefits like sick leave or work accident compensation. Statements also included issues with workload and time-off: breaks (weekly or daily breaks, holidays), working hours or time (excessive number of hours, compulsory or unpaid overtime); a lack of access to appropriate food or drinks, or working under pressure. In addition, some experts produced statements describing poor housing conditions that they considered exploitative; for instance, migrant workers being obliged to live in inhumane conditions or accommodated at the workplace.

Table 7 Final list of 96 statements within the thematic group used for reduction. Expert CM

ID	Statement
1	s/he does not have a contract with the employer to establish decent wages, hours and working conditions
2	s/he has no right to days off
3	s/he is treated worse than the legally acceptable minimum in the country where s/he works
4	s/he is not granted sick leave
5	s/he is not granted care leave
6	his/her work contract is not renewed unless s/he works extra hours unpaid
7	s/he has no proper accident insurance covering all possible accidents at work
8	s/he does not receive the agreed-upon salary
9	his/her working permit is linked to the current employer
10	s/he faces criminal levels of abuse
11	his/her employer charges exorbitant fees for shelter
12	s/he has had to pay large recruitment fees
13	s/he is vulnerable because of criminal activity involved
14	s/he has no weekly rest from work
15	s/he has no breaks in the daily work routine
16	s/he receives wages that are insufficient to cover basic needs
17	s/he has no right to compensation for injuries and accidents resulting from his/her work
18	s/he experiences violence in the workplace
19	s/he consistently works overtime with no compensation
20	s/he is underpaid for his/her work
21	s/he lacks representation for problems at work
22	s/he lacks sources of support for problems at work
23	s/he may face lower observance of their rights at work
24	s/he can be harassed
25	s/he can be discriminated against
26	s/he does not have access to paid sick leave
27	s/he does not have access to health benefits
28	his/her contact with family is restricted
29	his/her contact with other workplaces is restricted
30	his/her contact with migrant associations is restricted
31	s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a worker in the place where s/he is working
32	s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working
33	s/he is not informed about his/her rights as a worker in the place where s/he is working
34	s/he is not informed about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working
35	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with no access to a bathroom
36	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with inadequate food
37	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with no control over the temperature
38	s/he is required to work without proper training
39	s/he is coerced into continuing to work through debt
40	s/he has been misled about the pay
41	s/he has been misled about the type of work
42	s/he must pay for the right to work
43	s/he works in illegal economic activity
44	s/he has no ability to engage with a trade union to receive support with legislation issues
45	s/he is in a situation where s/he is exposed to threats
46	s/he has his/her identity documents withheld
47	s/he has no capacity to protest or join others in doing so
48	s/he works under pressure

Table 7 (continued)

ID	Statement
49	his/her communication outside working hours are curtailed
50	his/her wages are withheld
51	s/he has no access to protective equipment
52	s/he is not trained to use protective equipment correctly
53	s/he works an excessive number of hours
54	his/her wages are subjected to illegal deductions
55	s/he receives below-market wages
56	s/he does not enjoy the rights granted by collectively agreed terms and conditions of employment
57	s/he is paid below the wage of national workers for the same job
58	s/he does not benefit from paid leave
59	s/he has to do compulsory overtime
60	s/he works in unhealthy conditions
61	s/he is not paid regularly and on time
62	s/he does not receive a written payslip detailing pay and deductions
63	s/he does not have a written employment contract
64	s/he does not have access to formal complaints or dispute resolution procedures
65	s/he can be dismissed at will
66	s/he does not benefit from social protection benefits
67	s/he does not benefit from public holidays
68	s/he does not benefit from health coverage
69	s/he works in unsafe conditions
70	s/he is deprived of basic work-related benefits
71	s/he is deprived of access to health services
72	s/he is deprived of freely discussing his/her working conditions
73	s/he is obliged to live in cruel, inhumane or degrading conditions
74	s/he experiences verbal abuse
75	s/he experiences physical abuse
76	s/he experiences sexual abuse
77	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are physically harmful
78	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are financially harmful
79	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are psychologically harmful
80	s/he does not have access to basic social benefits
81	s/he faces humiliation at work
82	s/he works under threat of punishment
83	s/he is unable to leave because of geographic isolation
84	s/he is forced to work without appropriate access to food and water
85	s/he has fewer recognised rights than national workers doing the same job
86	s/he has fewer recognised benefits than national workers doing the same job
87	s/he is threatened with deportation
88	s/he is not paid equivalent to the minimum wage for his/her work
89	s/he has to work longer hours than the legal maximum
90	s/he does not understand his/her terms of employment
91	s/he has no possibility to make progress in his/her career
92	s/he is denied the main international/national labour standards
93	s/he suffers labour rights abuse
94	s/he is dependent on the employer
95	s/he is obliged to work under cruel or inhumane conditions
96	his/her working conditions do not comply with appropriate national and international legislation

Some statements were too vague or too general to be included in the final list and were withdrawn, for example, *"a third party is having advantages other than monetary from this work"* within the group 'Disadvantage'; or *"s/he has no alternative"* in the group 'No choice'. All statements composing the themes 'Coercion', 'Disadvantage', 'Forced/bonded labour', 'No choice' and 'Poor working conditions' were considered too vague.

Table 7, on the previous two pages, describes the final list of 96 statements used for the sorting-rating exercise, which will be described in the following section. The ID of statements presented in this table will be used on the concept maps that will be presented from section 6.4 onwards.

6.3.2. Description of the individual sorting and rating results

6.3.2.a. Individual sorting schemes

Twenty-five experts participated in the exercise of sorting and rating of the 96 statements generated during the brainstorming. On average, participants created seven groups (SD=3.00) containing an average of 15 statements (SD=14.33). Participants were advised to label clusters to indicate the idea(s) represented by the statements they grouped together. Most of them (19 out of 25) did put labels on the clusters. To obtain an initial idea of individual sorting schemes, I regrouped these labels under overarching themes, as described below.

The biggest overarching theme covered labels indicating that migrant workers in situations of exploitation were lacking 'Protection' (e.g. labour rights, right to organise; or rights enforcement or health and social protection). Other labels like *"Support and representation"*, or *"Restricted access to sources of support"* highlighted some means that workers miss to enforce their protection. This theme included practical issues directly linked with the worker or the workplace (e.g. lack of access to rights or not being able to enforce rights); and issues related to 'structures' enabling or creating labour exploitation. For instance, some labels referred to weak policies or labour laws (e.g. *"National Policy"*). Unsurprisingly, another big theme dealt with 'Financial issues' and covered labels describing, *inter alia*, non-payment or low wages, and situations of underpayment, deductions of salary or fees. 'Employment conditions' was a theme encompassing general labels such as *"Poor employment conditions"*; or specific employment conditions, such as *"Contract and understanding conditions"*. The theme 'Working conditions' was also important and contained general labels, such as *"bad"*, *"poor"*, *"basic"* working conditions. One expert used the label *"Decent work"*, which had a general meaning and was composed of statements that covered a various range of working conditions, but also employment or even protection issues.

Specific conditions of work were sometimes specified in the labels. For instance, 'Health and safety hazards' represented a high number of statements, hence the creation of a dedicated theme. It covered labels indicating physical, psychological, or sexual abuse, and lack of health and safety at work. The presence of this theme suggests that some experts distinguish health and safety issues as a distinct component of labour exploitation. Labels composing this theme seem to correspond to the traditional concerns of the occupational health and safety literature (62,371).

Two themes contained labels that referred to specific hazards in the workplace. 'Disregard of workers' regrouped labels identifying specific psychosocial hazards at the workplace that might lead to mental health issues: discrimination, harassment, or degrading treatment. Other labels included in the theme 'Coercion & violence' indicated working conditions that have in common their severity or potential harmfulness. Statements under this theme might be conceptualised as severe forms of health hazards with potentially severe consequences for both mental and physical health (e.g. *"Violence / Crime"* or *"Coercion / Restricted Freedom / Abuse"*). Interestingly, an expert used the label *"Coercion and violence = forced labour"*, which makes explicit the link between this theme and another overarching theme: 'Forced labour'. The latter includes labels mentioning explicitly "*Forced labour*".

Furthermore, a thematic group specifically referring to 'Pre-employment conditions' (including *"Recruitment"*), also echoes with severe forms of perceived labour exploitation. Indeed, these issues are more frequently discussed in the field of human trafficking or forced labour (see Chapter 2). Further references to severe forms of exploitation can be seen in labels included in the themes 'Deception and lies', 'Isolation' (e.g. freedom of movement, dependency, social isolation or segregation), and 'Living conditions' (e.g. *"Freedom of communication and mobility"*, *"Food and accommodation"* and housing conditions). Labels referring to crimes, and breaches of laws (e.g *"Violation of employment rights"*) were regrouped under the theme 'Illegality'. This theme overlaps very much with some of the labels included within the 'Protection' theme that covered the lack of rights of exploited workers.

Other label themes described 'Migrant-specific' issues, 'Abuse' or 'Time and workload'. Two experts created groups labelled *"Other"* despite the explicit instruction not to create miscellaneous groups. They might have found them difficult to sort. It was also interesting to note that an expert sorted the statements into two groups: 'Causes of exploitation' and 'Core exploitation' indicating that he perceived that some statements were not components of labour exploitation. Finally, as the experts were included to cover a range of expertise from decent work to forced labour, it is not surprising to see labels reflecting very specific to more general issues typical of the expertise represented.

The next section describes the statement ratings.

6.3.2.b.   *Statements rating*

Participants rated the 96 statements according to their relative importance to define a situation of 'exploitation of migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs' (1 "relatively unimportant" to 5 "extremely important").

Table 8 below on the following page presents the statements average ratings in ascending order. Overall, the distribution of ratings seems to follow a gradient of severity. On the one hand, the lowest ratings appear to cover situations of relatively milder forms of labour exploitation, covering employment or working conditions that are somehow less harmful to individuals. They may reflect situations closer to notions of relatively decent work. For example, the statements *"s/he has no possibility to make progress in his/her career"* (average rating: 2.32; SD: 1.07) and *"s/he works under pressure"* (average rating: 2.72; SD: 1.37) which are rated the lowest, might be considered as deviations from desirable working conditions. Put into perspective with the EMCONET's concept of 'fair employment', items on the lowest rating seem to reflect the dimension they identified as *"enrichment and lack of alienation"* (73). In relation to Skrivankova's continuum of exploitation (1), the lowest-rated items seem to correspond to breaches of labour standards and minor breaches of labour law. On the other hand, the highest ratings appear to refer to more severe forms of labour exploitation. Highly rated statements such as *"s/he faces criminal levels of abuse"* (average rating: 5.00; SD: 0.00) or *"s/he is obliged to work under cruel or inhumane conditions"* (average rating: 4.92; SD: 0.28) correspond to situations that would correspond to breaches of criminal law or human rights, as identified in Skrivankova's continuum.

Moreover, when examining standard deviations, those of the lower ratings are larger than those of the higher ratings. This suggests that there is quite high agreement about the importance of the highly-rated statements and more disagreement/uncertainty about the lower-rated statements in terms of defining situations of labour exploitation. The values of the average ratings were close to each other and there is no large gap in the ratings given, indicating a continuity. This suggests that there is a continuous increase in the importance of items composing the concept of 'exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs'. There is also a slightly steep increase in ratings from the fourth to fifth lowest-rated statements, then statement ratings increase slowly and steadily until the maximum rating (5).

Table 8 Average statement ratings for the expert CM (by ascending order; N=96)

ID	Statement	Mean	SD*
91	s/he has no possibility to make progress in his/her career	2.32	1.07
48	s/he works under pressure	2.72	1.37
38	s/he is required to work without proper training	2.96	1.10
22	s/he lacks sources of support for problems at work	3.16	1.18
52	s/he is not trained to use protective equipment correctly	3.24	1.27
67	s/he does not benefit from public holidays	3.32	1.18
62	s/he does not receive a written payslip detailing pay and deductions	3.36	1.04
34	s/he is not informed about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working	3.40	1.00
55	s/he receives below-market wages	3.48	0.82
30	his/her contact with migrant associations is restricted	3.48	1.05
29	his/her contact with other workplaces is restricted	3.48	1.12
5	s/he is not granted care leave	3.52	1.26
23	s/he may face lower observance of their rights at work	3.56	0.92
33	s/he is not informed about his/her rights as a worker in the place where s/he is working	3.56	0.96
44	s/he has no ability to engage with a trade union to receive support with legislation issues	3.56	1.04
90	s/he does not understand his/her terms of employment	3.56	1.23
21	s/he lacks representation for problems at work *	3.58	0.93
65	s/he can be dismissed at will	3.60	1.35
47	s/he has no capacity to protest or join others in doing so	3.64	0.86
80	s/he does not have access to basic social benefits	3.64	1.04
63	s/he does not have a written employment contract	3.64	1.19
57	s/he is paid below the wage of national workers for the same job	3.68	0.85
56	s/he does not enjoy the rights granted by collectively agreed terms and conditions of employment	3.68	0.90
86	s/he has fewer recognised benefits than national workers doing the same job	3.68	0.90
58	s/he does not benefit from paid leave	3.68	0.99
72	s/he is deprived of freely discussing his/her working conditions	3.68	1.18
27	s/he does not have access to health benefits	3.72	0.98
66	s/he does not benefit from social protection benefits	3.72	1.14
20	s/he is underpaid for his/her work	3.76	0.93
25	s/he can be discriminated against	3.80	0.91
85	s/he has fewer recognized rights than national workers doing the same job	3.80	0.91
7	s/he has no proper accident insurance covering all possible accidents at work	3.80	1.04
51	s/he has no access to protective equipment	3.80	1.04
37	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with no control over the temperature	3.80	1.26
64	s/he does not have access to formal complaints or dispute resolution procedures	3.84	0.80
40	s/he has been misled about the pay	3.84	0.90
26	s/he does not have access to paid sick leave	3.84	1.03
53	s/he works an excessive number of hours	3.88	0.83
6	his/her work contract is not renewed unless s/he works extra hours unpaid	3.88	0.88
61	s/he is not paid regularly and on time	3.88	0.88
70	s/he is deprived of basic work-related benefits	3.88	0.88
92	s/he is denied the main international/national labour standards	3.88	1.01
68	s/he does not benefit from health coverage	3.88	1.05
24	s/he can be harassed *	3.92	1.14
43	s/he works in illegal economic activity	3.92	1.26
94	s/he is dependent on the employer *	3.96	1.08
1	s/he does not have a contract with the employer to establish decent wages, hours and working conditions	3.96	0.93
83	s/he is unable to leave because of geographic isolation	3.96	1.24

Table 8 (continued)

ID	Statement	Mean	SD
41	s/he has been misled about the type of work	4.00	0.82
96	his/her working conditions do not comply with appropriate national and international legislation	4.00	1.00
4	s/he is not granted sick leave	4.00	1.12
9	his/her working permit is linked to the current employer	4.00	1.29
15	s/he has no breaks in the daily work routine	4.04	1.06
13	s/he is vulnerable because of criminal activity involved	4.04	1.34
12	s/he has had to pay large recruitment fees	4.08	0.81
19	s/he consistently works overtime with no compensation	4.08	0.95
60	s/he works in unhealthy conditions	4.08	0.95
59	s/he has to do compulsory overtime	4.12	0.88
88	s/he is not paid equivalent to the minimum wage for his/her work	4.16	0.75
69	s/he works in unsafe conditions	4.16	0.80
32	s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working	4.24	0.60
89	s/he has to work longer hours than the legal maximum	4.24	0.66
3	s/he is treated worse than the legally acceptable minimum in the country where s/he works	4.24	0.88
81	s/he faces humiliation at work *	4.25	1.07
31	s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a worker in the place where s/he is working	4.28	0.79
93	s/he suffers labour rights abuse	4.32	0.85
17	s/he has no right to compensation for injuries and accidents resulting from his/her work	4.32	0.90
36	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with inadequate food **	4.35	0.93
8	s/he does not receive the agreed-upon salary	4.36	0.70
42	s/he must pay for the right to work	4.36	0.86
45	s/he is in a situation where s/he is exposed to threats	4.36	0.86
71	s/he is deprived of access to health services	4.36	0.86
54	his/her wages are subjected to illegal deductions	4.40	0.71
16	s/he receives wages that are insufficient to cover basic needs	4.40	0.87
74	s/he experiences verbal abuse *	4.42	0.88
11	his/her employer charges exorbitant fees for shelter	4.44	0.58
35	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with no access to a bathroom	4.44	0.71
28	his/her contact with family is restricted	4.48	0.82
2	s/he has no right to days off	4.48	0.92
14	s/he has no weekly rest from work	4.56	0.71
49	his/her communication outside working hours are curtailed	4.64	0.49
18	s/he experiences violence in the workplace *	4.71	0.86
79	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are psychologically harmful	4.72	0.54
82	s/he works under threat of punishment	4.72	0.54
87	s/he is threatened with deportation	4.72	0.68
76	s/he experiences sexual abuse *	4.79	0.72
50	his/her wages are withheld	4.80	0.41
77	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are physically harmful	4.80	0.50
46	s/he has his/her identity documents withheld	4.84	0.37
84	s/he is forced to work without appropriate access to food and water	4.84	0.37
73	s/he is obliged to live in cruel, inhumane or degrading conditions	4.84	0.47
75	s/he experiences physical abuse *	4.88	0.61
39	s/he is coerced into continuing to work through debt	4.88	0.33
78	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are financially harmful	4.88	0.33
95	s/he is obliged to work under cruel or inhumane conditions	4.92	0.28
10	s/he faces criminal levels of abuse *	5.00	0.00

Notes: Ratings used a 5-point rating scale from 1 "relatively unimportant" to 5 "extremely important"
* stands for 1 missing data; ** stands for 8 missing data

Therefore, findings indicate that there seems to be a hierarchy in the severity of items. The statements appear to range from deviations from ideal working conditions, violations of labour standards, minor breaches of labour law to reach unacceptable conditions amounting to violations of criminal law and human rights. This hierarchy is in line with the idea of a continuum of labour exploitation ranging from decent work to forced labour that will be discussed in Chapter 10.

6.4. Results of the multivariate analysis: experts' concept maps

This section identifies the dimensions and sub-dimensions of the construct of labour exploitation from the perspective of international and multidisciplinary experts. The sorting-rating results were analysed using multivariate analysis (MVA) in order to produce the concept maps. As described in Chapter 5, a multidimensional scaling (MDS) was performed on the sorting results and led to the production of a point map. In this map, points are statements, such that the further the points are from each other, the more dissimilar the statements were perceived to be. Then, a cluster analysis (CA) used the MDS statements coordinates to identify clusters, which were visualised on the map. The combination of CA and MDS produced the point cluster maps described in the following sections. On the maps, points represent statements, which are identified by the statement ID (see Table 7 for the list).

First, the results of the MDS and CA are described, then the rating results are used to weight the statements and clusters, to produce weighted concept maps. The final expert skeleton map will be subsequently described in section 6.5 below.

6.4.1. Results of the cluster analysis on the point map (MDS)

Figure 20 below displays the point-cluster map, i.e. the point map with the results of the CA (see Appendix I for the point map alone). It illustrates the 12 clusters that describe the content of labour exploitation: 'Physical and psychological intimidation', 'Deprivation of basic needs', 'Restriction of freedom and movement', 'Dependence on the job', 'Deductions and migrant work', 'Misled', 'Wage issues', 'Health and safety', 'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits of information', 'Lack of means of support', 'Health and social benefits', 'Time-off and legality issues', and 'Contract and workload'. Each cluster represents an underlying dimension or subdimension of labour exploitation. Clusters are described below, following the map from left to right. Statements contained in each cluster are described in Appendix I.
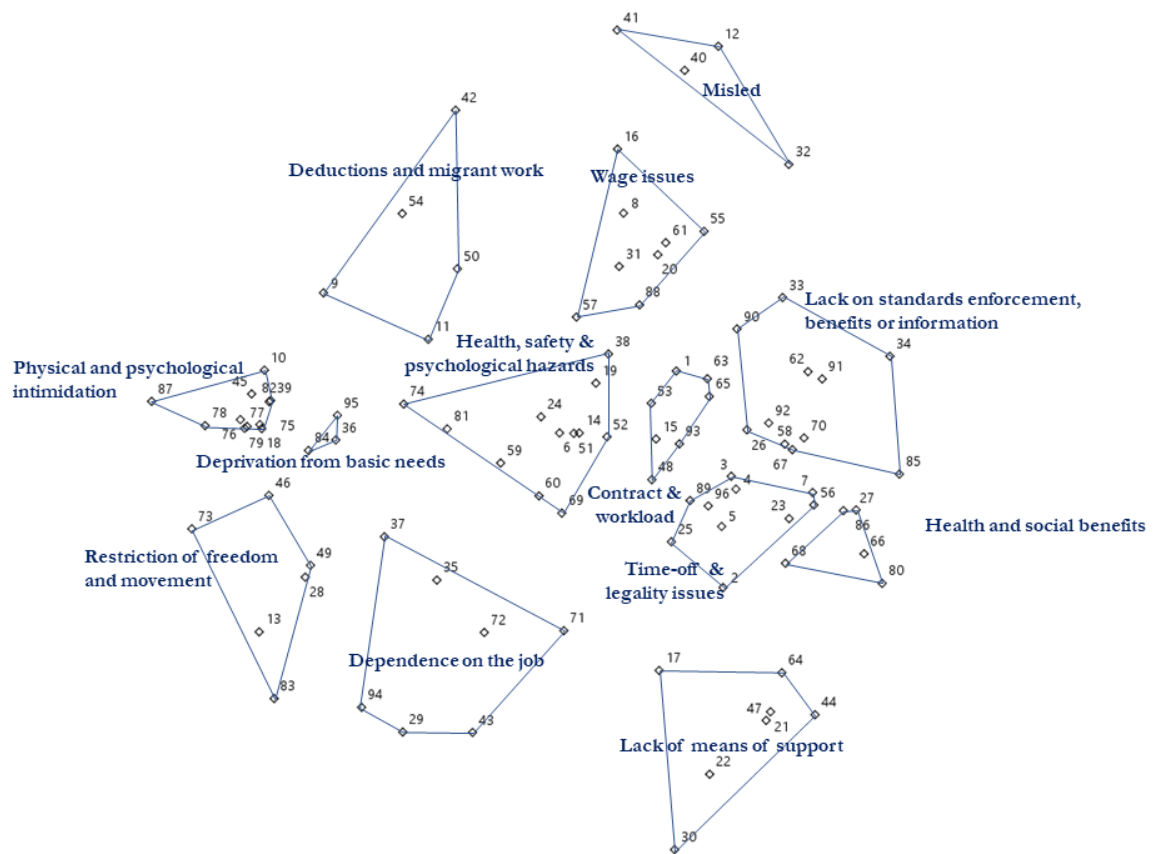
Figure 20 Point cluster map of the expert CM

Regarding the points displayed on the map, points that are close to each other represent statements which experts conceptualised as similar. For example, the points 87 *"s/he is threatened with deportation"* and 85 *"s/he has fewer recognised rights than national workers doing the same job"* are located respectively on the very left and very right sides of the map. This means that these two items have been rarely sorted together, implying that threats of deportation are conceptualised very differently from differences in rights between migrant and national workers. In contrast, if we look at the closest point to the statement 87, which is 78 *"s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are financially harmful"*, it makes conceptual sense that experts often sorted these statements together. They may be intuitively related to situations of coercion. I will now describe the clusters.

The cluster 'Physical and psychological intimidation' describes harmful working conditions and mistreatment. It contains statements that describe particularly severe or harmful situations at many levels: physically (*e.g. "s/he experiences violence in the workplace"* or *"s/he experiences physical abuse"*); psychologically (*e.g. "s/he works under threat of punishment, s/he is threatened with deportation"*); and financially (*e.g. "s/he is coerced into continuing to work through debt"*).

'Deprived of basic needs' includes statements describing a lack of provision of basic workers' needs, such as providing them with appropriate food and water or treating them cruelly.

'Restriction of freedom and movement' is composed of statements that can be regarded as 'severe', as they mostly refer to situations of coercion and reflect some level of restriction of freedom and/or of movement; such as *"s/he has his/her identity documents withheld"*, *"s/he is obliged to live in cruel, inhumane or degrading conditions"*, *"his/her communication outside working hours are curtailed"*.

'Dependence on the job' is composed of statements indicating social isolation (e.g. *"his/her contact with other workplaces is restricted"* or *"s/he is deprived of access to health services"*) and dependence on the job. This can be seen through statement like *"s/he is dependent on the employer"* or *"s/he is living in the same place as s/he works [with no access to a bathroom or control over the temperature]"*, but also some describing the illegal nature of the job (i.e. *"s/he works in illegal economic activity"*).

'Health and wellbeing' is a dimension describing issues related to health, safety and psychosocial hazards. Statements included in this cluster cover exposures to unhealthy and unsafe working environment and not being provided with protective equipment or training (e.g. *"s/he works in unhealthy conditions"* or *"s/he is not trained to use protective equipment correctly"*). It also covers psychosocial hazards, such as *"s/he can be harassed"*, or *"his/her work contract is not renewed unless s/he works extra hours unpaid"* and *"s/he has to do compulsory overtime"* that are stressful or frustrating situations where workers have to deal with uncertain future or are obliged to accept situations they would not normally because they may fear to lose their jobs.

'Deductions and migrant work' contains statements describing situations where workers have their salary withheld, deductions that seem unfair (e.g. *"his/her employer charges exorbitant fees for shelter"* or *"his/her wages are subjected to illegal deductions"*), as well as situations specific to the status of migrant (e.g. *"s/he must pay for the right to work"*).

'Wage issues' includes statements covering various issues related to workers' wages such as being unpaid or underpaid, not being paid the correct amount, or not paid regularly and on time.

'Misled' describes situations where workers have been misled or deceived about payment, work or his/her rights. (e.g. *"s/he has been misled about the pay"*, *"s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working"*).

'Contract and workload' contains statements describing issues related to the absence of a contract, or bad contractual arrangements; for example, *"s/he does not have a contract with the employer to establish decent wages, hours and working conditions"*. It also includes statements

illustrating intense working days, such as *"s/he has no breaks in the daily work routine"* or *"s/he works an excessive number of hours"*.

'Time-off and legality issues' covers a lack of days off in general or of specific time-off for sick or care leave. This cluster also contains statements regarding breaches of laws, such as *"s/he may face lower observance of their rights at work"* or *"s/he has to work longer hours than the legal maximum"*.

'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information' is a dimension related to not benefiting of what generally would be expected for decent or basic employment conditions, like *"s/he does not benefit from paid leave"* or *"s/he is deprived of basic work-related benefits"*. This cluster not only includes statements related to breaches of standards (e.g. *"s/he is denied the main international/national labour standards"*), but also to statements describing workers' lack of information about their rights, which could be perceived as a reason for not getting conditions up to the standards.

'Health and social benefits' contains statements related to the absence of health and social benefits (e.g. *"s/he does not have access to basic social benefits"* or *"s/he does not benefit from health coverage"*). Finally, 'Lack of means of support' contains statements that may be related to causes or facilitators of labour exploitation. This cluster includes a lack of ways to get support or complain about employment or working conditions (e.g. *"s/he has no capacity to protest or join others in doing so"*, *"s/he does not have access to formal complaints or dispute resolution procedures"*); and a lack of access to organisations that can provide workers with help when they face issues (e.g. *"s/he has no ability to engage with a trade union to receive support with legislation issues"*, *"his/her contact with migrant associations is restricted"*).

6.4.2. Concept maps weighted by importance ratings: weighted point-rating and cluster rating maps

Figure 21 below displays the rating map, which used the average importance rating of each statement to weight the point map. Points in lighter colour represent statements that have been rated lower, and darker colour those rated higher.
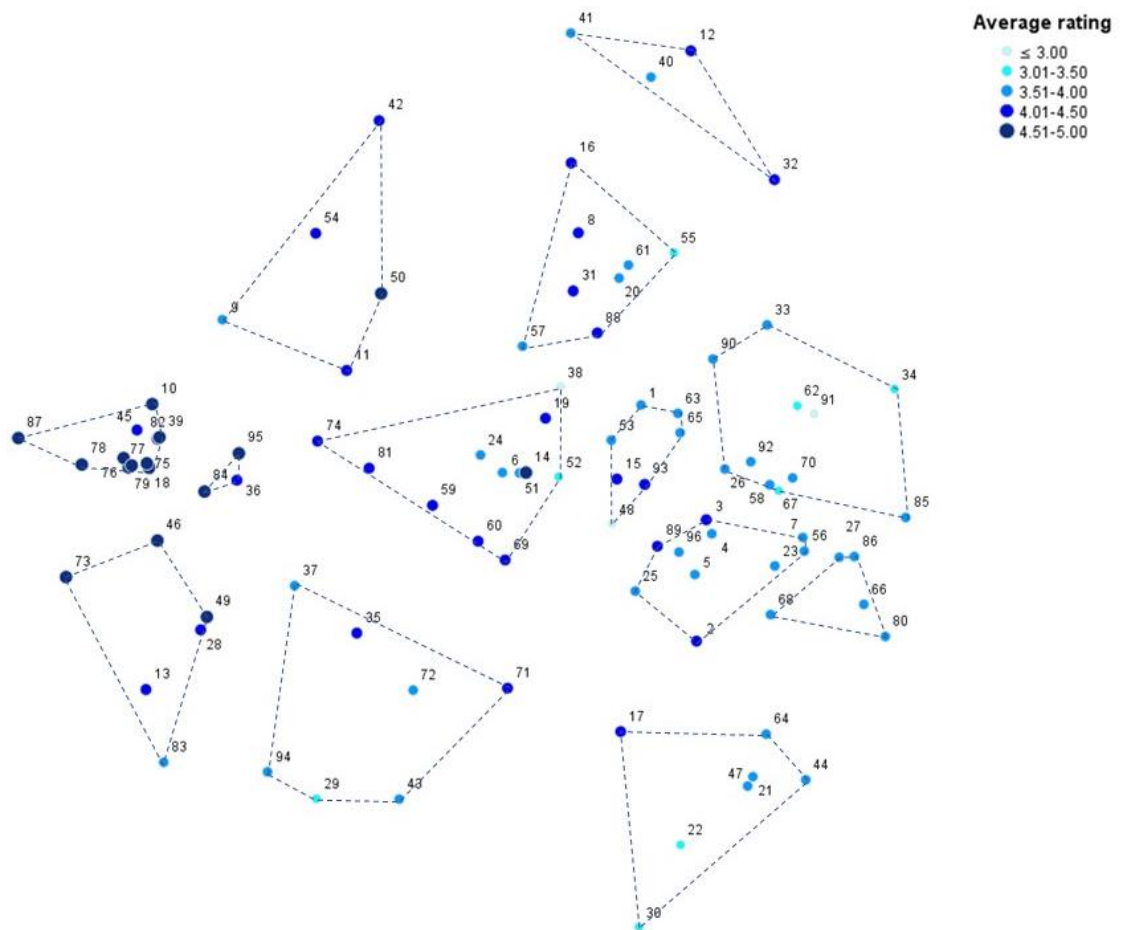
Figure 21 Weighted point rating map for the expert CM

It seems that points with the lowest rating, such as 91 *"s/he has no possibility to make progress in his/her career"* or 34 *"s/he is not informed about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working"* are mostly located on the right of the map in clusters like 'Lack of standards enforcement'. On the other hand, those with the highest rating such as 87 *"s/he is threatened with deportation"* or 73 *"s/he is obliged to live in cruel, inhumane or degrading conditions"* are principally located on left with an aggregation of the highest ratings on the very left of the map. In these areas, are located clusters like 'Physical and psychological intimidation' or 'Deprivation of basic needs'.

These statements ratings were then averaged by cluster to explore further whether there is any pattern at the cluster level.

Figure 22 below describes the cluster rating map obtained.
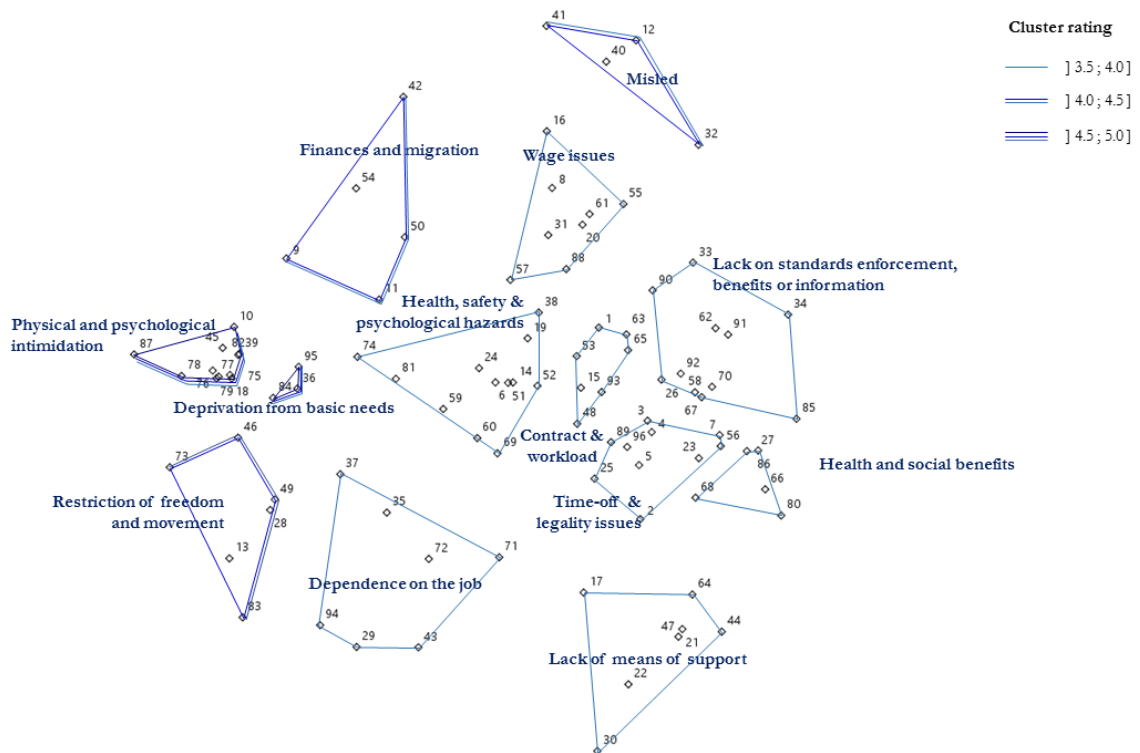
Figure 22 Cluster rating map for the expert CM

The density of clusters - like the proximity of points (statements) - indicates that the statements composing these clusters are conceptually similar to each other (lower intra-cluster variability), compared to clusters that are elongated (higher intra-cluster variability). Clusters situated at extremities of the map indicate distinct concepts, and those more central suggest more general clusters that are somehow connected to the other clusters (372).

On the left side of the map, the clusters 'Physical and psychological intimidation' and 'Deprivation of basic needs' are located very closely, which indicates that experts considered these two dimensions as conceptually very close. These clusters are those with the highest importance rating and density, suggesting that the statements covered are both very important to identify situations of labour exploitation and very similar to each other. In other words, there seems to be a high level of agreement that these items belong together. These clusters' high ratings were expected from the analysis of the point rating map, because they are composed of statements rated the highest (average cluster ratings: 4.77, SD=0.16; and 4.70, SD = 0.31). In particular, statements composing the former cluster indicate that almost all experts agree that this theme is very important to define situations of labour exploitation. Located close to the two previous clusters, on the left part of the map, the cluster 'Restriction of freedom and movement' is composed of statements that can also be regarded as 'severe', and is one of the clusters with the highest rating. This cluster seems to focus on situations of coercion, and to reflect some level of restriction of freedom of movement, such as having

communication outside working hours or identity documents withheld. The statement that is at the lower extremity of this cluster (83 *"s/he is unable to leave because of geographic isolation"*) is both slightly more distant from the other statements within its cluster and close to the nearby cluster at the bottom of the map, which represents 'Dependence on job'. This latter includes statements indicating some level of worker's dependence on the job, as described in the previous section.

On the opposite side, at the extreme right of the map, four clusters are closely related, indicating that experts conceptualised them similarly: 'Contract and workload', 'Time-off and legality', 'Health and social benefits' and 'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information'. This area of the map was also particularly dense, and contained statements that were rated lower, indicating that they contained statements considered very similar but that participants found it relatively less important to identify situations of labour exploitation. Clusters 'Contract and workload' and 'Time-off & legality issues' were very dense and interlinked. This indicates that participants frequently placed together issues related to the establishment of a framework defining the working conditions and the management of time, and that there appeared to be no clear cut-off between these two clusters. The adjacent 'Health and social benefits' was also related to these clusters and quite close to the cluster 'Time-off and legality issues'; suggesting the conceptual resemblance of these dimensions of labour exploitation. Compared to others, these clusters are quite dense, indicating a high level of consensus regarding the conceptual similarity of the composing statements. These three clusters were also very close to the more elongated cluster representing 'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information'. The lower density within this cluster suggests that the statements composing it were less similar.

At the bottom of the map, and quite isolated from other clusters is the dimension 'Lack of means of support', reflecting causes or facilitators of labour exploitation by the absence of means to get support or complain about working conditions. Its relatively low density indicates that experts may not have perceived that these statements are conceptually similar.

At the top of the map are two clusters. Quite distinctively at the top, the small but relatively medium important one, is the cluster 'Misled'. It includes few statements quite distant from each other, indicating that the experts may have not perceived these statements as being that similar. This elongation seems to be due to the statement 32 *"s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working"* that is quite far from the other three statements, and almost as distant from these three points as from the statement 33 *"s/he is not informed about his/her rights as a worker in the place where s/he is working"* within the cluster 'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information'. I considered removing this statement in the

nearby cluster of 'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information', but it did not fully fit within the destination cluster and the origin cluster would lose some coherence, therefore it was kept there. The second cluster at the top, but located more centrally, includes statements dealing only with wage issues such as *"s/he receives wages that are insufficient to cover basic needs"* and *"s/he is not paid regularly and on time"*. This cluster includes one statement that does not seem to fit as clearly as the others, i.e. *"s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a worker in the place where s/he is working"*. On the top left of the map, there is one of the most elongated clusters 'Deductions and migrant-work'. It seems to build a bridge between wage issues, being misled, and clusters describing the most severe statements. Interestingly, the clusters 'Deductions and migrant work' as well as 'Misled' are the second-highest clusters and are both located on the upper part of the map (average cluster ratings: 4.40, SD=0.28; and 4.04, SD = 0.17). These two clusters contained statements such as 54 *"his/her wages are subjected to illegal deductions"* or 40 *"s/he has been misled about the pay"* that tend to cover matters that are generally discussed in the field of human trafficking and had a low standard deviation.

Finally, the central cluster represents the health-related dimension of the exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs: 'Health, safety and psychosocial hazards'. Its central location indicates that it is a more general dimension that is somehow related to the other clusters situated at the extremities. Interestingly, despite being often reported and being considered an important theme in terms of the number of items represented, the clusters referring to 'Health, safety and wellbeing' and 'Wage issues' were among the lower-rated (respectively 4.00, SD=0.35; and 3.96, SD=0.32).

Table 9 below shows that all clusters have an average rating of 3.5 and more, which indicates that participants did not perceive that any of the dimensions were significantly less important than the others to identify a situation of labour exploitation.

Table 9 Cluster ratings of the expert CM

	Importance rating	
	Mean	**SD**
Physical and psychological intimidation	4.77	0.16
Deprived of basic needs	4.70	0.31
Restriction of freedom and movement	4.47	0.39
Deductions and migrant work	4.40	0.28
Misled	4.04	0.17
Wage issues	4.00	0.35
Health and wellbeing	3.96	0.46
Dependence on the job	3.95	0.35
Time-off and legality issues	3.93	0.32
Contract and workload	3.74	0.51
Health and social benefits	3.73	0.09
Lack of means of support	3.65	0.36
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	3.51	0.45

The average cluster ratings were very close to each other, and there seemed to be a continuity in the importance, or 'severity', of ratings. This confirms what has been observed on the point rating map. Yet, as suggested by the previous analysis, statements with the highest ratings are localised on the left within the clusters 'Physical and psychological intimidation', 'Deprivation of basic needs' and 'Restriction of freedom and movement'. There seemed to be a decrease in the importance ratings from the left to the right of the map, which supports the previous observation that there may be a gradient of severity in the clusters identified through the MVA. Clusters rated the highest, such as 'Physical and psychological intimidation' or 'Deprived of basic needs' seemed to reflect situations with a high potential negative impact on health and a more direct health impact; whereas clusters rated the lowest, such as 'Lack of means of support' or 'Lack of standards of enforcement, benefits or information' may have a relatively lower or a less direct impact on workers' health and wellbeing.

6.5.   The expert skeleton map

The expert skeleton is presented in Figure 23 on the next page. This map reveals four key dimensions of labour exploitation: 'Shelter and personal security', 'Finance and migration', 'Health and safety', and 'Social and legal protection'.

These key dimensions were regions of meaning, corresponding to clusters located close to each other and reflecting strong conceptual similarity, as identified in section 6.4.

As discussed in the previous section, statements describing the potentially more harmful situations are located on the left side of the map within a region that I labelled 'Shelter and personal security', containing: 'Physical and psychological intimidation'; 'Deprivation of basic needs'; Restriction of freedom and movement' and 'Dependence on the job". Indeed, statements composing this region of the map seem to indicate situations of threats to what Maslow qualified as the needs for *"personal security and shelter"* (373,374). The high average ratings for these clusters may reflect that experts gave high ratings to situations that may threaten workers' fundamental needs of feeling safe and secure. Furthermore, this region of the map seems to refer to 'severe forms' of labour exploitation, such as forced labour or human trafficking.
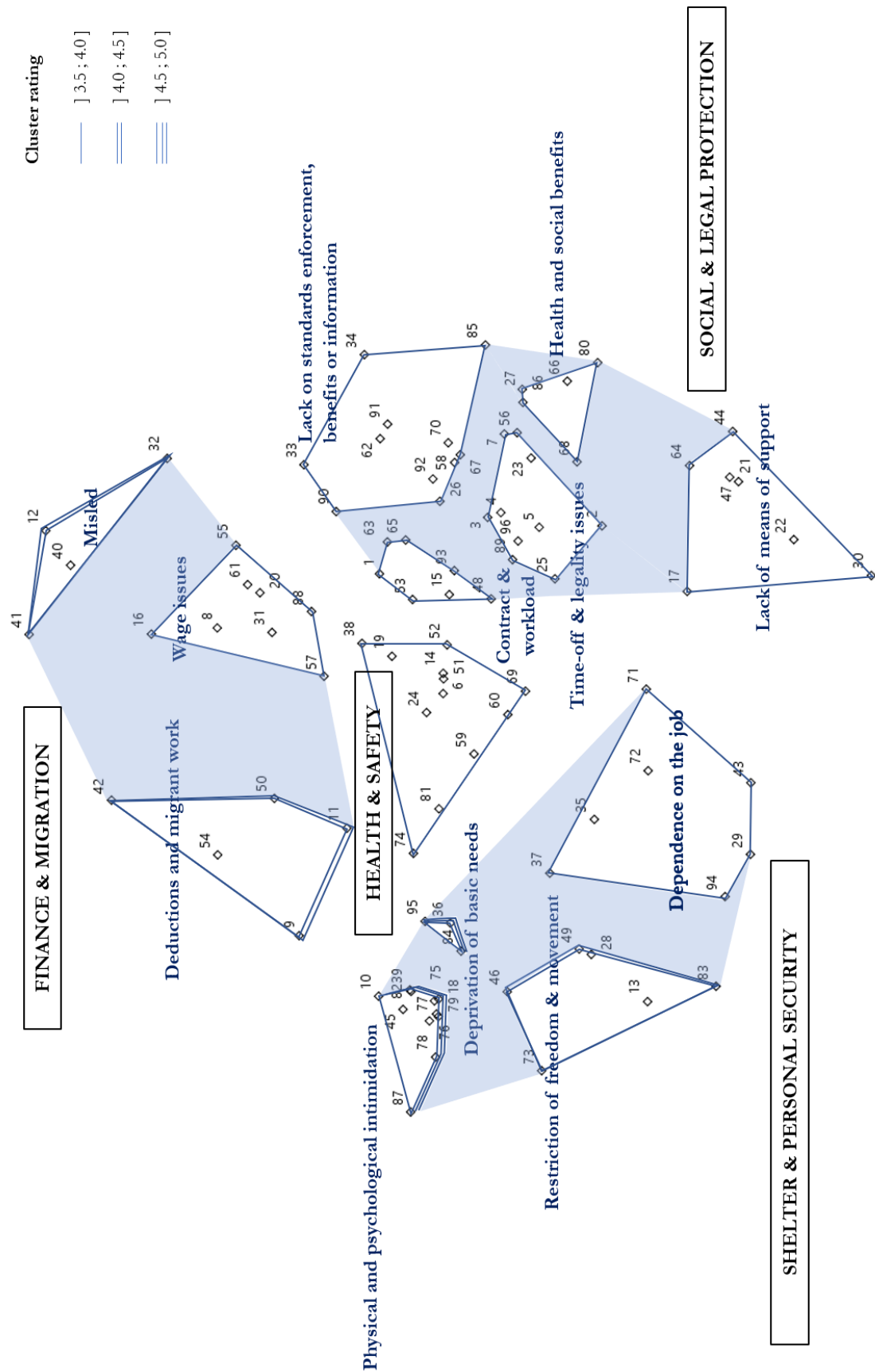
Figure 23 Expert skeleton map of labour exploitation, focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs

On the opposite side of the map, the region called 'Social and legal protection' is composed of clusters that participants perceived distinct and conceptually different from clusters within the previous region. It is composed of five dimensions: 'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits of information', 'Lack of means of support', 'Health and social benefits', 'Time-off and legality issues', and 'Contract and workload', which refer to violations of rights and entitlements, absence of labour standards or of formal work arrangement. Clusters 'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information' and 'lack of means to get support' seem to correspond to the big overarching theme of 'Protection' that was observed when looking at the individual sorting schemes. Its location, at the opposite of the more 'severe forms' of labour exploitation, implies that experts viewed differently issues related to rights and issues related to the way workers are actually treated. This might also reflect a distinction between 'structural' exploitation (more related to rights) and more concrete or severe situations of labour exploitation (directly harmful to the workers).

The three clusters located at the top of the map ('Deductions and migrant work', 'Wage issues' and 'Misled') form the region 'Finance and migration'. Compared to the other regions, this one is slightly less consensual than the three others as the clusters are quite distinct from each other. The two clusters at the edge of this region ('Deductions and migrant work' and 'Misled') seem to be specific to the exploitation of migrants.

Distinctively, the 'Health, safety and psychosocial hazards' cluster that represents the key dimension 'Health and safety' issues in the centre remains. Statements composing this central dimension seem specific to health concerns in the context of manual low-skilled jobs.

In summary, this structured conceptual framework developed with experts provided empirical evidence of the existence of a continuum of labour exploitation ranging from decent work to forced labour, as suggested by Skrivankova (1). Clusters on the left of the expert skeleton map seem to represent the more severe forms of labour exploitation, corresponding to breaches of criminal law or human rights on the continuum; and might be considered characteristics of situations of modern slavery. Whereas clusters on the right side of the map, including the lowest-rated items, appeared to correspond to breaches of labour standards and minor breaches of labour law. The conceptualisation of labour exploitation as a continuum seems to be further supported by the continuity of the statements' average ratings and the hierarchy of clusters' severity, as described in sections 6.3.2.b and 6.4.2. In addition, the lower rating of the clusters on the right might be interpreted as relatively lower importance or severity of situations related to acquiring and enforcing rights compared to those related to being treated poorly (or *"cruelly"*). In Chapter 10, I will discuss how the

continuum echoes Maslow's hierarchy of needs (374), with severe statements corresponding to basic needs and lower-rated statements to higher needs.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter detailed how experts from different fields and disciplines have conceptualised the exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. It provides empirical evidence of the existence of a continuum of labour exploitation between decent work and modern slavery, and offers insights into the possible impacts of labour exploitation on migrant workers' health. This chapter has also shown that the CM method is a robust tool to propose a structured conceptual framework that could serve as a basis to design a measure of labour exploitation. It proposed an expert skeleton map of labour exploitation, focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs, and allowing for the visualising of the dimensions which constitute the constructs to be measured. It also revealed a hierarchy of severity in the ratings which supports the hypothesis of a continuum of labour exploitation.

Chapter 7. Exploring the concept of labour exploitation in the UK: an ecosocial model

7.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the results of the key informant interviews. It explores how support organisations (i.e. unions leaders, unions, LA associations representatives, and an organisation providing support to victims of modern slavery), as well as LAWs, conceptualise labour exploitation in the UK, focusing on Latin American migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs (LAWs). Three main themes emerged from the interviews: 1) structures of labour exploitation; 2) labour exploitation at the workplace; and 3) perceived impacts of labour exploitation. The findings led to designing an ecosocial model (see Figure 27) which revealed that labour exploitation is a multilevel concept with dimensions along micro to macro-levels.

Section 7.2 describes the interviewees' characteristics. Sections 7.3 to 7.5 then discuss the three main themes. Section 7.6 describes the ecosocial model that will then be used to support the analysis of the concept mapping (CM) with LAWs described in Chapter 8.

7.2. Description of interviewees

Eleven key informants were interviewed between July 2016 and March 2017. Table 10 presents the type of key informant interviewed and their identifiers.

Table 10 Type of and identifiers of key informant interviews

Interviews	Identifier
Support organisations	
Union 1	UL1
Union 2	UL2
Union 3	UL3
LA association 1 *	ALA1
LA association 2	ALA2
LA association 3	ALA3
LA association 4	ALA4
Organisation providing support for victims of human trafficking	HT1
Latin American workers in manual low-skilled jobs (LAWs)	
Man LAW 1	WK1M
Woman LAW 1	WK1F
Man LAW 2	WK2M

*Notes : * 2 interviewees ; LA stands for Latin American*

First, nine interviews were conducted with representatives of what I refer to as 'support organisations' (*i.e.* three unions (UL), four LA associations (ALA) and one organisation providing support to modern slavery victims (HT1)). Union representatives were all men. LA associations were members of the Coalition for Latin Americans in the UK (CLAUK).

Their representatives interviewed were all women. Two LA associations were for women-only. Most interviewees were conducted face-to-face at support organisations' headquarter. ALA 2 and 4, and HT1 were conducted using Skype. Second, I conducted three interviews with LAWs. All were cleaners that I met during recruitment events at the unions (see Chapter 5). I initially aimed to conduct two interviews (one with a man, one with a woman). The woman interviewed invited her husband to join us during her interview. As he also met the participant inclusion criteria, I interviewed him too.

The interview with the human trafficking organisation (HT1) was relatively different from the other interviews, as the key informant highlighted early in the discussion that he was not aware of cases of LAWs as victims of modern slavery, however, the interview covered exploitation of migrant workers in the UK. Therefore, I will use the term interviewee in this chapter to refer to unions, LA associations and LAWs. In places where HT1 added information, this will be specified.

I will now turn to describe the main themes that emerged during the interviews.

7.3. Structures of labour exploitation

In this section, I discuss what interviewees viewed as structures of labour exploitation, in terms of structural causes and roles and responsibilities of stakeholders involved in the process of labour exploitation (workers, exploiters and unions or support organisations).

7.3.1. Structural causes of labour exploitation

Interviews showed that support organisations frame migrant workers' exploitation within an intricate web of causes, which some support organisations interviewees referred to as *"structural"* in relation to: 1) the de- or under-regulation of a sector with endemic outsourcing; 2) the lack of workers' protection in the UK; and 3) migrant-specific characteristics. Each component is described below.

7.3.1.a.   A de- or under-regulated sector with endemic outsourcing

Interviewees highlighted that the cleaning sector is the biggest employment sector for LAWs, which is in line with findings of the *No longer Invisible* (NLI) report (104). This report was often cited by LA associations interviewees (302). For example, an interviewee referred to the report to explain LAWs' concentration in this sector:

> *"years and years ago [...] with the immigration wave from, especially Colombia, they were giving some work permits. So, people were sponsored to work in some places, and the majority were in the cleaning sector."* (ALA1)

Two key features of this sector were frequently cited as causes of migrant workers' exploitation: outsourcing and under-regulation.

First, all interviewees perceived that the process of outsourcing services, which is endemic in the UK service sectors (375), was exploitative. Unions explained that because institutions open bids every few years to contract an outsourcing company for cleaning services, outsourcing companies had to develop strategies to reduce costs in order to be competitive. Unions and LAWs interviewees argued that this *"cost-saving exercise"* happened at the disadvantage of migrant workers, by reducing the number of workers and increasing the workload of those who remain. One LA association representative (ALA4) highlighted that the outsourcing process also created deregulation, which leads us to a second feature of the cleaning sector.

All union leaders and some LA associations suggested that the de- or under-regulation of the cleaning sector facilitated labour exploitation. Interestingly, even the representative of the trafficking organisation highlighted that severe forms of labour exploitation were more likely to happen in unregulated sectors, which is supported by the literature. A union leader highlighted that the lack of regulation also referred to the fact that there is no need for previous experience or specific skills requirement to be hired, not even language requirement. Most of the interviewees, including workers, highlighted issues with the lack of regulation of recruitment practices. They explained that supervisors tend to use this as a way to recruit members of their network, such as friends or relatives, which was related to situations of extortion or favouritism in attributing work (see section 7.4.3.a). LAWs and some union leaders indicated that this could lead to firing workers to *"bring their people in"* (WK1F). The possibility for supervisors and companies to fire with no justification emerged in all interviews as a characteristic of labour exploitation (see section 7.4.3.b). Union leaders had diverging views about whether higher management levels were aware of supervisors' practices at the workplace or not.

7.3.1.b. Lack of legal protection

Most of the interviewees mentioned workers' lack of legal protection in the UK as a perceived structural problem. Union leaders emphasised that the lack of legal protection tacitly allows employers to exploit migrant and other workers because they face very limited consequences. For example, a union leader illustrated this by explaining the case of one member who successfully prosecuted his employer for unpaid wages. His company only had to pay for due wages without any additional penalty, which, he believed, may have prevented this employer from repeating such action.

7.3.1.c.   *Migration-specific characteristics*

All interviewees mentioned migration-specific characteristics. Some of these characteristics were considered as structural, such as immigration status, others were described as forming part of perceived vulnerabilities relating to individuals' characteristics (e.g. lack of English skills or rights knowledge), which will be discussed in section 7.3.2.a in the context of individual vulnerabilities.

All interviewees agreed that workers' immigration status, which is regulated by national laws, was a key factor in labour exploitation. They reported that LAWs with irregular immigration status were less likely to complain about working or employment conditions, and *"tend to keep a low profile"*. One LA association highlighted that their exploitation may be worsened if the employer or supervisor is aware of a worker's irregular migration status. Support organisations further perceived that this provides employers with significant power over 'undocumented' workers. For example, a union leader explained that there is no obligation for the employer to pay a worker who is *"not supposed to be working"*:

> *"[if]the employer finds some employee has no right to work in this country and is working, they have to suspend the employee and the employee has to prove that he has the right to work in this country. If the employee fails to do so, then he cannot come back into employment." (UL1)*

LA association representatives perceived that social interactions played a role in labour exploitation. Most claimed that LAWs in the cleaning sector are given *"anti-social hours"*. They considered it exploitative because this practice prevents workers from having a *"social life"* as they work at night, or because workers had to accumulate few hours jobs in different areas of London. A LA association representative emphasised that social isolation was very difficult for the LA community, *"[a] community with the culture based on family"* (ALA1). Furthermore, another LA association representative argued that companies purposely allocate anti-social hours so that migrant workers remain *"invisible"*. She suggested this also represented racism:

> *"Usually the people who work, who do these jobs are migrant workers and people of colour. You know, black people from places in Africa or brown people from LA or from other parts. I think there is also that... an intersection with the race. I think it's, it's, it's basically racism I think." (ALA2)*

This allocation of anti-social hours, which has been described among other migrant workers in the London low-paid sector (376), will be further discussed in section 7.4.2.c as an expression of labour exploitation in the workplace.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, most LAWs had had previous experience in a LA or EU country with more labour protection than the UK (104,105). Union leaders and a LA association representative suggested that LAWs' experiences of deskilling through migration may add to their feelings of being exploited. A union leader illustrates such experience:

> *"but here they come and suddenly they find abusive behaviour about the manager, they don't know the language, they don't know how to talk, they don't get paid, they get sacked anytime […] For them it is shocking the way they are treated here. People who are living in this country, they are used to this. I am used to this, like it is normal, but for this people, it is shocking." (UL2)*

This section has discussed interviewees' accounts of 'structural' aspects of labour exploitation, which very often, were intertwined with discussions related to perceptions of the identification of vulnerabilities and responsibilities for migrant workers' exploitation that I will now present.

7.3.2. Responsibilities and stakeholders involved

Throughout the interviews, three groups of stakeholders were identified in relation to the process of exploitation of migrant workers.

Figure 24 below illustrates these different types of stakeholders, how they relate to each other, and their perceived role in the process of labour exploitation.
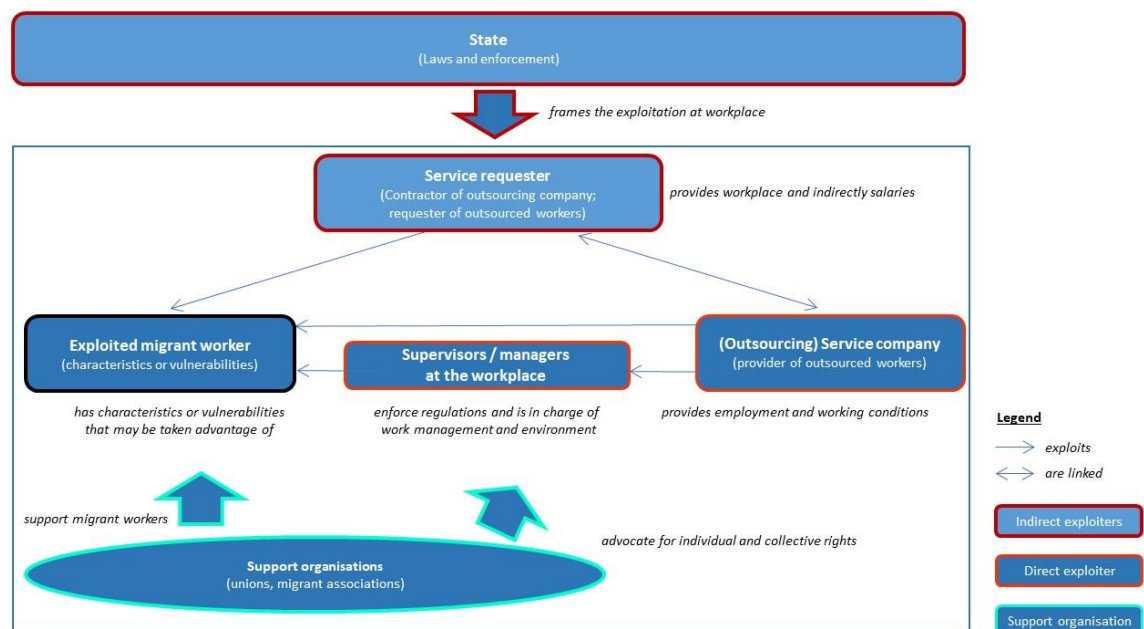
Figure 24 Support organisations' perceptions about stakeholders involved in labour exploitation and their relationships between each other. Key informant interviews

First, migrant workers were unsurprisingly identified as the 'exploited'. Their vulnerabilities were very frequently presented as individual risk factors of labour exploitation. Second, interviewees identified three types of 'exploiters': 1) *"supervisors"* (or managers) at the workplace; 2) *"companies"* (or employers); and 3) the *"state"*. Institutions contracting service companies (service requester) were also identified by union leaders as exploiters, but very briefly so I will not elaborate on them. The last stakeholder group corresponded to organisations providing support for people in situations of labour exploitation, unions and associations for migrant workers. The latter emerged obviously when support organisation representatives described their roles in supporting LAWs, and when LAWs discussed how their unions supported them.

7.3.2.a. *Migrant workers and individual vulnerabilities*

As mentioned in section 7.3.1, interviewees highlighted that exploiters can *"take advantage of"* some of LAWs' vulnerabilities.

First, a key element that was thoroughly discussed by all interviewees was LAWs' lack of English language skills. One LAW interviewed illustrated how this can be a vulnerability:

> *"When I came here, I thought I was speaking fluent English because I was really good back home. [...] when we got the exams, my teacher used to place me in her own desk, because [...] my classroom mates they used to come and copy from me. [...] But I came here, and every time I went to McDonald's I didn't understand at all. I was lost. Then I realised that I couldn't, I couldn't... I couldn't say anything. [...] you think 'Oh I can speak' But it's that; it is the... accent, it's the... You know, it's soooo different and I have noticed that... Sometimes I'm feeling like... disabled people. Because sometimes I wanted to go shopping, I wanted to ask for something. How can I... What can I say? [...] I was really, really bad, I felt really, yeah, I was like a disabled person."* (WK1M)

This quotation also concurs with one LA association interviewee's viewpoint (ALA1) that a lack of language skills may also affect LAWs' self-confidence, which she described as a necessary soft skill to find *"better jobs"*. In fact, most considered that the lack of English was one of the main barriers for migrant workers to access jobs that matched their skills. Yet, a LA association representative also indicated that language barriers may not be the most important factor in finding a job because networking within the community helped to get a job. In fact, one LA association representative seriously doubted that improving language skills would get them out of the low-paid *"trap"* (ALA3). Language is a major barrier for LA in London (104,105), but not specific to LAWs as it is a well-known vulnerability common to migrant workers (2,30) (see Chapter 1).

Second, most interviewees mentioned that not knowing one's own rights as a worker in the UK was seen as another vulnerability. This was often reported by participants to be accentuated by a lack of English, which prevented LAWs to access information, such as reading a contract, a company booklet, or checking rights in the UK on the internet. Union leaders also indicated that even those aware of their rights may not know how to enforce them.

Third, most of the interviewees' discourses highlighted the duality of being part of a community, which LA association representatives described as *"trapped into cleaning jobs"*. They shared that, on the one hand, having a good social network and support system can lead to getting a job relatively easily; but on the other hand, it could also create vulnerabilities. As mentioned in section 7.3.1.a, the lack of regulation enables supervisors to recruit relatives, which LAWs in particular called *"favouritism"*. This was seen to potentially create dependence between the supervisor and the relative recruited based on a favour. Moreover, it implies that those with less or no social network may be fired easily. Most LA representatives also mentioned that being part of the community can also isolate workers from other communities, leaving them with little opportunities to improve their knowledge about the UK or of English. The dual role of social network and social capital has been reported in other migrant communities (36,377,378), and its role in labour exploitation will be further discussed in Chapter 10. One interviewee summarised the implications of their social isolation:

> *"[they] live their life in a parallel reality, where they don't access personally to the benefit and the fantastic things that are in London. But they are just… stuck in a survival mode, of euh... working antisocial hours. So, not really ways to create new connections, not really money to create, to do new stuff." (ALA1)*

Finally, a LA association emphasised that issues of labour exploitation are at the intersection of issues of race, gender and social class:

> *"We are so mixed in the continent and you can see when you are a cleaner and you're white, probably you're going to be a little more privileged, you're going to be a little bit in a better position." […] "if you are woman, you are probably more vulnerable and likely to be exploited in different ways not just... not being paid but also to be sexually abused or... also being you know physically abused in terms of you know being punched... or… or mmm yeah, hit by your coordinators, by your supervisors." (ALA3)*

This view was supported by two other LA association representatives and will be expanded in the description of the hostile working environment in section 7.4.3.

7.3.2.b. *Exploiters*

It was difficult to identify clearly one actor responsible for labour exploitation from interviewees' accounts. They mostly cited supervisors at the workplace, companies, and the state. It is important to note here that interviewees used interchangeably the terms 'supervisors' and 'managers' to refer to the boss in charge of workers *at the workplace*. These terms distinguished them from senior management bosses or company's owners, who seemed to be located in different places than where the workers worked. In the rest of the thesis, I will only use the term 'supervisor' to refer to these supervisors or managers. Moreover, in interviewees' accounts, the term *"companies"* referred to companies employing LAWs, which most of the time were outsourcing companies contracted by the company where they are physically working.

First, all interviewees considered supervisors as agents of exploitation. As section 7.4.3.a will detail, they were reported to *"treat workers badly"*. For example, two union leaders indicated that some supervisors extort money from LAWs for giving or maintaining their job:

> *"we have heard several of our members who have told us that the managers are extorting cleaners… and demanding payment for their jobs. The cleaners are getting, paying up to five, the figure we hear all the time is 500 pounds. Or a percentage of their salary."* (UL3)

They also mentioned that supervisors sometimes decide by themselves not to implement companies' policies. A union representative (UL1) reported that he negotiated policies to cover staff going on holidays or being sick. Yet, supervisors did not always respect the policy and instead increased the workload of those present. Nevertheless, this participant alleviated supervisors' responsibility by mentioning that at the same time companies require these supervisors to cut costs by all means. Similarly, another union leader emphasised the complexity of disentangling clear responsibilities between supervisors and companies. He also discussed issues of supervisors not arranging for covering absent staff, which is an element of labour exploitation that will be described in section 7.4.2.; and argued that *"at the end of the day, it is not the supervisor who is taking the money; it is the company who is taking the money"* (UL2). In this view, supervisors can be considered 'messengers' in the process of labour exploitation, hence minimising their responsibility. Yet, this same interviewee nuanced this: *"[i]n most of the cases, people from above, who are HR or manager at the top, sometimes they are not aware about what happened on site" (UL2)*. This argument was contradicted by UL3 who explained that even if these companies were not aware of their supervisors' practices, they were considered to be guilty of negligence towards their employees by not better regulating or implementing the policies they decided on.

Second, most of interviewees designated companies as being exploiters. They felt that labour exploitation was rooted in the companies' strategies to increase profits. Union leaders highlighted that errors in payment were part of companies' strategies to save money, especially when this was systematically happening, and affected many workers. A union leader (UL3) suggested that companies put in place a *"climate of fear"* at the workplace as a managerial practice to prevent workers from organising and improving their employment and working conditions. The components of this climate of fear are described in section 7.4.3 as a 'hostile working environment'.

Half of the interviewees considered that big companies are exploiting workers by giving them a very low salary, whilst making massive profits and not redistributing them enough. One interviewee explained:

> *"And exploitation in this aspect takes the forms of who actually takes the benefit from the labour of the migrant workers. So, when you got contracts, the one that are really profitable, and they make millions; then yet the migrant worker is still receiving the very minimum when there is actually clearly scope for improvement. And, improvement is not being made on contracts of employment, but at the very top, salaries tend to increase. Investments tend to increase. So, that level of exploitation is actually taking the value of the labour on one hand and not distributed to the workers themselves. This is what we call the economic side as what I see." (UL1)*

Such a view echoes with Marxist views on labour exploitation described in Chapter 2, hence are not specific to LAWs (157). A union leader illustrated workers' power imbalance in such large companies' means in the context of limited workers' protection:

> *"basically if you wanna be a nasty employer, it's legally very easy to be a nasty employer. Because you just say 'ok how many workers are gonna take you to court?' Very small number. And those who do take you to the court, he could normally settle the claim with the worker before he even goes to the tribunal. So he gives two thous- you now if someone is like 'here's two thousand pounds'. It's nothing for these companies! These companies have insurance, they have a huge amount of money and funds and profits and you know. [silence]" (UL3)*

Third, two union leaders and one LA association situated these strategies into the wider political picture pushing companies to reduce their costs. They highlighted the state's responsibility in labour exploitation by not offering enough protection to workers, especially for migrant workers who are owed salary. This echoes with the discussion on structures shaping labour exploitation in section 7.3.1. A union leader suggested this creates a feeling of impunity:

"so the degree to which employers feel entitled or they... yeah they feel entitled. They are so arrogant, they are so fearless about any possible consequence they might face that they refuse to pay the wages that they owe, or they choose to underpay the wages that they owe. So, there's that another element of exploitation definitely." (UL3)

Throughout the interviews, another group of stakeholders (unions and support organisations) was also reported as influencing this relationship, but in a positive way, by trying to 'counter' labour exploitation.

7.3.2.c.   *Unions and other support organisations*

Interviewees' narratives on labour exploitation also included views on the role of support organisations in labour exploitation. All interviewees commented on the union roles, and support organisations described their participation in supporting LAWs exploited. Overall, despite an interviewee who appeared sceptical about the role or power of unions in protecting workers, most interviewees agreed that support organisations are a necessary stakeholder in countering the power imbalance within the exploiter-exploited relationships, by compensating workers' vulnerabilities. Their role could be considered as a protective factor against labour exploitation.

Interviewees highlighted unions and LA associations as providing support to migrant workers. All support organisations mentioned how their work participate in preventing and fighting against labour exploitation. They claimed that their work in improving their members' knowledge of labour and other rights in the UK, as well as English classes, contributed to reducing migrant workers' vulnerabilities. Unions also highlighted their campaigning work for better employment and working conditions. LAWs interviewed, who were also union members, highlighted how being part of a union has empowered them, as highlighted in the following quotation:

"we have... like every week-end, a […] different speech about health and safety, your rights, hum... what to say when the boss says something... So, once you know these things and you know that those are legal, so you feel more... more protected, more confident. Same things. Not with fear. But with confidence. So straight away: 'this is my rights'." (WK1M)

Unions' work was also mentioned by LA associations. Both types of support organisation indicated that unions' work also influences non-unionised workers. It was mostly seen as a positive influence because it raises awareness for all workers about rights and potential exploitation. A union leader discussed:

"I guess when people are unionized, what happens is that the workplace is stable, for everyone. Because when the company knows there is union, they treat everyone the same, whether they are or not. Because normally, what happens is the company doesn't know who is in the union or not…" (UL2)

Yet, union leaders also voiced that this may sometimes lead to trade union victimisation, a form of discrimination against union members. Two union leaders suggested this was part of companies' strategies to prevent workers from organising to get better conditions. Moreover, few interviewees from unions and LA associations highlighted barriers in their work, such as difficulties for workers to attend classes because of their working hours.

However, one LA association representative expressed a more nuanced view of unions' role in the fight against migrant workers' exploitation:

"They pretend to work for all workers, but enforcement and protection depend also on colour, immigration, gender, religion." […] "Unions are so bureaucratic now. I don't see how they support or protect workers' rights. All the movements and campaigns that they do is because they don't really have power." (ALA3)

It is interesting to note that most support organisations interviewed indicated that their views on labour exploitation were mainly shaped by their own experiences with their members. Few LA organisations and unions leaders specified that only a small part of the LA community is part of a support organisation: *"we talk about the unionised workforce, so I can't talk about non-unionised workforce. It's completely different. It is quite shockingly different" (UL1).* One LAW interviewed also illustrated another related issue. She mentioned the case of a colleague facing issues at work, and who was too afraid to talk to unions because she had a zero-hours contract. The interviewee reported that this worker feared not to be given work anymore if the company or supervisor discovered she had contacted a union. This contributes to situations described as part of the climate of fear mentioned in section 7.3.2.b that will be further expanded upon in section 7.4.3.

I will now present interviewees' views on how labour exploitation manifested itself in the workplace.

7.4. Labour exploitation at the workplace

The analysis of interviewees' conceptualisation of labour exploitation enabled the identification of dimensions and subdimensions of labour exploitation in the workplace, in contrast to the structures discussed in the previous sections.

Figure 25 below illustrates the four dimensions of labour exploitation in the workplace and shows that they were not conceptualised as separate entities but rather as interlinked.
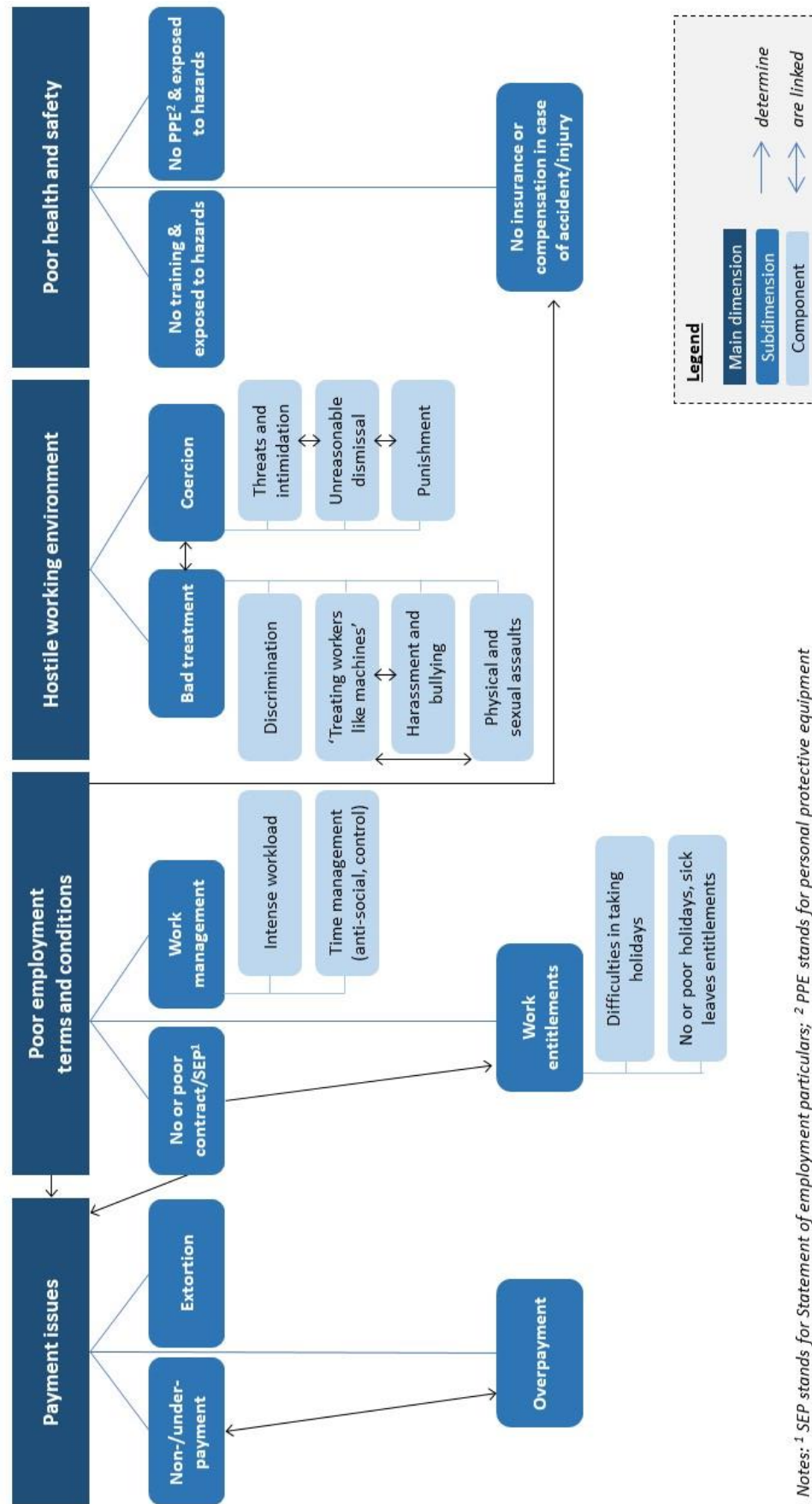
Figure 25 Dimensions and subdimensions of the exploitation of migrant workers at the workplace and the interactions between them. Key informant interviews

Notes: [1] SEP stands for Statement of employment particulars; [2] PPE stands for personal protective equipment

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Overall, whether they belonged to a union, a LA association, the organisation providing support to trafficked victims, or whether they were LAWs themselves, interviewees shared very similar views on these main dimensions. In interviewees' opinion, a migrant worker is exploited when facing issues related to: 1) payment issues (non-payment, underpayment or overpayment); 2) poor employment terms and conditions (no or poor contract and job description, work entitlements, or poor work and time management); 3) hostile working environment (*"bad treatment"* or coercion); and 4) poor health and safety in the workplace.

The following sections explore each dimension separately. Section 7.6 will discuss their relations.

7.4.1. Payment issues

All interviewees agreed that payment issues were a fundamental component in defining the exploitation of migrant workers. All interviewees indicated how widespread non-payment or under-payment of workers was. One interviewee emphasised its importance: *"It's sort of like […] the thing that separates workers from slaves, one thing anyway, is wages, right?" (UL3).* Therefore, while this dimension could also be considered as a subdimension of the next dimension 'Poor employment terms and conditions', I decided to make it a separate dimension in itself because of its importance within interviewees' conceptualisations.

It was often difficult to distinguish from interviewees' discourses whether *"not being paid"* meant not receiving monthly wage at all (e.g. *"We got cases of people coming [at the union] and they were owned three months of wages" (UL1)*); or not being paid the correct amount (e.g. *"they exploited them, not even paying them like they are supposed to pay them" (UL2)*).

Underpayment could also take different forms, for example, one participant commented:

> *"Interviewer: By underpayment, you mean…?*
> *UL3: They are paid a proportion of their... you know... 50% of their wages, 80% of the wages and then they'll say 'Oh sorry the other 20% whatever, it's a mistake. It's admin.' You know, and then you really have to fight. We fight all the time, every day, every week for our members just to be paid what they're owed. […] Just to be paid for the work they do. I mean, I am talking thousands and thousands of pounds for our members, from employers. But really fighting for weeks, months to get what is owed. Not to... not to fight, we're not fighting... Well we do! fight for wage increases as well, but a lot of the time it's been fighting for just the wages. Just the wages." (UL3)*

Similar situations of underpayment were reported by other union leaders, LA associations and LAWs. Almost all interviewees highlighted that LAWs were very often paid less than the number of hours or the amount of work that had actually been undertaken. This was especially the case when LAWs were requested to cover for another worker. Union leaders

and one LA association also reported that LAWs may face issues when trying to *"get their money back"*:

> *"We have a worker who contact the one who own, he owes him 300 hours, and he was asking them to pay him, like, for almost a month. And they wouldn't solve the situation until we [union] step in and we managed to recover that money for him"* (UL2).

Furthermore, one LA association (ALA3) reported a discriminatory form of underpayment: a group of LAWs, who were members of her association, were paid less than a group of British workers while performing the same job at the same workplace. She explained that the reason that the company used to justify this difference to LAWs was that British workers have better English skills that LAWS did not have. ALA3 believed that it is a discriminatory practice based on race and nationality, because there is currently no need to speak English to actually perform the job.

Furthermore, a union leader revealed issues of overpayment:

> *"So what happens then, is that you got 20 hours extra this month: 'Oh I'm sorry you got wrong, can you give me the money back in cash'. So the person has to withdraw the money and return it."* (UL1)

He described this practice as a way for supervisors to get additional money back in cash, and sees it as an exploitative situation because the worker would face consequences in his/her tax payment. He also hypothesised that this overpaid money may correspond to money unpaid to another worker, hence relating to underpayment cases cited above. As mentioned in the section, 7.3.2.b, union leaders also suggested that supervisors may extort money from LAWs to give them a job or keep it.

The 2017 report 'Unpaid Britain' (379) shows that similar situations of unpaid wages (including non-payment, missing wages and holidays payment) occur in many sectors of the labour market such as *"Creative, arts and entertainment activities"* or *"Food and beverage service activities"*. This suggests that interviewees' conceptualisations related to payment and employment conditions may be more about the national context and lack of labour regulations than the nature of the population of migrant workers.

7.4.2. Poor employment terms and conditions

Poor employment terms and conditions was another key component of labour exploitation in interviewees' discourses. This dimension encompassed the following three main issues with: 1) contracts; 2) entitlements or benefits; and 3) management of work and time.

7.4.2.a.   *Contracts*

Although in the UK there is no obligation to provide workers with a written employment contract, most of the time employers need to provide, at minimum, a written 'statement of employment particulars' (SEP) within their first two months of employment (243). Throughout the interviews, it was difficult to be sure whether the term 'contract' was used to refer to an actual written contract or to a SEP. Still, several issues with contracts were reported and both terms seemed to be used interchangeably.

The absence of a contract was perceived among most participants as a way to exploit workers, seeing this as preventing workers from knowing and asserting their rights. In practice, they see the absence of a contract as a factor increasing workers' vulnerability to labour exploitation, because they are not aware of what they are expected to do, or paid to do, nor informed about their labour rights. Interviewees considered that this added up to LAWs' vulnerabilities of being in a country where they do not know the rights, language and culture. Yet, union representatives underlined that *"the contract is unlikely [to] reflect the reality of the employment relationship"* (UL1) even for those who do receive one. A LA association representative also added that it prevented one of their members to make a complaint when he asked compensation following a work accident. I will return to this case in section 7.4.3.

Moreover, union leaders reported that workers were rarely given a job description, and when they had one: "*job description actually tends to be quite generic. The [...] broader they are the better it is to exploit.*" (UL1). This would suggest an intention of the employer not to inform workers about their rights.

Finally, the majority of interviewees identified zero-hour contracts as exploitative *per se*, because they do not provide workers with basic work benefits or protection (see Chapter 3). One LAW illustrated this point:

> *"for example, the people who have a contract zero-hour, they can't talk, they can't ask about the contract, they can't join [the union], because maybe they are going to, maybe, tomorrow, [not be] coming [...] Sometimes they came and they moved to another place [...] or sometimes they came and [bosses] say 'you don't need to come today, go home'."*
> *(WK1F)*

This quotation also illustrates the view that such a contract prevents workers from planning over their future, considering workers as machines, which is a subdimension described in section 7.4.3.a.

7.4.2.b.   Work entitlements

Almost all interviewees reported issues related to work entitlements, such as absence of sick leave, holidays or parental leave.

Union leaders and workers highlighted that even when it happened within the legal framework, statutory sick pay (see Chapter 3) was perceived in practice too low to live on:

> *"If you get sick on a long term, first you receive only £33, because they pay you after 4 days. And you keep being sick, during let's say 4-6 weeks. You get per week: £88 something. So, it makes like two hundred and something. Two hundred and twenty something [a month]! In London!" (WK1M)*

Most interviewees reported that some LAWs are not aware of their holiday entitlements or do not know how to request them relating to the lack of information given to LAWs discussed in the previous section. A union leader highlighted that for some LAWs it was also difficult not to be able to take all their holidays at the same time of the year, because this prevented them from visiting their families in their country of origin. A LAW shared the struggles she faced to get consecutive holidays. Another union leader reported the case of a supervisor who refused to give a worker his holiday entitlements and lied to the worker by telling s/he had no right to paid holidays. He added that such behaviour was sometimes part of some supervisors' 'system' to *"steal money"*:

> *"what you do as a supervisor is you have a sheet where the supervisor puts all the hours the worker's done. Then, that sheet, you send it to the company and the company, just basically pays. Those information, that the supervisor sends to them, that's the information that they all have, also if the supervisor decided "I'm not going to pay this guy" … this is a lot of thing you can do […] what I think is that the supervisor said that [the worker] took holidays - it is tricky - maybe he paid someone else the holidays of him, and then that people return the money to him... there [are] many ways you can do." (UL1)*

It was interesting to note that interviewees referred to the lack of English skills as a barrier in exercising rights or benefiting from entitlements, in particular, to complain or request what is due to them at a higher hierarchal level - such as human resources.

7.4.2.c.   Work and time management

All interviewees identified management practices as a key component of labour exploitation. It included the distribution of tasks and working time. As mentioned in section 7.3.2.b, interviews highlighted LAWs' high workloads, which appeared to be a very important element of their conceptualisation of labour exploitation. One LAWs interviewed shared his experience:

> *"Before, that job I do, it [was] 3 people in 9 hours. And now, I need to do it in 4 hours and only me. And … it's too much." (W1M)*

Support organisations and LAWs shared similar concerns and contextualised these situations in companies as a *"cost-saving exercise"* (see section 7.3.2). While few mentioned that companies purposely do not cover for absences to save money, most interviewees designated supervisors as responsible for deciding not to arrange for replacement staff. Some suggested that supervisors may divert money allocated to cover for absent workers for their own benefits, in a similar mechanism discussed in the previous section. Yet, many reported that such attitudes of supervisors are due to companies' pressure on them to save money, hence not seen as a direct instruction from the company.

Most interviewees highlighted workers' time management as another component of labour exploitation. As mentioned in section 7.3.1, the allocation of *"anti-social"*, or of only few working hours per day was perceived as an exploitative practice. The latter forced LAWs to accumulate multiple jobs, sometimes located in different parts of town, to just make a living. Union leaders and LAWs also discussed supervisors' control over workers' time and the constant pressure they faced. A union leader suggested that workers in the cleaning sector are *"constantly under the watch"* and their breaks *"militaristically timed […] to the second" (UL3)*. Another union leader added:

> *"they wanted to impose 5 minutes late, 15 minutes deductions. […] if you think about it, now the company deducted by the minute, so you're actually late and they collect all the lateness and they make you pay for the minutes. […] It means that you are asked to work by the minute. The level of exploitation... you are working 3 hours and they expect you to work 180 minutes!" (UL1)*

UL3 added that some of the members of his union report that they have sometimes been told off for going to or staying too long in the bathroom. Another highlighted that some workers needed to work during their break in order to accomplish all the tasks required.

The two previous sections discussed issues related to employment conditions, which echo the labour conditions in the UK described in Chapter 3. Such issues were also reported in the cleaning sector and other low-paid sectors that mostly employed migrant workers (36,57,375,380,381). I will now turn to further exploring the working environment.

7.4.3. A hostile working environment

All interviewees described hostile working environments as characteristic of labour exploitation. This environment was composed of two related subdimensions, as described in the following sections: 1) *"bad treatment"* (from psychological to physical abuses) and 2) coercion by supervisors at the workplace (from threats to punishment).

7.4.3.a. *"Bad treatment"*

Interviewees' opinions agreed that workers *"are just badly treated, exploited in that sense"* (UL2). In their discourses, this was mostly perpetrated by supervisors. Interestingly, interviewees would specify the supervisor's nationality mostly to highlight that even LA supervisors treated LAWs badly. Four main types of mistreatment were identified: discrimination, 'treating workers like machines', harassment and bullying, and physical and sexual assaults.

Discrimination

Almost all interviewees regarded situations of discrimination, based on nationality, race or ethnicity or gender, as part of labour exploitation. They believed that being a Latin American or a migrant worker was a risk factor for poor treatment. One LA association representative shared that discrimination would be worse if the migrant was from a 'minority' background (*e.g.* Black or being from a poorer LA country like Bolivia). Another interviewee contextualised such race-related discrimination:

> *"For example, where the supervisor used to call another [worker] "negro", because in Latin America, [if] he calls him like that, it is normal. But in Latin America, the law is not as strict as here[1]… [The worker] asked him not to call him like that, but he keeps saying the same thing, despite that. We have many cases like this."* (UL2)

Interestingly, one union representative (UL1) noted a divergence between what workers perceive to be discrimination and what the law defines as discrimination. For example, he explained that workers may feel discriminated against because of their nationality if they are not hired for a job, even if the job is given to a person from the same country. As mentioned in section 7.3.1.a, this relates to lack of recruitment procedures and situations of favouritism. In fact, throughout the interviews, there was a blurred distinction between situations sometimes described as favouritism by some, and as discriminatory practices by others: *"the compatriots of the supervisor or manager will be treated more favourably often [than those] who don't come from the same country"* (UL3). LAWs interviewees emphasised that relatives recruited by supervisors may be allocated better (or fewer) tasks, or a better working schedule, hence worsening other workers' conditions.

As mentioned in section 7.3.2.c, union leaders and one LAW also highlighted unionised workers' victimisation. Surprisingly, another union leader and two LAWs interviewed revealed cases of *"pregnancy discrimination"*, despite this being a protected characteristic in the 2010 Equality Act (see Chapter 3). One union leader compared it to discrimination against disability. Another highlighted an incident whereby a supervisor refused to provide a

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[1] This view is illustrative and may be an over-generalisation for the whole LA region.

pregnant woman with the compulsory risk assessment and adapt her work tasks. Likewise, one LAW mentioned that pregnant women's workload could sometimes increase. These interviewees suggested that pregnant women's mistreatment may be intentional to get rid of them rather than accommodating her tasks and managing the woman's maternity leave. However, the same union leader also had mixed views and thought it may not be intentional but a result of companies' *"complete inherent disregard and disinterest in their safety and wellbeing"* (UL2).

'Treating workers like machines'

Such disregard for migrant workers in the workplace is illustrated in the following LAWs' quotation, which is typical of what most interviewees think of labour exploitation:

> *"They treat us like machines sometimes. They don't... don't... feel or think NOTHING about you! the only thing is you came here to do your job. [They] don't care if you have family, you are sick or anything. Then I say... It's not fair for us."* (WK1F)

They perceived that labour exploitation is based on a lack of consideration for workers as individuals. Research on migrant workers in London's low-paid sector also mentioned that workers perceive that they are not treated *"like human beings"* (36).

Moreover, another union representative highlighted employers' total control over workers' time and agenda as another expression of labour exploitation, especially in the case of zero-hour contracts. LA associations, unions and LAWs interviewed believed that supervisors and companies largely viewed workers as simply being used to provide the maximum of work for the least cost, without providing them basic work benefits or pay, or not even a safe and healthy working environment.

Some support organisations representatives also perceived this specific ill-treatment of migrant workers was shaped by poor employment conditions, as described in the previous sections, such as the constant pressure and the poor benefits they received.

Most interviewees viewed it as both a component and a cause of degrading employment and working conditions. Accounts suggest that, because they are perceived as commodities, supervisors feel entitled to treat workers poorly, by shouting at them or insulting them for example. In addition, making workers feel like they are commodities can also be seen as a mechanism to maintain workers within exploitative working conditions, which fits with UL3's suggestion of *"climate of fear"* as a managerial practice (see sections 7.3.2.b and 7.4.3.b). In that case, workers 'treated like machines' and other components of "bad treatment" may

contribute to creating and maintaining a hostile environment and considered as coercive measures.

Harassment and bullying

Most interviewees described situations of harassment in the workplace when discussing labour exploitation. This was illustrated by descriptions of supervisors constantly scrutinizing and criticizing work performance, even when they know that workers have inadequate time to conduct their job meticulously. Situations of verbal abuse were frequently reported; for example, supervisors being rude, insulting or shouting at workers when requesting to perform a task, or trying to exercise his/her rights. LA, unions and LAWs interviewed referred to these situations as *"humiliating"*. A LA representative shared a glaring example of verbal abuse. A LAW member of her association was being constantly harassed by her supervisor, who would use her smartphone to translate insults in Spanish and make sure that the worker could understand the insults properly. Union leaders considered these as techniques of intimidation. For a LAW, this related to supervisors' will to show their superiority:

> *"I noticed that people because they think they are supervisors, they are like... hum... how can I say... that... you are just a cleaner or you are just a porter. You don't have... no voice [...]. So, you just shut your mouth. 'I'm your boss, do it'. That's what I noticed!"* (WK1M)

Physical and sexual assaults

LA associations and the modern slavery representatives reported that migrant workers' bad treatment could also manifest itself as physical harassment, violence or assaults at the workplace. They shared cases of workers being *"pushed"*, *"hit"*, *"having [...] hair pulled"* by a supervisor.

Furthermore, LA association representatives providing support to women specifically revealed that some female workers were sexually harassed, abused or even raped at the workplace by their supervisor. This gender-specific issue is blatant in the story reported by a LA representative about a previous member who was sexually harassed by her supervisor at work. When the supervisor discovered that she was working with a fake passport, he started to frequently rape her at the workplace. He threatened to report her to Home Office if she told anyone. Later, the same supervisor secretly 'sold' her services to other men who would come to her workplace at night when she was alone. This story brings to light what two LA association representatives referred to as *"intersectionality"* (382) of issues related to labour exploitation, gender, migration and race. As highlighted by ALA3, female workers seem to

have an additional layer of sexual exploitation within the issue of labour exploitation, especially when they are undocumented.

7.4.3.b.   *Coercion: threats, punishments, unreasonable dismissal and fear*

Almost all interviewees reported situations where migrant workers were exposed to threats and punishments. Generally, workers were threatened to be fired or face disciplinary sanctions. According to participants, such situations seemed endemic and could concern workers who refused to perform tasks that were not part of their normal work allocation, those who could not perform usual tasks because of injuries requiring task adaptation, or those who were viewed to make minor deviations from instructions. For example, one UL3 described how people who may arrive one or two minutes late may face disciplinary procedures, which he perceived as disproportionate. For him, such a situation under a normal procedure would lead only to a verbal warning. A worker interviewed shared that she tried to follow her general practitioner's (GP) advice after a work injury, and requested tasks adaptation, but this was not allowed:

> *"when I came to say, 'please can you change me the area, because I can't do it [because my injury], it's too much for me' they put me a complaint and told me. 'If you can't do that job, you can leave it'." (WK1F)*

She explained that she had two disciplinary warnings (*"complaints"*) for this, and on the third warning she would be dismissed. As a result, she was too afraid to pursue her requests and instead took unpaid sick leave to avoid risking having the third complaint form filled in. This example also illustrates the *"climate of fear"* at the workplace described by UL3 and the related lack of means for workers to complain or exercise their rights. Interviewees' opinions about migrant workers' fear of losing their job suggested that this was the most widespread means of coercion, which could be considered as a structural form of labour exploitation.

UL3 also suggested that the climate of fear included the use of unreasonable or unjustified dismissal to control workers. In fact, most interviewees declared that *"unfair dismissal"* was specifically part of labour exploitation. Interviewees used terms like *"unfair"* to refer to situations such as workers who took holidays, sick leave or maternity leave and found themselves fired when they got back to work. As highlighted by a union leader, *"unfair dismissal"* has a specific legal definition in UK labour law (383), therefore, I will rather use the term 'unreasonable dismissal' to refer to situations participants perceived as unfair or unjustified. Unreasonable dismissals could be viewed as a mechanism of coercion, as suggested by UL3 who highlighted that workers who 'are exposed' to seeing colleagues fired for no reason or for complaining are less likely to complain themselves. Yet, unreasonable

dismissals were more often referred to as an expression of 'workers being treated like machines' (see section 7.4.3.a):

> *"we have plenty of cases where people are being sacked of the job without any procedure, they have been told "you don't work here anymore, give me your pass and don't come back." (UL2)*

Supervisors' awareness of workers' irregular migration status may also be seen as a powerful coercive tool, as suggested in the specific case of rape described in the previous section. The supervisor who sexually assaulted the worker used the threat of denunciation to authorities to coerce her into remaining at work and not denouncing him.

Finally, situations of bad treatment such as verbal abuse, described in the previous section could be used to intimidate workers and coercing them against their will. For example, one union leader shared the story of one of its members who had been shouted at and intimidated by her supervisor until she agreed to work on a day she was not usually working.

It is difficult to draw a clear line between situations of bad treatment and coercion described in this 'hostile working environment' component of labour exploitation, however, they were overall geared towards preventing workers from raising any concerns or complaints.

7.4.4. Poor health and safety at the workplace

The final key component of labour exploitation is poor health and safety at the workplace, encompassing health and safety regulations, and lack of protective and adequate work equipment.

Most interviewees reported that workers were exposed to several physical or chemical hazards but were often not provided with any or appropriate protection equipment. For example, a union leader highlighted that they may not receive gloves, aprons or goggles while working and manipulating *"strong industrial corrosive chemicals"* (UL1). Moreover, unions and LA associations representatives also mentioned that sometimes they may not even be given material to actually perform their work, which included cleaning products for cleaners. One union representative explained that this placed workers in a situation where they have to choose between paying for products from their low salary or using only water and making much more effort to perform the job. A LA association representative shared that some workers are asked by their employer to pay for their equipment:

> *"these companies for instance […] ask their employees to pay for their aprons, for their clothes, people have to pay for these things. And when they lose them if they don't have the 10£, that the cloths costs, you know it becomes almost impossible for them to be able to do their jobs."* (ALA2)

All union leaders and LAWs, as well as some LA association interviewees, reported that sometimes workers receive no or insufficient health and safety training, or induction to explain the job requirements while being exposed daily to physical or ergonomics hazards. For example, a worker interviewed revealed that she had only recently received training to explain how to perform the job safely (e.g. moving chairs or mixing chemicals safely) after several years in the same company. An LA association representative nuanced these views. She believed that even if workers receive no training, supervisors would usually give basic information about products or machines, but when the company introduces new equipment or products, they rarely provided updated information or training (ALA4).

Finally, some interviewees revealed cases of workers who had accidents or injuries at work but were not covered by insurance or did not receive compensations. For instance, a representative of LA association described the case of one of her members who had a work accident and - at the moment of the interview - could not get any compensation. She underlined that when hired he was required to sign a document relieving the company's responsibility in case of potential accidents. While the interviewee discussed the legality of this document during the interview, she emphasised that, in practice, this worker's compensation requests had been blocked.

The next section will examine participants' views concerning the impacts of labour exploitation on migrant workers' health and life.

7.5. Impacts of labour exploitation

Figure 26 below presents the different impacts of labour exploitation discussed by participants in the interviews. These impacts, which I will now discuss, encompassed health and wellbeing; and financial and social impacts.

7.5.1. Impacts on workers' health and wellbeing

As suggested previously in descriptions of the labour exploitation at the workplace, there seems to be a clear link for interviewees between some mental and physical negative health outcomes and the components of labour exploitation (i.e. lack of or implementation of health and safety regulations or exposure to a range of occupational hazards). Many health consequences perceived to be a result of exploitation are, in fact, traditional occupational health hazards; such as back and joint pain, accidents, or stress (384,385).
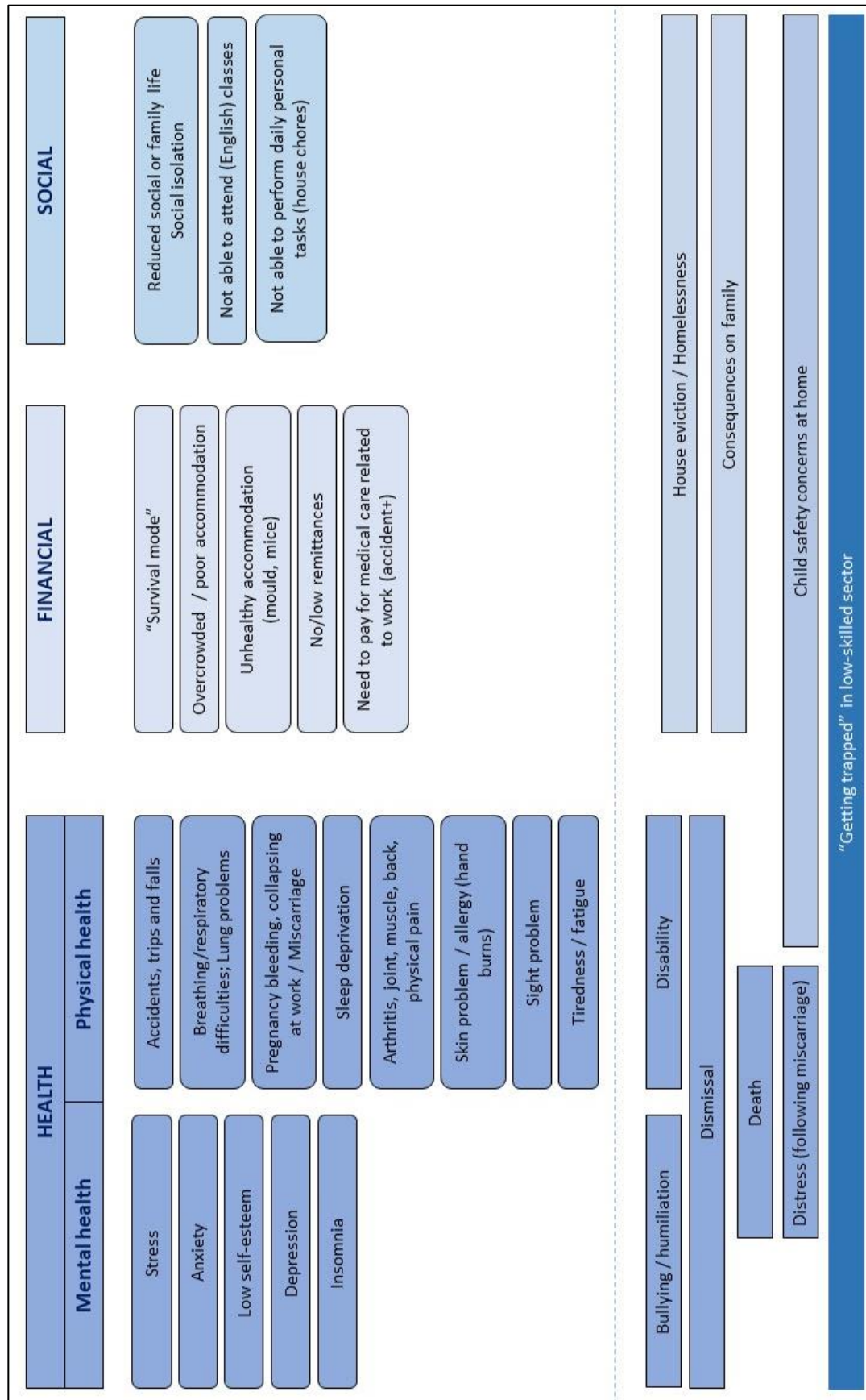
Figure 26 Perceived impacts and consequences of labour exploitation of Latin American migrant workers in manual low-skilled in London. Key informant interviews

I noticed that the first allusions to health impacts during interviews with representatives of support organisations were discussions about the high prevalence of mental health issues among LAWs, related to factors such as payment issues or work entitlements, unpredictable schedules, and hostile working environments. Almost all interviewees referred to workers' *"high levels of stress"* and anxiety, especially when describing intense workloads and bad relationships with their supervisors. Two representatives from LA associations reported that some of their members developed low self-esteem because of the way they are treated at work, which makes them believe that they *"do not deserve better"*.

Subsequently, support organisation interviewees generally expanded their descriptions to include physical health impacts, including breathing, respiratory or skin problems, which were often reported with regard to the lack of protective equipment. Moreover, almost all participants highlighted ergonomics hazards, such as carrying heavy loads and undertaking ongoing repetitive movements.

One LA representative reported that one of their members who had an accident with a machine had left him disabled but received no compensation. This LAW could not get a new job because of his resulting disability. Moreover, his wife also could not work as she was the main carer for him and their children. They ended up being evicted from their home because they could not pay the rent, which supports that unreasonable dismissal and absence of accident compensation may lead to homelessness.

Mental and physical health issues were often perceived to be related to the constant and intense pressure faced by workers. This implies that workers may have increased risk of injuries or accidents in the workplace. For example, a worker shared that he and his union representative believed that another member had died because of bullying. He explained that this worker was so severely bullied by his supervisor that he decided to take action against his company. In his opinion, which was shared by his union, this made him so distressed that he died suddenly because of the high stress he was facing.

A union leader further highlighted issues for pregnant women:

> *"One woman […] has lost her baby through a miscarriage; we argued through being pushed too hard to work, and she ended up having a miscarriage. Another of our members nearly had a miscarriage. She ended up bleeding on two occasions at work because she was forced to use chemicals, scope toilets, which she shouldn't have been doing. And she told them she shouldn't be doing, but they ignored her, gave her the order to carry on working." (UL3)*

The LA representative who shared the rape case previously also revealed that women who were sexually abused or raped at the workplace suffered not only physically and mentally,

but also in their personal lives. She explained that in her experience of working for an organisation providing support for LA women, sexual exploitation at the workplace often increased domestic violence if the partner discovered it. She suggested that, often, women who come to her organisation after escaping domestic violence have an underlying story of sexual abuse at the workplace. ALA3 viewed these forms of gender-based violence as rooted within the machismo culture within the LA community. While some research on LAs in London has reported domestic violence and some 'machismo' culture in the LA community (104,386–388), there is limited evidence of direct links between sexual abuse and domestic violence.

As illustrated by the example above, labour exploitation also has further consequences for workers and their families' lives.

7.5.2. Socio-economic impacts and consequences

Interviewees regarded labour exploitation as having obvious negative impacts and consequences on workers' finance and personal life.

As illustrated in Figure 26, most interviewees viewed payment issues as significantly reducing workers' capacity to afford decent accommodation and to pay rent and bills. As seen in section 7.4.4, situations where workers had to pay for their equipment or cleaning materials added up to their financial struggles. A LA association shared that LAWs were sometimes living in unhealthy accommodations (e.g. mouldy and/or with mice). She added that some landlords abused further workers lacking English skills, highlighting health risks for their kids, in particular along with possible threats to their children's safety when the house was shared with other families.

Most interviewees agreed that migrant workers' life is almost exclusively dedicated to work. As mentioned in section 7.3.1.c, interviewees emphasised that unpredictable schedules prevented workers from attending English classes, which could help them to be integrated in the UK and/or to find a *"better job"* in another sector. LA associations representatives, in particular, described how labour exploitation socially isolates migrant workers, especially because of their working schedule. Most of them used the term *"survival mode"* to describe workers' difficult social and financial situations.

Most of LA association interviewees indicated how labour exploitation *"gets workers trapped into low-skilled jobs"* (ALA1). They often voiced that low incomes created a need to work too many hours and days. When combined with LAWs' lack of English skills and difficulties to find time to improve these skills, such factors hindered future perspectives of getting a better

job. ALA1 highlighted that sometimes these workers' children may also help their parents to do their job or cover for them when sick. Therefore, children also end up *"trapped"* into cleaning or low-paid jobs, which suggested that labour exploitation may be inherited.

Finally, two LAWs and two union leaders interviewed, shared an unexpected positive consequence, voicing that situations of labour exploitation may have pushed some migrant workers to organise and fight for better working and employment conditions. They suggested that workers felt empowered by feeling supported and winning some additional rights.

So far, I have described the different aspects of interviewees' conceptualisations of labour exploitation as separate categories. As discussed, these dimensions are intertwined, and the next section will show that the different elements could be represented as part of an ecosocial model.

7.6. Towards a multilevel framework of labour exploitation: an ecosocial model

This section first discusses interviewees' converging and contrasting views on labour exploitation, and second presents an ecosocial model of labour exploitation which will highlight the multilevel aspects of the dimensions of labour exploitation. This model has been both used to better understand interviewees' perspectives on the concept, but also to analyse the CM with LAWs discussed in the next chapter.

7.6.1. Converging and contrasting views on labour exploitation

7.6.1.a. Converging views

Most interviewees agreed on vulnerabilities to labour exploitation among migrant workers, related to demographic factors (e.g. gender, race) and migrant workers' specificities characteristics (e.g. immigration status, language skills). As discussed in Chapter 2, such factors were also identified as risk factors to being exploited (2,13,35,62), and migrants were often described as having worse occupational ill-health compared to non-migrants (2,30). Importantly, the lack of language skills was a cross-cutting theme, which is also described in migration studies (34,35). Moreover, LA association representatives particularly emphasised the need to consider issues of labour exploitation at the intersection of these characteristics, in order to have a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of the concept (382). This viewpoint is also supported by researchers in migrant health (389).

Views of LAWs' poor employment and working conditions were convergent. This was expected as such poor conditions were also reported in research on LA and other migrant communities in low-paid sectors in London (36,104). Most of the characteristics described

as exploitative seem not to be specific to migrant workers or low-skilled sectors. For example, not having sick pay is actually allowed by law for people under the 'worker' or 'self-employed' status, or on a zero-hour contract (see Chapter 3). Pressure at work is described as exploitative in research on low-skilled jobs (155,390) but is also discussed as a psychosocial hazard in upper skilled sectors (391,392). However, it seemed that the endemic outsourcing in the service sectors presents barriers for LAWs to complain or access rights. In particular, this may relate to the multiple and complex hierarchy of organisations described during interviews: an employer (outsourcing company), a responsible for the place where the job is performed (contracting company), and -sometimes numerous- supervisors at the workplace, who are generally the outsourcing company's employees. This may be specific to under-regulated sectors, and LAWs' lack of English skills may emphasise vulnerabilities (see section 7.3). Interviews highlighted that outsourced workers face barriers in identifying whom to complain to for rights enforcement. Recent health literature suggested that outsourcing is a SDH itself, which has negative health impacts, especially on mental health (74,195,393,394).

Regardless of who was actually neglecting them (i.e. supervisor or company), all interviewees share the impression that workers were neglected. This may increase or contribute to LAWs' views that companies *"don't care"* about them, which unions and most LA association representatives also claimed. This feeling may be partly explained by leaders of support organisations' perceptions that companies might consider workers - especially if they are migrants, or of a certain ethnicity or gender – as a commodity that they can use at their convenience to increase their profits, or as collateral damage of their cost-cutting exercises. Echoing the current increasing interest in global supply chains and companies' accountability for modern slavery, I propose the term *workers' supply chain accountability* to refer to the phenomenon described by interviewees. This emphasises the view that migrant workers are seen as commodities, and embraces the modern slavery rhetoric about the global responsibility of big corporations for criminal forms of labour exploitation (e.g. modern slavery) within their supply chain of (actual) commodities.

In addition, interviewees proposed two types of protective factors against labour exploitation: 1) at the individual level, being a supervisor's relative or friend; and 2) at the collective level, being part of a union or other support organisation. In fact, these organisations are believed to protect LAWs, and there are increasing discussions in the literature about the possibility of including unions in the fight against human trafficking for the purpose of labour exploitation (395,396).

The conceptualisations of migrant workers' exploitation seemed to be similar for all interviewees, be they from unions, LA associations or LAWs. This may be partly because the

LA community in London is mostly organised in a coalition (CLAUK). Most interviewees may know each other through their network and community events, except for the representative of the modern slavery organisation, who most likely did not belong to these circles. Nonetheless, while his organisation deals with survivors of extreme forms of labour exploitation compared to the other support organisations, most of the themes that emerged from his interview were cross-cutting with those from the other interviews. However, as mentioned in the introduction, his interview was quite different from the others. The representative was in a senior management position, hence further detached from lived experiences described by the other support organisations. His conceptualisation of labour exploitation was broader and at a higher level of abstraction than the others. Sometimes, despite clearly specifying the UK research focus, he mentioned cases of 'modern slavery' that were not in the UK because his organisation was also working abroad. For example, he also often referred to situations of 'severe' labour exploitation that his organisation was seeing abroad as well. Interestingly, while these situations were abroad, it was noteworthy that situations described as 'extreme' in other countries were similar to those experienced by the other interviewees working in the UK.

While companies are responsible for providing a healthy and safe environment for their employees, the interviews illustrated that in practice this task may be left to untrained supervisors, who may not be controlled. Unions and some LA associations also highlighted the state's responsibility in this, by not pushing businesses to implement rules and to protect workers. The multiple layers of hierarchy were also perceived as allowing companies to remain ignorant of what actually happens on the ground, and workers are unaware of how the system functions, especially in cases where there is a language barrier.

7.6.1.b. *Contrasting views*

Interviewees' opinions seemed more contrasted when attempting to identify who is responsible for migrant workers' exploitation. Opinions on these issues seemed to vary depending on the type of organisation the interviewee belonged to.

Union representatives tended to highlight companies' responsibilities. A union leader emphasised that supervisors could be exploited themselves, which hence 'forced' them to exploit other workers, by pushing them to work harder to secure their position, or by using the system *of "ghost workers"* to increase their own low salary. A union leader highlighted this was because they were themselves exploited by the company. Unions also tended to propose an image of workers more empowered and willing to 'fight back', which is consistent with unions' aims. LA associations had more varied discourses. Most of these organisations

tended to have a discourse more protective of LAWs, maybe because they wanted to give a very positive image of the LA community. This is expected from service providers helping migrants to access their benefits. Moreover, it was also interesting to note that representatives from unions were all male and those of LA associations were all women. While their gender might reflect the type of organisation they decided to work for, it might also have influenced their discourses. Gender-specific issues, such as sexual harassment or rape emerged spontaneously from most of LA associations' interviewees who were women. In general, the topic did not emerge with unions and only came up when I asked if there may be gender-specific issues that I should be aware of. They only mentioned briefly issues of sexual harassment when I sought their opinions on possible sensitive topics for the preparation of the CM with LAWs. It might be that sexual misconduct may not be perceived as part of labour exploitation for unions while it may be for LA associations. Nevertheless, pregnancy issues were particularly emphasised by a union leader.

Overall, interviewees' conceptualisations revealed interlaced themes and complex mechanisms of labour exploitation. In fact, the diverging views of labour exploitation seem to relate to more macro level aspects, which relate to interviewees' opinions on who they perceived to be the 'exploiter'. On one hand, it seemed that components relating to supervisors and companies' behaviours - that I described in the workplace context (section 7.4) - were very concrete items located at relatively micro levels on which almost all interviewees agreed (i.e. payment issues, poor employment and working conditions, hostile working environment and poor health and safety). On the other hand, components that described the structures of labour exploitation (i.e. laws and under-regulated sector, see section 7.3), were seen as roots of labour exploitation. These dimensions could be conceptualised at a more macro level and were more debated depending on who the interviewees considered to be responsible for labour exploitation. The way interviewees described the components of this macro level seemed to determine the extent to which a person is protected from or exposed to labour exploitation. A particular feature of this 'macro' level is that it influences the relations between companies and supervisors with 'exploited' migrant workers. For example, a union leader suggested that the lack of regulation within national labour laws facilitates the 'lawful' exploitation of workers by employers. He believed that because employers face almost no consequences if they breach labour laws, they can act with impunity. This view is actually in line with the labour paradigm developed in Chapter 2, which puts the emphasis on structures of labour exploitation and argues that the prevention of extreme forms of labour exploitation should happen through enforcing and reinforcing labour laws (1,21,71). A LAW interviewed made a similar comment for

supervisors not being punished by companies for mistreating workers, and hence being free to exploit workers.

These notions of socio-political context and more proximal factors relate to elements of the WHO framework for action on SDH, also used by EMCONET, which will be further discussed in Chapter 10.

This notion of macro and micro levels of labour exploitation will be now further discussed in relation to an ecosocial analytical framework, which further elaborates the different levels encompassing interviewees' conceptualisations from micro (e.g. workplace environment) to macro levels (i.e. social, economic and political context).

7.6.2.   Insights on dimensions' multilevel aspect: an ecosocial framework

An important finding of this chapter is that interviewees also conceptualised the dimensions described as part of the structures of labour exploitation (see section 7.3.1) as intrinsic components of labour exploitation. In other words, interviewees viewed dimensions of labour exploitation as operating simultaneously at several levels, encompassing structural features of labour exploitation and those occurring at the workplace. The constant entanglement of different 'levels' in discourses reveals a dynamic relation between them.

Therefore, these observations suggest an empirical identification of multilevel aspects of labour exploitation. which could be analysed using Krieger's ecosocial theory, which uses a

> *"visual fractal metaphor of an evolving bush of life intertwined at every scale, micro to macro, with the scaffolding of society that different core social groups daily reinforce or seek to alter."* (397)

This description reflects interviewees' conceptualisation of labour exploitation, and Figure 27 below offers an adaptation of the ecosocial model to describe the levels of labour exploitation that emerged in the interviews.

Figure 27 displays four levels of labour exploitation corresponding to interviewee's conceptualisation of the responsible for labour exploitation. Each level corresponds to dimensions related to a 'type of exploiter' that will each be described below: supervisors, companies, the state and 'globalisation or capitalism'. The latter was only mentioned by a union leader.
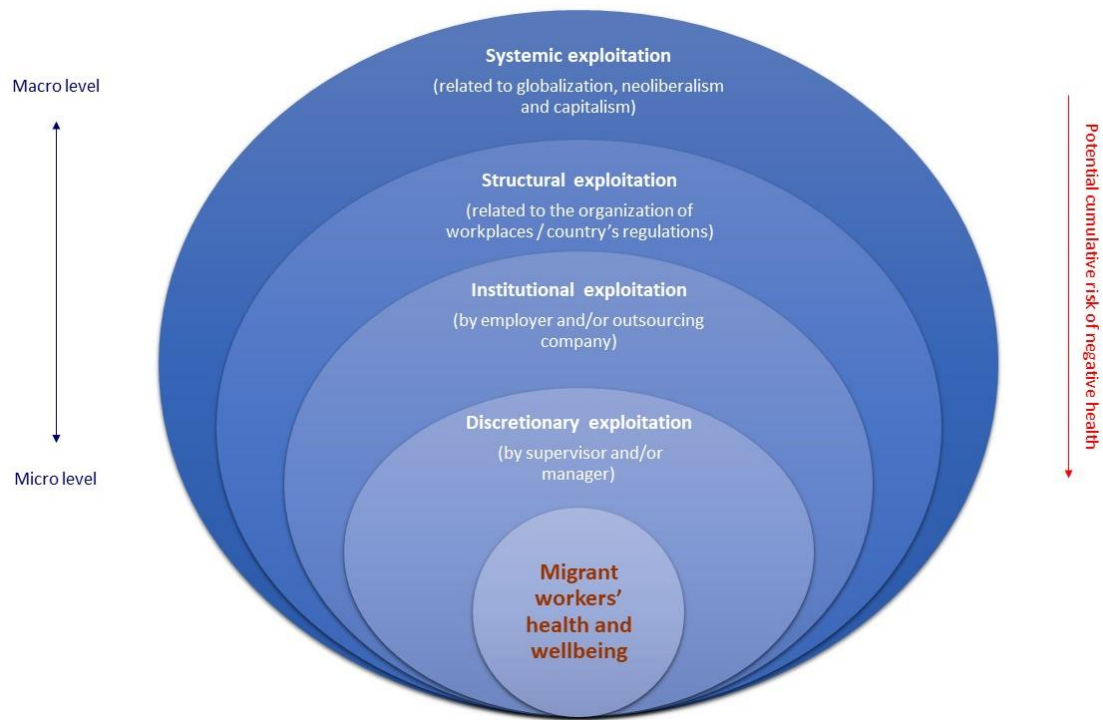
Figure 27 Ecosocial model of the exploitation of migrant workers in the UK as viewed by interviewees

First, the inner circle represents migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs and their personal characteristics that compose what interviewees referred to as 'vulnerabilities' (e.g. language skills or immigration status).

The circle encompassing it represents the first (micro) level of exploitation that I labelled 'discretionary labour exploitation'. This label results from distinctions between discretionary and structural exploitation in philosophical literature (130,398,399). As Mayer explains:

> *"This type of taking unfair advantage is prima facie unacceptable. Discretionary exploiters cannot plead necessity as an excuse for what they do; the structural imperative of "exploit or fail" does not apply. Because a nonexploitative yet still mutually advantageous exchange is available, the would-be exploiter is obliged to trade within this zone. […] It is not built into the rules of the game, as is true in pure structural exploitation. Indeed, the wrong of discretionary exploitation consists precisely in treating certain types of exchange relationships as a competitive game in which one may maximize gains. […] This form of wrongful gain is unacceptable because it is gratuitously unfair."* (398)

Therefore, it lays on moral foundations and notions of social justice (see Chapter 2). Discretionary exploitation happens between an exploiter and an exploited. I use it to describe the exploitation of migrant workers by supervisors, which encompasses accounts of, for example, physical assaults, humiliation or extortion. While interviewees may discuss whether supervisors' behaviours may be determined by companies' organisation or disregard for

providing management training, the distinction of discretionary exploitation is still useful for distinguishing what happens in the workplace between workers and direct supervisors from what happens at higher levels in the workplace.

One level above, there is what I called 'institutional exploitation'. This is a transitional (meso) level, at the intersection of discretionary and structural exploitation. I named it 'institutional' to highlight the fact that it refers to themes or dimensions of labour exploitation framed by - or under the control of - institutions employing migrant workers (i.e. direct employer or outsourcing company). On the one hand, companies must "cut costs" to be competitive within the UK labour market and use practices described as exploitative. On the other hand, some interviewees described them as entities deciding - actively or by negligence - to exercise at their discretion some form of labour exploitation. Some unions and LA association mentioned that companies may decide to use legal loopholes or to breach laws. Two union leaders highlighted that this is allowed with penalties that are not deterrent. For example, a union leader suggested that some companies purposively 'forget' to pay all hours worked to workers to save money. This view is supported by recent research (379).

These two relatively micro levels of labour exploitation are composed of situations that may be directly experienced by LAWs at their workplace. They cover the four main dimensions previously discussed: issues with payment; poor employment terms and conditions; hostile working environment; and poor health and safety at the workplace

At the macro level, there are two forms of structural exploitation: 'structural' and 'systemic'. The first, which I labelled 'structural' is the first level actually corresponding to rigid structures of labour exploitation, because they are enshrined in national laws and regulations (e.g. lack of labour protection or a lack of law enforcement in sectors known to be exploitative). This determines the exploitation of migrant workers in lower levels. The second macro level is 'systematic labour exploitation'. I added this to reflect a union leader's mention of capitalism, globalisation and neoliberalism as components of a global system of labour exploitation. While there was not enough data to detail the content of this endemic exploitation, this view is in line with some (Marxist-based) political economic conceptualisations discussed in Chapter 2. I named it 'systemic' to underline the view that global neoliberalism and globalisation have been facilitating labour exploitation at a global level and determine national structures (178,400).

Figure 27 proposes an ecosocial representation of the exploitation of migrant workers that has several advantages. First, it positions the different components of labour exploitation discussed by the interviewees, along micro to macro levels. This facilitates the understanding

of potential responsibilities for the exploitation of migrant workers, hence the identification of potential areas of public health interventions and targets. Second, it enabled me to adjust the working hypothesis of a continuum of labour exploitation (see Chapter 3) within the UK context. It also provides a framework of analysis for the CM with LAWs (see Chapter 8). Third, it offers an analytical lens to compare the different thesis findings, and to create the final conceptual framework that will be described in Chapter 9. Finally, the visualisation of multiple levels within this ecosocial approach will provide a basis for discussing the measurability of this concept in Chapter 10. It offers the opportunity to suggest the use of multilevel models for further quantitative research in this field, hence building upon preliminary research by Muntaner et al. (7,155) on workplace exploitation (see Chapter 10).

7.7. Conclusion

This chapter showed the difficulties in drawing a clear line between a structural labour exploitation and labour exploitation experienced by LAWs at the workplace. This led to identifying an ecosocial model of labour exploitation. It described labour exploitation as a complex SDH, which has intertwined micro and macro levels components.

The labour exploitation expressing itself at the workplace encompasses discretionary and institutional exploitation (micro level), and covers four main dimensions: issues with payment; poor employment terms and conditions; a hostile working environment; and poor health and safety at the workplace. At macro levels, structural and systemic labour exploitation correspond to structures of labour exploitation. Structural exploitation is composed of three main dimensions: de- or under-regulation of a sector with endemic outsourcing, migration specificities, and a lack of national labour laws. The level referred to as 'systemic exploitation' is not detailed because of the lack of enough evidence in the interviews to describe its content.

This model may inform strategies to tackle labour exploitation and related health issues among migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs by facilitating an understanding of which stakeholders or structures could be targeted for interventions. This exploratory study opens the door to developing further research on this overlooked SDH.

Chapter 8.   A structured conceptual framework specific to Latin American workers in London

8.1.   Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the CM with LAWs. It discusses the content of labour exploitation from the perspective of LAWs which is displayed on the structured conceptual framework in Figure 30. It is specific to LAWs, in contrast with the expert skeleton map that is standardisable. For LAWs, labour exploitation is composed of the following three main dimensions: 'Poor employment conditions and lack of protection', 'Disposability and abuse of power', and 'Health and safety and psychosocial hazards'. The analyses presented in this chapter were informed by the findings from key informant interviews discussed in Chapter 7, and interactions with the LA community throughout the fieldwork (see Chapter 5 for methods).

The chapter structure is similar to the expert CM chapter. The chapter ends by highlighting key aspects that make this concept map specific to LAWs, as this will inform the synthesis presented in Chapter 9.

8.2.   Description of participants

8.2.1.   Recruitment outcomes and description of sessions

As for the experts, the recruitment occurred in two phases corresponding to data collection: a first phase for brainstorming and a second for the sorting-rating exercise. Throughout, rapport building was maintained with participants and the union to enable recruitment of participants.

Figure 28 below displays the initial and revised recruitment plans for the research, as well as the corresponding outcomes. As discussed in Chapter 5, I initially planned to recruit participants through three paths that were expected to capture experiences of labour exploitation along the hypothesised continuum. Following the key informant interviews, I decided to recruit only via unions, LA associations and snowballing. As shown in Figure 28, all participants were recruited via union events and snowballing. Moreover, if a recruited person brought along another person to a session, this person was included if s/he was from a Spanish-speaking Latin American country, and not a supervisor.
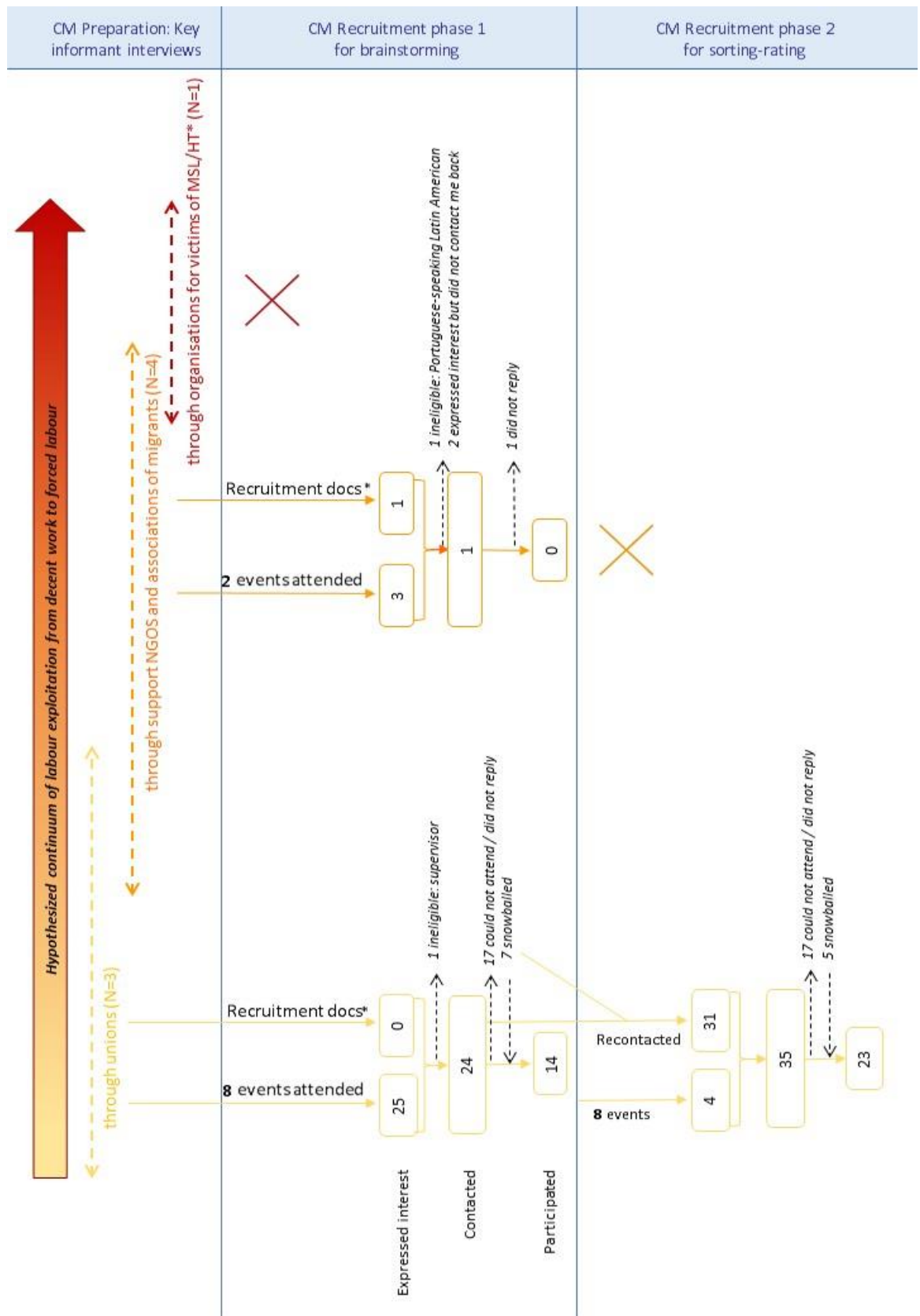
Figure 28 Overview of the outcomes of the recruitment along the hypothesised continuum of labour exploitation. CM with LAWs

Between August 2016 and February 2017, I attended 10 events organised by three of the organisations interviewed during the key informant interviews: eight organised by unions, and two organised by an association for LA in London. This led to recruiting seven people for brainstorming, who snowballed seven other participants. Therefore, 14 people attended the brainstorming sessions, which were conducted in group or individual sessions during February and March 2017. Between brainstorming and sorting-rating, rapport building was maintained with unions and participants. I attended another eight events organised by the unions in May and June 2017. This led to recruiting four new participants in the sorting-rating exercise, all of whom were men. For this phase, I also invited all people who had previously shown an interest in participating in the brainstorming, and those who actually participated. Thirteen participants in the brainstorming attended the sorting-rating phase and seven new people were snowballed. Therefore, between 20 May and 26 July 2017, a total of 23 people participated in the face-to-face sorting-rating sessions. Sessions took place in meeting rooms, cafés and union headquarters depending on participants' availabilities and preferences.

Table 11 presents the distribution of participants according to the type of session they attended: group or individual. Brainstorming sessions included two group sessions and six individual sessions.

Table 11 Distribution of participants in the CM with LAWs according to the type of sessions they attended

	n_{Female}	n_{Male}	N
Brainstorming			
Group session (men)	0	4	4
Group session (women)	7	0	7
Individual sessions	1	2	3
Interviews	1	2	3
Sub-total for brainstorming	*9*	*8*	*17*
Sorting-rating			
Group session (G1)	1	4	5
Group session (G2)	0	2	2
Group session (G3)	3	0	3
Group session (G6)	1	1	2
Individual sessions	4	7*	11
Sub-total for sorting-rating	*9*	*14*	*23*
Overall total	**11**	**16**	**27**

*Note: * 1 participant only performed the rating exercise*

8.2.2. Sample characteristics

Table 12 presents participants' characteristics.

Table 12 Distribution of the characteristics of participants in the CM with LAWs according to their participation in the CM phases (N=27)

Participants' characteristics	Overall	
	n	**%**
Female	11	*40.7*
Country of birth		
Colombia	15	*55.6*
Ecuador	7	*25.9*
Other [1]	5	*18.5*
Level of English		
Fluent or almost fluent	6	*22.2*
Can speak but cannot read/write	2	*7.4*
Can read/write but cannot speak	6	*22.2*
Speak, read/write with difficulty	11	*40.7*
Cannot speak, read/write	1	*3.7*
missing	1	*3.7*
Way s/he found the current job:		
Recruitment agency	0	*0.0*
Someone s/he knows told him/her about the job	21	*77.8*
Found it him/herself	3	*11.1*
Other (unemployed)	1	*3.7*
Missing	2	*7.4*
Type of employer		
Employed by the workplace where s/he works (in-house/internal employee)	6	*22.2*
Employed by an outsourcing company	17	*63.0*
unemployed	1	*3.7*
Other [2]	2	*7.4*
missing	1	*3.7*
Current job title		
Cleaner	22	*81.5*
Former-cleaner	1	*3.7*
Gardener	1	*3.7*
Bartender	1	*3.7*
Cook	1	*3.7*
Interpreter	*1*	*3.7*
Highest level of education completed		
Primary school	1	*3.7*
Secondary school / A-levels	13	*48.2*
Higher education	7	*25.9*
Vocational training	2	*7.4*
English certificate	1	*3.7*
Missing	3	*11.1*
Working full-time		
Full-time	13	*48.2*
Part-time	13	*48.2*
Unemployed	1	*3.7*

*Notes: * includes 1 participant who only performed the rating; [1] Spanish-speaking country of central and South America; [2] includes: 'both in-house and outsourced'; and 'retired'*

Overall, the sample was composed of 27 Spanish-speaking Latin Americans working in London. Almost all participants were cleaners (22/27). Apart from one person recruited through snowballing, all were employed in a manual low-skilled job. A friend brought along by a group of participants was an interpreter who was very involved in the union and LA community activities. This participant differed only in that she was not a manual worker, while still being from a Spanish-speaking LA country, a non-supervisor, and snowballed by a participant. The experiences she shared about her interactions with other LA manual workers were pertinent to the goals of the sessions. Moreover, her exclusion from the session would have harmed the group dynamic. It is likely that her participation did not negatively impact the CM outcome.

The whole sample was composed of comparable proportions of men and women, aged 45 (SD=10.9) on average. There were slightly more men in the sorting-rating phase (60%). Participants have been living in the UK for an average of 9 years (SD=8.5), and working in London for an average of 7 years (SD=5.9). Seven Spanish-speaking Latin American countries were represented. Almost half of the sample was composed of Colombians, and a quarter of Ecuadorians, which is consistent with the distribution of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in London (104). Participants' self-declared level of English varied. Most reported some lack of English skills, especially problems with speaking. Participants were mainly employed by an outsourcing company (63%) and about half of the workers were working part-time (48%). They mainly found their job through someone they know, including WhatsApp groups (78%). These distributions remained similar for both sessions (see Appendix J for details).

When comparing the distribution of women and men's characteristics in the sample, there was overall no major difference. However, it appears that more men than women were in a full-time position (respectively 63% versus 27%), and a higher proportion of men were directly employed by their employer (in-house) (31% versus 9% for women). The proportion of men who had achieved higher education was higher than women (respectively 31% versus 18%).

8.3. Description of statements

Like for the expert CM, data collection was composed of two phases separated by a phase of data synthesis and reduction. In contrast with the expert CM, sessions were conducted face-to-face in Spanish. During brainstorming, participants were asked to generate short statements to complete the prompt: *"A migrant worker if exploited when…"*. As described in Chapter 5, brainstorming sessions were conducted in group or individual sessions according

to participants' availability. Transcripts of the audio-recordings and of the notes taken during the sessions were used as source of information. Transcripts of the three key informant interviews with LAWs were added to brainstorming results to ensure that no idea that could describe the concept of labour exploitation from LAWs' perspective was missed. Statements containing single ideas were then extracted from all these transcripts.

The next sections describe the statements generated and the results from the sorting and rating of these statements.

8.3.1. Statements generation: from brainstorming to the final list

From all the transcribed material, I extracted 650 raw statements brainstormed by participants. The number of statements is higher than for the expert CM, mainly because I used two sources of information (notes during the sessions and transcripts from audio recordings). Raw statements in Spanish were then translated into English. I then screened all extracted statements to split those that may contain more than a single idea. For example, the statement U1MD-6 *"s/he is threatened and controlled by one person"* ("*Esta amenazado y controlado por una persona*" in Spanish) contained two ideas. Therefore, I split it into two single raw statements as follows:

- U1MD-6-1 *"s/he is threatened by one person"*;
- U1MD-6-2 *"s/he is controlled by one person"*.

After this 'extension' process, a list of 693 single raw statements was obtained. These statements were then grouped into themes to reduce and synthesise the list of statements and verify that generated statements addressed the scope of the exercise. Larger overarching thematic groups of themes were initially created. Statements were then further separated into sub-themes. Although themes occasionally overlapped, statements were allocated to the group representing the closest match in terms of theme content as much as possible. The distribution of these 693 single raw statements according to themes and subthemes that emerged from brainstorming is available in Appendix J. Themes that will now be discussed strongly echo the themes developed during key informant interviews (see Chapter 7).

Some themes were particularly developed, and workers spent a lot of time discussing them during the sessions. The overarching theme of 'Mistreatment' was by far the most developed, which is also something that I noticed during key informant interviews. This theme was very often discussed during brainstorming sessions. Participants shared the feeling that migrant workers are exploited when they are treated badly. Supervisors at the workplace were frequently designated as perpetrators, even if the company (or *"big bosses"*) was also mentioned. Situations of mistreatment encompass a variety of situations, including being

threatened, bullied, abused verbally, physically or psychologically. The term 'Abuse' was used very frequently in workers' discourses referring to exploitative practices, which is similar to the expert CM and to literature on labour exploitation (73,80,182,187,401). They all seem to use this term as an umbrella word for unfair or unacceptable conditions, and sometimes as a synonym of exploitation. This overarching theme of mistreatment also covered statements describing participants' perceptions that migrant workers are treated like machines or not considered as human beings (sub-theme 'Commodification'). Related to some kinds of mistreatment, some statements referred to how supervisors can trick workers to fire them, or how they are afraid of being fired or joining a union.

A high number of statements described the theme 'Workers' vulnerabilities', which are characteristics that can be taken advantage of: lack of language skills or of knowledge of one's rights; personal vulnerabilities (e.g. economic necessity, low self-esteem); absence of appropriate documentation (e.g. identity document or visa); and being too scared to complain.

As expected, many statements concerned issues with 'Wages'. Like key informants from support organisations (see Chapter 7) and experts (see Chapter 6), participants considered that being unpaid, or not being paid for extra job or hours performed, not being paid the minimum wage, not being paid a *"fair"*, *"just"* or *"living"* wage, were situations of labour exploitation. Some wage-related statements described situations where workers performing the same job as other workers at the same workplace were given a lower salary. Some workers reported that having unpaid or partially paid lunch breaks was also a form of labour exploitation.

Similarly, participants mentioned issues related to workers' 'Benefits' as constitutive of labour exploitation. This theme included statements related to workers not being entitled to labour guarantees (*e.g.* pension and job stability) or having issues with holidays and sickness benefits. Some perceived that they were exploited when they were forced to take their holidays in a scattered way, especially because they feel that the company is aware that they recruit Latin Americans who would need to have enough holidays to go back to their country. This theme included issues related to sickness, such as not being entitled to sick pay or having poor compensation when sick, but also not being compensated in case of work accident.

Many issues related to 'Workload' were raised by LAWs. Several statements illustrated situations where workers' workload was too high or increased, often without compensation and often as a result of a reduction in staff numbers.

Statements under this theme often referred to bosses and their way of treating migrant workers. Some were directly related to 'Bosses' incapacity'. For example, participants reported that bosses would require very high quality for tasks that they were already not able to perform within the allocated time. Surprisingly, participants considered that migrant workers were exploited when their boss was not trained to be a supervisor and not able to manage a team. Participants also considered that the lack of training to be supervisor led to bosses not being able to communicate properly with their staff. They explained that often companies would identify a cleaner who can speak English and from one day to another this person may be asked to perform a supervision job without being told how to do it. This lack of training or induction was also a mechanism described at the level of workers when they mentioned that there was no induction or any training to inform them about their duties and how to do their job. This suggests that participants perceived that companies who neglect to train or purposely do not provide workers with training create a system leading to, or facilitating the migrant workers' exploitation. Similarly, workers also perceived as exploitative some issues that could be forms of structural exploitation, such as being outsourced, being on a zero-hour contract, or told on the day not to come because there is no work that day.

'Abuse of existing rules' at the workplace was a related theme and covered: stretching the tasks a worker is supposed to do, changing a worker's normal tasks, abusing the system of disciplinary procedures, and dismissing workers for unfair reasons in order to punish, scare and/or threaten the workers. Within this theme, some statements referred to favouritism as an exploitative practice. Indeed, workers revealed situations where a supervisor allocated tasks less demanding to relatives that they recruited or to people that the boss likes. This ended up adding to the other workers' burden.

Some statements generated reflected 'Failure to inform' migrant workers, by not giving them a contract or giving a contract not reflecting their actual job, not giving them an opportunity to read and understand the contract when they have one, or not telling them what their duties are. This theme also indicates that not informing workers about their rights or providing them with information in English when they know they have a lack of English proficiency characterised situations of migrant workers' exploitation.

Another major thematic group consisted of statements related to 'Health and safety' at the workplace. For this theme, statements produced described an absence of protective equipment, such as gloves, masks, or even uniforms. Several workers reported that sometimes they were only given a single uniform when they had to wear one every day. Some workers indicated that when they asked for protective equipment, they could be either told

that they would get it *"later"* but then would not receive it for several months, or that they are not entitled to get one for various reasons (e.g. because they are part-time).

Other themes covered a wide range of issues which workers considered part of labour exploitation. Other statements described private aspects of workers' lives, such as having no rights for their family, being forbidden to have kids (for women), not being able to have free time (*"for his/her own things"*), or poor housing conditions. Being given too few working hours to work per day was also perceived as exploitative: being given 2- or 2.5-hours contracts, being given 2 hours of cleaning at 4 am, and having working hours spread across different parts of town.

Some statements, generated mainly during the women's brainstorming group, described situations where the supervisor tried to *"touch"* or *"touched"* women. Some participants saw this as an expression of supervisors' abuse of power, which could also be used to *"date"* female workers. In these situations, it seemed that the supervisor threatened the woman with being fired or sanctioned if she refused. During interviews with LA associations focusing on LA women, some key informants brought to my attention that sexual harassment and violence was an issue for members, which might not emerge during group sessions despite being prevalent. One interviewee also warned that if women mentioned such issues, they would use euphemisms, which is what I observed during the sessions.

After several phases of statement reduction and discussions with my supervisors, I obtained a final list of 94 statements describing labour exploitation, which are presented in Table 13 below, along with their ID used for the concept maps (see section 8.5). These statements represent LAWs' voices about the content of labour exploitation. This list was then translated into Spanish by a native Latin American Spanish-speaker. It was then edited after 'back-translation' by two other LA Spanish speakers and piloting the sorting-rating exercise.

Table 13 Final list of the 94 statements in English before translation in Spanish. CM with LAWs

ID	Statement
1	s/he is outsourced
2	s/he is not given a contract
3	s/he is told that s/he will receive no training or protective equipment because s/he works fewer hours than the other workers
4	s/he cannot work peacefully because the boss constantly changes his/her tasks or working area
5	s/he is not paid by sick pay from the first day of sickness (with medical justification)
6	s/he is not covered/compensated in case of a work accident
7	s/he is not informed about workers' rights
8	s/he is afraid to lose his/her job if s/he joins a union
9	his/her bosses don't let him/her rest
10	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he goes on strike
11	s/he is psychologically abused
12	s/he has to cover without payment another person's absence
13	s/he can only afford to live in a shared overcrowded house
14	s/he has no pay rise after working many years for the same company
15	his/her boss refuses to pay him/her all the hours worked
16	s/he does not receive training explaining what and how to do his/her job
17	s/he does not receive the adequate protection equipment
18	s/he is pressured to do more work than feasible in the allocated time
19	his/her holiday entitlement is lower than what s/he should have for the number of hours actually worked
20	his/her boss is not trained to do his/her job and manage workers
21	s/he is given a couple of hours work in the middle of the night
22	s/he does not have the same pension benefits than the in-house workers (direct employees)
23	s/he does not receive health and safety training
24	s/he is fired because s/he had an older contract with better conditions
25	s/he is paid less than the minimum wage
26	s/he is taken to a disciplinary/investigation meeting for complaining
27	s/he is given more workload if s/he complains
28	his/her boss tries to fire him/her because s/he refused a date
29	s/he is bullied
30	s/he can be fired without justification
31	s/he has no legal documents
32	s/he has a short-hour contract
33	s/he cannot complain as s/he fears losing his/her job
34	his/her boss shows favouritism in work allocation
35	s/he cannot speak the language
36	s/he is given a part-time contract while s/he actually works full-time
37	s/he has no right to eat and is not given water at work
38	s/he is threatened of disciplinary sanctions
39	s/he is insulted by his/her boss
40	his/her boss refuses to adapt his/her duty if s/he is injured or pregnant
41	s/he is not given detailed information about the contract
42	his/her holidays payment is given to someone else
43	his/her working hours are in different part of town
44	his/her boss creates a hostile environment to force him/her to quit
45	his/her documents are used to hire another worker
46	his/her boss tries to touch/touches him/her
47	s/he is not given free time for his/her own activities

Table 13 (continued)

ID	Statement
48	s/he is physically assaulted
49	s/he is discriminated against at work
50	s/he is forbidden to have kids
51	s/he is told on the day not to come because there is no work
52	s/he has to complain to get his/her payment or holidays entitlements owed
53	his/her quantity of work increases without pay raise
54	s/he is not treated as a human being
55	s/he is obliged to take fragmented/scattered holidays
56	his/her work is never well-done in the eyes of the supervisor
57	s/he is forced to work more for the same salary to keep his/her job
58	s/he is threatened with being sacked when s/he cannot work because s/he is sick
59	s/he is tricked into signing a document telling s/he received health and safety training when s/he was not trained
60	s/he is not paid the right amount of hours at the end of the month
61	s/he does not receive a payslip
62	s/he is not paid at the end of the month
63	s/he does not have paid holidays
64	his/her boss's bad communication prevents his/her issues to be acknowledged
65	s/he is fired when coming back from authorised absence or holidays
66	s//he is not paid his/her full lunch break
67	s/he does not know how or to whom to complain to about a problem at work
68	s/he gets injured because s/he had to rush to do his/her work
69	s/he loses money when s/he is sick
70	s/he is not paid for extra hours/work
71	s/he is given a disciplinary sanction if s/he cannot finish his/her work within allocated time
72	his/her boss asks him/her money because s/he covered him/her when s/he was absent
73	s/he is paid less than the living wage
74	his/her boss abuses his/her position to date him/her
75	s/he is constantly asked to wait for his/her contract to be updated
76	s/he is not given the opportunity to read and understand the contract
77	s/he does not have sick pay
78	s/he has no right to leave work to care for his/her family
79	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he cannot perform his/her job tasks due to an injury
80	s/he works at night for the same salary as during daytime
81	s/he is scared of his/her boss
82	his/her working hours are fragmented
83	s/he gets sacked following a work injury/accident
84	s/he is yelled at by the boss
85	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he wants to complain
86	s/he has a zero-hour contract
87	s/he is paid less than another worker doing the same job in the same company
88	s/he is humiliated at work
89	s/he is not offered solutions to issues at work but told to leave if not happy
90	s/he is forced to do a physical task that should be done by 2 persons
91	s/he has a heavier workload than his/her colleagues who were recruited recently
92	his/her boss is always supported when there is an investigation on him/her
93	s/he is told s/he is not entitled to sick pay because s/he works part-time
94	s/he lacks materials to work

8.3.2. Description of individual sorting and rating results

Twenty-three participants participated in the sorting-rating exercise. Only 22 performed the sorting task as one participant only wanted to do the rating. On average, participants created 6 groups each (SD=3.42; range 2 to 15 groups). These groups contained 17 statements on average (SD=14.26; range 2 to 74 statements).

8.3.2.a. *Individual sorting schemes*

Participants used a variety of labels to describe the groups they created. Labels themselves provided information on participants' perceptions of themes represented by the statements, offering insight into higher levels of abstraction describing labour exploitation. Exploring the labels individuals used specifically provides information on the dimensions of labour exploitation as perceived by individuals. Therefore, as I did for the experts, I regrouped the labels within thematic groups to explore the individual sorting schemes that I will now describe.

LAWs' labels seem to reflect their lived experiences of labour exploitation, indicating how this may affect them and their understanding of the mechanisms of labour exploitation. In contrast, experts' labels seemed to reflect expertise present in the sample through the use of specific vocabulary (*e.g.* "Access to Social protection and Labour rights" or "Violence/ Crime"). After creating thematic groups of workers' labels, it appeared that these label themes echoed with the ecosocial model developed from the key informant interviews analysis (see Chapter 7). Labels, described hereafter, could be sorted along micro to macro levels of labour exploitation.

Figure 29 below presents an adaptation of the ecosocial model on which the label themes can be visualised. On this figure:

- the most inner circle represents migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs;
- themes related to circles closer to the circle representing migrant workers are more likely to be experienced or observed directly by workers. These themes indicate situations that may have a more direct impact on worker's health or may increase their risk of a negative impact;
- situations described towards micro-level of labour exploitation are influenced by those at the upper levels.
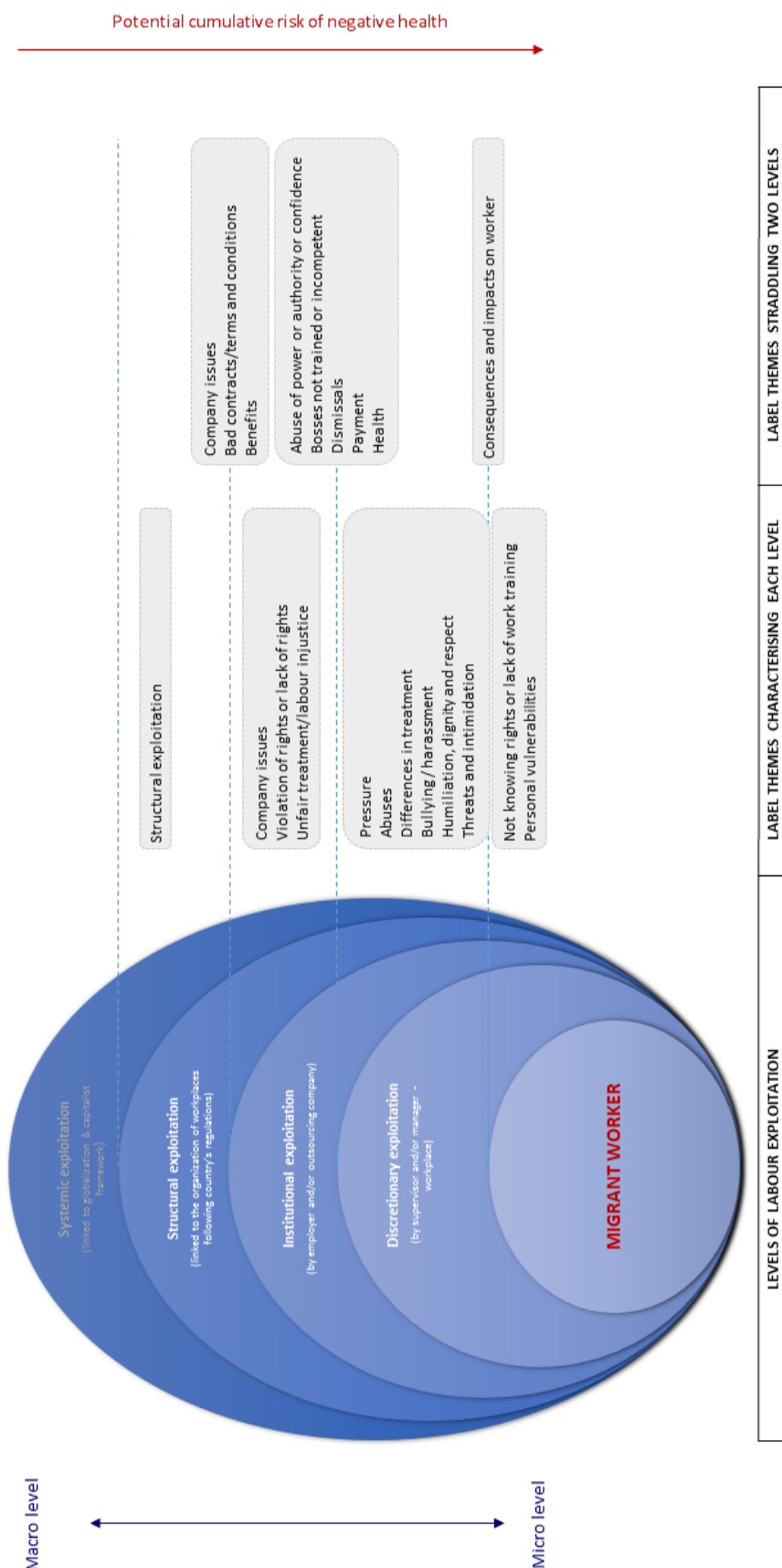
Figure 29 Distribution of theme labels according to (vertical) levels of labour exploitation that they characterise. CM with LAWs

Participants' sorting schemes took into account a mixture of personal experiences, causes and effects of labour exploitation, which were similar to the key informant interviews' themes. The hierarchy of themes depicted in

Figure 29, hence, probably reflects the recruitment via unions.

Label themes are described below from a micro level representing potential proximal risk factors to a macro level of labour exploitation representing more distal social risk factors or components.

Themes corresponding to the level of migrant worker (inner circle) concern the migrant worker him/herself and his characteristics or vulnerabilities. These could be considered as issues located 'within' workers, hence their location at the level of the inner circle. This confirms participants' awareness about personal vulnerabilities that could be taken advantage of, which was often discussed during brainstorming sessions. It is interesting to highlight that during brainstorming, these themes opened up tense/sensitive discussions. Participants discussed the possible "responsibility" of migrant workers for their own exploitation. In fact, this happened particularly when discussing their lack of English skills.

Labels referring to 'Consequences for and impact on the worker' indicate that participants found that some statements represented effects of labour exploitation. This thematic group could be considered as a transitional group between themes referring to the worker him/herself and the upper level of labour exploitation.

Still at a relatively micro level, are themes that describe how migrant workers are treated at the workplace (e.g. facing high pressure, abuses, humiliation or threats). These themes seem to reflect first-hand experiences of workers, which have a potentially high or direct negative impact on migrant workers' health. This may characterise some form of 'discretionary exploitation' exerted by supervisors at the workplace, as opposed to company owners or senior management.

At a higher level, some themes straddled between discretionary and institutional labour exploitation; for example, 'Bosses' abuse of power', or 'Wages' and 'Health and safety issues'. These were placed in between two levels because of the difficulties in understanding whether LAWs perceived that these issues related to supervisors (discretionary level) or the companies (institutional level) themselves.

The upper level 'Institutional labour exploitation' covers label themes like 'Violation and lack of rights' and 'Unfair treatment/labour injustice'. The themes referred to situations that were perceived to be under the company's responsibility. They also show LAWs' perception about

a company's failure to ensure that legislation and good practices are respected at the workplace. Interestingly, one label that I sorted under 'Company issues' (i.e. *"Intelligent abuse from the business"*) seems to indicate that this level of institutional exploitation is entangled with the upper level, which represents structural exploitation. This reveals that - like key informants - participants viewed national structures as facilitators of migrant workers' exploitation. This is also reflected by the label themes 'Bad contracts/terms and conditions' and 'Lack of benefits'.

The macro-level representing 'structural labour exploitation' is illustrated by labels reflecting perceived causes of labour exploitation, such as *"Problem of the labour system in the UK"* or *"Labour laws"*. This was unexpected, because I paid special attention during data reduction to have the most concrete statements possible. In fact, I expected that the composing statements would be sorted under other themes.

Surprisingly, while the CM aim was to ask workers to describe the concept of labour exploitation by creating thematic groups, two participants created groups which they labelled directly as "Labour exploitation". Both were in the same group session, and when I asked why they chose this title, they just mentioned that this was *"clearly exploitation"*. I suggest that they meant that this is what would be the core of labour exploitation for them. This label theme was not represented in

Figure 29. Moreover, this suggests that the individual sorting schemes conducted during group sessions may have been influenced by other workers who were in the group.

Finally, one participant approached the sorting exercise in a different way than other participants. She decided to sort statements according to whether she experienced or heard about situations described on the card or not. It is interesting and concerning to note that she sorted 74 out of 94 statements proposed in the group corresponding to similar situations she had experienced.

8.3.2.b. *Statements rating*

Participants were also required to rate the statements in terms of their relative importance for identifying situations of exploitation of migrant workers. Average ratings of statements were very high, and almost all comprised between 4 and 5 (see Appendix J for details).

It is interesting to note that the variability of ratings towards lower scores is higher. It may be because very few workers gave relatively low rates. For example, the lowest-rated statements 21 *"s/he is given a couple of hours work in the middle of the night"*) had a mean of 3.52 (SD=1.17), and 50 *"s/he is forbidden to have kids"* a mean of 3.91 (SD=1.51). Interestingly,

statement 50 - that was generated during the women's group brainstorming - was rated low with a high variability; and was actually subject to debate during several sorting-rating sessions. Some workers did not believe this kind of situation would happen.

In comparison, the highest-rated statements had lower variability: 90 *"s/he is forced to do a physical task that should be done by 2 persons"* had a mean of 4.91 (SD=0.29), and 54 *"s/he is not treated as a human being"* a mean of 4.87 (SD=0.34).

Surprisingly, some statements that I would have expected to be rated very high, such as 48 *"s/he is physically assaulted"* (mean=4.65, SD=0.88), or 17 *"s/he does not receive the adequate protection equipment"* (mean=4.30, SS=1.02) were not among the highest ratings. This might be because some participants may not have faced these, hence did not rate it highly.

8.4. Results of the multivariate analysis: Latin American workers' concept map

This section clarifies the dimensions and sub-dimensions of the construct from the perspective of LAWs. Like I did for the expert CM, I will present the combination of the point map that resulted from the MDS and the CA performed to identify clusters. This section only presents the point cluster map because the cluster ratings were all similar, ranging between 4.40 and 4.52 (see Appendix J).

Figure 30 below presents the concept map of labour exploitation generated from these analyses. The analyses revealed six clusters: 'Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability', 'Poor contract and payment issues', 'Being disposable and disciplined, 'Abuse of power at the workplace, 'Being mistreated and neglected', and 'Health and safety issues and lack of health protection'.

As previously discussed for the expert CM, points represent the statements identified by their ID (see previous Table 7). Their position on this map allows for the identification of statements that were conceptually similar (points close) or dissimilar (points further apart) for participants. For instance, the points 28 *"his/her boss tries to fire him/her because s/he refused a date"* and 46 *"his/her boss tries to touch / touches him/her"* are very close on the map (bottom left). This implies that participants found these statements very similar, which seems relevant as they indicate situations of sexual harassment. In contrast, statement 63 *"s/he does not have paid holidays"* is located on the opposite side of the map, indicating that it was considered conceptually different from these two statements. This indicates that statement 63 may belong to a different dimension than statements 28 and 46.
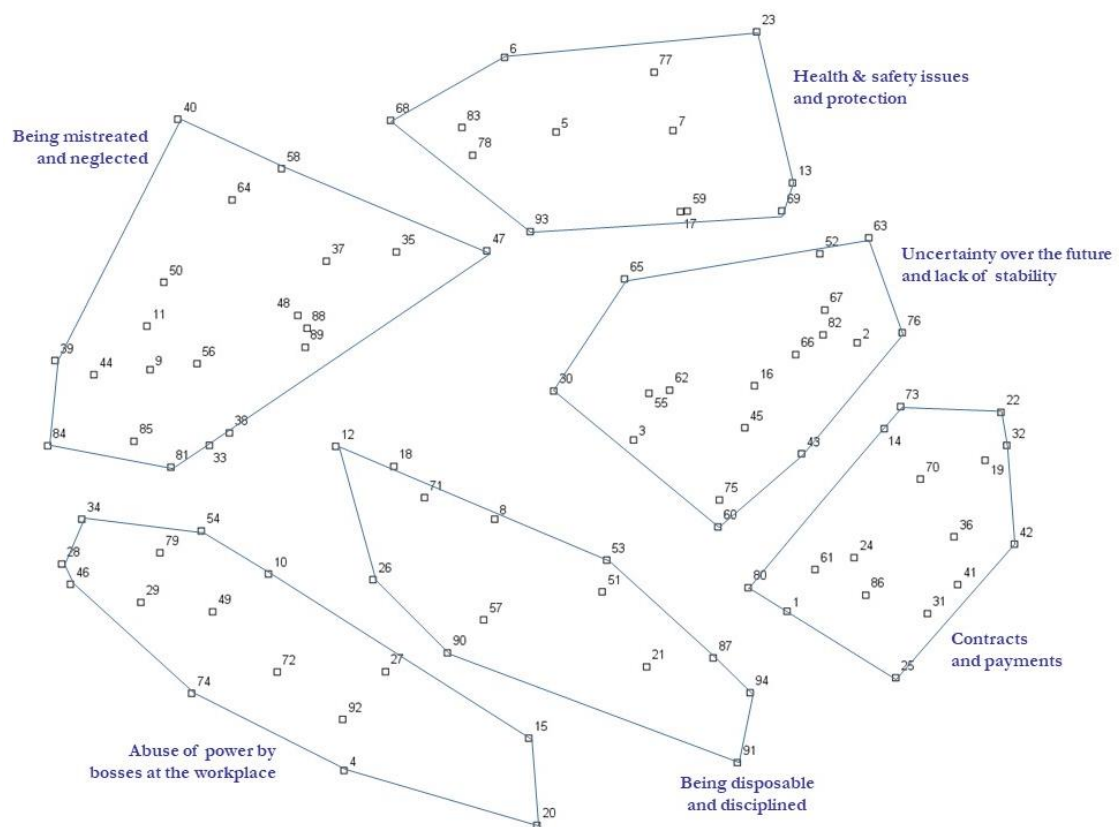
Figure 30 Point cluster map of the CM with LAWs

The clusters represent the dimensions (or subdimensions) of labour exploitation for LAWs that will now be described. Details of statements composing the clusters are available in Appendix J. I will use quotes extracted from the brainstorming transcripts to illustrates each cluster:

Cluster 'Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability' covers statements indicating employment conditions that seem to prevent migrant workers from planning their future, both short-term (e.g. 60 *"s/he is not paid the right amount of hours at the end of the month"*, or 82 *"his/her working hours are fragmented"*) or longer-term (e.g. 30 *"s/he can be fired without justification"*). Statements like 62 *"s/he is not paid at the end of the month"* or 65 *"s/he is fired when coming back from authorised absence or holidays"* illustrate that workers feel unable to have stability.

Cluster 'Poor contract and payment issues' contains statements referring to specific aspects of contractual arrangements perceived as exploitative by participants; for example, having a zero-hour contract or being outsourced (respectively statements 86 and 1). It also covers payment issues, such as being paid less than the minimum wage (statement 25).

These employment arrangements seem to be specific to the UK context and low-skilled job sector, mainly cleaning (see Chapter 3).

Furthermore, this cluster contains statements that may be related to workers' experiences of migration. Statement 31 *"s/he has no legal documents"* is the most obvious one, but statements like 14 *"s/he has no pay rise after working many years for the same company"* or 80 *"s/he works at night for the same salary as during daytime"* may also reflect experiences of loss of labour rights during the migration process. Indeed, most of the participants have been working in another country with better labour rights and protection.

Cluster 'Being disposable and disciplined' covers situations where workers are perceived to be treated as commodities. For example, they are asked to work a couple of hours in the middle of the night (statement 21) or told on the day that there is no work (statement 51). Workers shared that such situations make them feel treated like they have no personal life. The cluster also includes statements describing threats that they face. It also covers statements demonstrating that they cannot complain about their conditions because they feel that they would be or are disciplined for that: *"s/he is taken to a disciplinary/investigation meeting for complaining"* (statement 26) or *"s/he is given a disciplinary sanction if s/he cannot finish his/her work within allocated time"* (statement 71). They described these as means to ensure they perform high workload without compensation or without feeling entitled to refuse (18 *"s/he is pressured to do more work than feasible in the allocated time"* or 57 *"s/he is forced to work more for the same salary to keep his/her job"*).

Cluster 'Abuse of power at the workplace' contains statements illustrating situations where workers feel that bosses at the workplace take advantage of their higher hierarchical position, hence their higher power, to take advantage of migrant workers (e.g. 72 *"his/her boss asks him/her money because s/he covered him/her when s/he was absent"*), make them feel inferior, or to assert their power (e.g. 4 *"s/he cannot work peacefully because the boss constantly changes his/her tasks or working area"*). Statements within this cluster seem to illustrate mechanisms of what one union leader interviewed (UL3) described as *"climate of fear"*. For example, punishing or threatening staff who dared to complain (statement 27), or planned to go on strike (statement 10). Participants conceptualised issues of bullying, favouritism and discrimination within this dimension, which support some key informants' views that these are mechanisms used to maintain the climate of fear. They also expressed bosses' impunity, which seems indicated within statement *92 "his/her boss is always supported when there is an investigation on him/her"*. It is interesting to note that statements related to sexual abuses perpetrated by bosses at the workplace are located in this cluster, when I expected sexual abuses to be within the same cluster as physical assaults or within health and safety cluster. This may reflect that participants consider that these situations arise because of a combination of feelings of

impunity and positions of power over women migrant workers. This is supported by a discussion emerging from the women group brainstorming:

> *"B: […] they think they have authority.*
> *A: It usually happens: I had a manager who invited me to go out. And because I was not interested in going out, so when he saw that I was not interested in going out, he looked for all the necessary means to fire me."*

Cluster 'Being mistreated and neglected' includes statements describing mistreatment faced by workers at the workplace, be it physical (statement 48 *"s/he is physically assaulted"*) or psychological (e.g. insulted or yelled at – statements 84 and 39). It also covers situations of neglect or carelessness, such as being given tasks that are not adapted when workers are pregnant or injured (statement 40), not providing workers with adequate food or water (statement 37). It also includes statements describing that bosses or companies *"do not care"* about workers having a personal life or not (47 *"s/he is not given free time for his/her own activities"*). This cluster covers themes and statements that were frequently mentioned during the sessions, mistreatment, not being able to speak the language (English), and being *"scared of the boss"*, which interestingly may reflect both the causes and the consequences of the statements within this cluster. Interestingly, statement 50 *"s/he is forbidden to have kids"* is within this cluster. However, I believe that workers may have randomly allocated it or interpreted it differently because it raised many questions during the sessions. Some participants highlighted that they did not understand what it meant (especially men). Others did not believe this may happen.

Cluster 'Health and safety issues and lack of health protection' includes statements that refer to sickness and accidents, lack of protective equipment, and poor health benefits (sick pay) or insurance (sick pay or insurance). Statements related to workers' personal wellbeing, such as having care leave or housing conditions, are also included within this cluster. Surprisingly, statement 7 *"s/he is not informed about workers' rights"* is also included in this cluster, while I would have expected it to be with the clusters covering employment conditions. Participants might have related the lack of knowledge of rights as a cause of these health and safety issues.

As observed in

Figure 30, all clusters are relatively close to each other, hence conceptually related to each other for participants. Clusters obtained are all quite elongated, which indicates that statements within clusters may not be considered very similar by participants. Participants' way of conceptualising labour exploitation may be quite disparate. This supports observations made from the qualitative analysis of the individual sorting schemes (see section

8.3.2), which suggests that there were larger overarching themes, but group labels varied quite significantly.

The following section will discuss the connections between clusters and identify the key dimensions and subdimensions. Quotations from the brainstorming discussions will also illustrate each key dimension to make workers' voices better heard.

8.5. A contextually tailored structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation

Figure 31 below presents the structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation from the perspective of LAWs. This map reveals three main dimensions: 'Poor employment conditions and lack of protection', 'Disposability and abuse of power', and 'Health and safety and psychosocial hazards'. These dimensions are composed of the regions of meaning composed of the clusters located close to each other and conceptually similar. These are described below.

8.5.1. Poor employment conditions and lack of protection

The region (or main dimension) 'Poor employment conditions and lack of protection' contains the clusters 'Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability' and 'Poor contract and payment issues'. The following quote highlights the relation between the two clusters:

> *"people with zero-hour [contracts] do not have the right to take paid holidays, they do not have paid holidays... [...] You can take your holidays, but they do not pay you [...] there is no job stability for those people, which is crucial! [...] All contracts have to be under this regime: all with paid vacations, all with sick pay and all... with job stability!" (U3M)*

Statements contained within each cluster represent characteristics of employment conditions, and protection that are generally found in contractual arrangements and define employment relations: *"When you do not have a contract or an explanation of which area you have to clean, day after day, they add things to you, and how could you say no." (U2F)*

When one would expect contractual arrangements to offer workers a sense of security and capacity to plan their future, here the statements highlight an absence of a 'safety net'. For example, the irregularity in payment:

> *"When you go to the payroll to collect your payment you missed money. There were hours missing. [...] it was scary because the supervisor said he reported all the time [worked]. I passed everything to the manager. [...] I do not know what happened if the manager or mismanagement lost the money." (U3M)*

Figure 31 Structured conceptual framework of the exploitation of migrant workers tailored for and by Latin American migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs in London

This region indicates some macro- (structural) and meso-level (institutional) of labour exploitation, with statements moving back and forth between lack of national protection and enforcement of protection.

> *"Workers' rights, that this is the problem. It is the right that we have as people, because whether we are immigrants if we are working, we are legal because this government has allowed us to be here, so those rights we have to assert in any way." (U1F)*

This relates to the wider discussion initiated in Chapter 7 about the identification of responsible of labour exploitation (i.e. the State or companies). Moreover, situations described in this cluster might have a more indirect impact on workers' health and wellbeing and call for monitoring impacts of state and company's policies on migrant workers' health and wellbeing.

> *"I was the only one who had a full-time contract, and I took my paid vacation, I took my sick leaves, I could miss [work] when I felt bad; but the other people who had their two-and-a-half-hours contract could not miss if they are sick. I've seen it. And I witnessed that a colleague was here with a swollen lump, with fever, and working." (U1F)*

This region echoes the main dimension 'Social and legal protection' in the expert skeleton map, though here it contains statements that are very context-specific. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this region reflects some aspects of the organisation of the labour market in the UK for migrant workers in low-skilled workers. Statements such as 86 *"s/he has a zero-hour contract"*, 1 *"s/he is outsourced"*, or 66 *"s/he is not paid his/her full lunch break"* indicate situations that are very frequent practices within the UK low-skilled or low-paid service sector.

This region also contains migrant-specific statements, such as 31 *"s/he has no legal documents"* or 45 *"his/her documents are used to hire another worker"*, which also point towards a certain lack of protection associated with their migration status.

> *"Since one comes to this country, there are job opportunities, but there are many situations that are really exploitative, right? Especially when they do not bring papers, legal documents; they take advantage if they give them work, because they give it but they take advantage of the extra hours they do not pay them, they give them a lot of work, they do not know the way to claim anything because they cannot." (U2F)*

This main dimension highlights that, despite being lawful, some employment conditions such as being outsourced, not given a contract or given a few hours of work in the middle of the night are perceived as exploitative by LAWs. As mentioned in Chapter 7 (see section 7.3.1.c), this may reflect participants' previous experiences of migration and deskilling, which may be characteristic of the LA population in the UK.

8.5.2. Disposability and abuse of power

The dimension 'Disposability and abuse of power' contains the clusters 'Being disposable and disciplined' and 'Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace'. Both clusters are conceptually very similar and the distinction between both is thin, as both relate to mechanisms of exploitation. For example:

> *They threaten people […] They put them one, there is this [complaint] form […] it's a paper that tells you […] I'm going to pass this complain because you did not listen to me to do the work, you have to, they force you to sign it. […] At the third of these papers, they can suspend or sack you from the company." (U3M)*

Both clusters include statements illustrating situations where workers feel disposable because bosses or company request them to perform tasks whenever and whatever way the boss wants them to do, without consideration for workers.

> *"I have witnessed that a colleague was here with a swollen lump, with fever, and worked. I go, and I told the supervisor why? You are a person just like her, why do you not send her home? [Why] do you permit those things? And, in all truth, instead of helping, they crush them more so that these people do not rise." (U1F)*

While statements composing this dimension may echo with some statements of the expert CM, this dimension and its composing subdimensions were not identified in the expert CM. Therefore, this region seems to be the most representative of LAWs' voices. Statement 54 *"s/he is not treated as a human being"* may be the most illustrative statement of migrant workers' feelings towards labour exploitation. It is a notion that was frequently referred to during CM sessions and key informant interviews. It seems to represent this notion of being treated as commodities rather than human beings.

> *"those at the top [have] to be aware, that those who work are human beings, that we work with human beings, that we have limitations, and physical limitations too; and that not everyone work equally. […] In the end those who do the work for [them] to live well are those at the bottom. Well then... take the time to visit people, to ask their opinion, see what programs they have. That is very important, know them, know the base, the workers, […] see how their work, learn their names, ask how they live, how long have they been working in the company, what problems they have, give the possibility for them to communicate with you." (U3M)*

This main dimension includes mechanisms or means that make migrant workers feel that they are disposable. It highlights that supervisors (bosses) at the workplace are seen as responsible for labour exploitation (discretionary exploitation). Yet, they nuanced:

> *"Managers are not people who are prepared, 90% have been cleaner as one, and they are promoted, and suddenly they are commanding." (U1F)*

The presence of statements acknowledging bosses' lack of training and perceived impunity suggests that participants also acknowledge that companies also have some responsibility. They may either let things happen or neglect to put in place mechanisms to ensure a safe working environment. Moreover, statements within 'disposability and abuse of power' seem to present situations with a slightly less direct impact on workers' health.

Interestingly, statements related to sexual harassment included within this dimension were not expressed directly or clearly enough to assume that women may be sexually assaulted by their superior. However, cases of rapes, attempted rapes or molestation were reported during interviews with key informants, but also during some individual face-to-face sorting-rating exercise with some men newly recruited for the sorting-rating. These men shared stories of sexual harassment and assaults when they read the card *"his/her boss tries to touch/touches him/her"*. One shared that women were often *"forced to date"* to obtain or keep a job. Another participant reported that a supervisor almost raped a woman at his workplace, but the security agent who was doing his rounds at that time stopped him. He added that the manager covered up the supervisor, and the investigation was still ongoing at the moment of the session.

8.5.3. Health and safety issues and psychosocial hazards

The dimension 'Health & safety issues and psychosocial hazards' encompasses issues ranging from physical and psychosocial hazards reflecting the mistreatment and/or neglect faced by workers in the workplace, to a lack of health and social protection.

> *"UL2 - I suffer, I am suffering now about... lack of PPE.*
> *Interviewer - What do you mean?*
> *UL2 - Yeah. I am sick, I am still sick. I asked since September [that] they bring me a jacket because I take rubbish outside the building. Every time I have to go out, I felt sick in that time, I asked them, but they refused to give me... when the manager at [company X] heard me with a cough [all the] time, they [spoke] with managers, and they gave me one old jacket from another company last week. […] They gave me the old jacket last week and then I have otitis [..] And... I cannot go to work. I asked to my supervisor, he says maybe you can't earn money these days because this company do not pay for sick pay."* (UL2)

This main dimension includes workers' mistreatment and neglect as characteristics of migrant workers' exploitation, and may have a high potential for a direct negative impact on migrant workers' physical and mental health. Statements included may directly (or in the short-term) affect workers' health and wellbeing as well as their personal life. A similar region of meaning was also included in the expert skeleton map, but statements here are more

specific and detail what workers experienced in 'real life'. For example, one woman shared her experience of mistreatment:

> *"he said we were donkeys, so he took mop bucket and kicked it, and hit me on the leg. […] I was already suffering by the way he treated us: not letting you work in one place quietly, he changed you, you were here now not there anymore, in half an hour he comes and I changed you. And the way was humiliating. And after that I got sick, and I was very bad psychologically. Just listening to him I started to cry, tears came out just listening to the man and that's why they gave me 7 months of sick leave. […] I still suffer from that, from the psychological and physical harassment." (U1F)*

The cluster 'Being mistreated and neglected' within this region is very close to the previous region representing 'Disposability and abuse of power'. Statements within this cluster cover situations related to threats by and fear of bosses, and could be viewed as consequences of that region, or as physical and psychological expression of this disposability. In addition, statements located within this region and close to 'Poor employment conditions and poor lack of protection', are health-related statements corresponding to employment conditions (e.g. lack of sick pay).

Finally, statements of the CM with LAWs appear to be at a lower level of abstraction than those obtained from experts. This was expected because workers shared more practical and detailed information with regards to labour exploitation during the sessions. While the expert skeleton map provided some evidence of a continuum of labour exploitation from decent work to forced labour, this CM with LAWs supports the ecosocial model approach obtained with key informant interviews. Therefore, it seems that labour exploitation is a concept that may need to be studied or measured using multi-level models.

8.6. Conclusion

This chapter proposed a population-specific structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation which clarifies a complex concept from the perspectives of migrant workers potentially affected by it. This structured conceptual framework displays three key dimensions. It demonstrated that contextual aspects need to be considered when attempting to identify situations of labour exploitation. It provides empirical evidence of the need to consider national and local contexts for identifying situations of labour exploitation; and suggests aspects potentially specific to manual workers in low-skilled jobs and/or to Latin Americans. The ecosocial model developed in Chapter 7 offered insights into analysing the CM results, by differentiating different levels of labour exploitation (from discretionary to structural exploitation) which correspond to potential 'exploiters'. The chapter also confirms the relevance of the CM method in identifying concept dimensions.

Finally, this chapter offers a unique channel for migrant workers to voice their contributions and define a phenomenon they may experience. This structured conceptual framework specific to this population will complement the expert skeleton map, as I will move on to discuss in Chapter 9.

Chapter 9.   A joint structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation: combining experts' and Latin American workers' voices

9.1.   Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the critical analysis and synthesis of the Expert CM and CM with LAWs, using inputs from the key informant interviews presented in Chapter 6 to 8. It illustrates how the expert skeleton map can be adapted using the structured conceptual framework specific to LAWs. This led to the production of a joint structured conceptual framework (see Figure 32) displaying six dimensions, encompassing macro to micro levels: 'Poor employment and protection', 'Finance', 'Migration', 'Coercion', 'Health and safety, and 'Dehumanisation' (or 'Disposability and abuse of power').

Section 9.2 demonstrates that the main components of labour exploitation identified by the two groups mostly overlap. It also highlights that some features present in both CM are not conceptualised in the same way. Section 9.3 discusses the joint structured conceptual framework, which was obtained by using the expert skeleton map as *"a guide or scaffold"* (129) and building LAWs' voices into it.

9.2.   Convergences and divergences in conceptualisations

The models of both CM were valid as the stress values (stress$_{\text{expert CM}}$=0.18 and stress$_{\text{CM with LAWs}}$=0.26) compared favourably to those in previously published CM analyses (126,336). They were both below the average stress values and were towards the smaller stress values. Appendix K describes the details of both models' validation.

Table 14 below compares the dimensions' content common to both CM, and those that are diverging. A first observation is that the final structured conceptual frameworks have almost the same number of main dimensions: four for the expert CM and three for LAWs' CM. As discussed in Chapters 6 and 8, the experts' conceptualisation seems well structured and categorised, with fairly distinct dimensions (small and separated clusters), which reflects the different expertise found in the sample. The LAWs' map is less structured as the dimensions were more difficult to disentangle (i.e. elongated and close clusters), and most likely reflects their lived experiences. Experts have work experience of labour exploitation that may give them enough distance to further elaborate on the concept, whilst workers experiencing labour exploitation may not have enough distance from this. Moreover, the fact that CM was performed remotely for experts *versus* face-to-face for LAWs might have given experts more time to think through the CM exercise.

Table 14 Comparison of similar and dissimilar dimensions and subdimensions of the two CMs

Expert CM	CM with Latin American workers
DIM. Subdimension	**DIM. Subdimension**
Common dimensions	
HEALTH AND SAFETY Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	**HEALTH & SAFETY AND PSYCHOSOCIAL HAZARDS** Health and safety issues and lack of health protection Being mistreated and neglected
SOCIAL AND LEGAL PROTECTION Time-off and legality issues Contract and workload Health and social benefits Lack of means to get support Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	**POOR EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS AND LACK OF PROTECTION** Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability Poor contract and payment issues
Distinct dimensions	
FINANCE AND MIGRATION Deductions and migrant work Misled Wage issues **SHELTER AND PERSONAL SECURITY** Physical and psychological intimidation Deprivation of from basic needs Restriction of freedom and movement Dependence on the job	**DISPOSABILITY AND ABUSE OF POWER** Being disposable and disciplined Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace

Note: DIM. stands for dimensions; CM stands for Concept Mapping

The following sections demonstrate that both maps bring complementary information through analysing the content of their dimensions, using insights from the key informant interviews to offer more depth to the analysis. Section 9.2.1 discusses that both CMs contained dimensions relative to poor employment conditions and protection, and poor health and safety in the workplace. Section 9.2.2 compares the remaining dimensions which looked distinct: 'Shelter and personal security' and 'Finance and migration' for experts, and 'Disposability and abuse of power' for LAWs. This section also reveals that most statements in these remaining dimensions could relate to statements generated by the other group but were conceptualised (i.e. sorted) differently.

9.2.1. Common features

9.2.1.a. *Poor employment conditions and protection*

This section discusses a rather homogeneous and robust dimension representing the 'Poor employment conditions and protection' faced by exploited migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. It is composed of five subdimensions: 'Contract and workload', 'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information', 'Health and social benefits', 'Time-off and

legality issues', and 'Lack of means of support'. The content of this dimension was obtained by combining the expert CM dimension labelled 'Social and legal protection' and LAWs' 'Poor employment conditions and lack of protection'. These two dimensions had similar content although the number of their subdimensions was different (5 and 2 respectively), as shown in Table 14. I will now compare these subdimensions.

The experts' subdimension 'Contract and workload' encompassed items present in two LAWs subdimensions, namely 'Uncertainty over the future' and 'Contract and payment issues'. Experts described payment issues as part of the 'Finance and migration' dimension within two subdimensions 'Wages' and 'Migrant worker and deductions', which will be described in section 9.2.2.a. In contrast, LAWs conceptualised payment issues in the 'Poor employment conditions and lack of protection' dimension within the subdimension 'Contract and payment'. LAWs placed the issue of payment in close relation to the employment conditions, whereas for experts, the dimensions related to employment conditions do not cover wage issues. This suggests that payment issues are relatively less important for workers than for experts. LAWs' conceptualisation emphasise mistreatment and general employment conditions, which have also been reported in other research on migrant workers in London (36). Experts' 'Contract and workload' subdimension covered several statements similar to those sorted by workers under 'Being disposable and disciplined'. For instance, working *"under pressure"* for experts could be compared to being *"pressured to do more work than feasible in the allocated time"* for LAWs.

Experts' statements within the 'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information' subdimension were similar to those that LAWs conceptualised as 'Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability'. It seems that workers perceived the lack of benefits and standards enforcement as barriers in planning their future. Some LAWs' statements corresponding to the lack of health benefits, within the health and safety dimension, also relate to this experts' subdimension (see section 9.2.1.b).

The experts' subdimension 'Time-off and legality issues' covered situations of breaches of the law. It comprised statements that were at quite a high level of abstraction compared to the workers' equivalent subdimension. The level of technical knowledge needed to distinguish such a category could not be expected from non-experts. Furthermore, some statements within this subdimension considered as a lack of time-off (e.g. sick or care leave, accident insurance) were related to a lack of health benefits for workers, who conceptualised them under a health and safety dimension. Similarly, the experts' subdimension 'Health and social benefits' was quite general and relates to LAWs' 'Health and safety' dimension. For example, *"s/he does not have access to health benefits"*, relates to LAWs' health benefits aspects.

Finally, experts' statements within 'Lack of means of support' were quite different from those in the LAWs' dimension 'Poor employment conditions and protection'; and instead related to the LAWs' subdimension 'Being mistreated and neglected' under their health and safety dimension. For example, the experts' statement *"s/he lacks sources of support for problems at work"* relates to the LAWs' statement *"s/he is not offered solutions to issues at work but told to leave if unhappy"*; and the experts' statement on having *"no ability to engage with trade unions to receive support with legislation issues"* could be exemplified by the LAWs' statement *"s/he is afraid to lose job if joining a union"*. Chapter 6 previously demonstrated that this expert subdimension was in fact relatively separate from the other CM subdimensions. It is therefore not surprising that it does not match either with any LAWs dimension. While the other subdimensions describe relatively concrete situations of labour exploitation in the workplace, this subdimension rather corresponds to risk or protective factors (i.e. getting or not getting support). However, experts may have considered this component as part of structural labour exploitation, to highlight that the absence of support mechanisms facilitates or creates opportunities for employers to (further) exploit migrant workers. In addition, most LAWs in the sample were getting support via their unions. Therefore, it is unsurprising that their CM does not clearly include such aspects. Interestingly, vulnerabilities similarly did not emerge from the expert CM.

This comparison suggests that the experts' subdimensions 'Contract and workload' and 'Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information' overlapped closely with both dimensions under the LAWs' dimension 'Poor employment conditions and lack of protection'. The experts' subdimensions 'Time-off and legality issues' and 'Health and social benefits' corresponded to the lack of health benefits mentioned in the LAWs' CM. They were located very close to the two previous clusters on the expert CM. Therefore, this justifies the case to incorporate the LAWs' health benefits statements within this dimension. The 'Lack of means of support' identified by experts seems not to match well with LAWs' conceptualisation but, as discussed, this may be due to the sample. Finally, it is interesting that health and safety benefits were distinguished from other types of benefits in both CM (i.e. in different clusters). This suggests that health concerns are perceived as different between the two groups in the context of labour exploitation.

9.2.1.b. Health and safety issues: occupational health hazards and mistreatment

Both groups conceptualise 'Health and Safety' issues as a core dimension of labour exploitation. Although experts have a dimension for health and safety issues, inputs from LAWs allow a better understanding of other types of psychosocial hazards experienced by

workers, namely 'Mistreatment and neglect', which could be a subdimension complementing this dimension. The content of LAWs' dimension seems to exemplify situations that are at a higher level of abstraction within the expert map, by describing their lived experiences, which I will now discuss.

Experts generated statements at a higher level of abstraction encompassing many situations, such as *"working in unhealthy"* or *"unsafe conditions"*. Both CMs indicate exposures to occupational health hazards, as well as verbal abuse, humiliation, lack of training and protective equipment, and not having enough rest. Moreover, both groups included psychosocial hazards, although these were slightly different for both groups. In the expert CM, those identified corresponded to compulsory or unpaid overtime, or needing to perform unpaid extra work in order to have their contract renewed. These statements echo with the LAWs' 'Uncertainty over the future' subdimension, which is also a form of psychosocial hazard. In the CM with LAWs, psychosocial hazards rather related to poor interactions with supervisors who lack communication or support skills, or who are perceived to be never satisfied by the worker's job. Such statements were located in the LAWs' subdimension relating to 'Mistreatment and neglect', and seemed specific to participants' job situation, especially in cleaning companies.

Moreover, LAWs indicated a number of severe forms of psychosocial hazards, such as: getting injured because workers had to rush, getting sacked following a work injury, and being physically abused or threatened with disciplinary sanctions. These statements were sorted by workers under 'Being mistreated and neglected', while similar statements were sorted by experts under the subdimension 'Physical and psychological intimidation'. The latter, indeed, included statements related to physical abuse, working under threats of punishment, and experiencing violence at the workplace or being exposed to threats. This suggests that what experts have conceptualised as intimidation methods may be perceived by workers as situations of mistreatment or neglect. Such statements were highly rated by experts, which I suggest indicates the severity of the situation. Thus, mistreatment and neglect aspects could equally belong to both the health and safety dimensions where they have been conceptualised by workers, or alternatively incorporated within the experts' 'Shelter and personal security' dimension. I chose the former.

Finally, LAWs found that having no or poor sick leave, no work insurance or being fired when having an occupational accident were health and safety aspects of labour exploitation. As discussed in the previous section, the LAWs' subdimension 'Health & safety issues and lack of health protection' seems to be a combination of the experts' dimension 'Health and safety' and subdimensions 'Health and social benefits' and 'Time-off and legality issues'

within the 'Poor employment conditions and protection' dimension. LAWs' inputs complemented the corresponding experts' subdimensions above.

9.2.2. Distinct features

As illustrated in Table 14, the remaining dimensions of both CMs were different. Experts' dimensions 'Shelter and personal security' and 'Finance and migration' do not directly match with the LAWs' 'Disposability and abuse of power' dimension. However, I will now show that both groups generated similar content, but that their perspectives on comparable characteristics of labour exploitation diverge, depending on whether one group has professional expertise on the topic or experiences of it.

9.2.2.a. Experts' dimensions referring to severe situations

The content of the experts' dimension 'Finance and migration' covered wage issues, like being unpaid or irregularly paid, and deductions; and migration-specific items, such as paying for the right to work or being misled (about the pay for example). First, as mentioned in the previous section, wage issues were mostly related to contracts, but voiced under employment conditions among LAWs. This is not surprising as wages are an aspect of employment conditions (see Chapter 7). Second, salary deductions included in the experts' subdimension could relate to situations of non-payment or underpayment extensively described by workers. It seems that experts' statements, referring to migrant issues in this dimension, were not experienced by LAWs, who did not report the need to pay for the right to work, or mention a working permit linked to the employer. Nevertheless, LAWs described the absence of legal documents as a characteristic of labour exploitation, which is a migrant-specific concern that they located within 'Poor contract and payment issues'. It seems that no statement generated by LAWs corresponded to the expert subdimension 'Misled'. This may be because LAWs found their job through acquaintances in the UK, and hence perceived they may not have been deceived or misled by an employer or recruitment agency. However, it is interesting to note that many workers shared that they were not expecting such bad employment and working conditions in the UK, and were somehow misled or deceived in that sense. The mismatch between experts' 'Finance and migration' dimension with the CM with LAWs may also reflect a specific aspect of this population and job sector. Other groups of migrant workers or those in different sectors in London may also face experiences described by experts in this dimension. For example, manual low-skilled workers recruited from Poland to the UK may face situations related to migrant-specific deductions in pay and misleading recruitment processes when they find a job from Poland through recruitment agencies (36). Migrant domestic workers in the UK, who have been reported to be more vulnerable to

severe labour exploitation, have also their visa tied to their employer and their salary takes into account that they are hosted (402).

Likewise, the expert dimension 'Shelter and personal security' did not clearly match with any LAWs dimensions. For experts, it is the dimension with the highest importance rating and with a high concentration of 'severe' statements. In Chapter 7, I suggested that this experts' dimension may be specific to situations of modern slavery, hence most likely representing the end of a continuum of labour exploitation. Therefore, it was unsurprising at first not to find it in CM with LAWs. Most probably they were not identified as modern slavery victims, and do not perceive themselves as such. Yet, a surprisingly significant number of items comprising the experts' dimensions indicating extreme situations are also found in LAWs' conceptualisation. Workers reported situations fitting experts' two subdimensions with the highest rating: 'Physical and psychological intimidation'; and, to a certain extent, 'Deprivation of basic needs'. Several statements (e.g. threats, punishment, physical abuse) sorted by LAWs in the subdimensions 'Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace', 'Being mistreated and neglected', or 'Being disposable and disciplined' were also represented in experts' 'Physical and psychological intimidation' subdimension. This suggests that LAWs, whom I have hypothesised were in the lower part of the continuum, experienced situations that experts conceptualised as highly severe.

Experts' subdimension 'Deprivation of basic needs' was also indicative of severe forms of labour exploitation. This subdimension seems to echo with situations of mistreatment and neglect described by workers regarding their poor housing conditions, or difficulty eating and drinking at work. Housing conditions mentioned here by experts indicate an extreme situation of *"living in the same place as s/he works with inadequate food"*, which is not a type of situation that LAWs shared. However, despite not being directly comparable, housing conditions described by workers and reported by LA associations interviewed, were in particular worrisome.

Finally, whilst the content of the last two subdimensions ('Dependence on the employer' and 'Restriction of freedom') are not clearly reflected in workers' statements, the analysis of key informant interviews (see Chapter 8) brings some additional insights. Indeed, 'Dependence on the job' as described by experts is at quite a high level of abstraction compared to workers, but can relate somehow to situations faced by LAWs. Statements such as being *"deprived of freely discussing about his/her working conditions"* echoes with key informants' description of the climate of fear, lack of language skills or information that prevent workers from freely discussing their conditions. Chapters 7 and 8 suggested that, when workers have *"complained"*, they commonly face some form of reprisal. Interviews with support organisations have also

highlighted that LAWs are often dependent, not on the employer as mentioned in the expert CM, but on the supervisor at the workplace. The latter, who may be the person who gave them the job, may threaten them to remain in it or be their only intermediary at the workplace because of poor language skills. This reinforces the complex relationships between employers, employee and intermediaries that was discussed in Chapter 7 and that Chapter 3 described as characteristic of the low-paid service sector in the UK. Moreover, being deprived of access to health services (in experts' 'Dependence on the job') is not something that came out in the CM with LAWs; but two LA association representatives highlighted that this is an important structural issue that LA migrants face in London (282). Also, the experts' statement *"s/he works in illegal economic activity"* was most likely referring to cases of modern slavery where, for example, workers are forced to work in cannabis plantations in the UK (403). However, not having a regular immigration status, as reported by participants and key informants, could place workers in similar difficult situations where they could be controlled by the supervisor or employer. They may be reported to authorities and be afraid of the police (40). In such a case, the exploiter may not withdraw identity documents *per se*, but use the information that workers have no documents as a mean of coercion.

Furthermore, the experts' subdimension 'Restriction of freedom and movement' does not correspond to statements generated by LAWs. Even if here again, mentions of having documents withheld might actually be seen in conjunction with situations where supervisors know that the person is undocumented and threatens to be reported (e.g. the woman who a LA association interviewee reported as raped at the workplace in Chapter 8). Moreover, this aspect echoes the anti-social hours that workers feel forced to accept, because that is the only job they can take, even if this is an indirect form of restriction of freedom.

It seems that a joint dimension of labour exploitation would represent physical, psychological and structural coercion. As will be discussed in Chapter 10, this is a key feature of situations of extreme forms of labour exploitation. These notions of control, and having no choice or being trapped, were raw themes that appeared in both brainstormings (see sections 6.3.1 and 8.3.1) but with different levels of detail. LAWs' experiences reflected more psychological control, and having no choice in the sense of not having other options in the labour market due to some vulnerabilities. These echo with some forms or structural mechanisms of coercion from workers' perspectives, while experts referred to more specific indicators of coercion.

9.2.2.b. Latin American workers identified specific features

LAWs' 'Disposability and abuse of power' dimension seems to be characteristic of the CM with LAWs, and to reflect how workers feel when they are exploited. As discussed in Chapter 8, this dimension is quite different from those of the experts, as it described several specific situations regarding the negative attitudes of supervisors towards workers at the workplace. It reflects LAWs' perception of being treated as commodities through the use of disciplinary procedures, which are mostly under 'Being disposable and disciplined'. This subdimension also seems specific to participants' job sector and describes situations that make workers feel neglected. It echoes with statements generated during the brainstorming describing the lack of dignity and respect given to migrant workers, which were also reported by experts. However, I decided to eliminate the experts' corresponding statement during the reduction process because they were too vague. LAWs' dimension also includes being given schedules that do not take into consideration their need of social interactions (or *"anti-social hours"* as described by key informants, see Chapter 7), which is comparable to a form of restriction of freedom.

In addition, when looking at the initial raw themes that emerged from the brainstorming, experts generated statements describing degrading conditions corresponding to LAWs' themes of disregard for workers, commodification, mistreatment and respect. LAWs identified themes related to their boss and their lack of managerial and communication skills as part of migrant workers' exploitation. Workers might assume that supervisors are not trained to make sense of their mistreatment or to explain their own exploitation. In any case, supervisors' bad practice was perceived by workers and some interviewees as being left unpunished, which suggests structural influences on discretionary labour exploitation. Union leaders perceived it to be expressions of companies' carelessness or will to create a hostile working environment.

The fear faced by LAWs at the workplace was another theme that was not directly addressed by experts' statements. As section 9.3 will discuss, this is listed as an indicator of modern slavery in the UK. This may be one of the most important contributions to understanding workers' perception of being trapped and feeling at the mercy of the employer, supervisor, or company. This *"climate of fear"* is both structural because the reporting mechanisms are non-existent or inefficient, but also discretionary because workers perceive that supervisors purposely create a hostile working environment.

Workers' vulnerabilities did not emerge as components of labour exploitation in the experts' brainstorming. This may be because experts may perceive these as irrelevant to identify

labour exploitation, or not as core components, but rather as causes of labour exploitation or of risk factors of being exploited.

Finally, this dimension is in line with workers' description of not being treated as human beings. The related statement was actually sorted under 'Abuse of power', and also relates very well to situations of perceptions of 'Disposability and being disciplined'.

The critical comparison of dimensions and themes in this section led to synthesising the results into a joint conceptual framework of labour exploitation. The expert skeleton map was adapted to incorporate inputs from LAWs. Appendix L details the comparison of the dimensions and statements that led to this map.

9.3. Proposition of a joint conceptual framework

Figure 32 below represents the joint conceptual framework of the exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs adapted for (Spanish-speaking) LAWs. It shows six main dimensions that combine both groups' conceptualisations.

In blue, it displays the dimensions that were conceptualised similarly by both groups. The common dimensions are: 'Poor employment conditions and protection', and 'Health and safety' dimensions.

In orange, it displays the experts' dimensions that were adapted or added using LAWs' inputs. 'Finance'; 'Specific issues related to immigration status'; 'Coercion' were dimensions present in the expert CM, and were adapted to reflect the LAWs' conceptualisation. I renamed the experts' dimension 'Shelter and personal security' to 'Coercion' to reflect the range of situations of coercion faced by LAWs, such as the climate of fear and structural coercion mechanisms, which may be less severe than in the expert skeleton map, and hence may be better captured by the notion of coercion. The experts' dimension 'Finance and migrant work' was split into two dimensions ('Finance' and 'Migration') for a clearer description of the labour exploitation content and easier operationalisation of the framework in the LAWs population. The 'Finance' dimension gathers the experts' wage-related statements, and LAWs' wage issues that were in the subdimension 'Poor contract and payment issues'.
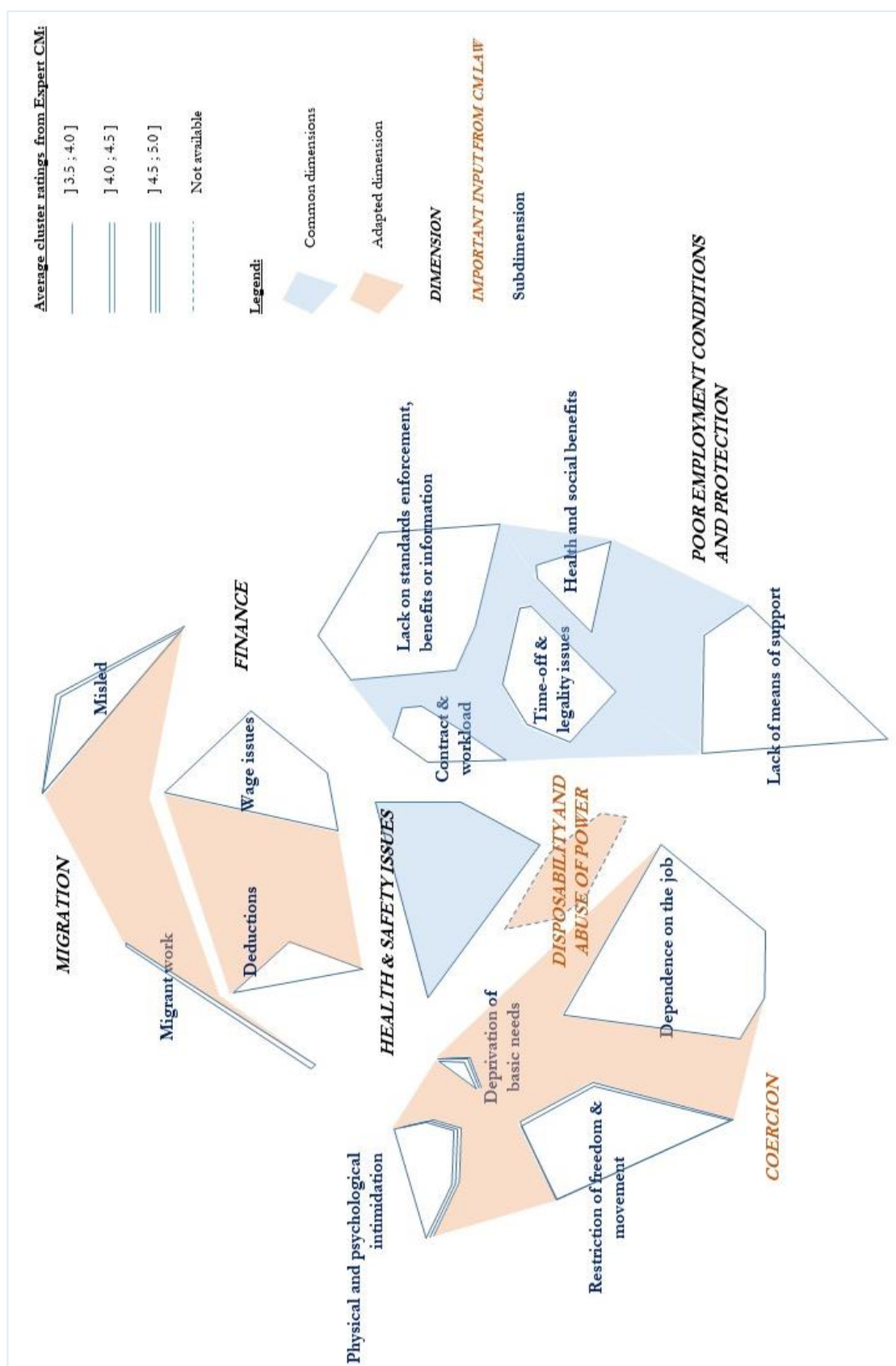
Note: CM stands for Concept Mapping

Figure 32 Joint structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation adapted for Latin American Workers in manual low-skilled jobs in London

The 'Migration' dimension now includes the migration-related statements of the experts' that were in the 'Deductions and migrant work' dimension in the expert CM, and can include the LAWs' statements related to migration. The 'Disposability and Abuse of power' (or 'Dehumanisation') dimension was only identified by LAWs, and hence added to the map. I positioned it between Health and safety and Coercion to reflect: 1) that LAWs' statements composing it echo some psychosocial hazards aspects in the 'Health and safety' dimension in the expert CM; and 2) that some aspects of this LAWs' dimension mirror intimidation and mechanisms of coercion identified in the expert CM.

Now, keeping in mind the ecosocial framework (see Figure 27 in Chapter 7), I will describe the dimensions of labour exploitation in this joint framework from macro level (structural and institutional labour exploitation) to micro (discretionary labour exploitation).

9.3.1. Poor employment conditions and protection

'Poor employment conditions and protection' is a key dimension of labour exploitation for both groups of participants. It is a relatively robust dimension because it is composed of similar subdimensions: issues with contract, workload, time-off or breaks and lack of benefits. It also included the health benefits aspects described by LAWs; and legality issues and lack of means of support, which were mainly addressed by the experts.

Experts placed the lack of information within this dimension, while LAWs considered this a vulnerability. This suggests that experts' view this issue with regard to the structures in place, whereas migrant workers may perceive vulnerabilities as an issue for individuals. Such differences in conceptualisations echo the discussion on responsibilities of labour exploitation that were raised during the key informant interviews (see Chapter 7). Experts may consider employers are responsible to inform their employees, while workers may believe they are responsible to improve their own conditions. This latter view was actually shared during brainstorming sessions when LAWs discussed language issues (see Chapter 8).

Compared to other dimensions, these components seem to describe both structural and institutional labour exploitation, at a macro level. Statements composing these dimensions refer both to poor social and legal protection in the UK as well as companies' breaches of labour laws and standards, which may occur because of limited labour inspection or punishment for perpetrators. This dimension relates to SDH, like those studied by EMCONET (194), and the growing interest in the role of *"structural drivers"* (9) in the HR school of thought.

9.3.2. Finance

The dimension describing financial issues is an expected key dimension of labour exploitation. Wages issues were specifically distinct on the cluster analysis that produced the expert CM, and are discussed by all schools of thought on labour exploitation (see Chapter 2). While it was conceptualised as an element of employment by LAWs, its predominance and importance in all discourses on labour exploitation in this research and in the literature meant it was important to identify it as a distinct core component. As indicated in section 9.2.1.a, it was not distinguished from employment conditions in the LAWs' CM, which suggests that they may not perceive payment issues as a separate issue, and they be more concerned with mistreatment, which has been reported in other migrant worker populations (36).

The comparison of both CMs resulted in identifying two subdimensions for 'Finance' issues. The first obviously describes issues of wages payment, for which LAWs have given many details. The second complements this and correspond to specific deductions on workers' salaries. As mentioned, this may be influenced by indicators of severe forms of labour exploitation, such as deductions of "exorbitant fees for shelter" (statement 11), an indicator of forced labour (211).

In addition to the CM findings, the analysis of key informants' interviews revealed further elements that could be assimilated to 'deductions': overpayment, fraud or extortion (see Chapter 7). These were also mentioned during sorting-rating exercises when workers commented on some cards proposed, yet it did not emerge during brainstorming. These situations of overpayment and extortion, in comparison to situations identified in the CM, could belong to more discretionary forms of labour exploitation; and may be specific to the low-paid sector, described by key informants as under-regulated.

9.3.3. Specific issues related to immigration status

Whilst different in nature, both CMs described issues specific to immigration status that could be used to take advantage of migrant workers. Experts have indicated that passport withholding or visas tied to the employer were constitutive of situations of labour exploitation, and LAWs highlighted that irregular immigration statuses form part of this. While both groups seem to refer to different situations, it still seems that, in both cases, the use of immigration status is used as a means to control workers and coerce them into accepting or remaining in bad (or worse) employment and working conditions. This dimension remains at a relatively macro or meso level, as it depends on national laws creating (additional) vulnerabilities for migrant workers (35,36).

9.3.4. Coercion

Straddling meso and micro levels is the dimension representing mechanisms of coercion, which emerged in both CM exercises. Coercive measures covered physical and psychological intimidation, restriction of freedom and dependence on the employer, which were mostly described under the experts' 'Shelter and personal security' dimension; and structural forms of coercion from LAWs' perspectives. This dimension seems also to illustrate the *"climate of fear"* described in Chapter 7, which a key informant described as an institutional mechanism of coercion keeping workers in bad working conditions, by preventing them from complaining, or punishing them when they actually do so.

Restriction of freedom and dependence may be more accurately located towards a meso level of labour exploitation compared to the other subdimensions of intimidation and deprivation of needs. For experts, they referred to a direct (physical) mechanism to restrict workers' freedom (geographical isolation, withholding documents or restricting contact with family or other workplaces), relating this to extreme forms of labour exploitation. LAWs and support organisations interviewed have also reported some forms of psychological restriction of freedom, and dependence on supervisors or employers. Dependence could express itself as structures reported by workers when referring to their need to pay bills and provide for their families. It could also correspond to workers' lack of English skills that, in practice, results in making workers dependent on their supervisor or manager in the workplace. Situations of intimidation and deprivation of needs described by experts were also described by LAWs. However, LAWs instead conceptualised these as 'Mistreatment or being disciplined' (see section 9.2).

9.3.5. Health and safety

All participants agreed that health and safety issues at the workplace were constitutive of labour exploitation. At a micro level, the dimension 'Health and safety' covers occupational health and safety and psychosocial hazards, which include LAWs' subdimension 'Mistreatment and neglect'. This subdimension can be considered in terms of psychosocial hazards, which refer to interactions between workers and employers or supervisors. Compared to the occupational health and safety issues that were common to both CM, these aspects might be relatively more subjective, because relations between individuals are more difficult to identify compared to a lack of PPE or training.

Interestingly, most statements composing this dimension are known occupational health hazards: exposure to chemicals, accidents, physical and ergonomic hazards, and psychological hazards. Chapter 2 mentioned that some researchers may consider that all

workers under capitalism are exploited (77), hence traditional occupational health factors are characteristic of exploitation. However, as this is still subject to debate, I tried to understand what a middle ground between different conceptualisations of labour exploitation on health and safety issues would look like.

Figure 33 below proposes a representation of factors that characterise a situation of labour exploitation when combined with traditional occupational health hazards.
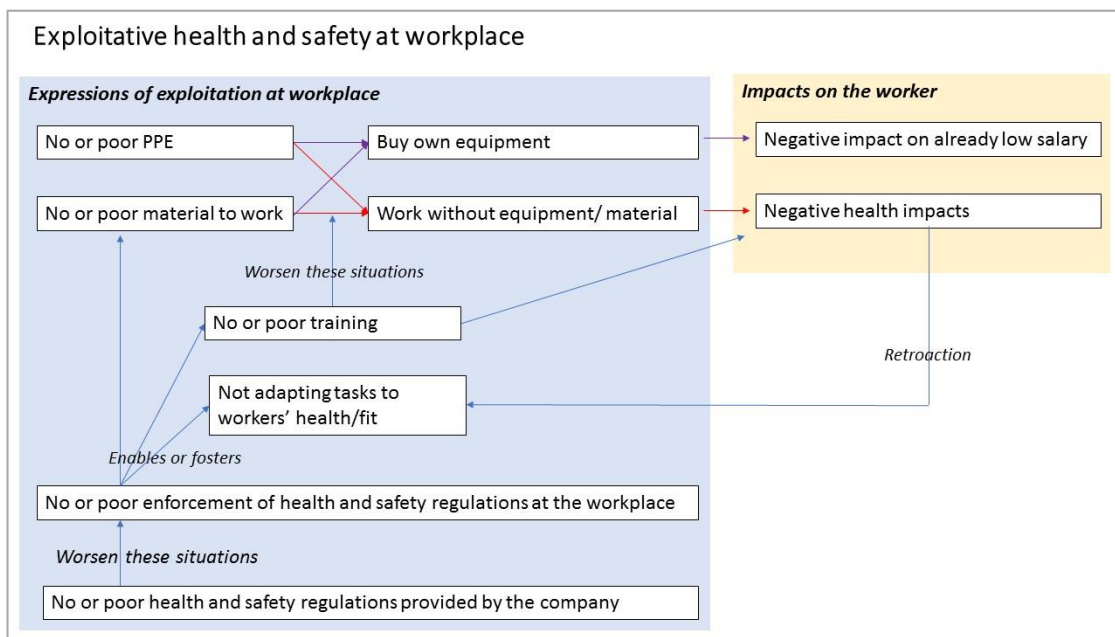
Note: PPE means Personal Protective Equipment

Figure 33 Proposition of additional risk factors for exploited migrant workers that may amplify the traditional occupational health risks hazards in manual low-skilled jobs

These factors may amplify the risks encountered by 'exploited' workers. For example, exposure to chemicals is a traditional occupational hazard, which may become characteristic of labour exploitation when workers are not given protective equipment, because it places workers at added and avoidable risks of developing health conditions. Cases where workers decide to buy their own personal protective equipment (PPE) may also be considered exploitative, because of the further negative impacts on workers' already low salaries. It may consequently increase the negative health effects of material deprivation. In addition, the absence of health and safety or induction training may increase the negative impact on workers' health when they do not have PPE. The absence of health and safety regulations, or their lack of implementation, may also increase the negative impacts of health hazards at work. Finally, it is important to consider that these factors can be accumulative, hence most likely increase the severity of related negative health outcomes on workers.

9.3.6. Dehumanisation: a dimension specifically identified by migrant workers

The 'Disposability and abuse of power' dimension contrasts with other dimensions identified previously for its specificity to the CM with LAWs. The experts did not really generate statements comparable to those in this 'dehumanisation' dimension, such as *"being forced to do a physical task that should be done by two people"*, *"lacking material to work"* or *"being given a couple of hours to work in the middle of the night"*. Despite its absence in the expert CM, potentially due to a higher level of abstraction, this dimension seems very important for LAWs and was also discussed during the interviews with support organisation key informants. These findings demonstrate the importance of including migrant workers' voices in the definitions of such concepts.

The LAWs identified a dimension that I described as 'Disposability and abuse of power', to put into participants' own words, and could also be labelled 'Dehumanisation'. This concept will be further discussed in Chapter 10.

Using Haslam's taxonomy (404), its subdimension 'Abuse of power by bosses' can be re-labelled *"animalistic dehumanisation"*, reflecting how supervisors may treat migrant workers as *"subhumans"* (405; p.258):

> *"the supervisor has her own personal policies. As she is very demanding, too demanding; and the people, the cleaners have a lot of work, she drags her finger everywhere. Then they say, 'I do not have the time to clean the dust on those edges. I only have time to clean the tables and the board, ok, I do not have time to clean the edges'. She says "You have to do it, You have to do it" […] the cleaners have complained several times about her, they say she is very, what is the name, she likes […] to be the best but has problems of disrespect for them. A lack of respect because everything has to be forced […] Yes, despot!" (U3M)*

'Being disposable and disciplined' could be re-labelled *"mechanistic dehumanisation"* (404) to highlight how *companies* may treat exploited migrant workers as machines:

> *"They treat us like machines sometimes. They don't... don't... feel or think NOTHING about you! The only thing is you c[o]me here to do it your job. 'I don't care if you have family, you are sick, or anything.' […] they treat me like I'm a table or like a chair or... Only to doing that... and, and nothing more. And I say... why? I am a person […] But... they… they don't care." (WK1F)*

9.4. Conclusion

This chapter proposed a joint conceptual framework of the exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs, adapted to LAWs. It critically analyses and compares

conceptualisations among expert and LAWs and identified where different conceptualisations overlap and diverge. It highlighted that the inclusion of LAWs' into the expert skeleton map added a new dimension ('Dehumanisation') and structural aspects to experts' coercion dimensions. This conceptual framework offers a basis for developing a tool for measuring labour exploitation within this population, and for identifying areas of intervention.

Chapter 10.   Discussion

10.1.   Introduction

The thesis provides a structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs which clarifies its content for public health use. It contributes to a common understanding of labour exploitation for public health research and policy. I suggest that, because of the lack of standardisation in the field, the expert skeleton map (Figure 23, Chapter 6) can be considered the main structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation, since I argue it is both standardisable and adaptable. By offering a middle ground, this framework paves the way towards designing standardised quantitative research on this topic to better understand the health impacts of labour exploitation on migrant workers. The research further clarifies the content of labour exploitation by demonstrating and comparing how experts, support organisations in the UK and LAWs conceptualise labour exploitation. This thesis addressed the first step of the SOCEPID framework (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2) (314).

This chapter discusses the research findings, meaning and novel contributions of this doctoral thesis. Section 10.2 summarises and discusses the key findings in relation to the research aim and objectives. It describes labour exploitation as a multidimensional and multilevel SDH, which has core and adaptable components. Section 10.3 discusses the methods separately and highlights the methodological contributions to the CM method and migrant occupational health. Section 10.4 is a reflective section about my positionality in the research. Section 10.5 discusses the contributions and implications of this work. Section 10.6 discusses the strengths and limitations of this research, and finally section 10.7 suggests recommendations and future work.

10.2.   Discussion of the key findings in relation to the research aim

The following sections summarise the key findings, discuss the multidimensional, continuum and multilevel aspects of the concept, and posit labour exploitation as a SDH.

10.2.1. Summary of the key findings

Building on the findings of this research, I propose to standardise the definition of labour exploitation for public health as follows:

> *Labour exploitation, when focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs, is a multidimensional and multilevel social determinant of health that can be identified along a continuum starting when decent work standards are breached.*

The CM exercises allowed me to identify the different dimensions of labour exploitation. The expert skeleton map (see Chapter 6), which is the main structured conceptual framework, revealed four key dimensions of labour exploitation. It provided a middle ground between the two schools of thought, namely Human Rights (HR) and Social Determinants of Health (SDH), and empirical evidence of a continuum of severity that will be further discussed in section 10.2.3. LAWs' conceptual framework revealed three key dimensions reflecting their lived experiences of labour exploitation (see Chapter 8).

The critical analysis and synthesis demonstrated that labour exploitation has core and adaptable dimensions (see Chapter 9). The joint conceptual framework demonstrated how the expert skeleton map could be used as a standardisable tool that can be adapted to integrate LAWs' views. It presented six dimensions: 'Poor employment and protection', 'Finance', 'Migration', 'Health and safety', 'Coercion', and 'Dehumanisation'. The identification of these last two dimensions greatly benefited from the LAWs' inputs, and they will be further discussed in section 10.2.2 in which I discuss the multidimensional aspects of labour exploitation.

Analysis of key informant interviews revealed that the concept of labour exploitation was not only multidimensional but also multilevel (see Chapter 7). This led to the identification of an ecosocial model of labour exploitation highlighting that the dimensions of labour exploitation could be distributed from micro to macro levels: i.e. discretionary exploitation at the workplace (i.e. relation worker-supervisor); institutional level (i.e. relation with employer); or structural exploitation (e.g. country laws). This multilevel aspect will be further discussed in section 10.2.4. Section 10.2.5 will then posit labour exploitation as a SDH.

10.2.2. A multidimensional concept: focus on two key dimensions of labour exploitation

Labour exploitation was shown to be a multidimensional concept. Its core dimensions (list them here or say as listed above) were identified in the main structured conceptual framework (i.e. expert skeleton map): 'Shelter and personal security', 'Finance and migration', 'Health and safety', and 'Social and legal protection'. The joint conceptual framework (i.e. expert skeleton map adapted with LAWs' inputs) showed that a dimension for 'Dehumanisation' (from the LAWs) could also be integrated. Moreover, when taking the LAWs' contributions into account, the experts' dimension 'Shelter and personal security' could be employed to cover both structural and discretionary forms of coercion.

10.2.2.a.   Dehumanisation as a possible key dimension

Following recommendations to include communities in research on migrant workers (59,405–407), the research revealed the new dimension 'Dehumanisation' reflecting the widespread view among LAWs and representatives of support organisations.

As discussed in Chapter 9, Haslam's perspective from the field of psychology (404) offers interesting insights that can be used within theories of labour exploitation. In an integrative multidisciplinary review of the concept of dehumanisation, he distinguishes two main types of dehumanisation: *"animalistic dehumanisation"* and *"mechanistic dehumanisation"* (404). He proposes that animalistic dehumanisation, which I have previously suggested aligns with LAWs' accounts of mistreatment considered as abuse of power by bosses (see Chapter 9). It can take *"milder, "daily forms"* and may be accompanied by *"degradation"* (405; p.258) and *"violence"* (405; p.255). Such forms of dehumanisation are proposed to deny individuals' *"unique human"* attributes, such as prosocial values encompassing more 'sophisticated' emotions not found in animals (e.g. intelligence and culture). In contrast, the dimensions identified through LAWs' views on companies' treatment of migrant workers relates to Haslam's mechanistic dehumanisation. He suggests that it relates to denying the essence of human nature, and is rather a *"denial of individual agency [that] represents them as interchangeable (fungible) and passive"* (405; p.258). Company owners' may perceive LAWs as *"socially distant"* (nonhumans) (405; p.262). This is reflected in the concept of 'disposability' that emerged in the CM with LAWs and key informant interviews. While animalistic dehumanisation relates to violence and sees others as *"subhumans"* (405; p.259), mechanistic dehumanisation is described as a *"disregard"* for others as *"social partners"* (405; p.261) who have nothing in common with the self, hence are depicted as *"nonhumans"* (405; p.259).

This dimension of labour exploitation has been relatively overlooked in previous conceptualisations of labour exploitation in public health, especially in the HR school. In the SDH school, it echoes with notions of dignity and respect, or alienation, which are present in EMCONET's fair employment concept (73). It is also reflected in research on migrant workers reporting workers' perceptions of not being treated like humans (36,166,170). Further research is needed to know whether this dimension could be considered a core component of migrant workers' exploitation or as a dimension specific to specific sectors or group of migrants.

A focus on gender-related issues

The positioning of sexual abuse in the CM with LAWs within the 'Dehumanisation' dimension (disposability and abuse of power) may indicate that 'women' in situation of

labour exploitation might be considered as *"subhumans"* compared to men, corresponding to Haslam's *"animalistic dehumanisation"* (404). Other research also makes a parallel between dehumanisation and work-related gender issues (408,409).

The research in this thesis raises issues of serious concern, such as sexual violence at the workplace, and highlights the need for further research, especially for migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. Research on human trafficking has shown that women face sexual abuse and violence even when trafficked for labour exploitation (10,410–412). Yet, there is limited research assessing the extent of sexual misconduct experienced by women in lower-skilled jobs, despite surveys on physical and psychological violence (aggression, harassment) in the workplace (413,414).

10.2.2.b.   A focus on coercion

This research has demonstrated the importance of the concept of coercion to all participants (experts, support organisations and LAWs). It suggests that coercion is not specific to extreme or criminal forms of labour exploitation, as suggested by the HR school of thought (72,114,142–145). The comparison of both the expert and the LAWs' conceptualisations in Chapter 9 demonstrated that LAWs are also exposed to situations of coercion, despite not being considered victims of modern slavery. The identification of coercion among LAWs, expressed in experiences of intimidation, sexual, physical and psychological abuse, revealed serious concerns for migrant workers in 'normal' jobs that we encounter in our everyday lives. The findings revealed the need for further exploration of coercion in research with migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs.

The findings showed that labour exploitation includes both structural and discretionary forms of coercion. This is a crucial difference from the ILO operational indicators for forced labour, which removed structural coercion from their coercion definition (143). The findings are, however, in line with literature on migrant workers' exploitation (see Chapter 2) (55,166,167). This highlights the difference between the HR school focusing on individuals and the SDH school focusing on structures. The framework developed in this thesis overcomes this conceptual difference. The use of a continuum approach in this thesis supports the labour approach (1,21,71) that has also emerged in the HR school of thought (see Chapter 2). This work supports the suggestion that preventing structural and institutional forms of coercion may, in turn, prevent the development of further forms of discretionary coercion that are considered severe and seem to occur at more micro levels.

I will now further discuss the continuum of labour exploitation as a middle ground for public health research.

10.2.3. A continuum as middle ground

The research brought together experts from different fields, as captured by the expert CM. It provides a middle ground between the HR and SDH schools of thought in which collaborative research on labour exploitation can be developed. The dimensions that it identified echo with the literature on labour exploitation from both schools (see Chapter 2).

The following sections discuss the evidence of a continuum that provides a middle ground conceptualisation, and (re-)position labour exploitation with regard to precariousness and modern slavery.

10.2.3.a.   *Experts' dimensions, continuum and middle ground*

As suggested in Chapter 6, the expert CM provided empirical evidence of the existence of a continuum of labour exploitation ranging from decent work to modern slavery (1). The identification of a gradient of statement severity, which is emphasised in the severity ratings of dimensions, echoed with Maslow's hierarchy of needs (373,374) represented in Figure 34. Each dimension of the expert CM seems to correspond to a level of the hierarchy, which may potentially affect different aspects of workers' health and wellbeing.
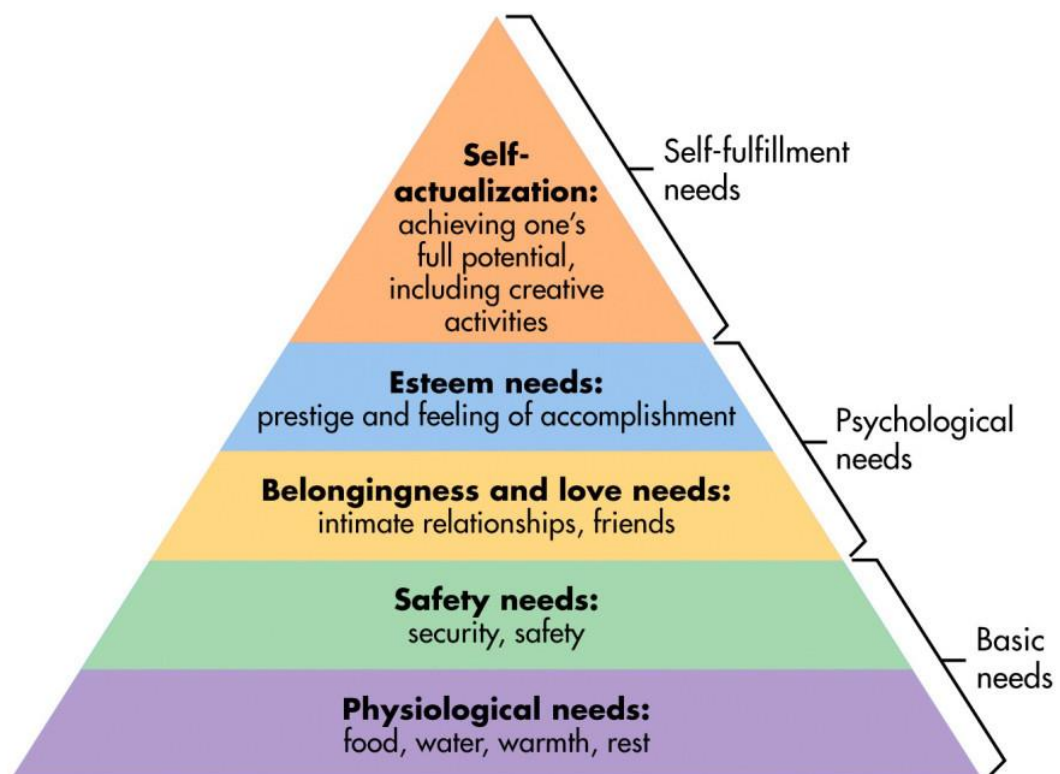
Source: McLeod 2017 (373)

Figure 34 Maslow's hierarchy of needs

The expert dimension 'Shelter and personal security' appears to describe situations of threats or attacks on migrant workers' fundamental needs. This suggests that in more severe cases of labour exploitation, migrant workers may have unmet physiological needs, as indicated by experts' statements describing poor access to food and water; but also, unmet needs of security and safety, as indicated by experts' references to cruel living or working conditions. The 'Health and safety' dimension relates to needs for safety in Maslow's hierarchy. The dimension 'Finance and migration' points towards a lack of financial security and safety. Dimensions of 'Restriction of freedom and workers' dependence' may highlight unmet needs of social belonging. Finally, the dimension 'Social and legal protection', at the extremity of the map reflecting the continuum (see Figure 23), may relate to relatively higher needs, which workers in wealthy countries like the UK may expect to receive. This dimension suggests that, in situations of labour exploitation, migrant workers' self-esteem may be negatively impacted. LAWs' contributions support this view.

The highest needs of the pyramid, self-actualisation and self-transcendence, seem not to be represented on the map, which might be because of the focus on low-skilled jobs, or because experts do not perceive these jobs as related to higher needs. It might also be related to the fact that some statements generated in the brainstorming phase were withdrawn because they were too abstract or vague. From further examination of these statements, however, it appeared that most of them were not related to these kinds of needs. Only one statement withdrawn (*"they are not treated with respect and dignity"*) might be considered related to the highest needs of migrant workers.

The dimensions that experts considered more severe echo with the more extreme forms of labour exploitation, and the lowest-rated items seem to reflect the dimension of *"enrichment and lack of alienation"* (73) in EMCONET's concept of 'fair employment' (see Chapter 2).

Interestingly, LAWs' conceptualisations seem to focus on higher needs of the pyramid. However, LAWs' dimensions are difficult to split along this hierarchy and fitted better with an eco-social model. In the joint conceptual framework, the 'Dehumanisation' dimension that is specific to LAWs seems to relate to both psychological needs of belongingness and esteem. While the other dimensions of the joint framework seem to refer to basic and psychological needs from Maslow's hierarchy of needs, 'Dehumanisation' would appear to be at the top of the pyramid. It may relate to breaches of esteem needs, which were not present in the expert CM for reasons mentioned in Chapter 6. By reporting that being treated as a commodity is characteristic of labour exploitation, LAWs expressed their need to feel *"treated like a human being"*.

The next section shows how the dimensions of labour exploitation cover a continuum of situations encompassing precariousness and extreme forms of labour exploitation.

10.2.3.b. *Positioning labour exploitation, precariousness and extreme labour exploitation*

In Chapter 2, I proposed a generic framework (Figure 3) hypothesising that labour exploitation encompassed all dimensions of precariousness, and that extreme forms of labour exploitation were characterised by the presence of additional features compared to those similar to precariousness, i.e. recruitment and workers' relations with the employer (control over workers/intimidation and dependency on employer). I will now revise the working hypothesis in light of the findings.

Figure 35 below revises the working framework, and re-positions labour exploitation in relation to these other concepts. First, Figure 35 illustrates that precariousness is a concept that is positioned at macro and meso levels with regard to the ecosocial model (see Figure 27). It potentially covers structural aspects of labour exploitation along a continuum. This is in line with the SDH school. A comparison of the findings with the EPRES dimensions shows that structural and institutional labour exploitation relate to the EPRES dimensions. In fact, the EPRES dimensions are broad and could also include some aspects found in more micro levels. For example, the "climate of fear" and coercion discussed in this research echo EPRES' dimensions for being treated in *"a discriminatory and unjust manner"* or *"an authoritarian and violent manner"* (79). Yet, EPRES dimensions for 'Wages' do not cover situations that the findings identified as labour exploitation; for example, workers not receiving the agreed-upon salary or not being paid regularly and on time. As EPRES is designed to be used among salaried workers (migrant or not), the current findings may indicate that some wage-related aspects might be migrant-specific, context-specific, or specific to labour exploitation in comparison to precarious work.

In the CM with LAWs, the dimension 'Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability', located at macro level in the ecosocial model, relates to the most commonly agreed upon aspect of precariousness in the literature: insecurity (76,77,415,416). The employment conditions reported by experts and LAWs captured in the 'Poor employment and protection' dimensions clearly show that a lack of security is considered exploitative. Insecurity, therefore, represents structural and institutional labour exploitation, which may be driven by the lack of labour regulations in the UK, as discussed in Chapter 3.
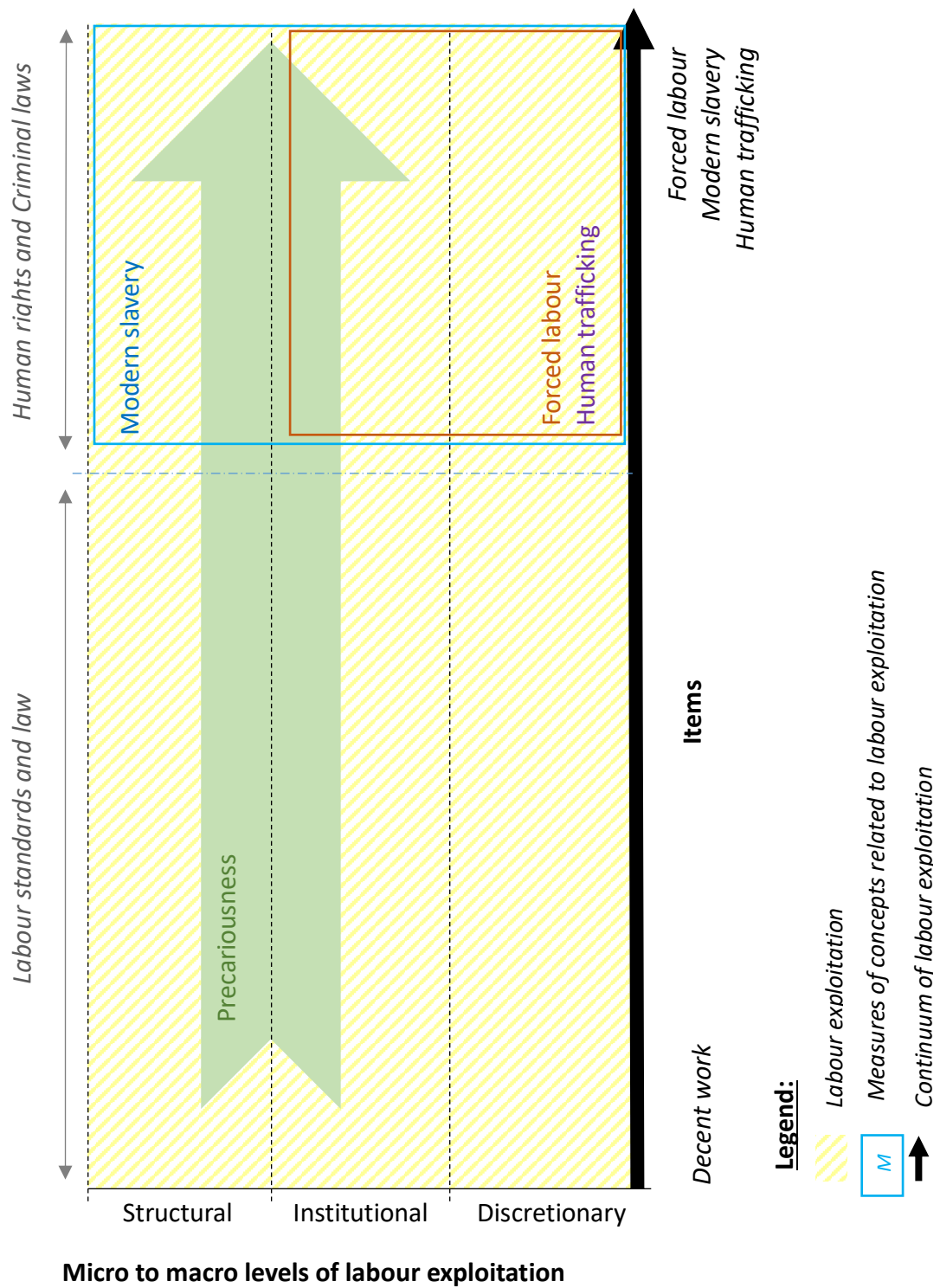
Figure 35 Re-positioning labour exploitation in relation to precariousness, modern slavery, forced labour and human trafficking

The analysis of key informant interviews further suggested that labour exploitation was also defined and shaped by the lack of regulation in sectors with endemic outsourcing and the common practice of zero-hour contracts. These poor and uncertain employment conditions are also reported in research on other migrant workers in low-paid sectors in the UK (36,57), suggesting that such a dimension may be more specific to employment conditions in manual low-skilled jobs where migrant workers are highly concentrated. Further research with different migrant and non-migrant populations in and outside of London and in different job sectors is needed to confirm this.

The concept of precariousness, especially in public health (74,77,79), does not specifically address situations that were defined as 'severe' in previous sections: coercion, mistreatment, or restriction of freedom.

Second, Figure 35 illustrates that the key tools used for measuring extreme forms of labour exploitation address relatively more micro levels (i.e. institutional and discretionary labour exploitation), and do not measure structural (macro) aspects of labour exploitation.

The ILO states:

> *"Forced labour is different from sub-standard or exploitative working conditions. Various indicators can be used to ascertain when a situation amounts to forced labour, such as restrictions on workers' freedom of movement, withholding of wages or identity documents, physical or sexual violence, threats and intimidation or fraudulent debt from which workers cannot escape."* (18)

Yet, instances of indicators of severity that are used to distinguish exploitation from forced labour in the above quotation have been faced by LAWs (36). As mentioned in section 10.2.2.b focusing on coercion, some aspects that I considered to be characteristics of extreme forms of labour exploitation before I conducted the research were also present in the CM with LAWs. This was particularly noticeable in unexpected accounts of LAWs and support organisations' descriptions of intimidation, violence, physical and psychological abuse, threats and punishment. Harsh working conditions, intimidation and mistreatment, for example, are also considered severe and medium indicators of forced labour in the literature (211).

LAWs revealed serious health concerns echoing breaches of law that may amount to forced labour, such as being physically assaulted, or supervisors or companies refusing to adapt duties for pregnant or injured workers. Physical and verbal abuse have also been reported in the literature on migrant workers (166). This raises serious concerns for LAWs and other migrant workers, especially those who are not in contact with unions or support

organisations. LAWs who participated in the research were *a priori* not victims of modern slavery and I sampled workers from unions because they may be the least exposed to modern slavery. The absence of recruitment and transportation aspects in LAWs' discussions supports that these may be dimensions more specific to modern slavery (143).

A focus on the UK context brings similar observations. The UK indicators of modern slavery for labour exploitation used by the first-line responder in the National Referral Mechanisms (NRM) include six categories, which relate very much with both CMs: 'Restricted freedom', 'Behaviour', 'Working conditions', 'Accommodation', 'Finances', and 'Appearance' (95). These indicators are for service providers to recognise signs and not to confirm exploitation and most of them are unspecific. However, they do correspond to situations described by LAWs, except for 'Appearances' that refers to the physical appearance of a potential victim (e.g. has injuries). NRM's indicators of (poor) 'Working conditions' are particularly interesting. They encompass a lack of benefits, being *"unable to choose when or where to work"*, and even *"having no contract"*. These are aspects covered by the 'Poor employment and protection' dimension I identified as a dimension of labour exploitation, which I argued is at a macro level and rooted in national labour laws. This is particularly interesting as the indicators within this category are characteristic of the UK labour market for the low-paid sector (see Chapter 3). It is interesting that the UK considers such items as indicators of modern slavery, but at the same time provides no legal protection against it. This is striking in the indicator 'absence of contract', which is not a legal requirement in the UK.

Most of LAWs' experiences could also be covered by the NRM modern slavery indicators, which are comparable to those described in research on employment and working conditions of migrant workers in the low-paid sector in London (36,99,417). Cross-checking participants' views on labour exploitation with what the literature has described as extreme forms of labour exploitation, confirms the need to further explore labour exploitation as a continuum. It also highlights some issues. As I considered the participants in this research to be exposed to 'lower' levels of labour exploitation, either participants were exposed to higher levels of exploitation, or the under-regulation of the service sector and employment conditions in the UK are structurally exploitative, as suggested by Marxist views and a SDH approach (see Chapter 2). Migrant workers with a more precarious immigration status, or with less knowledge of support systems, may be facing worse conditions than those presented in this thesis. The findings support Buller et al.'s suggestion that situations of extreme labour exploitation seem to co-exist with less severe cases (81).

I will now discuss the ecosocial model and the multilevel aspect of labour exploitation.

10.2.4. A multilevel concept: multilevel dimensions and the ecosocial model

10.2.4.a.   The ecosocial model

My empirical identification of an ecosocial model (397) of labour exploitation in Chapter 7 highlighted that the dimensions of labour exploitation cover micro to macro levels. This model shows the importance of considering how aspects of labour exploitation which can be measured at micro levels, such as coercion, are embedded within macro level aspects, such as national laws regulating immigration and employment conditions. Quesada has also suggested that public health needs to consider *"structural forces"* (56; p.344), both for research and interventions, to address migrant workers' health. Quesada's work supports the findings in this thesis, which suggests that some aspects of labour exploitation may be specific to national or local contexts.

The identification of discretional, institutional, and structural labour exploitation helps to disentangle areas for public health and policy interventions. This contributes to research highlighting the need to address work-related issues at several levels, from health and safety at the workplace to organisational levels that are dependent on political will (224,418–420). The structured conceptual framework developed in this thesis, which captures all aspects of this SDH, complements Muntaner's et al work focusing on organisational aspects to assess the impact of social class exploitation (7,155). The concept 'complexity' highlighted in this thesis confirms the difficulty in measuring labour exploitation using a limited number of proxies, as in Muntaner et al.'s studies (7,155).

The dimension 'Poor employment and protection' (macro) has been robust and consistent in both CM and key informant interviews. It highlights characteristics of labour exploitation combining a lack of national laws and enforcement policies, and not only companies breaching laws and standards. The UK's neoliberal political economy highlighted in Chapter 3, is considered a fundamental root of health inequalities in an increasing number of health studies (328,421,422). To a certain extent, the ecosocial model developed in this research contributes to such claims. It demonstrates that the macro level components of labour exploitation in the LAWs' and joint conceptual frameworks, include key characteristics of a neoliberal system promoting flexibility and deregulation of social security (160,400,423). The importance of uncertainty over the future and lack of stability in LAWs' conceptualisations are both rooted in this system.

Furthermore, LAWs and support organisations' discourses raise concerns, and accord with the increasing number of public health researchers who have warned against the health risks of outsourcing, and of lack of control over work tasks for workers (74,195,394).

10.2.4.b. *Migrant workers' conceptualisation and the ecosocial model*

While the expert CM provided some evidence of a continuum of labour exploitation from decent work to forced labour, the CM with LAWs supports the ecosocial model approach based on key informant interviews.

Figure 36 displays LAWs' main dimensions and sub-dimensions of exploitation along micro to macro levels. Each of the three main dimensions identified seems to reflect different levels of labour exploitation, from micro level to macro levels (institutional or structural labour exploitation), composed of more distal components (e.g. being outsourced).
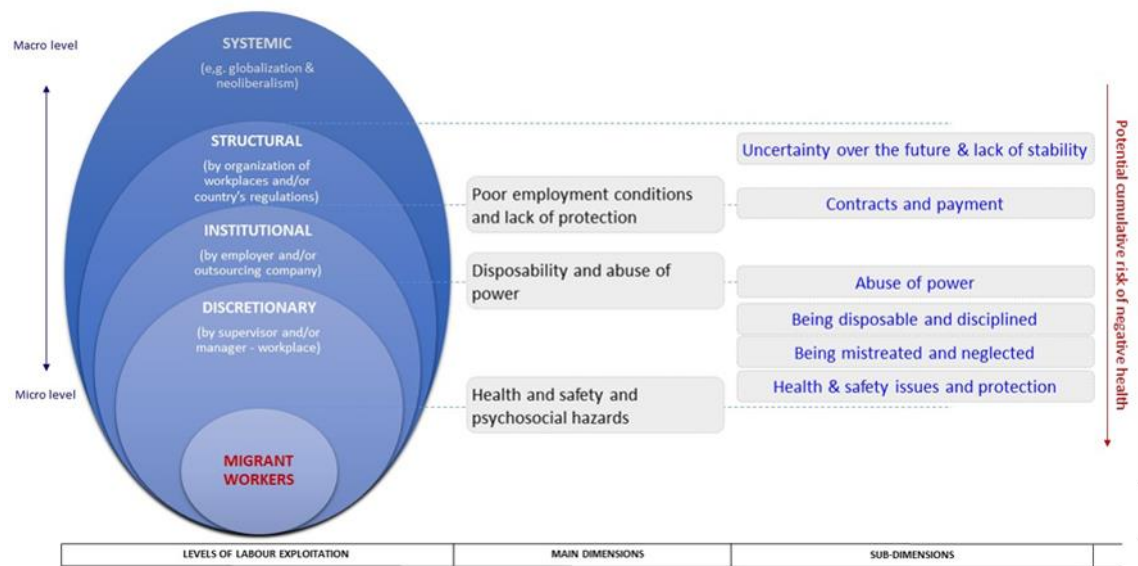
Figure 36 Distribution of the dimensions and subdimensions of labour exploitation from the CM with LAWs along micro to macro levels of labour exploitation

When bearing in mind that each dimension represents lived experiences of workers, the position of dimensions along this model may also reflect the intensity of workers' perceptions of being exploited. As discussed in Chapter 8 (see section 8.3), migrant workers have described the mistreatment they are subject to and the lack of protective equipment (in micro-levels) as absolutely unfair. During CM sessions, and interviews with LAWs, they reported that they were mistreated (or neglected) because they were treated as commodities. This led to vivid discussions. Situations captured within dimensions at more micro levels may, therefore, increase LAWs' feeling of being exploited. Additionally, dimensions at macro levels may both shape components located at more micro levels and increase the perception of being exploited. These may accumulate and increase migrant workers' risk of negative impacts on their health.

LAWs' discourses regarding the identification of a potential individual or factors responsible for their exploitation indicates that the closer the potential exploiter is to them (micro level),

the more intense the feeling of being exploited may be. On the one hand, workers may feel that they do not have the means to fight against situations described in areas related to macro levels of exploitation (e.g. national laws). On the other hand, they may feel that they should be able to fight against things directly happening to them at the workplace (micro level) while feeling that they do not have the skills (e.g. language) or capacity (e.g. fear of losing their job) to do so.

10.2.4.c.   *Responsibilities and levels of action*

The LAWs' conceptual framework, designed with a population exposed to or at-risk of being exploited, pushes further the debate about responsibilities and perpetrators of labour exploitation identified in the key informant interviews (see Chapter 7). It seems that the perception of being exploited may be influenced by who workers identify as the exploiter or as responsible for their exploitation.

LAWs seem to differentiate the direct exploitation perpetrated at the workplace by a supervisor, from labour exploitation exercised by an institution (*i.e.* company employing them) or the country where they reside (see Chapters 7 and 8).

First, workers may feel 'trapped' because of personal vulnerabilities (e.g. lack of language skills, documents or understanding of a 'contract'). Supervisors, described as an intermediary between worker and employer/company, may hence have full control over workers. Second, LAWs may feel neglected or not cared for when companies do not protect them from abusive supervisors. Some LAWs saw bosses' impunity, either as neglect (*"they don't care"*) or as an active means to keep control over workers. The latter implies that it may be a managerial technique. Such views were similar to the views of support organisations representatives (see Chapter 7). This suggests that participants' conceptualisations of labour exploitation may be shaped by the values and practices of the unions they were part of.

These views on managerial practices and companies' intentions to exploit echo Crane's *'Theory of Modern slavery as a management practice'* (424). He claims that such practices take advantage of *"conditions enabling slavery"*, including industrial, socioeconomic, geographic, cultural and regulatory contexts at several levels (international to local), and deploy managerial tools, including the access and deployment of violence, to enable modern slavery. He states that his

> *"theory, which involves the elucidation of both the macrolevel capabilities necessary for slavery to prosper in these conditions, represents the first attempt to develop a substantive theory of modern slavery applicable at the enterprise level."* (425; p.50)

Support organisations interviewed, especially unions, and LAWs highlighted the complexity of managerial hierarchy as a barrier to workers knowing how, or to whom, to complain or report abuses. Crane's work supports such analysis and refers to this complexity as a facilitator of modern slavery. He also argues that physical and psychological violence are key components of modern slavery as factors that *"enforce 'contracts'", especially in "high labour intensity and low value distribution"* jobs (424). It seems that Crane's theory supports both the unions' and LAWs' views about labour exploitation and the *"climate of fear"* being an active process organised by some companies*"*.

Organising the dimensions along micro to macro levels of labour exploitation complements the findings from the expert CM and highlights areas for future policy and practice interventions (e.g. advocacy for national policies or law enforcement and health and safety inspection in the workplace). After discussing the content of labour exploitation, I will now posit labour exploitation as a social determinant of health.

10.2.5. Positioning labour exploitation as a complex social determinant of health

This section will posit labour exploitation as a social determinant of health (SDH), drawing on the WHO framework for action on SDH. I will show that labour exploitation is a complex SDH, and I will build upon the ecosocial model and the conceptual frameworks I have proposed to identify areas for actions and public health interventions aimed at improving migrant workers' health.

10.2.5.a. The WHO framework for action on SDH

Labour exploitation could be considered a social determinant of migrant workers' health. I will position the interlacing dimensions of labour exploitation within the WHO framework for action on SDH. This interlacing was especially detected in the analysis of key informant interviews that suggested an ecosocial model in Chapter 7.

Figure 37 below illustrates how the interviewees' conceptualisation of labour exploitation fits into the different elements (boxes) of the WHO framework for action on SDH (217). The findings, especially the themes that emerged in the interviews, addressed different aspects of the SDH.
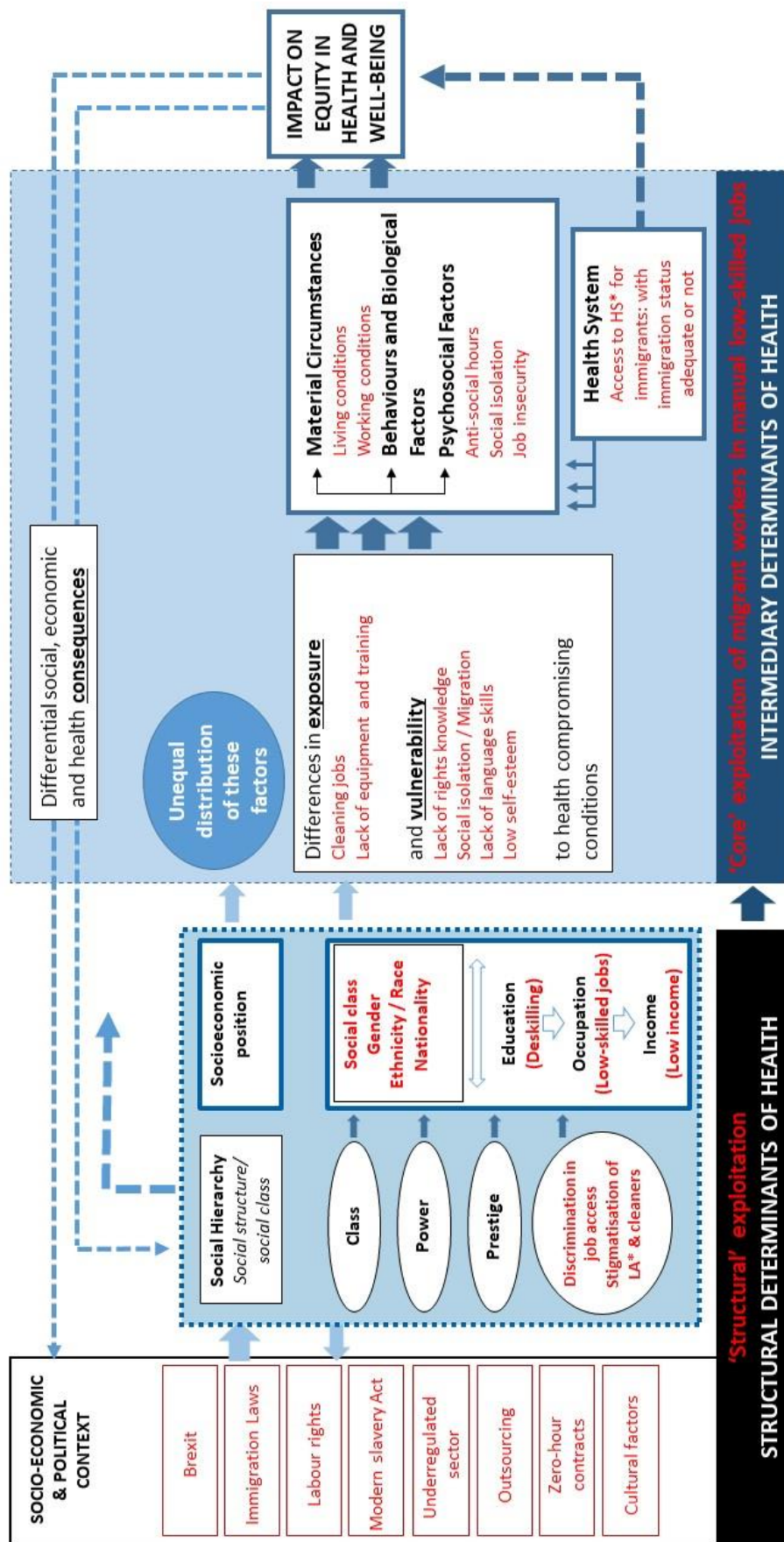
Figure 37 Adaptation of the WHO framework for action on social determinants of health (218) with inputs from the key informant interviews (in red)

This section will first place the interview themes into the structural determinants of health represented by the socio-economic and political context. Then it will locate LAWs' socio-economic positions in London, and finally discuss which themes belong to intermediary determinants of health, defined as "*individual-level influences, including health-related behaviours and physiological factors*" (218; p.36-37).

Socio-economic and political context

As discussed in Chapter 7 (see section 7.2), interviewees described what I called structures of labour exploitation. Themes such as poor labour and immigration laws, or notions of under-regulated sectors, which emerged during interviews, reflect UK socio-economic and political contexts. Support organisations briefly mentioned Brexit issues, which I also included. Representatives of a union and an LA association also voiced the potential for Brexit to worsen the exploitation of migrant workers, because it not only adds further uncertainty over their future immigration status but also because most labour laws and protection come from EU directives. This view was also shared by recent publications from civil society members, such as 'Focus on Labour Exploitation' (FLEX) (86).

Social structures and socio-economic position

Other structural factors, such as the discrimination faced by cleaners and Latin Americans in the UK labour market, were mostly addressed by LA association representatives.

Interestingly, there were diverging views among both unions and LA associations about 'race' or 'nationality' as factors within labour exploitation. Some viewed these as factors of solidarity, while others saw them as potential sources of discrimination or racism. Similar findings have been discussed in the wider research literature on migrant workers in other populations and settings (282,377,378). On the one hand, racial, ethnic or national communities could be perceived as a safety net for migrant workers (282), while on the other hand a potential source of discretionary exploitation by co-workers from same backgrounds (282,377,378). Ryan et al. discuss that for Polish migrants in London: "*tight networks of co-ethnics can lead to exploitation and cheating, as well as reinforcing social disadvantage and ghettoization*" (378). Cranford suggests distinguishing the concepts of "*social capital*" used in the literature to refer to positive aspects of community support from "*social networks*" that "*may become exploitative in some industrial contexts*" (377). In her ethnography examining the janitorial sector with a Latin American community in the USA, she highlights how the role of community varies depending on various criteria including race and gender.

Cranford (377), like Ryan et al. (378), highlights how social networks are also influenced by national structures (e.g. organisational levels in the job sector). The ecosocial model supports such analyses and fosters the understanding of discretionary exploitation within a more institutional and structural exploitation.

Experiences of 'deskilling' faced by LAWs as a result of their migration process and lack of English language skills have also frequently been mentioned in the literature as a factor influencing their occupational choices (36,104). Gender- and migration-specific issues were also discussed by interviewees in this thesis and could be categorised as part of 'socioeconomic position' and 'social hierarchy' in relation to the widespread structural discrimination, social class and power dynamics that are unfavourable to migrant workers, especially women.

Participants also discussed these aspects of labour exploitation as part of workers' vulnerabilities, which could be considered intermediary determinants of health within the WHO SDH framework, as I will now discuss.

Intermediary determinants of health

Structural determinants of health described previously shape the *"differences in exposure and vulnerability to health compromising situations"*, named intermediary determinants of health (217). Indeed, interviewees referred to ways socio-economic and political contexts, along with differences in social class, gender, nationalities and race, shape exposures and vulnerabilities.

Interviewees' accounts underlined the importance of poor working conditions as a key component of labour exploitation. They connected this issue with, for instance, poor housing conditions. Both features are discussed within the WHO description of material circumstances, which *"are probably directly significant for the health status of marginalized groups"* (219; p.37).

Anti-social hours or job insecurity were aspects of labour exploitation in line with the psychosocial factors in the WHO framework. Interestingly, while the WHO framework suggests that lower self-esteem is a psychosocial factor, interviewees rather saw it as a component of migrant workers' vulnerabilities to exploitation.

Dimensions identified by key informants encompassed socio-economic and political contexts (e.g. immigration policies and labour laws), social structures and socioeconomic position (e.g. discrimination), and intermediary determinants (e.g. vulnerabilities, working conditions). The CM with LAWs presented similar aspects. Using the WHO framework to synthesise these perspectives brought insights into the complexity of labour exploitation,

which indeed appeared to be a SDH. However, its interrelated dimensions transcend the WHO representation presented in Figure 37. The distinction between 'structural' and 'intermediary' determinants of health in the WHO-SDH framework does not seem to be related to interviewees' conceptualisation, nor to the realities of labour exploitation reported. This supports the use of the ecosocial model (397) that takes into consideration the dimensions 'interlacement' through several levels, while facilitating the identification of areas of potential interventions.

The next section will discuss how to operationalise the structured conceptual framework that was generated.

10.2.5.b. Identification of areas for action when labour exploitation is conceptualised as a social determinant of health

This section illustrates how the structured conceptual framework with experts, and its adaptation with LAWs' voices (the joint framework), brings together insights for understanding and acting on the potential causal pathways by which labour exploitation can cause negative health impacts on migrant workers.

Table 15 below presents a working theoretical framework of labour exploitation to explore the potential causal pathways to ill health, and public health interventions. On the left-hand side the dimensions obtained from the expert skeleton map, which is used as the standardisable framework, are displayed. The first column presents the dimensions, the second its subdimensions. The next two columns correspond to the dimensions and subdimensions from the joint conceptual framework, where the blue cells represent the additions from the migrant workers' inputs.

The dimensions are presented along the continuum of severity obtained in the expert CM. For each dimension, I specified: the schools of thought that mainly discussed the dimension, the corresponding levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs perceived to be appropriate, the potential health implications, and potential interventions. This table is an adaptation of the *"working theoretical measurement framework"* developed by Conrad et al. who used CM as the first step of a measure of psychosocial abuse (372).

Table 15 Working theoretical framework to explore the potential causal pathways of labour exploitation and related public health interventions.

Note: Adapted using Conrad et al.'s working theoretical measurement framework for psychosocial abuse (372) and Maslow's theory of needs (373,374).

Expert skeleton map: Dimension (macro to micro)	Expert skeleton map: Subdimension	Joint map: Dimension (macro to micro)	Joint map: Subdimension	Main related school of thought *	Type of hazard	Level affected by Maslow's hierarchy of needs	Potential health consequences	Intervention: Priority	Intervention: Type
Higher severity indicators at the top									
Shelter and personal security	Physical and psychological intimidation	**Coercion**	Physical and psychological intimidation	HR	Psychological & verbal abuse and violence	Basic needs - Safety needs	Dangerous, life-threatening, trauma and deleterious physical mental health; Accidents, disability, potential suicidal thoughts	Urgent	Clinical care, mental health
Shelter and personal security	Deprived from basic needs	**Coercion**	Deprived from basic needs	HR	Severe psychosocial and physical hazard	Basic needs - Physiological needs	Dangerous, life-threatening, trauma and deleterious physical mental health - accidents and potential disability	Urgent	Clinical care, mental health support
Shelter and personal security	Restriction of freedom	**Coercion**	Restriction of freedom and movement	HR	Severe psychosocial and physical hazard	Basic needs - Safety needs Psychological needs - Belongingness and love needs	Dangerous, life-threatening situation, deleterious physical and mental health - restricted access to healthcare and social support	Urgent	Clinical care, mental health
Finance and migration	Wage issues	**Finance**	Wage issues	HR and SDH	Severe financial harm, psychosocial hazards	Basic needs - Safety needs (financial security)	Material deprivation, poverty, deleterious mental health	Urgent	Mental health, social and legal support
Finance and migration	Deductions and migrant work	**Finance**	Deductions	HR and SDH	Severe financial harm, psychosocial hazards	Basic needs - Safety needs (financial security)	Material deprivation, poverty, deleterious mental health	Urgent	Mental health, social and legal support
-		**Migration**	Migrant work	HR	Severe financial harm, psychosocial hazards	Basic needs - Safety needs (financial security)	Material deprivation, poverty, deleterious mental health	Urgent and Mid-term	Mental health, social and legal support
Finance and migration	Misled	**Migration**	Misled	HR	Financial harm, psychosocial hazards	Basic needs - Safety needs (financial security) Psychological needs - Esteem	Material deprivation, poverty, deleterious mental health Feeling disrespected, unsafe, trapped	Urgent	Mental health, social and legal support
Health & safety	Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	**Health and safety**	Occupational health and safety issues	SDH (mainly) and HR	Severe physical and psychosocial hazards	Basic needs - Safety needs Basic needs - Physiological needs (rest)	Dangerous, life-threatening situation, deleterious physical and mental health; Possible injury, accident, lack of preventive measures; Feeling unsafe, disrespected	Urgent	Clinical care, mental health, social and legal support
-		**Health and safety**	Being mistreated and neglected	Unclear	Severe physical and psychococial hazards	Basic needs - Safety needs Basic needs - Physiological needs (rest)	Dangerous, life-threatening situation, deleterious physical and mental health; Possible injury, accident, lack of	Urgent	Clinical care, mental health, social and legal support

Table 15 (continued)

Shelter and personal security	Dependence on the job	Coercion	Dependence on the job	HR	Severe physical and psychococial hazards	Basic needs - Safety needs (restricted access to healthcare) Psychological needs - Belongigness and love needs	Deleterious mental health; Feeling unsafe, disrepected	Urgent	Mental health, social and legal support
-	-	**Disposability and abuse of power/ Dehumanisation**	Being disposable and disciplined	SDH	Severe psychosocial hazard	Psychological needs - Belongigness and love needs Psychological needs - Esteem needs	Dangerous, deleterious physical and mental health; Accident, disability, wear and tear; Feeling unsafe, disrepected	Urgent	Clinical care, Mental health, social and legal support; and preventive measures including advocacy
-	-	**Disposability and abuse of power/ Dehumanisation**	Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	SDH	Severe sexual, physical and psychosocial hazards	Basic needs - Safety needs Psychological needs - Belongigness and love needs Psychological needs - Esteem needs	Dangerous, deleterious physical, sexual and mental health; Accident, disability, wear and tear; Feeling unsafe, disrepected	Urgent	Clinical and sexual health care, Mental health, social and legal support; and preventive measures including advocacy
Social and legal protection	Time-off and legality issues	**Poor employment conditions and**	Time-off and legality issues	HR and SDH	Psychocoial hazards	Basic needs - Physiological needs (rest) Psychological needs - Belongigness and love needs Psychological needs - Esteem needs	Severe mental health issues ; exhaustion, possible increase of absenteism, injury	Urgent and mid-term	Mental health, social and legal support; and preventive measures
Social and legal protection	Contract and workload	**Poor employment conditions and lack of protection**	Contract and workload	SDH	Psychosocial hazards	Basic needs - Physiological needs (rest) Basic needs - Safety needs Psychological needs - Esteem needs	Severe mental health issues; exhaustion, increase of absenteism, injury, disability	Urgent and mid-term	Mental health, social and legal support; and preventive measures including advocacy
Social and legal protection	Health and social benefits	**Poor employment conditions and lack of**	Health and social benefits	SDH	Physical and psychosocial hazards	Psychological needs - Esteem needs Basic needs - Safety needs	Severe mental health issues; increase of absenteism and presenteism, delayed access to healthcare	Mid-term	Mental health, social and legal support; and preventive measures including advocacy
Social and legal protection	Lack of means to get support	**Poor employment conditions and lack of protection**	Lack of means to get support	SDH	Psychosocial hazards	Psychological needs - Belongigness and love needs	Severe mental health issues; delayed access to approproiate health and social care	Mid-term	Mental health, social and legal support; and preventive measures including advocacy, and education (for employers and employees)
Social and legal protection	Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	**Poor employment conditions and lack of protection**	Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	SDH	Psychosocial hazards	Psychological needs - Esteem needs Basic needs - Safety needs Self-fulfillment needs - Self-actualization	Mental health issues	Mid- and longer-term	Mental health, social and legal support; and preventive measures including advocacy, and education (for employers and employees)
Lower severity indicators at the bottom									

Note: HR stands for Human rights; SDH stands for Social determinant of health

Table 15 shows that the most severe dimensions have, as expected, been discussed by the HR school of thought and correspond to more micro level dimensions of labour exploitation. Dimensions with the lowest ratings have mainly been discussed in the SDH school of thought and interestingly dimensions in-between have been discussed by both, which also supports the idea of a continuum between both schools.

The dimensions that are at a relatively macro level echo very much the concept of precariousness, which encompasses issues of employment conditions and salary, but not of immigration. Dimensions that are discretionary are found at the more micro levels; then those straddling institutional and discretionary exploitation describing the hostile working environment or climate of fear that includes coercion, health and safety including mistreatment and neglect as well as the dimension of dehumanisation. The dimensions at this meso level are particularly interesting, because that is where both schools of thought properly overlap. These dimensions refer more to working conditions, and have been described in both research on human trafficking and occupational health.

Table 15 underlines the need for collaboration between different fields and disciplines to understand further the causal pathways of labour exploitation. This is in line with Simandan's theory of an allostatic load theory supporting multidisciplinary research to understand how exploitation influences physiological mechanisms that impact health, *inter alia* (425).

The combination of both structured conceptual frameworks allows for the clarification of potential health implications for each dimension, and hence to the development of possible public health interventions, as I will now discuss.

10.2.5.c. Possible areas for public health interventions

Building on Table 15, this section identifies three areas for preventing labour exploitation as a SDH and designing public health interventions. They are described from macro to micro level.

Intervening at structural or national level

The SDH approach highlights the role of structures in creating or worsening labour exploitation for migrant workers. This is also suggested in Siqueira's et al description of the *"effects of social, economic, and labor policies on occupational health disparities"* (224). This echoes discussions about the state's responsibilities for the key issues surrounding of the exploitation of migrant workers (see Chapter 7). Union leaders, in particular, suggested that the lack of labour laws and restrictive immigration laws are enabling the exploitation of migrant workers. Anderson, in a seminal paper discussing the role of the state and immigration policies in

creating the precarity of migrant workers, also supports such views (35). She highlights how states create situations of vulnerability by changing immigration regulations. The 2018 'Windrush scandal' in the UK has indeed demonstrated how people who have been considered legal residents from one day to another became 'illegal' and threatened with deportation or were actually deported (426–428).

As highlighted in Chapter 3, the socio-political context in the UK may increase workers' vulnerabilities to labour exploitation. Advocates fighting against modern slavery have highlighted how the current immigration regulations may negatively impact on migrant workers (3,85,429). They may face uncertainty over their immigration status, which increases vulnerabilities to exploitation as this uncertainty may be used by exploiters and may result in them being more exposed to discrimination and hate crimes. A report on Brexit specifically highlights the risks for all workers in general as *"some progressive EU legislation on workers' rights could be revoked"* (86; p.2).

This demonstrates how these implications are important for the health field, as national policies impact people's health and shape the possibilities and means to prevent ill health and protect workers' health (224).

Intervening at institutional or organisational level

The identification of institutional and structural labour exploitation supports findings from Bambra et al.'s suggesting that:

> *"organisational level changes to the psychosocial work environment can have important and generally beneficial effects on health. Further, […] organisational workplace interventions may also have the potential to have an impact on health inequalities amongst employees."* (419; p.459)

The ecosocial model suggests that addressing the limited legal protection for migrant workers may prevent their exploitation by companies, which may prevent labour exploitation at the workplace. There needs to be parallel mechanisms reinforcing and enforcing their rights to prevent such situations from happening.

Intervening at discretionary or community level

Findings also highlight the role of the community for LAWs as a source of support, but also as a potential source of exploitation, as discussed in section 10.2.5.a. Building on Cranford (377) and Ryan et al.'s (378) discussions that these networks are influenced by national structures, interventions should focus on alleviating structural exploitation and at the same

time promoting community-based actions to disseminate information about rights and support available, and potentially to report health and safety issues happening in workplaces.

I will now discuss the methods and methodological contributions of this research.

10.3. Methods: discussion and contributions

Despite the research being conducted with hard-to-reach populations, the number of participants is within the range of other CMs and CM developer's recommendations of 10 to 40 participants (124). Interestingly, LAWs' sorting-rating phase had a higher number of participants than in the brainstorming. This is unusual in CM (336), and most likely reflects the benefits of investing time building rapport with participants. Rosas and Kane (126) suggested that *"between 20 and 30 sorters is warranted to maximize the consistency of fit",* and that 25 participants and more provide a better stress value.

> *"Stress is a statistic routinely generated and reported in multidimensional scaling (MDS) analyses, reflecting the goodness of fit of the final representation with the original similarity matrix used as input. […] for any given configuration the stress indicates how well that configuration matches the data."* (126; p.240)

While the samples in my research are close to the minimum size recommended (25 for experts and 23 for LAWs), the stress values for both CM are within the range found in other CM studies (see Chapter 9, section 9.2 and Appendix K). In fact, the lower the stress value, the better the fit; and both stress values were below other CM average stress values and were towards the smaller stress values. This indicates that the models developed in this thesis compare favourably to those in previous published CM analyses. Compared to the expert CM, the stress value for the LA CM was higher, which was reflected in the difficulty of disentangling clusters on the point map.

10.3.1. Concept Mapping and alternatives to the CSI platform

In a special issue on CM, Trochim - the method developer - has highlighted that the spread of the method was highly related to the use of the Concept System (CSI) software. He acknowledged a shortfall of alternative tools for data collection to generate concept maps (125). When I decided not to use the platform, I faced a lack of guidance on technical aspects. I attended the first European CM course. It relied on the CSI platform, and my technical questions could not be answered. In this research, I used two methods for collecting data and performing the statistical analysis leading to the concept maps.

The following sections discuss the method and make recommendations to CM users who may decide not to use the CSI software.

10.3.1.a. Including key informant interviews in the preparation phase

To compensate for my limited initial access to LAWs, I adapted the CM with LAWs to include key informant interviews as part of the preparation phase. What I initially envisaged as an approach to facilitate my understanding of the UK context and to tailor CM, ended up also being a powerful way to engage with the community and build rapport. Moreover, it may have also shown support organisations that I valued them and their inputs, which most probably facilitated my access to them and a sample of LAWs, thus ensuring good quality data.

10.3.1.b. Data collection

Overall, the online platform was very useful for data collection and facilitated the involvement of experts from various regions of the world. It was tailored to include the CM steps from brainstorming to sorting and rating, with the help of a volunteer web developer. The use of two different data collection tools for the sorting-rating phase due to technical issues might have impacted on the way experts replied, but it is difficult to assess to what extent. I would strongly recommend investing in resources to pursue and improve the development of such a tool. In contrast with the CM with LAWs, setting-up data entry controls directly in the platform greatly facilitated the data entry and management.

Transforming the outcomes of the face-to-face data collection sessions into a database for statistical analysis took a significant amount of time. Nonetheless, face-to-face data collection for the CM with LAWs provided richness of data. It made it easier to understand, reduce, synthesise and analyse LAWs' contributions, because it offered the possibility of clarifying statements on the spot. However, face-to-face sessions are difficult to organise with migrant workers who have limited availability.

During LAWs' sorting tasks, I felt that participants were not necessarily expecting this type of exercise despite explaining it to most of them during face-to-face encounters when I attended events to maintain rapport. Participants who also participated in the first phase might have expected discussions, such as during the brainstorming. Furthermore, I might not have explained what the sessions would be like well enough or there might have been language issues. Moreover, participants might have felt that the task was too long, and some may have found the exercise difficult. One participant actually mentioned that it was hard to read that much information and sort all the cards into groups.

Contrary to experts' ratings, here ratings do not seem to follow the severity of statements. The rating exercise with LAWs showed a ceiling effect, which can be observed in CM when

participants discuss an issue that directly concerns or impacts them (336). This means that as all statements were rated very high, workers may have perceived that all statements were very relevant to identifying situations of labour exploitation. This may also relate to the fact that the statements reflect their own contributions, but also that they have experienced many of the situations described. During the sessions, I felt that participants rated the statements that they personally experienced very highly, and gave ratings of four or slightly lower for the others. Finally, the rating was conducted after the sorting exercise, which had taken longer than planned for most of the participants, therefore it is likely that participants were tired or wanted to leave. This may have resulted in performing the rating quickly without taking enough time to consider each statement.

It would be interesting to assess whether an online platform may facilitate accessing different types of workers, maybe those who are not connected with support organisations. Such assessment in similar populations would need to appraise whether it would influence data quality; because, as discussed in Chapter 5, the time spent building rapport was important to maintain participation in the second phase (sorting-rating).

10.3.1.c. *Multivariate analyses*

Most CM studies have used the CSI software to perform data analyses and to generate concept maps (125,336). The technical aspects behind the creation of the concept maps presented some challenges. First, MDS is still rather uncommon in public health research. Therefore I used technical papers in other fields of science and psychology (347,348,430,431). Second, there is little guidance to decide between different algorithms used for MDS. Therefore, I developed a procedure to select the MDS model for CM on SPSS (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.4). Little has been written about the difficulty of selecting the final cluster-solution for CM, especially when clusters are difficult to disentangle, like in the CM with LAWs. I did not face the same difficulty in the expert CM, and to the best of my knowledge, CM has not been used with migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs to clarify such a complex, abstract concept. This may indicate that for conducting similar conceptualisation research with non-professional experts, the sample size should be higher and/or the number of statements lowered.

Finally, the combination of hierarchical cluster analysis and MDS results is a key innovation of CM. It indeed proved to be helpful in identifying (sub)dimensions of labour exploitation. CM is generally performed by a research team, except for PhD projects (336). To make the most of CM, I suggest that ideally, a pair of researchers should attend the face-to-face

sessions, perform the extraction separately, and compare their findings from the data reduction and synthesis, which is commonly the case for systematic reviews.

10.3.2. The expert skeleton map as a basis for combining concept maps

Adapting Novak and Cañas's idea of *"expert skeleton map"* (129) to Trochim's CM method (123) enabled me to develop a multidisciplinary conceptual framework of labour exploitation that captured current expertise and fosters collaboration. A similar approach has been taken by Soellner et al. who recently developed a theoretical framework using an expert CM with the *"the aim of capturing the comprehensive structure of the construct of 'health literacy"* (432).

Trochim's CM is typically used with one heterogeneous group. A strict application of the CM methods to my work would have meant combining experts and LAWs in the same CM; and using all statements generated by both groups to produce one final map. While this would certainly be very interesting, it would have been extremely challenging in practice. First, the differences in language and possibly in levels of meaning between both groups would have increased the difficulty of statements selection and their reduction to a manageable number. Chapter 9 discussed that both groups' conceptualisation and vocabulary used, were indeed quite different. Second, both groups had different schedules. This may have: 1) increased the delays between both data collection phases; 2) decreased the number of participants in the second phase; or 3) required me to invest significantly more into the important work of rapport building with both groups. Third, I was interested in understanding how migrant workers may conceptualise labour exploitation in comparison with experts. The complete separation of both exercises enabled me to gain a deeper understanding of migrants' conceptualisations without influence of expert's inputs during the brainstorming phase. Furthermore, in conceptual frameworks that have been developed for related concepts, migrant workers have been rarely asked their opinion on the actual content of 'labour exploitation'.

The 'expert skeleton map' concept adapted from Novak and Cañas (129) offers a standardisable framework, which could be adapted to different contexts after being piloted with other groups of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. It would also be an innovation in the relatively recent use of scale measurement, especially for those conducting research on migrants and/or workers in manual low-skilled jobs who may be less used to such research tools. As I used a similar method, prompts and instructions for both groups, the results obtained were comparable. The comparison of the two CMs offered a good way to adapt the classic CM and to include the contributions of potential end-users, as suggested in public health research (319).

10.3.3. The first step of scale development

Rosas and Ridings (127) underline the method's strength in clarifying concepts and facilitating the development of scales likely to be valid and reliable. Authors identified different purposes for attempting to develop a scale, and the current research is in line with a group of studies whose *"purpose […] was in response to a need to better conceptualize and measure complex phenomenon"* (127). Some studies included both *"expert and the target population"* in the CM. While most have included the different groups within the same CM exercise, a few studies based their measurement development on combining separate CM as I did (127,433,434). For instance, Southern et al. used several CMs using the same prompt and methods and consolidating the different CM into one theoretical framework (434). They used a *"descriptive meta-matrix"* and some spatial characteristics to identify the overarching themes. Table 14 in Chapter 9 used for the comparison of CM is very similar to their matrix. My decision to formalise the comparison by adapting the concept of an *"expert skeleton map"* (129) could help to address challenges in comparing the maps that were highlighted by other authors (127,433,434). Finally, the joint map obtained offered a contextual adaptation of the expert skeleton map and a comprehensive representation of labour exploitation focusing on LAWs. While the joint map cannot be assessed statistically as a traditional CM can be, the qualitative comparison has shown its relevance in incorporating a new dimension from the target population. This model could, therefore, be tested in future research.

10.4. Reflexivity and my positionality

Throughout the research, I have acknowledged how my own characteristics may have shaped the different stages of my work (435). I have reflected on how I used my fluid identity to navigate between disciplines, cultures, language, migration experiences, and social classes; and on the strengths and challenges of being fully immersed within own's research. This section gives insights into how my own experiences may have influenced my work.

10.4.1. Navigating the research using a fluid identity

As mentioned in Chapter 4, my educational background being initially biology and epidemiology, I first had to shift from a relatively binary way of thinking to consider that some situations may be perceived and conceptualised differently depending on individuals. Once this step was made, a new stage of my learning process left me in a 'limbo' stage where I felt unqualified to conduct the research and unable to make any decisions because of these conflicting views. However, I used my prior personal, educational, and professional experiences to adapt. I will now present some reflections about my fluid identity, which I believe has helped me to be innovative and to disentangle complex issues within the field.

First, I was born and raised in the *'banlieue'*, or suburbs, of Paris by Algerian parents who migrated in their early adulthood. My father - now retired - was a manual worker (initially lower- then higher-skilled) and my mother has been a cleaner in private homes once her kids were "old enough". At home, we speak both French and *'taqbaylit'* (Berber language), and were told we are Kabyle (Berber). Yet, I have been perceived as 'Arab' at school or work, which somehow supported my father's warnings that French people would never see us as French. My parents have always pushed us to use dual frameworks for what happens 'inside' and 'outside' the home. Until I finished high school, it was 'normal' to be from an immigrant family, as all my friends were too. When I went to University in Paris, I discovered that 'normality' was relative. I had my first real encounters with 'White' French, which made me realise I did not know many 'social codes'. At that stage, I believed it was because of my cultural (immigrant and from the suburbs) background. I then realised that my 'suburban' accent was stigmatising. To a certain extent, 'going to Paris' and crossing the *'périphérique'* to enter higher education was a first internal migration experience. Then, for a second experience of internal migration, I moved to the South of France for my Master's degree. I discovered during a sociology class that my family had been living below the poverty line. This was a significant milestone for me, and added a social class lens to the 'racial' or 'cultural' lens that I already had. I then started to connect with some struggles that my parents had been through related to experiences of poverty and financial struggles. Yet, I realised how privileged my situation was compared to theirs or to other friends. A year later, I went to Senegal for an internship. I discovered that, for the first time, I was being considered 'White', which I realised did not necessarily mean skin colour but also status. In fact, when I explained that I am Algerian, my label would shift from *'toubab'* (White) to *'nakh'* (Arab). But this time, being Algerian was perceived positively. I discovered that I could use all my different identities to my own benefit depending on the situation.

My later experiences helped me to build this as a skill. In particular, in working experiences where I realised how different I was in comparison to the White French people, who were highly educated like me, but from a higher social class (both economically and culturally). My 'Arab' label was used in my hierarchy as a sign of their 'openness' and 'inclusivity' - even if I physically looked White. I also observed how relationships between staff and management influenced people's employment and working conditions. In particular, the dynamics between men and women shaped job progress and opportunities, and had collateral consequences for the rest of workers. I wondered how much these were part of individuals' behaviours or part of failing systems due to a lack of effective procedures, and transparency.

This may have pushed my interest in institutions' responsibilities for management failures in my research.

Finally, my arrival in a UK university to conduct a PhD pushed me to question what being 'White' meant for my research. This time, people in the UK considered me White because of my skin colour. Yet, I felt that the concept of 'White' was more linked to me being in higher education. When I started my fieldwork with the LA community, which is very diverse in terms of skin colour and ethnic backgrounds and identities, I noticed that more than my colour, I was perceived as a 'White educated woman'. I then deployed my other identities to facilitate my access and develop trust. In particular, I disclosed my migrant background, my mother's job as a cleaner, and my imperfect language skills.

Like my participants, I found that language is a key issue in labour exploitation as well as in migration-related experiences. Before living in the UK, I considered myself to be fluent in English. Once in the UK, I realised that sometimes I felt *"like a disabled person"*, as one of my participants had stated (see Chapter 7). Hearing participants' experiences in the UK about their feelings of being excluded or treated differently because of their lack of language skills resonated with my own experience. In certain academic interactions, I felt that native English-speakers were seeing non-native speakers as 'less intelligent' or less able because they made English language mistakes. This often makes me feel frustrated and that this is unfair. In contrast, I feel that using the 'broken' Spanish, which I have been learning during social interactions with my LA friends, has helped me to break this power imbalance when I started my fieldwork. I believe it showed potential participants that I cared about understanding their views and experiences.

Moreover, 'being a woman' may have both facilitated and impeded my access to and recruitment of participants, and potential support organisations. During recruitment events, I sometimes forgot that I was a woman, but interactions with men would automatically remind me of my 'woman's place'. I, however, learned to 'act' like a woman to gain potential participants' trust and as a strategy to get accepted within the community.

Finally, my personal experiences have shown me that it is very difficult to comprehend a problem without experiencing it personally. Therefore, I consider integrating people's inputs is necessary for any efficient action of change, especially in public health. Not integrating them may take agency from people or make them feel patronised. I certainly have felt that myself when men have tried to explain to me women-related issues or when people from higher social classes try to explain to me how poor people feel. It also made me realise how structures and contexts shape people's personal circumstances, such as job opportunities. In

the next section, I describe how my immersion in the research may have impacted my work and the knowledge produced.

10.4.2. In and out of the research: immersion in 'exploitation'

This section highlights the good and bad of being fully immersed within one's own research topic. On the one hand, my personal background and personal experiences described in the previous section have facilitated my understanding of situations of exploitation of migrant workers. On the other hand, it may only offer just one perspective. Moreover, I have felt surrounded by my research both in my personal and professional life. At times, some of my participants' behaviours, stories and experiences echoed with some situations that I heard from family or friends, but also from news about labour exploitation that made me reflect on my own family's experiences of migration and exploitation.

10.4.2.a.   Seeing exploitation 'everywhere'

When I started reading about situations of labour exploitation in South Asia and in lower-income countries, I found that these situations were not far from what was happening in the UK, but that the approaches used to analyse them seemed to be different. The news has constantly been discussing issues of labour exploitation, because of scandals abroad and debates on immigration and modern slavery in the UK. I felt overwhelmed, as I thought that everything I was buying or doing may be exploitative to someone. Going to public events where LA and other low-paid workers shared their experiences pushed me further into my understanding that measuring labour exploitation could not be done in a way that I would classically do in epidemiology or statistics. Context seemed to matter in defining situations of labour exploitation. While I still believe that there may be a way to prove that the core part of labour exploitation could be universal but adaptable to contexts for practical reasons, I needed first to start exploring the context at a small scale. This has certainly influenced my will to use Novak's concept of the expert skeleton map (129).

10.4.2.b.   Feeling 'exploited'

The 'precarious' situation of being a PhD student in the UK has also made myself feel exploited at times. I found it difficult to cope while studying similar situations that were happening to me when I believed that this was behind me. Being French in the UK has offered me a different lens of analysis of the social and labour market, which is more protective in France than in the UK. Yet, it may have limited my understanding of some specificities of the UK labour market, such as using its flexibility for changing jobs. In France, PhD students have a contract, a salary and labour rights. This was my point of reference to

assess my experiences in the UK. When my funding ended, I had to take zero-hour contracts that I found both exploitative and convenient at the same time. Like my participants, I was worried about not getting enough work and money, but at the same time, I could not fully commit to other casual jobs like in the past (e.g. Mc Donald's). Once, I took a one-hour daily job for which I commuted two hours round trip for 12GBP (still above the London Living Wage). One day, I realised that it echoed with one interview with a support organisation representative who highlighted similar irrational behaviours among LAWs. I wanted to quit, but somehow felt it was not fair on the client or professional. I could not stop thinking about some of my participants telling me that sometimes *"you just have to do it"*.

Furthermore, I have been reflecting on how the academic world functions. I have been a PhD student representative and heard stories of students - theoretically in higher social positions - that echoed very much with those of my participants; in particular, students' feelings that they cannot complain or that they were afraid of confronting their supervisors when facing issues. To a certain extent, I have also been in such a position in the past, and also wondered why issues of labour exploitation were mainly focused on lower skilled migrant workers. I still have no answers, but this has pushed me to think about future research questions.

10.4.2.c.   *Feeling like a potential 'exploiter'*

Finally, I had to cope with my feelings of being a potential 'exploiter' when I recruited my RA. I was being an employer myself, which made me reflect on issues of responsibilities in relation to labour exploitation discussed in section 10.2.4. When I understood that I needed an RA, I initially had no funding. No one would (understandably) accept to help, and getting a publication is obviously not a good enough incentive for postgraduate students. I genuinely felt desperate, which pushed me to seek advice from PhD student fellows. When I compared myself to other PhD fellows from different backgrounds (i.e. parents with higher education more than financial means), I found that they were more able to navigate the system. I realised how difficult it was for me to ask for help while it was fine for others. This was a significant barrier I had to overcome, which I believe is linked to my education and (previous) social class. The lack of information and of support that I faced at that time also made me reflect on the mechanisms of exploitation. It made me question whether the feeling of unfairness I was having was because I was not able to find solutions myself, or whether 'the system' in place should have been more supportive.

Once I had found funding for an RA, I had already been to several events discussing the lack of a contract and a minimum wage as exploitative practices. I worried that I may be exploiting

myself, especially, as my RA would also hear about these as exploitative practices. I decided to pay her the London living wage and compensation for transport. I spent a few days reading about different forms of contracting and decided to use a self-employment template to clarify her terms and conditions. My university and funder did not have a template or guidance for PhD students who would contract an RA. I found it very difficult to bear the responsibility by myself. If anything happened to me or my RA, who would be held responsible? Yet, this has helped me to cope with being a potential exploiter. I also found it complex to feel on the one hand that I might be an exploiter, and on the other hand to obtain the services I would pay for. I started understanding that employment relationships were not as binary as I thought, with an exploiter *versus* an exploited.

10.4.3. Lessons learnt

Overall, I believe the findings presented in the research have benefited from my own position as an 'educated White' French-Kabyle woman from a migrant family. I have been 'climbing' the social ladder and often have been 'tripping' on it. Acknowledging my privileges has helped me continue the path but at the same time remains challenging. Using my fluid identity has been mostly a strength in my research and professional path, but was more challenging on the personal and emotional path, which was not something I was prepared for. My conversion to 'fluid' perceptions of experiences is challenging in terms of research design and implementation, but useful to cope with constant revelations about myself and my environment, both as a researcher and an individual.

I am still reflecting on the concept of unfairness and about different analytical lenses I have been using related to exploitation. Being a feminist from a migrant low-income background, and observing social interactions in my fieldwork, in Academia and in my personal life certainly makes me relate to intersectional issues. I am still reflecting on how to be a 'good researcher'. What is the value of research when those who conduct it do not apply what they learn into their own practices and life? How to progress within a competitive academic system when there is a conflict between 'feminine' values and 'masculine' criteria and/or between values of solidarity from different social class and cultures? How to be integrated into a new social class that patronises my class of origin? How to accept being 'White' when in France I have always been 'Arab'? How can I combine my quest for 'universal knowledge' now that I appreciate that contexts and personal experiences matter?

I will now turn to discuss the contributions to knowledge and implications of this research.

10.5. Contributions to knowledge and implications

This innovative and interdisciplinary research provides conceptual and empirical contributions to health research on labour exploitation. It clarifies the concept of labour exploitation focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs; offers a middle ground to foster and standardise research on labour exploitation. Second, it also brings contributions to migrant health. Third, it contributes to the potential development of a measure, by providing a robust basis for developing a scale of labour exploitation focusing on LAWs, using the joint framework.

10.5.1. Conceptual and empirical contributions to health research on labour exploitation and implications

The major contribution of this research is to provide a structured conceptual framework of labour exploitation focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs that clarifies its content for public health use. It contributes to a common understanding of labour exploitation for public health research and policy. The current thesis also provides a robust basis for developing a scale of labour exploitation focusing on LAWs that could contribute to developing a measure. Using the expert skeleton map as a standardisable middle ground guarantees that the key dimensions of labour exploitation would be included in a possible future scale. It addresses the first step towards developing a scale by clarifying the concept content and its relationship to other related concepts (322,323). Measurement in the health field has increasingly included patients' voices (320,321,436), and the joint conceptual framework and Table 15 illustrates how to adapt the structured conceptual framework by incorporating migrant workers' voices.

By offering a middle ground, this framework paves the way towards designing standardised quantitative research on this topic to better understand the health impacts of labour exploitation on migrant workers. The research addresses the multiple calls for more collaboration between research fields and disciplines, from experts in the HR and SDH schools of thought. The middle ground I propose also calls for collaborating with migrant workers themselves. Experts in SDH, have called for collaboration with the human rights field in public health in the frame of social justice (107,108). Flynn and Wickramage highlight that *"[t]he domain of work also offers an opportunity to advance migrant health"* (59). Other researchers have also suggested using a SDH approach to conceptualise issues related to trafficking, migration and work (59,77,107,196,437–440). Zimmerman and Schenker indicate that the

"issue of human trafficking has rarely appeared in the occupational health literature, in the same way that the occupational health aspects of human trafficking have been largely omitted from the dialogue on human trafficking." (13)

The structured conceptual framework lays the foundation for such dialogues. In particular, it offers the HR school a frame for including *"structural drivers"* (9) into research on extreme forms of labour exploitation.

By using a collaborative and mixed-methods methodology (CM) within a social epidemiology approach, the research contributed to the first steps of Cwikel's SOCEPID framework (314), which correspond to developing a conceptual framework taking into account cultural sensitivities (see Chapter 4). The structured conceptual framework is adaptable to take into account contextual and cultural specificities. The theoretical measurement framework presented in Table 15 could support the development of a measure of labour exploitation. The joint structured conceptual framework lays the foundations to develop a pool of items for a measure of labour exploitation among LAWs, using the statements generated in both CM. The ecosocial model reinforces that labour exploitation is a concept that may need to be studied, measured and tackled using multilevel models.

This thesis contributed to research on SDH by conceptualising labour exploitation as a social determinant of migrant workers' health. The combination of the structured conceptual framework and ecosocial model which fed into the theoretical measurement framework (see Table 15) could foster the emergence of studies designed to assess the impacts of various levels of labour exploitation on migrant workers' health. It also proposes research paths to explore where interventions could be designed to reduce health inequalities and improve exploited migrant workers' health.

The research offers an empirical contribution, as the expert skeleton map contributes to specifying the content of Skrivankova's continuum. The use of the continuum approach opens the door to new ways of understanding the health needs of migrant workers exposed to labour exploitation. For example, this could help test the hypothesis stated by Buller and al. (81) that migrant workers in sectors at risk may face the same negative health outcomes be they identified victims of forced labour or not. The framework provided ways to connect health research discussing precarious employment and modern slavery.

10.5.2. Contributions to migrant health research and implications

The research demonstrated the benefits of combining expertise with experience for public health research. By integrating LAWs' voices into experts' knowledge, this research allowed

for the generation of new knowledge on the realities of labour exploitation as well as on migrant health, based in both theoretical and experience-based expertise.

The research contributes to occupational migrant workers health research, by illustrating the particularly harsh experiences of a group of migrant workers employed in manual low-skilled jobs in the UK. In particular, it highlights the urgent need to explore the health of women in manual low-skilled jobs, as they may additionally experience sexual misconducts.

Migrant workers' contributions also contribute to knowledge of migrant health. They confirmed the need to add migrant workers' voices in health research and in the development of measurement scales (319,320,365,436,441–445). The identification of the 'Dehumanisation' dimension helps to build a bridge with research in the field of psychology, which may enlighten future research on mental health and labour exploitation.

Migrant workers also stressed the importance to include structural aspects, especially structural coercion, when discussing labour exploitation, as suggested by the recent shift toward an SDH approach in the HR school. The research highlighted the need to expand the concerns for modern slaves' protection (emphasised by the HR school) to LAWs and other migrant workers in low-skilled jobs, or underregulated sectors.

By highlighting how LAWs may perceive or experience labour exploitation, the research contributes to identifying priorities for the development of public health measures to support migrant workers who may be exploited.

10.5.2.a.   The need for intersectionality

This research supports the growing use of intersectionality theory in migrant studies and recommends its use in the field of labour exploitation, occupational health and in the broader field of public health (389,446–448). Crenshaw describes intersectionality as a framework to look as the interconnection of systems of oppression and domination, such as gender and race (382). The conceptualisations of labour exploitation from the perspectives of LAWs and support organisations in London (Chapters 7 and 8) demonstrated an intersectionality of issues of labour exploitation with gender, race, immigration status, nationalities and language. These intersections were also raised by academics and support organisations through discussion work (376,449). The research findings suggest that immigration issues were simultaneously an individual's vulnerability and a social determinant of migrant workers' health. Likewise, in migrant health research, language and nationality are considered both as vulnerabilities (30,187) and as catalysts for accessing social networks and social capital

(36,378). Finally, race is another layer that needs to be considered as it may restrict or foster access to better job opportunities (376).

10.6. Limitations and strengths

Furthermore, although the sample size for the CMs may seem small, they remain within the range of other CMs in the existing literature (126,336).

10.6.1. Limitations

The key limitations of this research relate to its exploratory nature and the selection of participants.

The non-random sampling and the relatively small sample sizes, while being the norm for CM, limits the generalisability of the findings. For the expert CM, it was difficult to identify experts in accordance with the categories I created along the continuum (low/severe exploitation) and across disciplines, as many experts had expertise that could relate to several aspects. The experts who participated may have a special interest in or political leaning towards the topic and were mainly from high-income countries. For the CM with LAWs, as with other research with migrants, I had limitations in accessing the population and did not include comparison groups (e.g. White British or other groups of migrant workers in similar jobs). I was only able to recruit participants through unions, which might explain an emphasis on the structural aspects of exploitation in the CM with LAWs. As there is no other detailed conceptualisation of a continuum of labour exploitation, it is difficult to assess how LAWs in a support organisation differ from those who are not, or to which levels of labour exploitation LAWs were exposed. Time and resources limitations constrained my ability to expand the sample composition and size, which might have led some form of selection bias or limitations to the findings' generalisation. However, other research in London with Latin American and other migrants in a similar sector suggest that these views may be generalisable (36,104,105).

Due to the exploratory nature of multivariate analyses, the generalisability of the frameworks developed would need to be further tested and validated. The dimensions identified might vary with a different composition of the sample of experts or of Latin American workers; and as with any statistical analysis, it cannot be excluded that the concept maps might have been obtained by chance. Although the models' validation is consistent with the CM literature (see section 10.3), the innovative methodology used is only one way to develop a conceptual framework, and other methods may propose different dimensions. Furthermore, the relative lack of guidance for the CM method of analysis, as discussed in section 10.3.1,

has brought challenges, such as the difficulty to calculate power to detect clusters, which is not detailed in CM methods and publications. More advanced statistical work could further clarify the methods in future methodological research.

Yet the pragmatic paradigm taken in the research, and the use of CM allowed for a focus on the practicality of the outcomes and their use in clarifying the concept content in a meaningful way. Subsequent studies are needed to test both the main structured conceptual framework and the joint framework in the LAWs population and assess their validity, reliability and reproducibility.

Nevertheless, this research was innovative and presented several strengths.

10.6.2. Strengths

First, as detailed in section 10.5, the research provides several contributions to knowledge. This thesis addresses the lack of an evidence-based conceptual framework of labour exploitation in public health. Highlighting my working hypothesis throughout the research helped me overcome the original human trafficking lens when designing the research, collecting and analysing the data.

The research used CM, which is a robust methodology tailored to address the research question; and proposes some methodological improvement. The identification of dimensions and contents adapted to a migrant population in the UK is particularly timely with regards to the UK's will to fight against modern slavery and labour exploitation.

To the best of my knowledge, it is the first time that CM method has been used in the field of labour exploitation and with migrant workers, which are considered a hidden or vulnerable population. This resulted in revealing a new dimension, but also serious health issues for migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs in London. It supports the need to include communities in research.

10.7. Future work and recommendations

This research provides a solid basis for developing systematic research on the exploitation of migrant workers for public health researchers who would like to contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It provides a robust basis for developing a scale of labour exploitation focusing on LAWs that could contribute to developing a measure, and draw out a number of recommendations.

10.7.1. Dissemination plans

My plans to disseminate the research findings are as follows. First, I intend to feedback findings to all participants by sending them an email with a brief report. Second, I will contact the support organisations to discuss the possibility of attending one of their events to disseminate the findings. I intend to seek funding to organise discussions with LAWs and support organisations about their views on how we could collaboratively take the results forward. This could be framed as a Patient and Public Involvement initiative (450). This work has the potential to support advocacy for improving migrant workers' health. The identification of macro level roles in labour exploitation could support advocacy aimed at improving immigration and workers' rights.

10.7.2. Future scale development

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the thesis was developed using a measurement framework. The findings could be used to develop a measure of labour exploitation aiming at: 1) assessing its health impacts; 2) monitoring exploited migrant health; 3) and identifying research and policy priorities for improving migrant workers' health. The research showed the urgent need for addressing gender-based violence in the workplace, using an intersectional approach (382).

The next step of scale development would be to develop a pool of items (322,323). The statements generated by experts and LAWs could be used as a basis to develop this pool. Before starting this step, DeVellis recommends making explicit how the scale would be used, who would be the users and how such a scale would be administered (323). Here are my recommendations.

I recommend using the working theoretical framework in section 10.2.5.b to operationalise the joint conceptual framework for developing a scale. Due to the potentially sensitive nature of the topic, and considering my work with LAWs, I recommend using an interviewer-administered questionnaire, with an interviewer trained to conduct research on sensitive topics and aware of cultural aspects, especially when addressing gender-specific issues.

There should be a phase of selection and rephrasing of statements to guarantee the scale homogeneity, and to facilitate its use for researchers or practitioners (315). Homogeneity implies deciding whether the observable indicators should be causes or effects of the underlying 'unobservable' phenomenon to be measured. Each has different measurement implications. For example, if the observable items are "effect indicators" these would need to be correlated with each other and every single item would not be important on its own to measure the overall concept. If items are "causal indicators', items do not have to correlate,

but the presence of each item would be important to measure the underlying construct. For example, the experts' statement *"s/he does not receive the agreed-upon salary"* could be an effect of labour exploitation, while *"s/he must pay for the right to work"* could be a cause of it. I suggest using causal indicators to guarantee that all issues that matter to LAWs are included. These indicators would also highlight the structural approach taken in the SDH approach taken in this research.

The identification of the multidimensional and multilevel composition of labour exploitation echoes with the increased use of multilevel modelling in social epidemiology (205,314). A measure of labour exploitation should consider the use of these new tools in scale development.

10.7.3. Recommendations

The research calls for better employment and working conditions for migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs, independently of and as part of prevention of modern slavery. As suggested by Flynn and Wickramage, this would also contribute to improving occupational health for all workers in these sectors (59).

It follows other researchers' calls (13,59,107,108) for increased collaboration between the field of public health (research, policy and practice), SDH and HR, as well as with labour activists, such as unions and human rights advocates. This would facilitate a better awareness and reactivity in public health and enable us to support advocacy work as needs be.

To protect migrant workers currently being exploited, I suggest creating or improving the reporting mechanisms for migrant workers facing issues at work, which would be sensitive to language, gender and culture, and which would avoid passing by supervisors. The Health and Safety Executive (HSE) agency could oversee such reporting. It has the power to conduct a health and safety investigation, is not connected to the Home Office and produces national reports, including on violence in the workplace.

To prevent labour exploitation, posited as a SDH, I would recommend supporting advocates for improved employment rights and less restrictive immigration policies. As these are factors identified in the macro levels of the ecosocial model, it is likely that they would contribute to UK's fight against modern slavery.

The findings lead to some key recommendations related to healthcare provision for victims of labour exploitation. As shown in section 10.2.3.b, modern slavery indicators given to frontline workers are not specific to criminal labour exploitation. On the one hand, these indicators may facilitate the identification of potentially more victims of modern slavery (high

sensitivity). On the other hand, it may also serve as a mechanism to detect immigrants with irregular immigration status. The indicators proposed, as I have demonstrated, could relate to situations that are not identified as crimes. Migrant workers with irregular status but not 'modern slaves' may be referred to the Home Office via the national referral mechanisms but may not be eligible for protection. In this case, they may face deportation. For example, victims of rape and other crimes, such as trafficking, were reportedly being placed in detention centres because of immigration enforcement while seeking help (451–453). In a context where the NHS may become a first-line responder, it is important to develop strict guidelines for referral by healthcare workers. Ideally, there should be another channel for the NRM, avoiding reporting directly to the Home Office to maintain trust with migrant workers who may be exploited but not legally identified as modern slaves.

10.8. Final conclusion

This thesis has brought new insights in the field of labour exploitation, focusing on migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. By clarifying the existence of two schools of thought and highlighting how they converge and diverge, it facilitated the development of a robust structured conceptual framework of the concept. This framework is grounded in a solid mixed-methods methodology, combining social epidemiology and measurement approaches.

The research provides a sound conceptualisation of labour exploitation as a multidimensional and multilevel social determinant of migrants' health. It clarifies the content of labour exploitation within a structured conceptual framework, the expert skeleton map, which is standardisable and adaptable to different contexts and populations. The integration of LAWs' voices revealed an overlooked dimension of labour exploitation, dehumanisation; and the need to consider structural forms of coercion. The production of a joint conceptual framework demonstrated the possibility to adapt the skeleton map with the view to develop a scale of labour exploitation among LAWs. The ecosocial model reveals that the components of labour exploitation are not only at the workplace between a worker and his/her supervisor, but also at institutional (employer) and structural levels (e.g. laws). It supports the identification of areas of public health interventions.

The operationalisation of the joint conceptual framework as a working theoretical measurement framework in this thesis opens new avenues for public health research on labour exploitation and migrant occupational health.

Appendices

Appendix A Details for the general framework of labour exploitation

The general framework presented in Chapter 2 was developed based on a literature review and the comparison of items from four key measurement tools. To develop this framework I identified four measurement tools (scale if any or operational indicators) used to measure each of these concepts, and compared their content and dimensions (see section 2.5). I identified two measurement scales presenting measurement properties. One was the Employment Precariousness Scale (EPRES) (79), which resulted from research initiated in the EMCONET report. The other was VERA's Tool for the Identification of Victims of Human Trafficking, which was designed to measure human trafficking among homeless populations in the USA[1] (208). Two other measures using operational indicators that were widely used to measure forced labour and slavery were identified: the ILO operational indicators for forced labour (143) and the Global Slavery index (154).

As I wanted to explore how these different concepts relate to each other, I sorted the scales items and operational indicators thematically in a method similar to the concept mapping sorting exercise. From there, I obtained the detailed general framework presented in Figure A below. In this figure, each colour represents a different scale to facilitate the identification of commonalities. For example, precariousness (EPRES) items are represented in green and forced labour items (ILO) in orange. Items from different scales are regrouped by themes to highlight common themes (boxes in dotted line). These themes were further regrouped when possible into overarching themes (boxes in plain line). The transportation aspects were mentioned only in the ILO indicators for forced labour as a way to distinguish human trafficking from forced labour, along with the involvement of a third party (143).

Figure A highlights where the concepts measured converged and diverged. As mentioned in Chapter 2, I hypothesised that the core components of labour exploitation may be identified where the concept measured overlap. The comparison of the content of the measures demonstrated that there was much overlap between the different tools. All measures covered the themes represented in the inner rectangle, hence labelled labour exploitation. This supports the idea that there is a core concept on which all these concepts are grounded. I, therefore, hypothesised that these EPRES items were addressing all these categories apart from living conditions and physical constraints, which may be more relevant for severe forms of labour exploitation. As I mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, precariousness, representing the SDH school of thought, may be addressing the lower forms of a continuum of exploitation.

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[1] VERA tool was designed to capture human trafficking for the purpose of labour *and* sexual exploitation, but I only consider the labour exploitation aspects.

In contrast, additional themes seemed to be necessary to be considered as more extreme, hence their position in outer rectangles.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING

FORCED LABOUR

TRANSPORTATION
Mentioned in other Human trafficking tools

RECRUITMENT
Tradition, birth
Sale of the worker
Coercive recruitment
Recruitment linked to debt
Deceptive recruitment

influence

RELATIONSHIP WITH EMPLOYER

Dependency on employer
Pre-existence of a dependency relationship with employer
Under influence of employer [...] for non-work life
Multiple dependency on employer
Induced or inflated indebtedness
Forced to work for indeterminate period to repay debt [...]
Forced to work by an employer to repay a debt

Control over worker / Intimidation
Forced engagement in illicit activities
Forced to work overtime / on call
Induced addiction to illegal substances
Withholding of assets / wages
Threats against family members
Financial penalties
Dismissal / Exclusion from future employment
Forced to stay longer than agreed while waiting for wages due
How employer kept you from quitting that work
Ever worked without getting payment expected
Anyone withhold payment
Ever worked where work different than expected
People close to you harmed or threatened
Told to lie about age or work
Pressured to do anything to pay back money

shape

LABOUR EXPLOITATION

RESTRICTION OF FREEDOM

Physical constraints
Limited freedom of movement
Limited freedom of communication
Isolation
Locked in workplace / living quarters
Confiscation of identity / travel documents
Anyone take identification
Worked/lived where locks on door
Offered one kind of work, then forced to do something else and not allowed to leave

Psychological constraints
Made to feel easily replaceable
Denunciation to authorities
Limited freedom of communication
Confiscation of mobile phones
Informing family [...] about situation
Not allowed to contact friends or family

WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Psychosocial working environment
Treated in a discriminatory / unjust manner
Afraid to demand better working conditions
Defenceless towards unfair treatment
Afraid of being fired for not doing...
Extra work for breaching labour discipline
Under constant surveillance
Anyone at workplace make feel scared or unsafe
Felt could not leave the place you worked/lived
Anyone lived with threatened
Not allowed to take breaks at work
Control how much food you could get
Control when you could sleep

Physical working environment & experience of violence
Treated in an authoritarian & violent manner
Harmed or threatened at work
Ever injured on job
Anyone lived/worked with harmed
Sexual violence
Physical violence
Violence against worker(s) in front of other workers
Other forms of punishment
Further deterioration in working conditions

Living environment
Degrading living conditions
Exclusion from community and social life

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

Financial aspects
Wages cover basic needs
Allow for unexpected expenses
Monthly take home wage or salary

Bargain power
Deception about the nature of the work
How did you settle workplace schedule/weekly working hours
Exercise rights to benefits and compensation
How did you settle your wages or salary

Regulations/agreement aspects
Duration of current contract
Months under temporary contracts previous year
Benefits and compensation
No freedom to resign in accordance with legal requirements
Reduced freedom to terminate labour contract [...]
Removal of rights or privileges

Legend for the 4 tools
Precariousness (Vives et al.)
Forced labour (ILO)
Human trafficking (Simich et al.)
Slavery (Walk Free Foundation)

Source for the measurement tools: Employment Precariousness Scale (EPRES) (79); VERA's Tool for the Identification of Victims of Human Trafficking (208); ILO operational indicators for forced labour (143) and the Global Slavery index (154).

Figure A. Detailed comparison of items of measures of precarious employment, forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking

The inner rectangle in Figure A presents the hypothetical three categories that could be the core dimensions of labour exploitation:

- Conditions of employment, encompassing financial aspects, bargaining power and regulations/agreement aspects;
- Working (and living) conditions, encompassing physical working environment & violence, psychosocial working environment, and living conditions (this subdimension was only addressed by the ILO forced labour indicators); and
- Restriction of freedom, encompassing physical and psychological constraints.

In the outer rectangles are the items arising from the three measures of extreme forms of exploitation (HR school). They could be categorised into:

- relationship between the worker and employer (dependency on the employer, control over the worker/intimidation); and
- recruitment.

This suggests that these additional themes are specific to extreme forms of labour exploitation. Dimensions in the frames 'forced labour' and 'human trafficking' seemed specific to extreme forms of labour exploitation, as additional layers. The distinction of these components on an upper level echoes views that slavery is wrong because of *"additional wrongdoings"* (132). This implies that these additional factors may make a situation shift to an extreme or criminal form of exploitation (132). This is in line with Skrivankova's idea that forced labour and human trafficking can be prosecuted using *an additional* criminal law framework - when compared to breaches of labour law.

This supports the views that the relationship with the employer (including coercion) and recruitment seems specific to extreme forms of labour exploitation. In Figure A, I hypothesised that worker's relationship with the employer may shape core aspects of labour exploitation (e.g. coerce him), and that recruitment was mutually influenced by this relationship. Finally, I suggest that aspects of 'transportation' are likely to be specific to human trafficking, as suggested in the Palermo protocol (139) definition and the ILO (143). I added this theme using the ILO definitions, even if VERA's tool for identifying trafficked victims do not specify transportation as the USA do not require a movement component to identify trafficked victims (143).

Appendix B Ethical approvals, letters of information and consent forms

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Observational / Interventions Research Ethics Committee

LSHTM

11 May 2015

Dear

Study Title: Labour exploitation: Conceptualisation of the construct from experts' perspective

LSHTM Ethics Ref: 8698

Thank you for responding to the Observational Committee's request for further information on the above research and submitting revised documentation.

The further information has been considered on behalf of the Committee by the Chair.

Confirmation of ethical opinion

On behalf of the Committee, I am pleased to confirm a favourable ethical opinion for the above research on the basis described in the application form, protocol and supporting documentation as revised, subject to the conditions specified below.

Conditions of the favourable opinion

Approval is dependent on local ethical approval having been received, where relevant.

Approved documents

The final list of documents reviewed and approved by the Committee is as follows:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Information Sheet	Consent form_Labour exploitation-experts_v2_rev10042015	10/04/2015	2
Covering Letter	Reply to EthicsCommittee_Letter_Labour exploitation-experts_10042015	10/04/2015	1
Information Sheet	Letter of information_Labour exploitation-experts_v2_10042015	10/04/2015	2
Protocol / Proposal	Protocol_Conceptualisation with experts_v2_10042015	10/04/2015	2

Page 1 of 2

Investigator CV	CV_SabahBoufkhed_17apr15	17/04/2015 2

After ethical review

The Chief Investigator (CI) or delegate is responsible for informing the ethics committee of any subsequent changes to the application. These must be submitted to the Committee for review using an Amendment form. Amendments must not be initiated before receipt of written favourable opinion from the committee.

The CI or delegate is also required to notify the ethics committee of any protocol violations and/or Suspected Unexpected Serious Adverse Reactions (SUSARs) which occur during the project by submitting a Serious Adverse Event form.

At the end of the study, the CI or delegate must notify the committee using an End of Study form.

All aforementioned forms are available on the ethics online applications website and can only be submitted to the committee via the website at: http://leo.lshtm.ac.uk

Additional information is available at: www.lshtm.ac.uk/ethics

Yours sincerely,

Professor John DH Porter
Chair

ethics@lshtm.ac.uk
http://www.lshtm.ac.uk/ethics/

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Research Ethics Committee

Mrs Sabah Boufkhed
3 October 2016

Dear Sabah,

Study Title: Labour exploitation: Conceptualisation of the construct from experts' perspective

LSHTM MSc Ethics ref: 8698 - 2

Thank you for submitting your amendment for the above research project.

Your amendment has been assessed by the Research Governance & Integrity Office and has been approved as a non-substantial change. The amendment does not require further ethical approval from the observational ethics committee.

List of documents reviewed:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Other	Protocol_Conceptualisation with experts_v3_27092016	28/09/2016	3

Any subsequent changes to the application must be submitted to the Committee via an Amendment form on the ethics online applications website: http://leo.lshtm.ac.uk .

Best of luck with your project.

Yours sincerely,

Rebecca Carter

Research Governance Coordinator

Ethics@lshtm.ac.uk
http://www.lshtm.ac.uk/ethics/

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Information for Participants – 01/03/2016

You are being invited to take part in a PhD research study. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. If there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information, please contact the main investigator (sabah.boufkhed@lshtm.ac.uk). Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?

The current use of 'human trafficking', 'forced labour' 'slavery' and other terminologies as separate terms founded on concepts of 'exploitation' has created difficulties in identifying levels of standards violation and, hence, victims of 'exploitation'. The absence of a common understanding and definition has impeded the development of appropriate actions to protect individuals whereas the literature, even if scarce, suggests that victims of standards violations often face severe health problems. Without a clear, evidence-based conceptualisation of 'exploitation', it is currently difficult, if not impossible, to develop a reliable measure of standards violations considered so 'exploitative' that they are harmful to individual's health and well-being.

Therefore, a PhD project aiming at conceptualising labour exploitation has been developed. The conceptual framework that will be obtained will foster a better understanding of this construct and enable the initiation of a tool development to measure labour exploitation as a "continuum between decent work and forced labour"[1]. This framework and the possible future tool could facilitate the identification of situations and victims of labour exploitation.

Within this PhD project, **the current project aims** at conceptualising 'exploitation of migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs' from the perspective of an expert panel, from which you are invited to be part of. Through this study, **three objectives** will be addressed:
1. to identify the key dimensions of the construct from the perspective of international and multidisciplinary experts;
2. to determine the relative importance attributed by the experts to the dimensions of labour exploitation;
3. to produce a concept map based on the information provided by the panel of experts.

The method that will be used is concept mapping (Trochim, 1989)[2], combining collection of qualitative information - from brainstorming and sorting & rating exercises – and a robust statistical analysis (mainly multidimensional scaling, hierarchical and cluster analysis). Concept mapping has been successfully used to find consensus on complex and abstract concepts. It has been mainly used as a method to perform a structured conceptualisation of constructs and has recently started to be used as an integrated part of scale development for the determination of the content domain.
Data will be collected through an online platform, analysed with STATA and discussed with the team and the experts involved. If you agree on participating you will receive unique identification codes and information to access the platform in March 2016.
The resulting concept map will describe dimensions and sub-dimensions of the construct as well as their relative importance towards the definition of 'exploitation'.

How does concept mapping differ from the DELPHI method?

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[1] Skrivankova K. Between decent work and forced labour: Examining the continuum of exploitation. November 2010. P.26
[2] Trochim W. An Introduction to Concept Mapping for Planning and Evaluation. Evaluation and Program Planning. 1989;12(1):1-16

Experts will brainstorm only once on one question to generate statements in an unstructured way. All[1] statements produced by all participants will be used and structured in the second phase. Therefore all experts' opinions will be part of the concept map. By rating all statements, you will be able to give your opinion on the importance of each statement towards the final definition of the construct. The use of multidimensional scaling combined with hierarchical cluster analysis will enable to minimise the influence of the researcher's opinion regarding the definition of the construct.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you have developed an expertise related to labour exploitation (i.e. Human trafficking, forced labour, labour exploitation, precarious work, vulnerable work or migrant work).

For the current project, academics and non-academics from various disciplines (Health, social sciences, policy/law and economy) and areas of expertise related to labour exploitation have been identified for this project in order to generate a high diversity of statements.

You and other members of the panel have been identified according to the following criteria:
- having worked for at least 5 years within the field of 'exploitation'; or
- having participated to the development of a measure related to 'exploitation'; or
- having developed a widely used conceptual framework or operational definition related to 'exploitation'.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide to join the study. If you agree to take part, we will then ask you to sign a consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

Expenses and payments

No payment or compensation is foreseen for this project.
The possibility of organising a meeting to discuss the result after the analysis of the concept mapping data will be explored. In that case, the travel, accommodation and catering will be reimbursed for the participants. You will be asked early in the preparation of the meeting if you agree or not to attend the meeting or if you prefer to give feedback by email or during a phone call with the main investigator. If you would like to participate in this meeting you will have to be aware that your anonymity will not be guaranteed as the other participants will know who you are and may not respect the non-disclosure clause. Further details for this meeting will be provided when necessary.

What do I have to do?

When participating to the concept mapping exercise, you will receive some identification codes to access an online platform. This platform will be our interface for the exercise that will be used for two phases separated by an interval of about one month. Statements will be the main focus of this study. They will be first be generated, then structured on this platform.

First, you will be asked to participate to an online brainstorming that will enable to identify components of 'exploitation of migrants in manual low-skilled jobs', in your opinion. Once the brainstorming is completed, statements generated by all the participants will be gathered and duplicates deleted by the principal investigator in collaboration with the research team.

Second, approximately one month later, you will be asked to regroup the statements previously generated by all according to their similarity (a sorting exercise). Then a rating exercise will consist of rating how much each statement, according to your opinion, is important towards the definition of a situation of 'exploitation'. You will then be invited to discuss and interpret the concept maps obtained.

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[1] If too many statements are produced (close to 100), the research team would delete those that would be very similar while ensuring the variety of the statements.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

We cannot promise the study will help you but the information we get will foster the understanding of 'labour exploitation' and provide a robust and structured conceptual framework. Moreover, this project you will be taking part aims at contributing to the development of an operational definition of labour exploitation that will help clarifying overlapping concepts related and possibly facilitate the identification of situations and victims of exploitation.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Yes. All data produced during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and only aggregated data will be used. Subgroup analyses will only be performed if there is no mean to identify the respondents. Only the main investigator will have access to your personal identification.
The name of your institution could be cited in publications as participants. However you are free to specify us if you refuse it to be disclosed at any time of the study.

What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

You are free to withdraw at any time and without any reason. If you withdraw from the study, we will ask you the authorisation to use the data collected up to your withdrawal.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is organised by the Department of Global Health and Development, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. This current project is funded by ESRC, who is funding the main investigator's PhD studentship.

Who has reviewed the study?

This study was given a favourable ethical approval by the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine Research Ethics Committee (United Kingdom).

Contact Details of the Main investigator

Should you need any further information, do not hesitate to contact the main investigator:

Sabah Boufkhed, London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine, Department of Global Health and Development - 15-17 Tavistock Place, London WC1H 9SH (United Kingdom)

Email: sabah.boufkhed@lshtm.ac.uk ; phone: +44 (0)2 079 588 312

If you agree on participating to this study, you will be kindly asked to keep an electronic copy of the information sheet and signed consent form.

Thank you for considering taking the time to read this sheet.

Informed Consent Form

Full Title of Project	**Exploitation of migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs: Defining the construct using concept mapping with multidisciplinary experts**
Name of Main Investigator	**Sabah Boufkhed**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information sheet dated 01/03/2016 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered fully.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, without my legal rights being affected.

3. I understand that I may be asked to participate to a meeting in order to discuss about the results of the study. Therefore, I understand that there is a risk of lift of anonymity. I understand that I will be free not to participate to such a meeting and that I will be given the possibility to give instead a feedback by email that will be shared during the meeting without releasing my identity.

4. I understand that personal data collected during the study will only be accessed to by the principal. I give permission for this individual to access my records.

5. I understand that the name of my employer could be cited as participant, except if I specify to the main investigator that I refuse. I can ask the name of my employer to be withdrawn at any moment of the study.

6. I understand that anonymised data will be stored in secure storage for a minimum of ten years at the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine.

Based on the above, I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant	Signature	Date
(printed)		

We kindly ask you to keep a copy of the information sheet and the present signed consent form.

An electronic copy of the current form will be encrypted and stored in a secure storage by the Research team. Thank you very much for taking part in this study.

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Observational / Interventions Research Ethics Committee

Mrs. Sabah Boufkhed
LSHTM

26 May 2016

Dear Sabah

Study Title: Exploitation of migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs: Defining the construct from the perspective of Latin American workers in London

LSHTM Ethics Ref: 10978

Thank you for responding to the Observational Committee's request for further information on the above research and submitting revised documentation.

The further information has been considered on behalf of the Committee by the Chair.

Confirmation of ethical opinion

On behalf of the Committee, I am pleased to confirm a favourable ethical opinion for the above research on the basis described in the application form, protocol and supporting documentation as revised, subject to the conditions specified below.

Conditions of the favourable opinion

Approval is dependent on local ethical approval having been received, where relevant.

Approved documents

The final list of documents reviewed and approved by the Committee is as follows:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Investigator CV	CV_SabahBoufkhed	01/01/2016	1
Protocol / Proposal	S.Boufkhed_Protocol_Conceptualisation LE_London_wkrs_v1-25022016	25/02/2016	1
Information Sheet	S.Boufkhed_LetterInfo_Conceptualisation LE_London_wkrs_v1-25022016	25/02/2016	1
Information Sheet	S.Boufkhed_ConsentForm_Conceptualisation LE_London_wkrs_v1-25022016	25/02/2016	1
Advertisements	S.Boufkhed_AdPoster_Conceptualisation LE_London_wkrs_v1-25022016	25/02/2016	1
Covering Letter	CoverLetter-EthicsCommittee_Labour exploitation_SBoufkhed	20/05/2016	1
Protocol / Proposal	Topic guide_INTERVIEWS_LabourExploitation_v1	23/05/2016	1
Information Sheet	Consent form_CM_exploitation_London_wkrs_v2_Ethics	23/05/2016	2
Information Sheet	Consent form_INTERVIEWS_LabourExploitation_v1	23/05/2016	1
Information Sheet	Information Letter_CM_LabourExploitation_v2	23/05/2016	2
Information Sheet	Information Letter_INTERVIEWS_exploitation_v1	23/05/2016	1
Advertisements	Poster advertisment_LabourExploitation_v2	23/05/2016	2
Advertisements	Support services for Latin Americans London	23/05/2016	1
Protocol / Proposal	Protocol_Labour Exploitation_LatinAmericans-London_v2	23/05/2016	2

After ethical review

The Chief Investigator (CI) or delegate is responsible for informing the ethics committee of any subsequent changes to the application. These must be submitted to the Committee for review using an Amendment form. Amendments must not be initiated before receipt of written favourable opinion from the committee.

The CI or delegate is also required to notify the ethics committee of any protocol violations and/or Suspected Unexpected Serious Adverse Reactions (SUSARs) which occur during the project by submitting a Serious Adverse Event form.

At the end of the study, the CI or delegate must notify the committee using an End of Study form.

Page 1 of 2

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All aforementioned forms are available on the ethics online applications website and can only be submitted to the committee via the website at: http://leo.lshtm.ac.uk

Additional information is available at: www.lshtm.ac.uk/ethics

Yours sincerely,

Professor John DH Porter
Chair

ethics@lshtm.ac.uk
http://www.lshtm.ac.uk/ethics/

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Observational / Interventions Research Ethics Committee

Mrs Sabah Boufkhed
LSHTM

7 March 2017

Dear Sabah,

Study Title: Exploitation of migrants working in manual low-skilled jobs: Defining the construct from the perspective of Latin American workers in London

LSHTM Ethics Ref: 10978 - 1

Thank you for your letter responding to the Observational Committee's request for further information on the above amendment to research and submitting revised documentation.

The further information has been considered on behalf of the Committee by the Chair.

Confirmation of ethical opinion

On behalf of the Committee, I am pleased to confirm a favourable ethical opinion for the above amendment to research on the basis described in the application form, protocol and supporting documentation as revised, subject to the conditions specified below.

Conditions of the favourable opinion

Approval is dependent on local ethical approval for the amendment having been received, where relevant.

Approved documents

The final list of documents reviewed and approved by the Committee is as follows:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Other	CM poster-leaflet recruitment_EN-SP	01/12/2016	2
Other	Protocol_Labour Exploitation_LatinAmericans-London_v3.1	01/01/2017	3
Covering Letter	CoverLetter_ReplyEthicsAmendment_CMLAMW	22/02/2017	1
Covering Letter	Protocol_Labour Exploitation_LatinAmericans-London_v4	22/02/2017	4
Other	Protocol_Labour Exploitation_LatinAmericans-London_v4	22/02/2017	4

After ethical review

The Chief Investigator (CI) or delegate is responsible for informing the ethics committee of any subsequent changes to the application. These must be submitted to the Committee for review using an Amendment form. Amendments must not be initiated before receipt of written favourable opinion from the committee.
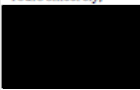
The CI or delegate is also required to notify the ethics committee of any protocol violations and/or Suspected Unexpected Serious Adverse Reactions (SUSARs) which occur during the project by submitting a Serious Adverse Event form.

At the end of the study, the CI or delegate must notify the committee using an End of Study form.

All aforementioned forms are available on the ethics online applications website and can only be submitted to the committee via the website at: http://leo.lshtm.ac.uk

Additional information is available at: www.lshtm.ac.uk/ethics

Yours sincerely,

Professor John DH Porter
Chair

ethics@lshtm.ac.uk
http://www.lshtm.ac.uk/ethics/

Research project   **Migrant workers' opinion on labour exploitation**

Contact of the main investigator   Sabah Boufkhed: sabah.boufkhed@lshtm.ac.uk

Background to study

You are invited to take part in a research project that aims to explore and understand what 'labour exploitation' means to migrant workers. The main researcher is a PhD student and this study will be part of her research thesis. Participation in research is always voluntary and you are completely free to take part or not. It is important for you to know why the research is being done and what it involves so you can decide whether you wish to take part or not. Please take time to read this information letter before deciding. The main investigator will be very happy to answer any questions you might have. You can contact her using the email above.

Why are we doing this study?

There has been a lot of discussion by different organizations, institutions and the media around the topic of exploitation of migrant workers. However, migrant workers have rarely been asked to give their opinion on this topic. For researchers, it is important to understand how migrant workers describe situations of labour exploitation in order to take it into account when discussing the topic with other researchers or politicians. For public health researchers in particular, this could help develop better research on health and social needs of migrant workers in a situation of exploitation.

What will we do during this study?

We would like to invite you to a face-to-face discussion. During this interview, you will be invited to discuss about exploitation of migrant workers. You will also be asked to discuss about possible opportunities and challenges to organising discussion groups with Latin American migrant workers in London. The interview will last about 30 minutes to 1 hour. It will be audio-recorded with your permission to check that no idea has been forgotten or misunderstood. We will let you know the results of the study at the end of the project by sending you a report, if you want to.

Why am I asked to take part?

You are invited to take part because we consider your opinion and views will be important to have a better understanding of what labour exploitation means to adult Latin American immigrants working in a manual job in London. Your advices will help us to improve the quality of group discussions with Latin American workers in London.

Do I have to take part?

No, you are free to accept or refuse to join this study. Taking part is entirely voluntary. If you agree to take part, you will be asked to sign a consent form. You are free to stop participating at any time, without giving any reason even if you sign the consent form.

What are the possible benefits of participating?

No payment or financial compensation will be given if you take part. You will have no direct benefit from participating to this research, but you will help to better understand and protect migrant workers in the future.

What about confidentiality and anonymity?

Your participation in this study will be confidential and anonymous. Only the main investigator will have your personal details and audio-records. Your contribution will be anonymised when stored and used in publications or reports. Some of your quotes may be used in documents, but your identity will not be revealed.

What will happen to my data?

All data produced during the research will be kept strictly confidential. Only the investigator and her supervisors will have access to your data and the audio-records. Audio-records may be translated and transcribed, but your names will not be attached to any transcripts. Anonymised data and audio-records will be stored in a secure storage at the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine for a minimum of 10 years.

Is there a possible risk for me to take part in this study?

No. We do not expect major risk for you if you decide to take part in the study. However, sometimes, by mentioning, hearing or reading certain experiences, you might feel uncomfortable, sad or upset, especially if you have faced some difficult experiences. Participating in this research could remind you of bad memories. In the case you feel uncomfortable during a session, please remember that you can go out instantly and stop participating in the research.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is organised by Sabah Boufkhed, who is a PhD student at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM). The main investigator has a studentship from the UK Economic and Research Council (ESRC).

Who has reviewed the study?

This study received a favourable ethical opinion by the Research Ethics Committee of the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine Research.

Contact details

If you have any questions, please email the main investigator: sabah.boufkhed@lshtm.ac.uk.

If you agree to take part to this study, please keep a copy of this letter of information and of the signed consent form you will receive. Thank you very much for your time and interest.

Research project Migrant workers' opinion on labour exploitation

CONSENT FORM - Interviews

Main Investigator   Sabah Boufkhed (sabah.boufkhed@lshtm.ac.uk)

1. I confirm that I have received, read and understood the participant information ☐
   sheet version 1, dated 01 June 2016 for the above study. I had the opportunity
   to consider the information and ask questions that have been fully answered.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am free to stop participating ☐
   at any time, without giving any reason. I understand that I am free to change my
   mind at any time during the project.

3. I understand that data collected during the study will be accessed by the main ☐
   investigator and her supervisors.

4. I understand that the interview will be audio-recorded and I agree to this. ☐

5. I understand that the results of this research will be published in a PhD thesis ☐
   and may also be published in scientific journals, reports or other documents for
   dissemination. Some of my quotes may be used in these publications. However,
   no information that could help identify me will be in these publications. I agree
   to this.

6. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

Participant's name *(printed)*	Participant's signature	Date

Main investigator's name *(printed)*	Main investigator's signature	Date

Thank you very much for your participation.

Please, keep a copy of the information sheet and this signed consent form.

INFORMACION PARA LA DISCUSION EN GRUPO (VERSION 1, 01 JUNE 2016)

Proyecto de investigación — Trabajadores migrantes, opinión sobre la explotación laboral

Contacto de la investigadora principal   Sabah Boufkhed: sabah.boufkhed@lshtm.ac.uk

Antecedentes del Estudio

Usted ha sido invitado a formar parte de un proyecto de investigación que tiene como objetivo explorar y entender qué significa "explotación laboral" para los trabajadores migrantes. La investigadora es un estudiante de doctorado y este estudio formará parte de su investigación de tesis. La participación en este investigación es voluntaria y usted es completamente libre de elegir si participa o no. Por favor tome su tiempo para leer esta información antes de tomarla. La investigadora ayudará a responder cualquier pregunta que usted tenga. Usted la puede contactar en el correo electrónico que se encuentra al inicio de este documento.

¿Por qué hacemos este estudio?

Ha habido muchas discusiones por diferentes organizaciones, instituciones y medios de comunicación acerca del tema de explotación de trabajadores migrantes. Sin embargo, es poco frecuente que se pida la opinión a los trabajadores migrantes.

Para la investigadora, es importante entender cómo los trabajadores inmigrantes describen situaciones de explotación laboral para tomarlo en cuenta cuando el tema sea discutido con otros investigadores o políticos. En particular, para los investigadores de salud pública, esto puede ayudar a generar investigación en salud y necesidades sociales de los trabajadores migrantes en situación de explotación.

¿Qué actividades se realizarán durante este estudio?

Si usted decide participar, usted sera invitada a dos discusiones grupales para conocer su opinión acerca de la explotación laboral. Durante la primera sesión será invitado a una reunión con otros trabajadores latinoamericanos a dar su opinión sobre explotación laboral. Esta reunión tomara alrededor de 2 horas incluyendo un descanso con refrigerios. Durante la segunda sesión, usted ordenará las ideas producidas por todos los participantes en la primera sesión y dará su opinión acerca de la importancia que cada una de ellas tiene para usted. Esta sesión durará alrededor de 2 horas incluyendo un descanso con refrigerios. Usted puede decidir participar en una sola sesión o en las dos sesiones, según le convenga. La discusión grupal será grabada, con el permiso de los participantes, para asegurar que la información no se olvide o se mal interprete. Si usted así lo desea, los resultados del estudio le serán enviados al final del estudio.

¿Por qué estoy invitado a participar en el estudio?

Usted ha sido invitado a participar porque consideramos que su opinión será importante para tener un mejor conocimiento del significado de explotación laboral en inmigrantes latinoamericanos con un trabajo manual en Londres.

¿Estoy obligado a tomar parte del estudio?

Usted es completamente libre de aceptar o no participar en este estudio. Participar en este estudio es completamente voluntaria. Si acepta participar, se le pedirá que firme una carta de consentimiento. Usted también tiene la libertad de dejar de participar en cualquier momento, incluso si ya ha firmado la carta de consentimiento. Usted seguirá recibiendo los servicios por parte de las organizaciones a las que usted pertenece y sus derechos no cambiarán, independientemente de si participa o no en el estudio.

¿Cuáles son los posibles beneficios de participar en este estudio?

No existe pago o compensación económica por participar en este estudio, pero debido a que las sesiones serán largas, se proporcionarán alimentos y bebidas. Usted no obtendrá ningún beneficio por participar en este estudio, pero su participación puede ayudar mucho a entender y proteger a los trabajadores migrantes en el futuro.

Acerca de la confidencialidad y el anonimato

Al participar en este estudio usted estará de acuerdo en no compartir la identidad de los participantes ni ningún otro tipo de información que haya obtenido de los demás participantes en las sesiones. Esta regla básica será aplicada en ambas sesiones. Esto ayudará a asegurar la confidencialidad y el anonimato de todos los participantes. Sin embargo, usted debe estar al tanto que si bien la investigadora mantendrá esta información confidencial y anónima, no podemos garantizar completamente que otros participantes mantendrán la confidencialidad de esta información, a pesar de que todos los participantes se hayan comprometido a hacerlo. Si usted decide compartir algunas ideas o experiencias específicas, pero no se siente cómodo compartiéndolas con el grupo, usted puede discutirlas con la investigadora o con su asistente al final de la sesión.

¿Que pasara con mi información?

Toda la información compartida durante la investigación se mantendrá en estricta confidencialidad. Solamente la investigadora y sus supervisores tendrán acceso a la información y a las grabaciones. Las grabaciones serán traducidas y escritas, pero los nombres de los participantes no aparecerán en ningún documento escrito. La información será archivada en anonimidad y será utilizada en publicaciones o reportes. Algunas de sus frases exactas podrán ser utilizadas en documentos, pero la identidad de quién lo dijo no será revelada. La información y las grabaciones anónimas serán guardadas en un archivo de seguridad en la London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine por un mínimo de 10 años.

¿Hay algún riesgo para mí al tomar parte de este estudio?

No existe mayor riesgo si usted decide partcipar en el estudio. Sin embargo, es posible que algunas veces, al mencionar, escuchar o leer ciertas experiencias usted puede sentirse incómodo, triste o enojado, especialmente si usted ha vivido algunas experiencias difíciles. Participar en este estudio puede traerle malos recuerdos. En el caso de alguna inconformidad durante la sesión, recuerde que tiene la libertad de dejar la sesión y detener su participación en el estudio. Si hay alguna información que usted no quiera compartir con otros participantes, por ejemplo un estatus de indocumentado o una experiencia difícil, usted no está obligado a compartirlo durante la sesión. Usted puede también omitir su participación sin dar razón alguna.

¿Quién está organizando y financiando este estudio?

El estudio es organizado por Sabah Boufkhed, quien es estudiante de doctorado en la London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM). La investigadora principal tiene una beca del UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) – (*Consejo de Investigación Económica y Social del Reino Unido)*.

¿Quién ha revisado y aprobado este estudio?

Este estudio ha recibido una opinión ética favorable por el Research Ethics Committee (*Comité de investigación ética*) de la London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine Research.

Contactó

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta, por favor comuníquese con la investigadora principal: sabah.boufkhed@lshtm.ac.uk.

Si usted está de acuerdo en tomar parte de este estudio, favor de guardar una copia de este documento de información y una copia de la carta de consentimiento que usted recibirá. Muchas gracias por su tiempo e interés.

CARTA DE CONSENTIMINETO - DISCUSION GRUPAL

Investigadora principal   Sabah Boufkhed (sabah.boufkhed@lshtm.ac.uk)

1. Confirmo que he recibido, leído y entendido el documento versión 1 de la ☐ información del participante, con fecha del 1 de junio del 2016 para el estudio arriba mencionado. Tuve la oportunidad de revisar la información y hacer preguntas que fueron completamente respondidas.

2. Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria y que me encuentro en la libertad de ☐ detener la participación en cualquier momento, sin necesidad de dar explicaciones y sin que mis derechos legales o el acceso a servicios se vean afectados.

3. Entiendo que participaré en una discusión grupal con otras personas y que la ☐ información compartida por todos los participantes durante la sesión será confidencial. Dicho esto, acuerdo no revelar la identidad de otros participantes y no difundir la información compartida durante la sesión con otros participantes o con otras personas después de la sesión.

4. Entiendo que las discusiones o actividades durante las sesiones pueden afectarme ☐ o recordarme malas experiencias. Tengo conocimiento de que soy libre de dejar la sesión y detener mi participación.

5. Entiendo que la información obtenida durante el estudio será accesible sólo por el ☐ investigador principal y sus supervisores.

6. Entiendo que la discusion en grupo será grabada y estoy de acuerdo con ello.   ☐

7. Entiendo que los resultados de esta investigación serán publicados en una tesis de doctorado y que pueden también ser publicados en revistas científicas, reportes o otros documentos para su diseminación. Algunas de mis frases pueden ser utilizadas en esas publicaciones. Entiendo que la información mostrada en estas publicaciones no dará datos que pudieran revelar mi identidad. Estoy de acuerdo con esto.

8. Acepto participar en este studio.   ☐

| Nombre del Participante *(Impreso)* | Firma del participante | Fecha |

| Nombre de la Investigadora Principal | Firma de la Investigadora Principal | Fecha |

Muchas gracias por su participacion.
Favor de guardar una copia del documento informativo y de la carta de consentimiento.

Type of experts and their relationship with potential 'exploited' workers
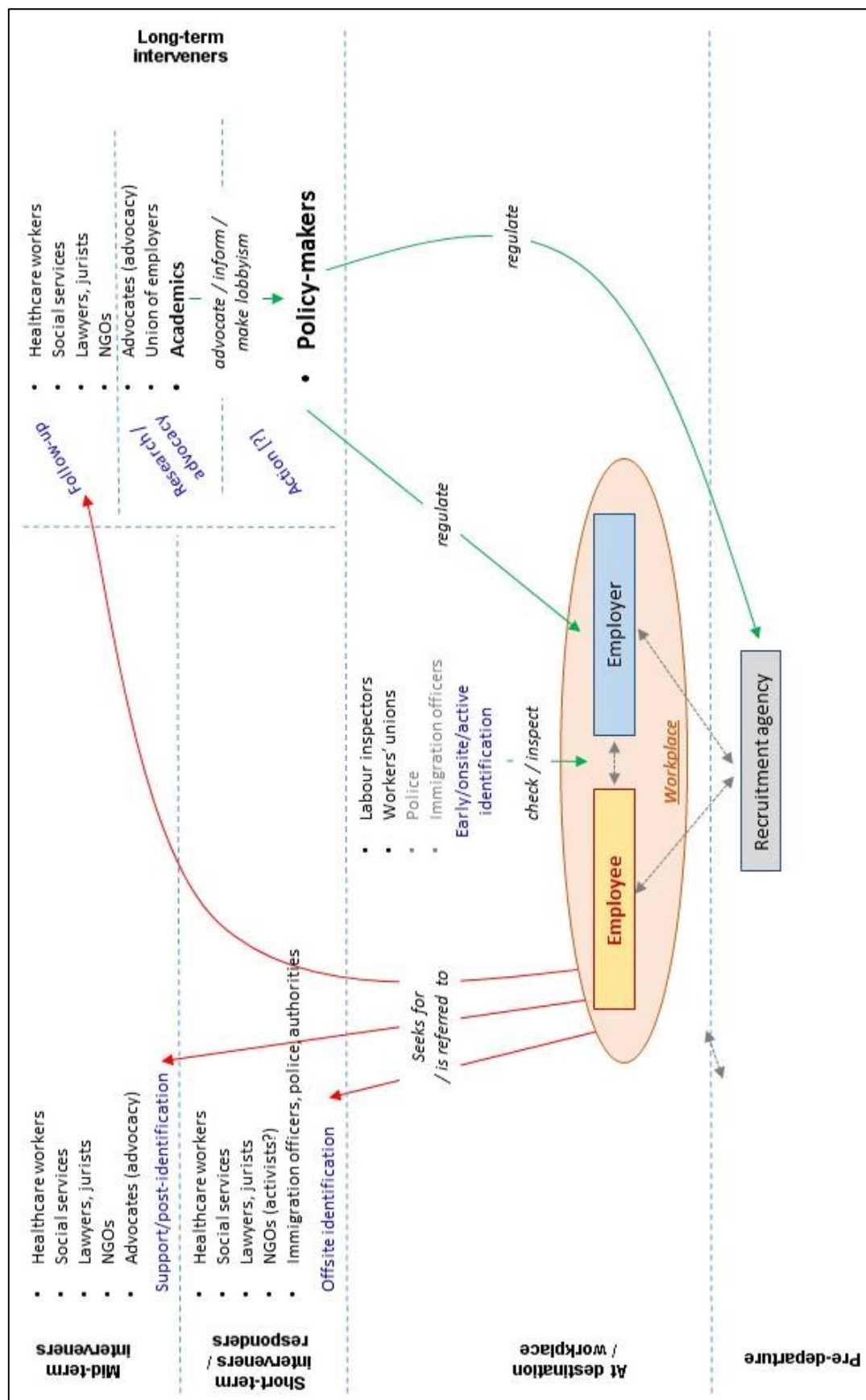
Appendix D Data collection and dataset for the expert Concept Mapping

Two data collection tools were used to collect data for the expert concept mapping (CM) as described in Chapter 5. The experts were first asked to generate as many statements they wanted to describe the exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs. I then gathered these statements and proceeded to a phase of data synthesis and reduction that is described in Chapter 5, in section 5.3. This reduced list was then used for the sorting-rating exercise.

I developed an online platform to collect the data for the CM brainstorming and sorting-rating exercise. Due to technical issues on the platform for the sorting-rating exercise, I developed an Excel spreadsheet to provide an alternative data collection tool. Both data collection tools are described in this Appendix.

D.1 Description of the online platform

The platform was composed of two interfaces: one accessible to the participant (expert) and one for the administrator (myself).

The participant interface

Experts who agreed to participate in the research received an email describing instructions to access the platform and providing them with a personal URL and a password. By following their personal URL, they were directed to a welcome page displaying their first name and a brief overview of the research. At the bottom of the page they were asked to confirm that they gave their consent by ticking a box 'I agree' and to enter their password, which gave them access. Participants included for the brainstorming were first invited to check, correct and complete their personal information. I entered this information on the administrator interface (described in the next section) with publicly available information and email signatures to save participants' time as much as possible. Once these demographics were checked and/or completed, they could access the brainstorming phase.

The brainstorming page displayed a very brief introduction and simple instructions asking them to generate as many statements or phrases that they can think about to describe all the different components of the 'exploitation of migrants working in low-skilled jobs' using the following prompt:

> "*A migrant working in a manual low-skilled job is in a situation of exploitation when...*"

This prompt was displayed in bold font on a single line to highlight it and facilitate the brainstorming. To create a new statement, participants could press 'Enter' on their keyboard or click on the button 'Add new statement'. They were instructed to click on the 'Save' button when they felt they completed the brainstorming. A window would then open to check whether they were sure that they produced all statements that they could think of to describe the concept using the prompt. By clicking 'Cancel', they were able to pursue the brainstorming, by clicking 'Yes', results were saved and they were sent to a 'Thank you page'. This closed their access to the platform and saved the results.

For the sorting-rating phase, participants received an email informing them that the platform re-opened for the second phase. The content of the platform was the same than the Excel file, which is displayed in section D.2. They were able to use the same URL and password, which were repeated at the end of the invitation email. By following the URL, they were sent to the welcome page. It was updated to inform them they were asked to perform consecutively two tasks, a sorting of the statements generated during the brainstorming followed by their rating. They were informed that it would not be possible to save their progress to finish later, and therefore were advised to start the exercise when they would have approximately an hour free. After entering their password and confirming they gave their consent. They were first given access to the Sorting page.

The sorting page displayed instructions at the top of the page requesting them to sort the statements into groups "in a way that make sense for them" (124). They were requested first to read the list of statements provided, then to drag and drop the statements from this list into as many groups as they want as long. They could label the groups newly created if they wanted to. They were required to follow the following CM rules (124):

- all the statements provided need to be sorted (the column labelled 'Statements to group' needs to be empty at the end of the exercise)
- a group needs to contain at least two statements
- all statements cannot be put into one single group
- one statement can only be placed into one group, so please choose the group you feel is the most appropriate or relevant
- there cannot be one group containing only items that would not fit in other groups created ("miscellaneous" group).

The material to sort was displayed below these instructions. On the first line, a button to 'Create a new group' was displayed. Then, on the left side of the screen: a list of the statements to sort was displayed into individual boxes (each containing one statement) to

drag and drop. These statement-boxes were randomly listed and displayed as a column. On the right side or the screen, there was an empty space for to create the groups and where statement-boxes should be dropped. This space contained two pre-defined group boxes with no content displaying a label "…" by default that could be renamed. Participants could create as many groups as they wanted as long as they followed the CM rules described in the instructions. Once the sorting phase was fully completed, they could access the rating phase. If a statement was not sorted when they clicked on 'save', a warning window informed them that one or more statements were not sorted.

For the rating task, instructions were also displayed at the top and the rating material below. The rating material was displayed as a table with no border, containing 7 columns:

- one displaying the same list of statements

- one for each of the five-rating proposed (1 to 5 (respectively "relatively unimportant" and "extremely important")

- an additional column 'Not rated', which was the value by default to enable participants to easily find statements that were not rated.

For each row, the first column was a statement and the other columns were radio button for the rating. The row displaying the ratings and rating labels was always displayed as the participant scrolled down. An empty line was inserted every ten statements to facilitate the rating exercise.

Once participants rated all the statements, they could save their results. An error message would appear if one or more statements were not sorted. Once the rating task was performed, participants were sent to a 'Thank you' page and their access to the platform disabled.

The administrator interface

The administrator interface was the interface where I could access, design and modify the parameters of the platform. I could create and manage participants' profiles and access, and manage the data (statements) produce, especially their import and export from the platform.

To create experts' profiles, I used a 'Participant' section where I was able to either import an Excel spreadsheet containing experts' details or enter information manually directly on the Participant sheet of the platform. When available, I pre-filled the participant details with publicly available information, which were then checked by experts. In this participant section, I could manage the participants' access to the different phases of the CM by using four options:

- 'Newly created': gave access to the brainstorming;

- 'Brainstorming completed': enabled to block access to the brainstorming task. This also automatically appeared when a participant completed the brainstorming;

- 'Sorting enabled': opened the access to the sorting-rating tasks; and

- 'Rating completed': blocked access to the platform when I closed the CM exercise. This automatically appeared when an expert completed both sorting-rating tasks.

A 'Module headings' section enabled me to manage the text that was displayed on the participants' interface: welcome and introductory text, as well as instructions to perform tasks.

A 'Participants statements' section enabled me to manage the statements through three subsections:

- A brainstorming section collected the statements produced by experts. They could be downloaded as an Excel file containing three columns: participant name; time and date; statement produced;

- A section to upload the list of statements after data reduction and synthesis that was used for the sorting and rating;

- A section to download the outcomes of sorting and rating phases in two subsections. They could be downloaded separately as Excel files. Their format is displayed in Tables A and B.

Table A. Format of the sorting output file of the online platform

Statement	Group_number	Group_name	Participant_name
statA	1	Group1	PART1
statB	2	Group2	PART1
statC	2	Group2	PART1

Table B. Format of the rating output file of the online platform

Statement	Rating	Participant_name
statA	5	PART1
statB	4	PART1
statC	4	PART1

Once the sorting-rating phase was closed, I downloaded the outcomes files and anonymised them. I then processed the online results to obtain a format that could be used for the CM analyses.

First, I rearranged each output file (sorting and rating) from the online platform to add complementary information: identification codes (ID) for experts '*idpart*' and statements '*idstat*'; and a column for indicating the data source (containing the value "online" as opposed to the excel file.

These sorting and rating Excel files were imported separately into Stata and saved as Stata datasets. Both files were processed separately and merged after data verification.

The datasets obtained contained one statement per line and per participant and the variables described in Table C for the sorting results and Table D for the ratings.

Table C. Variables contained in the sorting datasets for the Expert CM

Sorting dataset
source
idpart
idstat
stat
groupnb

Table D. Variables contained in the rating datasets for the Expert CM

Rating dataset
source
idpart
idstat
stat
rating

D.2 Description of the Excel spreadsheet

Participants who reported an issue with the platform were sent this alternative tool. Furthermore, when I sent reminders to experts who did not complete the sorting-rating phase, I asked experts whether they would prefer an alternative tool and attached the alternative tools for the final reminders.

After the launch of the sorting-rating phase, some experts reported having issues while trying to perform the tasks on the online platform. The problems were that their screen froze

during the sorting exercise and they were not able to pursue the tasks, or they were not being able to save the results once the tasks were performed. After discussion with the web developer, it appeared that the issue may be linked with the type of internet provider (Google chrome, Internet explorer, or Mozilla Firefox) and/or the version of the internet provided used to perform the exercise. However, even after investigation with experts, it was not possible to fix the issues. Therefore, I decided to design an Excel file using the same content than the online platform for the experts to perform the same task. As discussed in Chapter 5, there was no platform enabling to perform both tasks in the same platform to the best of my knowledge at that time.

The Excel file provided was composed of four sheets reflecting what was available on the platform: a welcome page, instructions, a sheet for the sorting task; and one for the rating. These are illustrated in the following pages.

Sheet 'Welcome page'

Welcome to the Concept mapping of
'exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs'

An online platform was designed to collect participants contribution to two main phases of the concept mapping:

1. Brainstorming to generate statements describing *exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs*. This may take up to 30 minutes.

2. Structuring the generated statements by performing two tasks: sorting and then rating the statements produced during the brainstorming. This will take place one month after the brainstorming and may take about 1 hour.

Due to technical issues faced while using the platform, you are proposed to conduct the structuring phase using this Excel spreadsheet that contains the same exercises than the platform.

You are now invited to participate in the structuring phase and to complete the two sheets named '*1.b. Sorting TASK*' and '*2. Rating*'. Please read the sheet '*1.a. Sorting INSTRUCTIONS*' before starting. Once completed, please save the file and send it back to sabah.boufkhed@lshtm.ac.uk.

All the statements generated by participants involved in the brainstorming phase were gathered and duplicates removed. All the ideas expressed in the brainstorming are represented in the statements displayed.

Should you have any questions or if you face any difficulty throughout the exercise, please do not hesitate to contact the main investigator: sabah.boufkhed@lshtm.ac.uk.

Thank you very much for your participation and time.

By completing this spreadsheet, you confirm that:
you have received and read the participant information sheet for the above study
you had the opportunity to ask questions and have had these fully answered
you have received, read and signed the consent form for the above study
you freely consent to participate in this study

Sheet '1. Sorting INSTRUCTIONS'

Task 1 - Sorting the statements

Please read all the statements on the left column of the <u>next sheet</u>, then **organise the statements into groups in a way that make sense to you.**

Instructions:
Group the statements you think belong together under the same column to form a group. To facilitate the sorting exercise, you can name each group by completing the grey cells '...' at the top of the corresponding column.

To sort a statement into a group, you can either:
▪ *drag the statement under the group you want to sort it into.*
▪ *or cut the cell containing the statement from the left column (green cells) and paste it under the appropriate column.*
Note: To cut and paste, you can use a shortcut using the keyboard: to cut, press 'ctrl' + 'X' ; to paste, press 'ctrl' + 'V'

The rules that apply for this sorting task are the following:
▪ <u>all the statements provided need to be sorted</u> (the column labelled 'Statements to group' needs to be empty at the end of the exercise)

▪ a group needs to contain at least two statements

▪ all statements cannot be put into one single group

▪ one statement can only be placed into one group, so please choose the group you feel is the most appropriate or relevant

▪ there cannot be one group containing only items that would not fit in other groups created ("miscellaneous" group).

The prompt used for the statements is: **"A migrant working in a manual low-skilled job is in a situation of exploitation when..."**

Extract of the Sheet '1.b. Sorting TASK'

Task 1	Statements to group	...	...
	s/he is not paid regularly and on time		
	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with inadequate food		
	s/he has been misled about the type of work		
	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are financially harmful		
	s/he does not have access to formal complaints or dispute resolution procedures		
	s/he is obliged to live in cruel, inhumane or degrading conditions		
	s/he has no capacity to protest or join others in doing so		
	s/he has had to pay large recruitment fees		
	his/her contact with other workplaces is restricted		
	s/he does not have access to basic social benefits		
	s/he has fewer recognized rights than national workers doing the same job		
	s/he has no ability to engage with a trade union to receive support with legislation issues		
	s/he has fewer recognised benefits than national workers doing the same job		
	s/he has no right to days off		
	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are psychologically harmful		
	s/he is not granted care leave		
	s/he has no breaks in the daily work routine		
	s/he does not have access to health benefits		
	s/he is denied the main international/national labour standards		

Note. Rows containing column headings were frozen to facilitate the data entry for participants

Task 2 - Rating the statements

Please rate each statement according to its relative importance in characterizing a situation of 'exploitation of migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs' using the following 5-point scale:

1 - Relatively unimportant *2 - Somewhat important* *3 - Moderately important* *4 - Very important* *5 - Extremely important*	**Statements to group**	**Rating** (please type the number corresponding to your rating)
	s/he is not paid regularly and on time	
	s/he has been misled about the type of work	
	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are financially harmful	
	s/he does not have access to formal complaints or dispute resolution procedures	
	s/he is obliged to live in cruel, inhumane or degrading conditions	
	s/he has no capacity to protest or join others in doing so	
	s/he has had to pay large recruitment fees	
	his/her contact with other workplaces is restricted	

Note. Rows containing instructions, Rating labels and column headings were frozen to facilitate the data entry for participants

Each expert sent back an Excel file by email. Table E shows the sorting output for the Excel file. It shows that it differs from the online sorting outcome. Table F describes the Excel rating outputs.

Table E. Format of the table output form the sorting exercise using the Excel spreadsheet

Statement	Group1	Group2	Group3
	StatA	StatI	StatT
	StaH	StatB	StatN
	StatS		StatU
	StatY		

Table F. Format of the table output form the rating exercise using the Excel spreadsheet

Statement	Rating
StatA	2
StatB	4
StatC	4

I rearranged each file so that they look like the one from the platform (see section D.1). I added a column with the expert ID and a column for the source containing "excel" in it. I then extracted for each file a sorting and a rating file that I uploaded on Stata. There, I merged all the sorting files together and all the rating together.

D.3 The complete dataset

For the analysis, I used the sorting and rating results separately. Therefore, I created a sorting dataset by appending the online and excel sorting datasets on Stata, and did the same for the rating datasets. I then processed to the data verification that I describe below. Once the two datasets verified, I created a complete dataset that I stored.

Data verification

Check for duplicates

I checked that there were no duplicates in the complete dataset, which means that for each expert, only one set of statements should be available with the corresponding sorting and rating outcomes.

Experts ('idpart') could only have results from one data collection tool ('source' could only be 'online' or 'excel'). If an expert appeared in both sources, only results obtained from the

Excel files where kept. Indeed, experts who may appear in both sources were those who notified facing issues while performing the tasks online. Moreover, the Excel file was the most recently completed and no technical issues were signalled while completing it.

Finally, there should be only one statement (row) per participant. If a participant had duplicate statements, I checked the content of the sorting and rating variables. If they were the same, duplicates were removed. If the content differed, I then checked the source and applied the same rule as above and kept the results from the Excel file.

Check for missing data

Missing data were assessed, described and corrected when possible.

Data exported from the platform could not contain missing data as some controls were set for the data entry in order to prevent empty fields or statements unsorted. The file could not be saved if there was any missing data.

However, for the Excel spreadsheet, no controls were set. Indeed, adding controls that may have been functioning improperly depending on the version they would use, or controls that would send them error message may let them unwilling to continue the exercise as they may already have faced issues in the online platform and/or may have indicated not having time. Therefore, to verify that there were no missing data, I checked that for each unique row, the sorting and rating results were not missing ('groupname' and 'rating', respectively). I also ensured to have a unique group name for the analysis.

Check for abnormal entries

Third, abnormal entries were checked to verify that all the entries were within a range of values that were given in the instructions (ratings) or that they were plausible (demographics).

Appendix E   Kit for face-to-face data collection

Tools developed using Woodsong, C., MacQueen, K. M., Guest, G., & Namey, E. (2005). Focus Groups. *In* Developed using the Mack, N., Qualitative research methods: a data collectors field guide. Module 4 (345)

List of equipment for the brainstorming sessions

Item	Nb.	
For moderators		
List of participants		
Brainstorming session guide	2	☐
Note-taking forms	2	☐
Debriefing forms	2	☐
Referral procedure with leaflets of associations	10	☐
Audio recorder (need 3hours tape + autonomy)	2	☐
Heavy-duty envelops for consent forms, brainstorming & debriefing notes	2	☐
Label paper (to stick)	1	☐
For the room		
Laptop with charger	1	☐
Extension cords (plugs)	2	☐
Duct tape to hold down the chords	1	☐
USB encrypted	1	☐
Video projector	1	☐
Storyboard	1 or 2	☐
Markers	5	☐
Whiteboard pens	5	☐
Poster with ground rules	2	☐
Seating chart of the room	1	☐
Name tents (card to fold) for chairs	10	☐
Refreshments	**For 10**	☐
For participants		
Letter of information	10	☐
Consent form	10	☐
Demographics form	10	☐
Pens and White paper with clip board	10	☐
Receipt form	11	☐

Brainstorming session guide

Timing	Activity	Key points
0-15	**Pre-session**	Welcome Informed consent
15-17	**Welcome**	Repeat about voluntariness Turn on the recorder **Explain roles of M. and Sabah**
17-19	**Ground rules**	Explain and show poster on wall displaying ground rules
19-20	**Instructions**	
20-70	**Brainstorming**	Initiate with post-it Keep the discussion focused Every few minutes, repeat **slowly** the prompt and the statements produced Write down questions out of the task Check for distress **Before closing the brainstorming; repeat all statements produced and check nothing more/clarify**
70-85	**Discussion Questions, Wrap-up, and Thanks**	Follow-up on questions raised if any Ask if anything they wanted to discuss was not/Add something on the topic Reply pending questions Ask if any question or comment Thanks
85+	**Post-session**	Food and drinks Follow-up on possible distress Small chats with everyone
	Debriefing	

Debriefing Form – Session: …………..

Date: …………..

1. What are the main themes that emerged?
2. Did any information contradict what you learned in previous interview? Was there any surprising information?
3. What did the interviewee say that was unclear or confusing to you?
4. What did you observe that would not be evident from reading a transcript of the discussion (e.g., behaviours, etc.)?
5. What issues will you follow up?
6. Other comment(s)

LISTA DE LAS AFFIRMACIONES PRODUCIDAS POR TRABAJADORES LATINOAMERICANOS EN LONDRES

Un trabajador migrante es explotado cuando…

- su trabajo es tercerizado
- no recibe contrato
- se le informa que no recibirá el entrenamiento o el equipamiento necesario porque trabaja menos horas que otros trabajadores
- no puede trabajar en paz porque su jefe/a cambia constantemente las tareas o el lugar de trabajo
- no se le considera el pago por enfermedad (sick pay) desde el primer día de enfermedad (con justificación medica)
- no está cubierto/a o no es compensado en caso de accidente laboral
- no es informado acerca de los derechos laborales
- le da miedo perder su trabajo si se una al sindicato
- su jefe/a no le permite descansar
- es amenazado/a con ser despedido/a si va a la huelga
- es abusado/a psicológicamente
- tiene que cubrir a otra persona sin que se le pague
- sólo puede pagar una vivienda en una casa compartida y sobrepoblada
- no se le sube el sueldo luego de haber trabajado muchos años para la empresa
- su jefe/a se niega a pagarle la totalidad de las horas trabajadas
- no recibe el entrenamiento especificando en que consiste su trabajo
- no recibe el equipo de protección adecuado
- se le presiona a que trabaje más de lo posible en el tiempo asignado
- su pago por vacaciones es más bajo de que las horas realmente trabajadas
- su jefe/a no está capacitado para manejar a los trabajadores
- se le pide que trabaje un par de horas en medio de la noche
- no tiene la misma pensión que los trabajadores internos (in-house)
- no recibe entrenamiento de salud y seguridad (health and safety)
- es despedido por tener un contrato anterior con mejores condiciones de trabajo
- se le paga menos que el salario mínimo
- es llamado a una reunión disciplinaria o de investigación por quejarse

- se le da más trabajo si se queja
- su jefe/a intenta despedirlo/a porque el/ella se niega a salir con el/ella
- es objeto de bullying
- puede ser despedido sin justificación
- no tiene documentos legales
- tiene un contrato de horas cortas
- no se puede quejar porque tiene miedo de perder su trabajo
- su jefe/a muestra favoritismo al asignar tareas
- no puede hablar el idioma
- recibe un contrato part-time cuando en realidad trabaja full-time
- no se le permite que coma y no se le da agua en el trabajo
- es amenazado/a con una sanción disciplinaria
- es insultado por su jefe/a
- su jefe/a se niega a adaptar sus cargas si está herido/a o embarazada
- no recibe información detallada sobre su contrato
- su pago por vacaciones es otorgado a otra persona
- sus horas de trabajo están en distintas partes de la ciudad
- su jefe crea un ambiente hostil para forzarlo/a a renunciar
- sus documentos son usados para contratar a otro/a empleado/a
- su jefe/a trata de tocarlo/a o lo/a toca
- no se la da tiempo libre para sus actividades personales
- es agredido/a físicamente
- es discriminado/a en el trabajo
- se le prohíbe que tenga hijos
- cuando se le anuncia el mismo día que no debe ir a trabajar porque no hay trabajo
- tiene que quejarse para obtener el pago o las vacaciones que se le deben
- se le aumenta la cantidad de trabajo sin aumentar el sueldo
- no es tratado/a como ser humano
- es obligado a tomar sus vacaciones de manera fragmentada
- su trabajo nunca está bien hecho a los ojos del supervisor
- se le obliga a trabajar más por el mismo sueldo para mantener su trabajo
- es amenazado/a con ser despedido/a cuando no puede trabajar por enfermedad

- es engañado para que firme un documento según el cual ha recibido entrenamiento de salud y seguridad cuando no lo ha recibido
- no se le paga el número correcto de horas al fin del mes
- no obtiene el recibo de sueldo (payslip)
- cuando no se le paga al fin del mes
- no tiene vacaciones pagadas
- la mala comunicación de su jefe/a no permite que sus problemas sean reconocidos
- es despedido al volver de vacaciones o de una ausencia autorizada
- no se le paga su descanso de almuerzo (lunch break) por completo
- no sabe cómo o donde quejarse de problemas laborales
- se lesiona por tener que correr para hacer el trabajo
- pierde dinero cuando se enferma
- no se le paga las extras horas o el trabajo extra
- recibe una sanción disciplinaria si no puede terminar su trabajo en el tiempo esperado
- su jefe/a le exige dinero por haber cubierto su ausencia
- se le paga menos que el living wage
- su jefe/a abusa de su posición para salir con el/ella
- se le pide constantemente que espere para que su contrato sea actualizado
- no le dan la oportunidad de leer y entender su contrato
- no tiene pago por enfermedad (sick pay)
- no tiene derecho a dejar el trabajo para cuidar de su familia
- es amenazado/a con ser despedido/a si no puede realizar sus tareas debido a una lesión
- trabaja de noche por el mismo sueldo que de día
- tiene miedo de su jefe/a
- sus horas de trabajo están fragmentadas
- es despedido luego de un accidente laboral
- su jefe/a le grita
- es amenazado/a con ser despedido/a si se queja
- tiene un contrato cero horas
- se le paga menos que a otros trabajadores en la misma empresa
- es humillado

- no se le ofrece soluciones a los problemas laborales y en cambio se le dice que se puede ir si no está contento/a
- se le fuerza a hacer tareas físicas que debería ser realizadas por dos personas
- tiene una mayor carga laboral que colegas que han sido reclutados recientemente
- su jefe/a es siempre apoyado por la empresa cuando hay una investigación
- se le informa que no le corresponde pago por enfermedad (sick pay) porque trabaja part-time
- no se le dan los materiales de trabajo

Tarea de clasificación

Por favor, lea todas las afirmaciones en la lista. Luego usa las tarjetas en las que están escritas las afirmaciones, y organice las tarjetas de una manera que tenga sentido para usted.

Instrucciones:

- Agrupe las declaraciones que piense son relacionadas en la misma pila para formar un grupo.
- Pone un nombre / título a cada grupo usando la nota post-it

Reglas:

- Un grupo debe contener al menos dos declaraciones
- No puede haber un grupo que contenga sólo elementos que no caben en otros grupos creados   (grupo "misceláneo").
- Si piensa que una declaración puede colocarse en más de un grupo, elija el grupo que considere más apropiado o relevante

Tarea de clasificación - Explotación laboral

Por favor, evalúe las siguientes afirmaciones de acuerdo a su importancia en la caracterización de situaciones de 'explotación de trabajadores migrantes'.

Por favor, evalúe de 1 a 5 según el siguiente criterio:
   1 - Relativamente no importante
   2 - Más o menos importante
   3 - Moderadamente importante
   4 - Muy importante
   5- Extremadamente importante

Un trabajador migrante es explotado cuando…	Clasificación				
	1	2	3	4	5
su trabajo es tercerizado					
no recibe contrato					
se le informa que no recibirá el entrenamiento o el equipamiento necesario porque trabaja menos horas que otros trabajadores					
no puede trabajar en paz porque su jefe/a cambia constantemente las tareas o el lugar de trabajo					
no se le considera el pago por enfermedad (sick pay) desde el primer día de enfermedad (con justificación medica)					
no está cubierto/a o no es compensado en caso de accidente laboral					
no es informado acerca de los derechos laborales					
le da miedo perder su trabajo si se una al sindicato					
su jefe/a no le permite descansar					
es amenazado/a con ser despedido/a si va a la huelga					
es abusado/a psicológicamente					
tiene que cubrir a otra persona sin que se le pague					
sólo puede pagar una vivienda en una casa compartida y sobrepoblada					
no se le sube el sueldo luego de haber trabajado muchos años para la empresa					
su jefe/a se niega a pagarle la totalidad de las horas trabajadas					
no recibe el entrenamiento especificando en que consiste su trabajo					

Un trabajador migrante es explotado cuando…	1	2	3	4	5
no recibe el equipo de protección adecuado					
se le presiona a que trabaje más de lo posible en el tiempo asignado					
su pago por vacaciones es más bajo de que las horas realmente trabajadas					
su jefe/a no está capacitado para manejar a los trabajadores					
se le pide que trabaje un par de horas en medio de la noche					
no tiene la misma pensión que los trabajadores internos (in-house)					
no recibe entrenamiento de salud y seguridad (health and safety)					
es despedido por tener un contrato anterior con mejores condiciones de trabajo					
se le paga menos que el salario mínimo					
es llamado a una reunión disciplinaria o de investigación por quejarse					
se le da más trabajo si se queja					
su jefe/a intenta despedirlo/a porque el/ella se niega a salir con el/ella					
es objeto de bullying					
puede ser despedido sin justificación					
no tiene documentos legales					
tiene un contrato de horas cortas					
no se puede quejar porque tiene miedo de perder su trabajo					
su jefe/a muestra favoritismo al asignar tareas					
no puede hablar el idioma					
recibe un contrato part-time cuando en realidad trabaja full-time					
no se le permite que coma y no se le da agua en el trabajo					
es amenazado/a con una sanción disciplinaria					
es insultado por su jefe/a					
su jefe/a se niega a adaptar sus cargas si está herido/a o embarazada					
no recibe información detallada sobre su contrato					
su pago por vacaciones es otorgado a otra persona					

Un trabajador migrante es explotado cuando…	1	2	3	4	5
sus horas de trabajo están en distintas partes de la ciudad					
su jefe crea un ambiente hostil para forzarlo/a a renunciar					
sus documentos son usados para contratar a otro/a empleado/a					
su jefe/a trata de tocarlo/a o lo/a toca					
no se la da tiempo libre para sus actividades personales					
es agredido/a físicamente					
es discriminado/a en el trabajo					
se le prohíbe que tenga hijos					
cuando se le anuncia el mismo día que no debe ir a trabajar porque no hay trabajo					
tiene que quejarse para obtener el pago o las vacaciones que se le deben					
se le aumenta la cantidad de trabajo sin aumentar el sueldo					
no es tratado/a como ser humano					
es obligado a tomar sus vacaciones de manera fragmentada					
su trabajo nunca está bien hecho a los ojos del supervisor					
se le obliga a trabajar más por el mismo sueldo para mantener su trabajo					
es amenazado/a con ser despedido/a cuando no puede trabajar por enfermedad					
es engañado para que firme un documento según el cual ha recibido entrenamiento de salud y seguridad cuando no lo ha recibido					
no se le paga el número correcto de horas al fin del mes					
no obtiene el recibo de sueldo (payslip)					
cuando no se le paga al fin del mes					
no tiene vacaciones pagadas					
la mala comunicación de su jefe/a no permite que sus problemas sean reconocidos					
es despedido al volver de vacaciones o de una ausencia autorizada					
no se le paga su descanso de almuerzo (lunch break) por completo					
no sabe cómo o donde quejarse de problemas laborales					
se lesiona por tener que correr para hacer el trabajo					
pierde dinero cuando se enferma					

Un trabajador migrante es explotado cuando…	1	2	3	4	5
no se le paga las extras horas o el trabajo extra					
recibe una sanción disciplinaria si no puede terminar su trabajo en el tiempo esperado					
su jefe/a le exige dinero por haber cubierto su ausencia					
se le paga menos que el living wage					
su jefe/a abusa de su posición para salir con el/ella					
se le pide constantemente que espere para que su contrato sea actualizado					
no le dan la oportunidad de leer y entender su contrato					
no tiene pago por enfermedad (sick pay)					
no tiene derecho a dejar el trabajo para cuidar de su familia					
es amenazado/a con ser despedido/a si no puede realizar sus tareas debido a una lesión					
trabaja de noche por el mismo sueldo que de día					
tiene miedo de su jefe/a					
sus horas de trabajo están fragmentadas					
es despedido luego de un accidente laboral					
su jefe/a le grita					
es amenazado/a con ser despedido/a si se queja					
tiene un contrato cero horas					
se le paga menos que a otros trabajadores en la misma empresa					
es humillado					
no se le ofrece soluciones a los problemas laborales y en cambio se le dice que se puede ir si no está contento/a					
se le fuerza a hacer tareas físicas que debería ser realizadas por dos personas					
tiene una mayor carga laboral que colegas que han sido reclutados recientemente					
su jefe/a es siempre apoyado por la empresa cuando hay una investigación					
se le informa que no le corresponde pago por enfermedad (sick pay) porque trabaja part-time					
no se le dan los materiales de trabajo					

Appendix F   Data verification for the dataset of the Concept Mapping with Latin American migrant workers in London

Once the dataset finalised, I imported it on Stata; then I performed the same checks than for the Expert CM.

Once the complete dataset was created, I conducted the same three types of data verification: detection of possible duplicates, missing data and abnormal data for the demographics dataset.

For each participant, only one set of statements should be available with the corresponding sorting and rating outcomes as there should be only one statement (row) per participant. If I found duplicate statements for a participant, I went back to the original paper version of the data collected and corrected the dataset accordingly.

To check for abnormal entries, I checked participants' demographics like I did for the expert and added the following characteristics.

- Country of birth   (free text - standardised afterwards)
- Highest level of education   (free text - standardised afterwards)
- Year of arrival in UK   ([1950; 2016])
- Job before UK   free text that was then standardised
- Time since working in London <100
- Fluency in English   (fluent; can speak but cannot read/write; can read/write but cannot speak; can speak, read/write with difficulty; cannot speak, read/write; other)
- Current job title   (free text - standardised afterwards)
- Full-time or part-time   (full-time, part-time)
- Type of recruitment   (agency, relative, myself, other)
- Type of contract   (agency, in-house or outsourced)

Appendix G   R programme for transforming the dataset

```
##################################################
####  SCRIPT TO REARRANGE DATA FOR THE CM MDS  ####
##################################################
```

Installation of package that rearrange data

```
        ## If required, I used the CRAN mirror = 'UK - London 1'

 install.packages("reshape2")
```

Use the package reshape2

```
library(reshape2)
```

```
###########################################################
```

1. IMPORT the dataset (DB) in long format: idstat idpart groupname

```
#############
```

NB. Use "/" and not "\" in the file path

```
rawdata<-read.csv("H:/My Documents/…/CMmdsXPR.csv")

rawdata
```

```
##############################################################
```

2. RESHAPE the DB called wideBD using the command 'dcast;' that takes long-format data and casts it into wide-format data
```
#############
```

> # The DB imported need to be rearranged as follow: there needs to be 1 statement per line and then 1 column for each expert.

> # Within each row should be the groupname corresponding to the pile where the expert placed the corresponding statement

> #   Identifier= idstat + idpart ; the column groupname gives the "value" for the command 'dcast'

```
wideBD<-dcast(rawdata, idstat ~ idpart, value.var='groupname')
```

wideBD

##

3. CREATE the symmetric matrix of size: nb_statements X nb_statements

I have 96 statements, so matrix size = 96 X 96

outputmatrix<-mat.or.vec(96,96)   # creates a matrix of 0

outputmatrix

for(i in 1:96){   # for each row in the newly created outputmatrix

  for(j in 1:96){   # for each column in the newly created outputmatrix

   outputmatrix[i,j]<-sum(wideBD[i,]==wideBD[j,])

                          # in the new matrix is assigned at the intersection of two statements
                          i, the count the number of time a statement i in wideBD is put in the
                          same group by the experts j

                           ## of the number of times a statement (i) in the wide dataset in line
                          1->n (6) has the same grouname than for each expert j for the
                          columns 1->j

  }

}

outputmatrix[row(outputmatrix) == col(outputmatrix)] <- 0   # replace the values in the diagonale by zeros. I am not fully sure why the diagnoale does not equal the number of statements

outputmatrix

#Rename the rows and columns:

        #a. Create a vector with names of statements

matrixofnames<-mat.or.vec(96,1)

matrixofnames<-wideBD[,1]

matrixofnames

        #b. Label the column using this matrix of statements

```
colnames(outputmatrix)<- matrixofnames          # rename the columns and rows of
the matrix

rownames(outputmatrix)<- matrixofnames

outputmatrix

#########################################################
# 4. EXPORT the file as a csv file
############

write.csv(outputmatrix,'H:/My Documents/…/rearrangedForMDS.csv')
```

Appendix H Topic guide for the key informant interviews

Topic guide for the key informant interviews

Interviews with key informant may include the following main topics:

- Opinion about the meaning and understanding of labour exploitation for Latin Americans working in London

- Opinion and advice about strengths and challenges in organising focus groups with Latin Americans in London. This may include:

  o Possible criteria to take into account when composing the groups

  o Possible location of the focus groups

  o Possible sensitive topics regarding cultural aspects

  o Possible sensitive topics that could arise from the discussions

Appendix I   Additional results for the expert CM

Table G. Distribution of participants' characteristics according to the CM phases

Participants	Overall (N=32)		Brainstorming (N=28)		Sorting-rating (N=25)		Both (N=21)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Academics [1]	16	*50.0*	15	*53.6*	12	*48.0*	11	*52.4*
Main discipline or domain of expertise								
Health	7	*21.9*	6	*21.4*	6	*24.0*	5	*23.8*
Sociology. social sciences or social work	7	*21.9*	6	*21.4*	6	*24.0*	5	*23.8*
Economy. finance or business	1	*3.1*	1	*3.6*	1	*4.0*	1	*4.8*
Policy. law or advocacy	11	*34.4*	9	*32.1*	7	*28.0*	5	*23.8*
Other	6	*18.8*	6	*21.4*	5	*20.0*	5	*23.8*
Part of the hypothesised continuum of 'labour exploitation' covered								
Lower part [2]	10	*31.3*	9	*32.1*	8	*32.0*	7	*33.3*
Severe part [3]	16	*50.0*	14	*50.0*	11	*44.0*	9	*42.9*
Mixed [4]	5	*15.6*	5	*17.9*	5	*20.0*	5	*23.8*
Missing	*1*	*3.1*	-	-	*1*	*4.0*	-	-
Female	17	*53.1*	14	*50.0*	14	*56.0*	11	*52.4*
Countries								
Argentina	1	*3.1*	1	*3.6*	1	*4.0*	1	*4.8*
Australia	2	*6.3*	0	*0.0*	2	*8.0*	0	*0.0*
Austria	2	*6.3*	2	*7.1*	2	*8.0*	1	*4.8*
Belgium	1	*3.1*	1	*3.6*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*
Brazil	1	*3.1*	1	*3.6*	1	*4.0*	1	*4.8*
Costa Rica	1	*3.1*	1	*3.6*	1	*4.0*	1	*4. 8*
France	1	*3.1*	1	*3.6*	1	*4.0*	1	*4. 8*
Nepal	2	*6.3*	2	*7.1*	2	*8.0*	2	*9.5*
Nicaragua	1	*3.1*	0	*0.0*	1	*4.0*	0	*0.0*
Senegal	1	*3.1*	1	*3.6*	1	*4.0*	1	*4. 8*
Spain	1	*3.1*	1	*3.6*	1	*4.0*	1	*4. 8*
UK	17	*53.1*	16	*57.1*	11	*44.0*	10	*47.6*
USA	1	*3.1*	1	*3.6*	1	*4.0*	1	*4. 8*

Notes/ for the purpose of this study: [1] defined as researchers part of a University; [2] includes precarious, low-paid, insecure, migrant work; [3] includes human trafficking, slavery, modern slavery, forced labour; [4] defined as lower and severe exploitation

Table H. Distribution of the 276 raw single statements according to the themes and subthemes generated for the reduction process

Theme	Subtheme	Number of statements per group
Abuse		**16**
Benefits		6
Breaks		11
Coercion		5
Contract		7
Control		10
Debt		4
Degrading		11
Disadvantage		8
Discrimination		**13**
Food and drinks		3
Forced/bonded labour		2
Health-related		**19**
	Health access	*4*
	Unhealthy	*9*
	Safety	*6*
Hours-Time		11
Housing		12
Illegal activity		2
Lack of info		4
Legislation		**17**
Lied/tricked to/deception		9
Limit contact		3
Migrant status-related		6
No choice		3
Passport		5
Poor working conditions		2
Pressure		3
Representation at work		7
Sickness		6
Threat		5
Trapped		10
Unique statements		7
Violence		5
Wage		**44**
	Deductions	*12*
	Non-payment	*9*
	Underpaid	*23*
Total		**276**

Figure B. Point map of the Concept mapping with experts
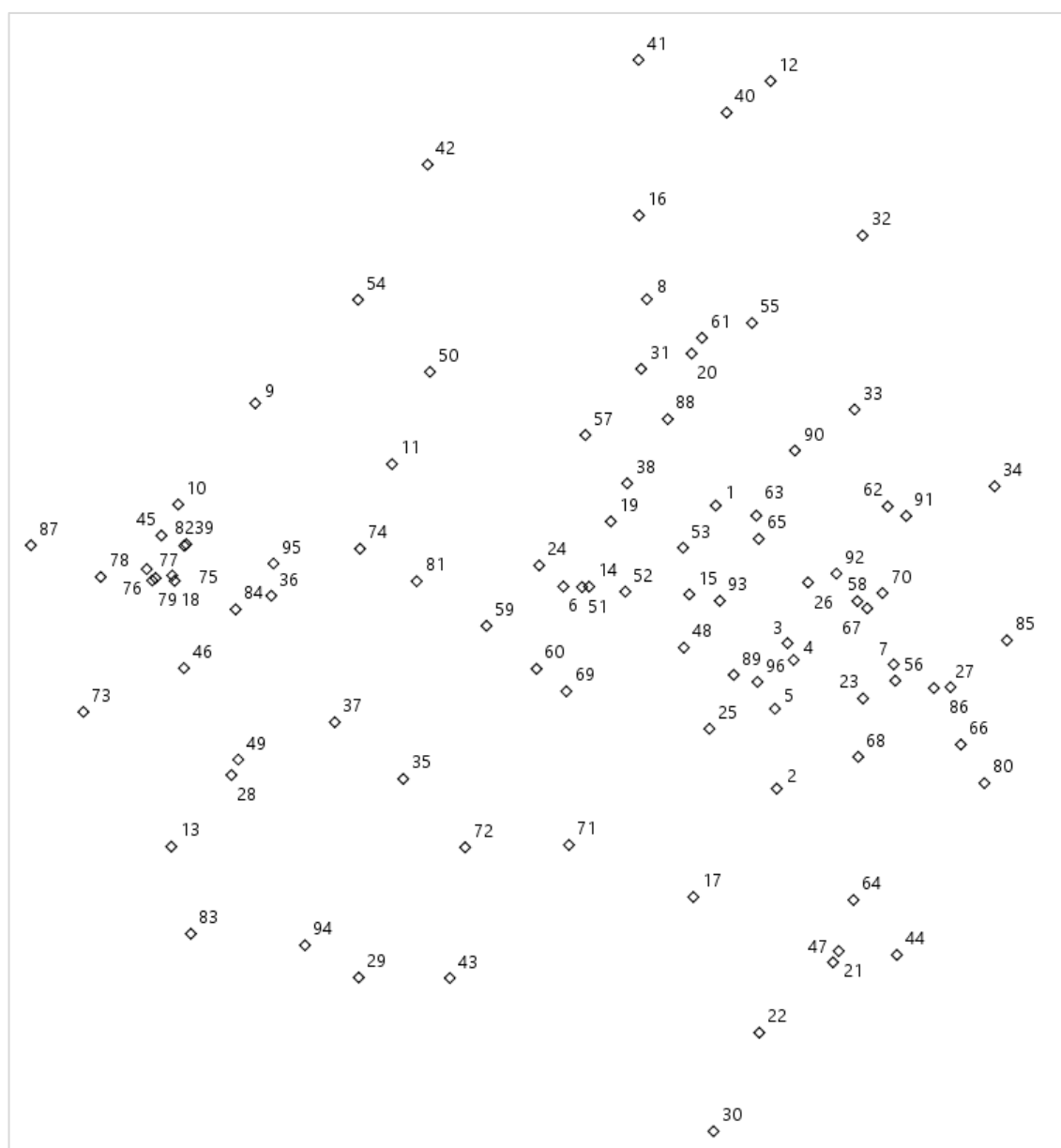
Table I. Content of the clusters for the concept mapping with experts

Number	Cluster and statement labels
	Cluster 1: Contract and workload
48	s/he works under pressure
65	s/he can be dismissed at will
63	s/he does not have a written employment contract
53	s/he works an excessive number of hours
1	s/he does not have a contract with the employer to establish decent wages, hours and working conditions
15	s/he has no breaks in the daily work routine
93	s/he suffers labour rights abuse
	Cluster 2: Time-off and legality issues
5	s/he is not granted care leave
23	s/he may face lower observance of their rights at work
56	s/he does not enjoy the rights granted by collectively agreed terms and conditions of employment
7	s/he has no proper accident insurance covering all possible accidents at work
25	s/he can be discriminated against
4	s/he is not granted sick leave
96	his/her working conditions do not comply with appropriate national and international legislation
3	s/he is treated worse than the legally acceptable minimum in the country where s/he works
89	s/he has to work longer hours than the legal maximum
2	s/he has no right to days off
	Cluster 3: Health, safety and psychosocial hazards
38	s/he is required to work without proper training
52	s/he is not trained to use protective equipment correctly
51	s/he has no access to protective equipment
6	his/her work contract is not renewed unless s/he works extra hours unpaid
24	s/he can be harassed
19	s/he consistently works overtime with no compensation
60	s/he works in unhealthy conditions
59	s/he has to do compulsory overtime
69	s/he works in unsafe conditions
81	s/he faces humiliation at work
74	s/he experiences verbal abuse
14	s/he has no weekly rest from work
	Cluster 4: Wage issues
55	s/he receives below-market wages
57	s/he is paid below the wage of national workers for the same job
20	s/he is underpaid for his/her work
61	s/he is not paid regularly and on time
88	s/he is not paid equivalent to the minimum wage for his/her work
31	s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a worker in the place where s/he is working
8	s/he does not receive the agreed-upon salary
16	s/he receives wages that are insufficient to cover basic needs
	Cluster 5: Deductions and migrant work
9	his/her working permit is linked to the current employer
42	s/he must pay for the right to work
54	his/her wages are subjected to illegal deductions
11	his/her employer charges exorbitant fees for shelter
50	his/her wages are withheld

Table I (continued)

Number	Cluster and statement labels
	Cluster 6: Physical and psychological intimidation
45	s/he is in a situation where s/he is exposed to threats
18	s/he experiences violence in the workplace
79	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are psychologically harmful
82	s/he works under threat of punishment
87	s/he is threatened with deportation
76	s/he experiences sexual abuse
77	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are physically harmful
75	s/he experiences physical abuse
39	s/he is coerced into continuing to work through debt
78	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are financially harmful
10	s/he faces criminal levels of abuse
	Cluster 7: Misled
40	s/he has been misled about the pay
41	s/he has been misled about the type of work
12	s/he has had to pay large recruitment fees
32	s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working
	Cluster 8: Restriction of freedom and movement
83	s/he is unable to leave because of geographic isolation
13	s/he is vulnerable because of criminal activity involved
28	his/her contact with family is restricted
49	his/her communication outside working hours are curtailed
46	s/he has his/her identity documents withheld
73	s/he is obliged to live in cruel, inhumane or degrading conditions
	Cluster 9: Lack of means to get support
22	s/he lacks sources of support for problems at work
30	his/her contact with migrant associations is restricted
44	s/he has no ability to engage with a trade union to receive support with legislation issues
21	s/he lacks representation for problems at work
47	s/he has no capacity to protest or join others in doing so
64	s/he does not have access to formal complaints or dispute resolution procedures
17	s/he has no right to compensation for injuries and accidents resulting from his/her work
	Cluster 10: Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information
91	s/he has no possibility to make progress in his/her career
67	s/he does not benefit from public holidays
62	s/he does not receive a written pay slip detailing pay and deductions
34	s/he is not informed about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working
33	s/he is not informed about his/her rights as a worker in the place where s/he is working
90	s/he does not understand his/her terms of employment
58	s/he does not benefit from paid leave
85	s/he has fewer recognized rights than national workers doing the same job
26	s/he does not have access to paid sick leave
70	s/he is deprived of basic work-related benefits
92	s/he is denied the main international/national labour standards
	Cluster 11: Health and social benefits
80	s/he does not have access to basic social benefits
86	s/he has fewer recognised benefits than national workers doing the same job
27	s/he does not have access to health benefits
66	s/he does not benefit from social protection benefits
68	s/he does not benefit from health coverage

Table I (continued)

Cluster 12: Dependence on the job

29	his/her contact with other workplaces is restricted
72	s/he is deprived of freely discussing his/her working conditions
37	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with no control over the temperature
43	s/he works in illegal economic activity
94	s/he is dependent on the employer
71	s/he is deprived of access to health services
35	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with no access to a bathroom

Cluster 13: Deprived of basic needs

36	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with inadequate food
84	s/he is forced to work without appropriate access to food and water
95	s/he is obliged to work under cruel or inhumane conditions

Appendix J   Additional results for the CM with Latin American workers in London

Table J. Distribution of Latin American workers participants' characteristics according to their participation in the phases of the concept mapping

Participants' characteristics	Overall (N=27)		Brainstorming (N=17)		Sorting-rating* (N=23)		Both (N=13)	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
Female	11	*40.7*	9	*52.9*	9	*39.1*	7	*53.9*
Country of birth								
Colombia	15	*55.6*	9	*52.9*	12	*52.2*	6	*46.2*
Ecuador	7	*25.9*	5	*29.4*	6	*26.1*	4	*30.8*
Other [1]	5	*18.5*	3	*17.7*	5	*21.7*	3	*23.1*
Level of English								
fluent or almost	6	*22.2*	3	*17.7*	5	*21.7*	2	*15.4*
can speak but cannot read/write	2	*7.4*	1	*5.9*	2	*8.7*	1	*7.7*
can read/write but cannot speak	6	*22.2*	4	*23.5*	5	*21.7*	3	*23.1*
speak, read/write with difficulty	11	*40.7*	7	*41.2*	11	*47.8*	7	*53.9*
cannot speak, read/write	1	*3.7*	1	*5.9*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*
missing	1	*3.7*	1	*5.9*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*
Way s/he found the current job:								
recruitment agency	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*
someone s/he knows told him/her about the job	21	*77.8*	12	*70.6*	20	*87.0*	1	*84.6*
found it him/herself	3	*11.1*	2	*11.8*	2	*8.7*	1	*7.7*
Other (unemployed)	1	*3.7*	1	*5.9*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*
Missing	2	*7.4*	2	*11.8*	1	*4.4*	1	*7.7*
Type of employer								
Employed by the workplace where s/he works (in-house / internal employee)	6	*22.2*	2	*11.8*	5	*21.7*	1	*7.7*
employed by an outsourcing company	17	*63.0*	11	*64.7*	15	*65.22*	9	*69.2*
unemployed	1	*3.7*	1	*5.9*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*
Other [2]	2	*7.4*	2	*11.86*	2	*8.7*	2	*15.4*
missing	1	*3.7*	1	*5.9*	1	*4.4*	1	*7.7*
Current job title								
cleaner	22	*81.5*	15	*88.2*	18	*78.3*	1	*84.6*
ex-cleaner	1	*3.7*	1	*5.9*	1	*4.4*	1	*7.7*
gardener	1	*3.7*	0	*0.0*	1	*4.4*	0	*0.0*
bartender	1	*3.7*	0	*0.0*	1	*4.4*	0	*0.0*
cook	1	*3.7*	0	*0.0*	1	*4.4*	0	*0.0*
interpreter	*1*	*3.7*	1	*5.9*	1	*4.4*	1	*7.7*
Highest level of education completed								
primary school	1	*3.7*	1	*5.98*	1	*4.4*	1	*7.7*
secondary school / A-levels	13	*48.2*	9	*52.9*	11	*47.8*	7	*53.9*
higher education	7	*25.9*	3	*17.7*	7	*30.4*	3	*23.1*
vocational training	2	*7.4*	0	*0.0*	2	*8.7*	0	*0.0*
English certificate	1	*3.7*	1	*5.9*	1	*4.4*	1	*7.7*
missing	3	*11.1*	3	*17.7*	1	*8.7*	1	*7.7*
Working full-time								
full-time	13	*48.2*	8	*47.1*	11	*47.8*	6	*46.2*
part-time	13	*48.2*	8	*47.1*	12	*52.2*	7	*53.9*
unemployed	1	*3.7*	1	*5.9*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*

*Notes: * includes 1 participant who only performed the rating; [1] Spanish-speaking country of central and South America; [2] includes: 'both in-house and outsourced'; and 'retired'*

Table K. Distribution of the 693 single raw statements generated by LAWs according to the themes and subthemes used to reduce the statements list

Theme Subtheme	N. statements per group
Abuse of existing rules	**32**
Abuse of existing rights	6
Disciplinary	4
Distribution of tasks	4
Favouritism	6
Unfair firing	8
Fire without justification	1
Other abuse of rules	2
Both Favouritism and Unfair firing	1
Benefits	**59**
Holidays	22
Laboural guarantees	6
Sickness	31
Bosses' incapacity	**34**
Bosses' capacity (skills)	8
Bosses' training	10
Communication	3
Other bosses' incapacities	13
Differences in treatment between workers	**11**
Failure to inform	**26**
Contract	20
Language	2
Law	4
Health and safety	**55**
Material	12
Protection equipment (including uniform)	21
Training	18
Other health and safety	4
Inaccurate contract	**3**
Mistreatment	**180**
Abused - general	28
Bullying	30
Company disregards workers	12
Commodification	18
Discrimination	4
Fear	5
Maltreated	5
Physical abuse	11
Pressured	4
Psychological abuse	5
Respect	4
Threats	32
Verbal abuse	22

Theme Subtheme	N. statements per group
Private life	**20**
Family	11
Free time	5
Housing	4
Structural	**12**
Too few hours to work	**7**
Tricking worker	**4**
Union	**2**
Wage	**72**
Difference in salary	7
Living/just wage	9
Minimum wage	8
Un/under-paid lunch breaks	4
Unpaid	12
Unpaid for extra	26
Other wage related	6
Women specific issues / sexual harassment	**18**
Worker's vulnerabilities	**89**
Fear/cannot complain	14
Language	23
No knowledge of rights	15
Personal vulnerabilities	25
Without appropriate document	12
Workload	**50**
Boss over-demanding	5
High workload	8
Increased workload	11
Moe work than time	6
Other workload related	4
Reduction of staff	14
Workload as punishment	2
Unique	**10**
Excluded	**9**
Total number of statements	**693**

Table L. Average ratings of the relative importance of each statement towards the definition of labour exploitation (N=96)

idstat	Statement	Mean	SD
90	s/he is forced to do a physical task that should be done by 2 persons	4.91	*0.29*
54	s/he is not treated as a human being	4.87	*0.34*
60	s/he is not paid the right amount of hours at the end of the month	4.87	*0.34*
89	s/he is not offered solutions to issues at work but told to leave if not happy	4.83	*0.39*
49	s/he is discriminated against at work	4.78	*0.52*
52	s/he has to complain to get his/her payment or holidays entitlements owed	4.78	*0.52*
79	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he cannot perform his/her job tasks due to an injury	4.78	*0.52*
53	his/her quantity of work increases without pay raise	4.78	*0.42*
70	s/he is not paid for extra hours/work	4.78	*0.42*
88	s/he is humiliated at work*	4.77	*0.43*
5	s/he is not paid by sick pay from the first day of sickness (with medical justification)	4.74	*0.75*
57	s/he is forced to work more for the same salary to keep his/her job	4.74	*0.62*
30	s/he can be fired without justification *	4.73	*0.70*
91	s/he has a heavier workload than his/her colleagues who were recruited recently *	4.73	*0.46*
74	his/her boss abuse his/her position to date him/her	4.70	*0.93*
77	s/he does not have sick pay	4.70	*0.63*
12	s/he has to cover without payment another person's absence	4.70	*0.56*
44	his/her boss creates a hostile environment to force him/her to quit	4.70	*0.56*
87	s/he is paid less than another worker doing the same job in the same company	4.70	*0.56*
48	s/he is physically assaulted	4.65	*0.88*
6	s/he is not covered/compensated in case of a work accident	4.65	*0.78*
7	s/he is not informed about workers' rights	4.65	*0.65*
84	s/he is yelled at by the boss	4.65	*0.65*
11	s/he is psychologically abused	4.65	*0.57*
71	s/he is given a disciplinary sanction if s/he cannot finish his/her work within allocated time	4.65	*0.57*
36	s/he is given a part-time contract while s/he actually works full-time*	4.64	*1.00*
18	s/he is pressured to do more work than feasible in the allocated time	4.63	*0.71*
83	s/he gets sacked following a work injury/accident	4.61	*0.94*
76	s/he is not given the opportunity to read and understand the contract	4.61	*0.66*
40	his/her boss refuses to adapt his/her duty if s/he is injured or pregnant *	4.59	*0.96*
19	his/her holiday entitlement is lower than what s/he should have for the number of hours actually worked *	4.59	*0.73*
73	s/he is paid less than the living wage	4.57	*0.95*
10	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he goes on strike	4.57	*0.84*
15	his/her boss refuses to pay him/her all the hours worked	4.57	*0.73*
59	s/he is tricked into signing a document telling s/he received health and safety training when s/he was not trained	4.57	*0.66*
64	his/her boss's bad communication prevents his/her issues to be acknowledged	4.57	*0.59*
37	s/he has no right to eat and is not given water at work *	4.55	*0.74*
62	s/he is not paid at the end of the month*	4.55	*0.74*
27	s/he is given more workload if s/he complains	4.52	*0.79*
39	s/he is insulted by his/her boss	4.52	*0.79*
93	s/he is told s/he is not entitled to sick pay because s/he works part-time	4.52	*0.79*
29	s/he is bullied	4.52	*0.73*
1	s/he is outsourced	4.52	*0.67*
58	s/he is threatened with being sacked when s/he cannot work because s/he is sick	4.52	*0.67*
25	s/he is paid less than the minimum wage*	4.50	*1.06*

Table L (continued)

idstat	Statement	Mean	SD
68	s/he gets injured because s/he had to rush to do his/her work	4.48	0.85
92	his/her boss is always supported when there is an investigation on him/her	4.48	0.79
26	s/he is taken to a disciplinary/investigation meeting for complaining	4.48	0.59
23	s/he does not receive health and safety training*	4.45	1.01
14	s/he has no pay rise after working many years for the same company	4.43	1.04
80	s/he works at night for the same salary as during daytime	4.43	1.04
72	his/her boss asks him/her money because s/he covered him/her when s/he was absent	4.43	0.99
38	s/he is threatened of disciplinary sanctions	4.43	0.73
78	s/he has no right to leave work to care for his/her family*	4.41	1.05
69	s/he loses money when s/he is sick	4.39	1.03
65	s/he is fired when coming back from authorised absence or holidays	4.39	0.94
75	s/he is constantly asked to wait for his/her contract to be updated	4.39	0.78
41	s/he is not given detailed information about the contract	4.39	0.72
94	s/he lacks materials to work	4.39	0.72
56	his/her work is never well-done in the eyes of the supervisor	4.39	0.66
46	his/her boss tries to touch / touches him/her*	4.36	1.26
42	his/her holidays payment is given to someone else*	4.36	1.09
51	s/he is told on the day not to come because there is no work*	4.36	1.00
13	s/he can only afford to live in a shared overcrowded house*	4.36	0.85
63	s/he does not have paid holidays*	4.36	0.85
45	his/her documents are used to hire another worker	4.35	1.19
2	s/he is not given a contract	4.35	1.11
16	s/he does not receive training explaining what and how to do his/her job	4.35	0.98
33	s/he cannot complain as s/he fears losing his/her job	4.35	0.93
22	s/he does not have the same pension benefits than the in-house workers (direct employees)	4.35	0.71
86	s/he has a zero-hour contract	4.30	1.15
85	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he wants to complain	4.30	1.06
17	s/he does not receive the adequate protection equipment	4.30	1.02
67	s/he does not know how or to whom to complain to about a problem at work	4.30	0.88
28	his/her boss tries to fire him/her because s/he refused a date*	4.27	1.03
3	s/he is told that s/he will receive no training or protective equipment because s/he works fewer hours than the other workers	4.26	1.05
35	s/he cannot speak the language	4.26	1.05
55	s/he is obliged to take fragmented/scattered holidays	4.26	0.81
31	s/he has no legal documents*	4.23	1.23
82	his/her working hours are fragmented	4.22	0.85
24	s/he is fired because s/he had an older contract with better conditions*	4.18	1.10
9	his/her bosses don't let him/her rest	4.17	0.89
8	s/he is afraid to lose his/her job if s/he joins a union	4.13	1.36
61	s/he does not receive payslip	4.13	1.14
20	his/her boss is not trained to do his/her job and manage workers	4.13	1.06
34	his/her boss shows favouritism in work allocation	4.13	0.92
66	s//he is not paid his/her full lunch break	4.09	1.08
81	s/he is scared of his/her boss*	4.05	1.40
4	s/he cannot work peacefully because the boss constantly changes his/her tasks or working area*	4.05	1.09
32	s/he has a short-hour contract*	4.05	1.05
47	s/he is not given free time for his/her own activities	4.04	1.33
43	his/her working hours are in different part of town	4.04	1.30
50	s/he is forbidden to have kids*	3.91	1.51
21	s/he is given a couple of hours work in the middle of the night**	3.52	1.17

*Note: * stands for 1 missing data*

Table M. Cluster content and importance ratings of the concept mapping with Latin Americans working in manual low-skilled jobs in London

ID	Cluster or statement label	Mean	SD
	Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	**4.41**	**0.23**
60	s/he is not paid the right amount of hours at the end of the month	4.87	0.34
52	s/he has to complain to get his/her payment or holidays entitlements owed	4.78	0.52
30	s/he can be fired without justification	4.73	0.70
76	s/he is not given the opportunity to read and understand the contract	4.61	0.66
62	s/he is not paid at the end of the month	4.55	0.74
65	s/he is fired when coming back from authorised absence or holidays	4.39	0.94
75	s/he is constantly asked to wait for his/her contract to be updated	4.39	0.78
63	s/he does not have paid holidays	4.36	0.85
45	his/her documents are used to hire another worker	4.35	1.19
2	s/he is not given a contract	4.35	1.11
16	s/he does not receive training explaining what and how to do his/her job	4.35	0.98
67	s/he does not know how or to whom to complain to about a problem at work	4.30	0.88
3	s/he is told that s/he will receive no training or protective equipment because s/he works fewer hours than the other workers	4.26	1.05
55	s/he is obliged to take fragmented/scattered holidays	4.26	0.81
82	his/her working hours are fragmented	4.22	0.85
66	s//he is not paid his/her full lunch break	4.09	1.08
43	his/her working hours are in different part of town	4.04	1.30
	Poor contract and payment issues	**4.40**	**0.20**
70	s/he is not paid for extra hours/work	4.78	0.42
36	s/he is given a part-time contract while s/he actually works full-time	4.64	1.00
19	his/her holiday entitlement is lower than what s/he should have for the number of hours actually worked	4.59	0.73
73	s/he is paid less than the living wage	4.57	0.95
1	s/he is outsourced	4.52	0.67
25	s/he is paid less than the minimum wage	4.50	1.06
14	s/he has no pay rise after working many years for the same company	4.43	1.04
80	s/he works at night for the same salary as during daytime	4.43	1.04
41	s/he is not given detailed information about the contract	4.39	0.72
42	his/her holidays payment is given to someone else	4.36	1.09
22	s/he does not have the same pension benefits than the in-house workers	4.35	0.71
86	s/he has a zero-hour contract	4.30	1.15
31	s/he has no legal documents	4.23	1.23
24	s/he is fired because s/he had an older contract with better conditions	4.18	1.10
61	s/he does not receive payslip	4.13	1.14
32	s/he has a short-hour contract	4.05	1.05
	Being disposable and disciplined	**4.52**	**0.36**
90	s/he is forced to do a physical task that should be done by 2 persons	4.91	0.29
53	his/her quantity of work increases without pay raise	4.78	0.42
57	s/he is forced to work more for the same salary to keep his/her job	4.74	0.62
91	s/he has a heavier workload than his/her colleagues who were recruited recently	4.73	0.46
12	s/he has to cover without payment another person's absence	4.70	0.56
87	s/he is paid less than another worker doing the same job in the same company	4.70	0.56
71	s/he is given a disciplinary sanction if s/he cannot finish his/her work within allocated time	4.65	0.57
18	s/he is pressured to do more work than feasible in the allocated time	4.63	0.71
26	s/he is taken to a disciplinary/investigation meeting for complaining	4.48	0.59
94	s/he lacks materials to work	4.39	0.72
51	s/he is told on the day not to come because there is no work	4.36	1.00
8	s/he is afraid to lose his/her job if s/he joins a union	4.13	1.36
21	s/he is given a couple of hours work in the middle of the night	3.52	1.17

ID	Cluster or statement label	Mean	SD
	Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	**4.48**	**0.25**
54	s/he is not treated as a human being	4.87	0.34
49	s/he is discriminated against at work	4.78	0.52
79	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he cannot perform his/her job tasks due to an injury	4.78	0.52
74	his/her boss abuse his/her position to date him/her	4.70	0.93
10	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he goes on strike	4.57	0.84
15	his/her boss refuses to pay him/her all the hours worked	4.57	0.73
27	s/he is given more workload if s/he complains	4.52	0.79
29	s/he is bullied	4.52	0.73
92	his/her boss is always supported when there is an investigation on him/her	4.48	0.79
72	his/her boss asks him/her money because s/he covered him/her when s/he was absent	4.43	0.99
46	his/her boss tries to touch / touches him/her	4.36	1.26
28	his/her boss tries to fire him/her because s/he refused a date	4.27	1.03
20	his/her boss is not trained to do his/her job and manage workers	4.13	1.06
34	his/her boss shows favouritism in work allocation	4.13	0.92
4	s/he cannot work peacefully because the boss constantly changes his/her tasks or working area	4.05	1.09
	Mistreated and neglected	**4.45**	**0.26**
89	s/he is not offered solutions to issues at work but told to leave if not happy	4.83	0.39
88	s/he is humiliated at work	4.77	0.43
44	his/her boss creates a hostile environment to force him/her to quit	4.70	0.56
48	s/he is physically assaulted	4.65	0.88
84	s/he is yelled at by the boss	4.65	0.65
11	s/he is psychologically abused	4.65	0.57
40	his/her boss refuses to adapt his/her duty if s/he is injured or pregnant	4.59	0.96
64	his/her boss's bad communication prevents his/her issues to be acknowledged	4.57	0.59
37	s/he has no right to eat and is not given water at work	4.55	0.74
39	s/he is insulted by his/her boss	4.52	0.79
58	s/he is threatened with being sacked when s/he cannot work because s/he is sick	4.52	0.67
38	s/he is threatened of disciplinary sanctions	4.43	0.73
56	his/her work is never well-done in the eyes of the supervisor	4.39	0.66
33	s/he cannot complain as s/he fears losing his/her job	4.35	0.93
85	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he wants to complain	4.30	1.06
35	s/he cannot speak the language	4.26	1.05
9	his/her bosses don't let him/her rest	4.17	0.89
81	s/he is scared of his/her boss	4.05	1.40
47	s/he is not given free time for his/her own activities	4.04	1.33
50	s/he is forbidden to have kids	3.91	1.51
	Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	**4.53**	**0.14**
5	s/he is not paid by sick pay from the first day of sickness (with medical justification)	4.74	0.75
77	s/he does not have sick pay	4.70	0.63
6	s/he is not covered/compensated in case of a work accident	4.65	0.78
7	s/he is not informed about workers' rights	4.65	0.65
83	s/he gets sacked following a work injury/accident	4.61	0.94
59	s/he is tricked into signing a document telling s/he received health and safety training…	4.57	0.66
93	s/he is told s/he is not entitled to sick pay because s/he works part-time	4.52	0.79
68	s/he gets injured because s/he had to rush to do his/her work	4.48	0.85
23	s/he does not receive health and safety training	4.45	1.01
78	s/he has no right to leave work to care for his/her family	4.41	1.05
69	s/he loses money when s/he is sick	4.39	1.03
13	s/he can only afford to live in a shared overcrowded house	4.36	0.85
17	s/he does not receive the adequate protection equipment	4.30	1.02

Appendix K   Details of the model validation

Models were validated by comparing the model stress value obtained with the range of stress values reported in other CM studies. I also compared the characteristics of the CM to other CM studies.

Table N below presents key characteristics of both CM discussed in the thesis and compares them with characteristics of other CM studies presented in two systematic reviews: one of the doctoral dissertations that used CM (336); and one of the studies that used CM for scale development (126). The number of participants is within the range of other CM and within CM developer's recommendations of 10 to 40 participants (124). Rosas and Kane (126) suggested that *"suggest between 20 and 30 sorters is warranted to maximize the consistency of fit"* and that 25 participants and more provide better stress value. While the number of participants in my research are close to the minimum size recommended (25 for experts and 23 for LA), the stress values are within the range found in other CM. In fact, the stress values ($\text{stress}_{\text{expert CM}}=0.18$ and $\text{stress}_{\text{CM with LAWs}}=0.26$) were both below the average stress values and ranged towards the smaller stress values. This indicates that the models developed in this thesis compare favourably to those in previously published CM analyses. Compared to the expert CM, the stress value for the LA CM was higher, which was reflected in the difficulty to disentangle clusters on the point map.

Table N. Summary table comparing the current research key Concept mapping study characteristics to two systematic reviews of literature on CM studies

	Current research CM		Donnelly 2017 (336)		Rosas 2012 (126)	
	Expert	LAWs	Mean (SD)	Median (IQR)	Mean (SD)	Median (IQR)
Participants in brainstorming	28	17	49 (78.16)	31.5 (1-155)		
Statements	96	94	88 (34.48)		96.32 (17.23)	98 (45-132)
Sorters			27 (12.81)	20 (5-152)	24.62 (15.30)	20 (6-90)
% completing sorting					50.07 (23.59)	56.86 (10.58-100)
Number of sorters who completed the sorting	25	23			12.33 (3.61)	11.37 (0.63-9.00)
Raters 1			35	26(0-152)	81.77 (69.83)	62 (18-485)
% completing rating					65.87 (20.24)	70.27 (12.79-100)
Number of raters who completed the rating	25	23			53.86 (14.13)	43.57 (2.30-485)
Total participants	32	27			55.78 (126.34)	118 (20-649)
Stress value	0.18	0.26	0.3 (0.05)	0.22	0.28 (0.04)	0.29 (0.17-0.34)
Number of map clusters	13	6	7.9 (3.00)	-	8.93 (1.55)	9 (6-14)
Average statements per cluster	7.38	15.67	-	-	11.10 (2.58)	11.11 (5.63-20.67)

Note: In blue *are calculations I have adapted from the available data in the publication*

CM: Concept Mapping

LAWs: Latin American migrant workers in manual low-skilled jobs

SD : standard deviation

Appendix L   Comparison of the content of the expert CM and CM with LAWs that led to the joint structured conceptual framework

Notes:

1. The following table uses the content of the expert CM (subdimension and statements; presented on the columns on the left) as a skeleton to match the content of the CM with LAWs (columns on the right). For each expert subdimension:

- when a LAWs' statement from the CM with LAWs was found similar, it was put in the same row than the expert statement;
- when a LAWs' statement was not exactly similar to a statement but could be considered covered by an expert statement (at a higher level of abstraction), the statement was put on rows just below the related expert statement;
- when LAWs' statement could be considered illustrating an expert CM subdimension but not related directly to a particular statement, they were added at the end on the subdimension frame.

Some LAWs' statements were duplicated because they could match more than one of the experts' statements or fit in more than one expert subdimension (in red in the table). LAWs' statements that were not matching experts' conceptualisation are displayed at the end of the table.

2. Expert subdimensions that were matched by LAWs' statements are framed in blue dotted line. Expert or LAWs subdimensions that were not matched by the other CM were framed in red.

3. In each expert subdimension, the statements are listed from the lowest rate attributed in the expert CM to the highest.

4. *ID stands for the statement identification number used in the CMs.

Table O Comparison of the content of the expert CM and CM with LAWs that led to the joint structured conceptual framework

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Contract and workload	48	s/he works under pressure	Being disposable and disciplined	18	s/he is pressured to do more work than feasible in the allocated time
Contract and workload	65	s/he can be dismissed at will	Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	30	s/he can be fired without justification
Contract and workload	63	s/he does not have a written employment contract	Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	65	s/he is fired when coming back from authorised absence or holidays
Contract and workload	53	s/he works an excessive number of hours	Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	2	s/he is not given a contract
Contract and workload	1	s/he does not have a contract with the employer to establish decent wages, hours and working conditions	Poor contract and payment issues	41	s/he is not given detailed information about the contract
Contract and workload	15	s/he has no breaks in the daily work routine			
Contract and workload	93	s/he suffers labour rights abuse			

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	Expert CM		CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
			Related issues present in the LAWs' CM		
			Poor contract and payment issues	36	s/he is given a part-time contract while s/he actually works full-time
			Poor contract and payment issues	24	s/he is fired because s/he had an older contract with better conditions
			Poor contract and payment issues	86	s/he has a zero-hour contract
			Poor contract and payment issues	32	s/he has a short-hour contract
			Poor contract and payment issues	1	s/he is outsourced
			Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	76	s/he is not given the opportunity to read and understand the contract
			Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	83	s/he gets sacked following a work injury/accident
			Being disposable and disciplined	53	his/her quantity of work increases without pay raise
			Being disposable and disciplined	12	s/he has to cover without payment another person's absence

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Time-off and legality issues	5	s/he is not granted care leave	Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	78	s/he has no right to leave work to care for his/her family
Time-off and legality issues	23	s/he may face lower observance of their rights at work			
Time-off and legality issues	56	s/he does not enjoy the rights granted by collectively agreed terms and conditions of employment			
Time-off and legality issues	7	s/he has no proper accident insurance covering all possible accidents at work			
Time-off and legality issues	25	s/he can be discriminated against	Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	49	s/he is discriminated against at work
Time-off and legality issues	4	s/he is not granted sick leave			
Time-off and legality issues	96	pay			
Time-off and legality issues	3	s/he is treated worse than the legally acceptable minimum in the country where s/he works			
Time-off and legality issues	89	s/he has to work longer hours than the legal maximum			
Time-off and legality issues	2	s/he has no right to days off			

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
			Related issues present in the LAWs' CM		
			Being mistreated and neglected	47	s/he is not given free time for his/her own activities
			Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	82	his/her working hours are fragmented
			Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	43	his/her working hours are in different part of town
			Poor contract and payment issues	19	his/her holiday entitlement is lower than what s/he should have for the number of hours actually worked
			Poor contract and payment issues	42	his/her holidays payment is given to someone else
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	38	s/he is required to work without proper training	Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	16	s/he does not receive training explaining what and how to do his/her job
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	51	s/he has no access to protective equipment	Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	23	s/he does not receive health and safety training
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	6	his/her work contract is not renewed unless s/he works extra hours unpaid	Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	17	s/he does not receive the adequate protection equipment

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	24	s/he can be harassed	Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	29	s/he is bullied
			Being mistreated and neglected	11	s/he is psychologically abused
			Being mistreated and neglected	56	his/her work is never well-done in the eyes of the supervisor
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	19	s/he consistently works overtime with no compensation	Poor contract and payment issues	70	s/he is not paid for extra hours/work
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	60	s/he works in unhealthy conditions			
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	59	s/he has to do compulsory overtime	Being disposable and disciplined	57	s/he is forced to work more for the same salary to keep his/her job
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	69	s/he works in unsafe conditions			
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	81	s/he faces humiliation at work	Being mistreated and neglected	88	s/he is humiliated at work
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	74	s/he experiences verbal abuse	Being mistreated and neglected	84	s/he is yelled at by the boss
Health, safety and psychosocial hazards	14	s/he has no weekly rest from work	Being mistreated and neglected	39	s/he is insulted by his/her boss

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
			Related issues present in the LAWs' CM		
			Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	3	s/he is told that s/he will receive no training or protective equipment because s/he works fewer hours than the other workers
			Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	59	s/he is tricked into signing a document telling s/he received health and safety training when s/he was not trained
			Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	68	s/he gets injured because s/he had to rush to do his/her work
			Being disposable and disciplined	90	s/he is forced to do a physical task that should be done by 2 persons
			Being mistreated and neglected	40	his/her boss refuses to adapt his/her duty if s/he is injured or pregnant
Wage issues	55	s/he receives below-market wages			
Wage issues	57	s/he is paid below the wage of national workers for the same job			
Wage issues	20	s/he is underpaid for his/her work	Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	60	s/he is not paid the right amount of hours at the end of the month

Expert CM

Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Wage issues	61	s/he is not paid regularly and on time
Wage issues	88	s/he is not paid equivalent to the minimum wage for his/her work
Wage issues	31	s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a worker in the place where s/he is working
Wage issues	8	s/he does not receive the agreed-upon salary
Wage issues	16	s/he receives wages that are insufficient to cover basic needs

CM with LAWs

Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	15	his/her boss refuses to pay him/her all the hours worked
Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	62	s/he is not paid at the end of the month
Poor contract and payment issues	25	s/he is paid less than the minimum wage
Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	60	s/he is not paid the right amount of hours at the end of the month
Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	15	his/her boss refuses to pay him/her all the hours worked
Poor contract and payment issues	73	s/he is paid less than the living wage

Related issues present in the LAWs' CM

Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Poor contract and payment issues	14	s/he has no pay rise after working many years for the same company
Poor contract and payment issues	80	s/he works at night for the same salary as during daytime
Being disposable and disciplined	87	s/he is paid less than another worker doing the same job in the same company

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Deductions and migrant work	9	his/her working permit is linked to the current employer			
Deductions and migrant work	42	s/he must pay for the right to work			
Deductions and migrant work	54	his/her wages are subjected to illegal deductions			
Deductions and migrant work	11	his/her employer charges exorbitant fees for shelter			
Deductions and migrant work	50	his/her wages are withheld	*Related issues present in the LAWs' CM*		
			Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	45	his/her documents are used to hire another worker
			Poor contract and payment issues	31	s/he has no legal documents
			Being mistreated and neglected	35	s/he cannot speak the language
Physical and psychological intimidation	45	s/he is in a situation where s/he is exposed to threats	Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	10	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he goes on strike

Expert CM

Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Physical and psychological intimidation	18	s/he experiences violence in the workplace
Physical and psychological intimidation	79	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are psychologically harmful
Physical and psychological intimidation	82	s/he works under threat of punishment

CM with LAWs

Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	79	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he cannot perform his/her job tasks due to an injury
Being mistreated and neglected	58	s/he is threatened with being sacked when s/he cannot work because s/he is sick
Being mistreated and neglected	85	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he wants to complain
Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	10	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he goes on strike
Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	79	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he cannot perform his/her job tasks due to an injury
Being mistreated and neglected	58	s/he is threatened with being sacked when s/he cannot work because s/he is sick
Being mistreated and neglected	85	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he wants to complain
Being mistreated and neglected	38	s/he is threatened of disciplinary sanctions

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Physical and psychological intimidation	87	s/he is threatened with deportation			
Physical and psychological intimidation	76	s/he experiences sexual abuse			
			Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	74	his/her boss abuses his/her position to date him/her
			Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	46	his/her boss tries to touch/touches him/her
			Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	28	his/her boss tries to fire him/her because s/he refused a date
Physical and psychological intimidation	77	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are physically harmful			
Physical and psychological intimidation	75	s/he experiences physical abuse	Being mistreated and neglected	48	s/he is physically assaulted
Physical and psychological intimidation	39	s/he is coerced into continuing to work through debt			
Physical and psychological intimidation	78	s/he is coerced to remain in working conditions that are financially harmful			
Physical and psychological intimidation	10	s/he faces criminal levels of abuse			

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
			Related issues present in the LAWs' CM		
-			Being mistreated and neglected	44	his/her boss creates a hostile environment to force him/her to quit
			Being mistreated and neglected	81	s/he is scared of his/her boss
Misled	40	s/he has been misled about the pay			
Misled	41	s/he has been misled about the type of work			
Misled	12	s/he has had to pay large recruitment fees			
Misled	32	s/he is lied to about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working			
Restriction of freedom and movement	83	s/he is unable to leave because of geographic isolation			
Restriction of freedom and movement	13	s/he is vulnerable because of criminal activity involved			
Restriction of freedom and movement	28	his/her contact with family is restricted			
Restriction of freedom and movement	49	his/her communication outside working hours are curtailed			

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Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Restriction of freedom and movement	46	s/he has his/her identity documents withheld			
Restriction of freedom and movement	73	s/he is obliged to live in cruel, inhumane or degrading conditions			
Lack of means to get support	22	s/he lacks sources of support for problems at work			
Lack of means to get support	30	his/her contact with migrant associations is restricted	Being mistreated and neglected	89	s/he is not offered solutions to issues at work but told to leave if not happy
Lack of means to get support	44	s/he has no ability to engage with a trade union to receive support with legislation issues			
Lack of means to get support	21	s/he lacks representation for problems at work	Being disposable and disciplined	8	s/he is afraid to lose his/her job if s/he joins a union
Lack of means to get support	47	s/he has no capacity to protest or join others in doing so			

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Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Lack of means to get support	64	s/he does not have access to formal complaints or dispute resolution procedures	Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	67	s/he does not know how or to whom to complain to about a problem at work
			Being mistreated and neglected	33	s/he cannot complain as s/he fears losing his/her job
			Being mistreated and neglected	85	s/he is threatened with being sacked if s/he wants to complain
Lack of means to get support	17	s/he has no right to compensation for injuries and accidents resulting from his/her work			
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	91	s/he has no possibility to make progress in his/her career			
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	67	s/he does not benefit from public holidays			
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	62	s/he does not receive a written pay slip detailing pay and deductions			

| Expert CM | | | CM with LAWs | | |
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	34	s/he is not informed about his/her rights as a migrant in the country where s/he is working			
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	33	s/he is not informed about his/her rights as a worker in the place where s/he is working	Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	7	s/he is not informed about workers' rights
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	90	s/he does not understand his/her terms of employment			
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	58	s/he does not benefit from paid leave	Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	63	s/he does not have paid holidays
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	85	s/he has fewer recognized rights than national workers doing the same job	Poor contract and payment issues	22	s/he does not have the same pension benefits than the in-house workers (direct employees)
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	26	s/he does not have access to paid sick leave	Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	77	s/he does not have sick pay
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	70	s/he is deprived of basic work-related benefits			
Lack of standards enforcement, benefits or information	92	s/he is denied the main international/national labour standards			

CM with LAWs

Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Related issues present in the LAWs's		
CM		
Poor contract and payment issues	61	s/he does not receive payslip
Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	52	s/he has to complain to get his/her payment or holidays entitlements owed
Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	55	s/he is obliged to take fragmented/scattered holidays
Uncertainty over the future and lack of stability	66	s/he is not paid his/her full lunch break
Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	69	s/he loses money when s/he is sick
Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	93	s/he is told s/he is not entitled to sick pay because s/he works part-time

Expert CM

Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Health and social benefits	80	s/he does not have access to basic social benefits
Health and social benefits	86	s/he has fewer recognised benefits than national workers doing the same job
Health and social benefits	27	s/he does not have access to health benefits
Health and social benefits	66	s/he does not benefit from social protection benefits

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Health and social benefits	68	s/he does not benefit from health coverage			
			Related issues present in the LAWs' CM		
			Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	5	s/he is not paid by sick pay from the first day of sickness (with medical justification)
			Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	6	s/he is not covered/compensated in case of a work accident
			Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	93	s/he is told s/he is not entitled to sick pay because s/he works part-time
			Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	69	s/he loses money when s/he is sick
Dependence on the job	29	his/her contact with other workplaces is restricted	-		
Dependence on the job	72	s/he is deprived of freely discussing his/her working conditions			
Dependence on the job	37	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with no control over the temperature			
Dependence on the job	43	s/he works in illegal economic activity			
Dependence on the job	94	s/he is dependent on the employer			

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
Dependence on the job	71	s/he is deprived of access to health services			
Dependence on the job	35	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with no access to a bathroom			
Deprived from basic needs	36	s/he is living in the same place as s/he works with inadequate food			
Deprived from basic needs	84	s/he is forced to work without appropriate access to food and water	Being mistreated and neglected	37	s/he has no right to eat and is not given water at work
Deprived from basic needs	95	s/he is obliged to work under cruel or inhumane conditions			
			Related issues present in the LAWs' CM		
			Health and safety issues and lack of health protection	13	s/he can only afford to live in a shared overcrowded house
			Being mistreated and neglected	9	his/her bosses don't let him/her rest

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
			Other statements that did not adequately match the experts' dimensions		
-			Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	54	s/he is not treated as a human being
-			Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	92	his/her boss is always supported when there is an investigation on him/her
-			Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	72	his/her boss asks him/her money because s/he covered him/her when s/he was absent
-			Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	20	his/her boss is not trained to do his/her job and manage workers
-			Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	34	his/her boss shows favouritism in work allocation
-			Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	4	s/he cannot work peacefully because the boss constantly changes his/her tasks or working area
-			Abuse of power by bosses at the workplace	27	s/he is given more workload if s/he complains

Expert CM			CM with LAWs		
Sub-dimension	ID	Statement	Sub-dimension	ID	Statement
			Being disposable and disciplined	71	s/he is given a disciplinary sanction if s/he cannot finish his/her work within allocated time
			Being disposable and disciplined	26	s/he is taken to a disciplinary/investigation meeting for complaining
			Being disposable and disciplined	51	s/he is told on the day not to come because there is no work
			Being disposable and disciplined	21	s/he is given a couple of hours work in the middle of the night
			Being disposable and disciplined	91	s/he has a heavier workload than his/her colleagues who were recruited recently
			Being disposable and disciplined	94	s/he lacks materials to work
			Being mistreated and neglected	64	his/her boss's bad communication prevents his/her issues to be acknowledged
			Being mistreated and neglected	50	s/he is forbidden to have kids

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