



Combatting Human Trafficking in Airlines

Motivations, Obstacles and Solutions
in Developing Front-Line Staff's
Anti-Trafficking Role



Background

Human trafficking is the act of recruiting, transporting, transferring, harbouring or receiving a person by means of threat, force, coercion or deception to achieve control over another person for the purpose of exploitation. Although self-proclaimed to be the ‘business of freedom’, the convenience and inter-connectivity of the aviation industry is being misused by traffickers to steal liberty from others. With an estimated 40.3 million victims of modern slavery in the world today, the aviation industry is under increasing pressure to scrutinise its mode of operation in order to identify critical intervention points where they can help and actively address this violation against human rights.

In addition to ethical supply chain management, in recent years there has been an urgent call for airlines to train front-line staff to profile passengers and report potential trafficking cases, thus intercepting the transportation of victims before they disappear into a life of exploitation.

Several factors are now at play that have made it increasingly unattractive for the aviation industry to adopt the ‘do nothing’ approach towards human trafficking. These include the call to act as described above; strengthening anti-trafficking legislation; the proven links between trafficking and terrorism; and growing consumer and investor awareness.

The purpose of the research study

As a complex, opportunistic crime, human trafficking has many implications and touch points with a wide range of organisations and agencies. This means that when it comes to addressing the crime or engaging in anti-trafficking measures, such organisations and agencies often have to work together. For example, if a human trafficking victim and perpetrator were identified in an airport setting, this scenario may involve the airport, law enforcement, border control, and NGOs etc. As such, many at the forefront of anti-trafficking endeavours feel that, for combatting human trafficking to be at its most effective, good communication and cooperation between such agencies and organisations is essential. Cooperation such as this, or across different sectors, is referred to as a multi-agency approach towards counteracting human trafficking.

However, feelings towards the suitability of increasing front-line staff’s involvement within airlines and general queries around how best to implement a response protocol leave key stakeholders across implicated agencies and organisations divided in their opinions. Those who are aware of growing front-line staff involvement question whose responsibility it is to tackle human trafficking - after all, border control has traditionally been at the forefront of customer screening and inspection. Furthermore, there are reservations about how best to establish handling procedures, the reliability of profiling, how to handle suspicious cases without embarrassing passengers or staff, and many other issues.

A unanimous, cohesive and collaborative approach amongst key stakeholders is needed to successfully disrupt human trafficking operations. This research aims to resolve potential differences in opinion by reconciling key stakeholders’ attitudes, thoughts and beliefs under one narrative and determining the true extent to which it is felt that front-line staff in airlines can assist in fighting human trafficking, if at all. The value of this cannot be understated, as it provides an indication as to whether time and energy are being applied to where the most impact can be made. It also answers the call for further research in this area.

Research design

This research uses both primary and secondary data collection to explore this issue. In Chapter 2, the academic literature review contextualises and helps to develop a conceptual understanding of human trafficking and its relevance to airlines from an academic perspective. This secondary data serves as a backdrop to the later primary data analysis of the semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, allowing the emergent issues and themes from the data to be cross-referenced against contemporary academic journal material to identify any discrepancies and similarities.

In Chapter 3, the interpretive and exploratory approach taken to conduct this study is described and justified. Semi-structured interviews with the following key stakeholders were chosen to be analysed by using a qualitative framework analysis for applied policy research:

- A:** Modern Slavery Victim Rehabilitation Specialist;
- B:** Airline Head of Front-line Learning and Customer Experience;
- C:** International Litigation Lawyer and Private Sector Anti-Trafficking Advisor;
- D:** Modern Slavery Subject Matter Expert;
- E:** Commercial Airline Captain and Head of Flight Safety;
- F:** CEO of NGO Specialising in Combatting Modern Slavery in the Private Sector;
- G:** Airport Operations Intelligence Sergeant;
- H:** UN Human Trafficking Advisor, Specialising in Human Trafficking Economics, Response and Measuring Progress;
- I:** Air Traffic Control Specialist; and
- J:** Aerodrome Safety Investigation Manager.

Eight of the ten interviews (A–H) lasted one to one and a half hours and were suitable for analysis. Nvivo™, a qualitative data analysis programme, was used and allowed a precise and thorough coding of the interview transcripts, lexical data frequency searches and cross-thematic analysis. Themes were repeatedly refined, reduced and distinguished to show areas of broad consensus and disagreement between those interviewed. In addition, an adapted version of the action inhibitor and motivator theory was applied.

As the reliability, validity and quality of this research are inherently linked to the credibility and range of the people interviewed, great lengths were taken to ensure that participants were highly experienced and reputable experts in the aviation industry and their respective fields. To this end, the recruitment process relied upon word-of-mouth and global networking amongst those who are passionate about proactively tackling human trafficking. Innovative cross-sector conferences, jointly run by IATA and the UK Modern Slavery Training Development Group, and charities at the forefront of anti-trafficking and aviation, such as the Mekong Club and the Air League, also helped some of the world's leading experts to participate in this dissertation. With more than 200 years of combined experience in this area, these key stakeholders allowed the study to evolve into a highly authoritative piece of research.

Overview of findings

In Chapter 2, the academic literature review identifies the form, scale and nature of the crime of human trafficking and its relevance to airlines. The International Air Transport Association's (IATA) proposed motivations for airlines to address anti-trafficking profiling initiatives are also critically analysed and cross-referenced with current academic theory and concepts. The purpose of this is to ascertain the extent to which these motivations would be applicable to the wider airline industry.

The literature review suggests that despite the dearth of data concerning the exact way in which airlines are implicated in human trafficking, the evidence is strong enough to conclude that airlines are exploited by human traffickers. Based on current estimates, this suggests that airlines could have already facilitated the journeys of thousands of passengers into exploitation, if not more, and this is a number that will only increase. This requires

further investigation, and airlines could help fill the knowledge gap through gathering intelligence via front-line anti-trafficking profiling. As societal awareness and understanding are evolving, this call for greater involvement may only intensify (see Section 2.3).

IATA outlines three compelling reasons why airlines should engage in front-line anti-trafficking initiatives. Firstly, current trends in legislation confirm a movement towards more countries adopting anti-trafficking regulations and the beginning of legislative action against industries that are charged with turning a blind eye to the crime. However, the extent to which airlines are affected by such legislation is largely dependent on the operating country's position towards the crime, the degree to which the law is enforced, and the perceived level of the self-interest of companies to comply (see Section 2.4.1).

Secondly, such self-interest may stem from the motivation to meet increased consumer and investor demands, through to meeting corporate sustainability and corporate social responsibility goals. Although the extent to which airlines may be influenced by such factors may vary from one airline to another, the financial risk of endogenous shocks could be severely damaging for all. Furthermore, positive, credible and authentic social media can result from erroneous anti-trafficking profiling as well as success stories. Such social media leverage has been described as necessary to maintain a competitive advantage in the modern business environment (see Section 2.4.2).

Thirdly, the links between human trafficking and terrorism have been verified. As geopolitical instability is highlighted as a major source for future disruption for airlines and proven to increase the likelihood of both terrorism and human trafficking, it is in the airline industry's best interests to mitigate this risk where possible (see Section 2.4.3). After this, Ganz's theory of action inhibitors and action motivators are introduced as an alternative way to analyse how emotions could positively or negatively influence motivation to engage in front-line anti-trafficking profiling (see Section 2.5).

This then leads into the data analysis in Chapter 4. Through analysing the interviews, perceived motivations, obstacles, and solutions in developing front-line staff's role in fighting human trafficking

are identified, critically analysed and summarised. Two infographics are also presented. One infographic maps four characteristics that could impede the success of front-line anti-trafficking measures and four characteristics that could contribute to its success (see Figure 4-1 and 4-2). The other infographic summarises the resulting recommendations which take the form of five themes that are presented in order of perceived priority and implementation (see Figure 4-3). For convenience, these infographics are included in this executive summary.

Although each stakeholder stressed the complexity and difficulties of tackling human trafficking via front-line profiling, seven out of eight key stakeholders interviewed feel that this approach should be implemented. This result ultimately suggests that perceived obstacles in implementing this initiative are not insurmountable and that this option should be explored and considered by individual airlines. It was felt that if aviation companies were to unite behind this initiative, then not only will a new front line against human trafficking be gained but increasing levels of business risks can be mitigated. Even though most key stakeholders advocated front-line staff anti-trafficking involvement, alternative ways to combat human trafficking are also strongly encouraged (see Section 4.7).

Brief overview of recommendations

This research proposes the following recommendations. Although displayed in stages, it is vital to note that the research does not present any single stage as more important than the others. Rather, the success of front-line anti-trafficking initiatives was seen to require effective implementation of all five elements to ensure maximum impact. Full recommendations can be found in the second infographic (see Figure 4-3).

1. Engage senior management

Better understanding of the scale and awareness of the proximity of human trafficking is needed amongst airline senior management. Such education and engagement will help companies to gain a better appreciation for how their industry is implicated in the crime and enable them to make an informed decision about what role their organisation can play in actively combatting it. Instead of passively becoming subject to blunt and untargeted legislation that may lead to an inefficient use of time and resources, a better comprehension of the realities of human trafficking enables companies to take control and develop tailored-made, self-regulated and effective anti-trafficking measures. A voluntary community of airlines coming together to fight human trafficking was seen to be the most desirable and effective outcome resulting from senior management engagement. The full discussion of this theme is found in Section 4.2.

2. Develop a clear protocol

A lack of clarity in how to report a potential trafficking case hinders front-line profiling success. Solutions presented in Section 4.3 introduce ways to overcome potential obstacles in this area. Once again, a standardised front-line reporting protocol shared amongst a voluntarily engaged community of airlines was considered to be the most effective way forward.

3. Educate front-line staff

Bundling training onto compulsory e-learning modules, combined with regular protocol run-throughs, will help to demystify the operational aspects of anti-trafficking reporting, whilst minimising training disruption. Please refer to Section 4.4.

4. Engage front-line staff

Empowering and encouraging front-line staff to engage with the topic will help to overcome fear and apathy. When an airline fully supports and takes responsibility for front-line profiling decisions, then that airline will also reduce the pressure staff may feel when faced with a potential human trafficking situation. Suggestions on how to stimulate engagement are presented in Section 4.5.

5. Measure front-line anti-trafficking initiative progress

The parameters that help to evaluate the success of such an initiative are subjective. Quantifiable KPIs could include monitoring the rate of potential victim reporting, tracking numbers of successful victim identifications and measuring the level of staff education and engagement. On a human level, however, the positive impact and knock-on-effect of saving a victim from a potential lifetime of abuse and exploitation are immeasurable. Details are found in Section 4.6.

Concluding remarks

As each airline is unique, the question of whether (and if so, how) airlines may benefit from implementing front-line anti-trafficking measures is largely dependent on the airline itself. However, all airlines being misused by traffickers have a unique window of opportunity to notice when something does not look right, report it, bring justice and even save human lives. What is more, the large majority of the stakeholders interviewed believe that it is possible to develop front-line staff's roles to achieve precisely this. Whether this sentiment is felt across the wider industry remains to be investigated; however, such results are encouraging as it suggests that front-line anti-trafficking profiling could become a viable new front to tackle a growing international crime as well as potentially create business value. This would be a critical step towards answering the calls for more empirical research, which in this context takes the form of developing intelligence from front-line reporting. For airlines who are interested in implementing front-line anti-trafficking measures, it is this researcher's opinion that the next step should be for airlines to convene to discuss whether (and if so, how) to move forwards in a safe, face-to-face, 'behind closed doors' environment.

Human trafficking is a complex and lucrative business generating an estimated yearly profit of \$150 billion. Clearly, airlines participating in anti-trafficking measures cannot solve this problem overnight, but it is undeniable that if airlines do decide to come together to address this nefarious crime then the 'business of freedom' will be a label well earned.

Action Inhibitors

In Anti-Trafficking Profiling in Airlines

Eight cross-sector experts were interviewed regarding the motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing airlines front-line staff anti-trafficking role.

The following elements were perceived as 'action inhibitors'. These are characteristics that could limit the success of front-line anti-trafficking profiling.

Quotes lifted from interview transcripts are shown on the right-hand side.

LACK OF CLARITY 7/8

- Profiling is always 'grey' so there will always be an element of self-doubt present when profiling
- Requires 'good cause to suspect'
- There is a lack of clarity on how to report due to no consistency or structure in the reporting protocol

FEAR 5/8

- Intimidating
- Fear of being wrong or misidentifying victims
- Fear of making a scene
- Fear of consequences
- Embarrassing
- Fear of damaging a company's reputation

PRESSURE 5/8

- High pressure due to profiling ambiguity & potential for negative repercussions
- Too much responsibility
- Front-line staff's job is to make passengers happy: incorrect profiling might upset them
- More suited to law enforcement

APATHY 3/8

- It is easy to understand why so much effort goes into a safety protocol, but human trafficking? Not so much
- Potential for enormous disruption to staff routine & schedule
- Reluctant to act

Figure 4-1: Action inhibitors (Adapted from Willette and Ganz, 2011)

Action Motivators

In Anti-Trafficking Profiling in Airlines

Eight cross-sector experts were interviewed regarding the motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing airlines front-line staff anti-trafficking role.

The following elements were perceived as 'action motivators'. These are characteristics that could contribute to the success of front-line anti-trafficking profiling. Quotes lifted from interview transcripts are shown on the right-hand side.

EDUCATION 8/8

- Increased awareness & understanding about the crime's nature, scale & close proximity is required
- Front-line staff are able to understand, recognise & respond when identifying potential victims or perpetrators

SUPPORT 7/8

- Front-line staff are safe in the knowledge that the company supports them in their decision 100%, no matter what
- Protocol is developed & consistent
- It is clear who to contact for support

ENGAGEMENT 6/8

- Front-line staff are emotionally engaged in the topic to the point where they 'hate' the fact that the crime exists
- The well-being of vulnerable people warrants the potential disruption to personal routine
- Staff are proud of their company's position towards trafficking

EMPOWERMENT 3/8

- Staff are confident
- Front-line staff are willing to listen to their gut feeling, act & bring justice
- The airline is seen as a protector or guardian of their passengers' safety & well-being

Figure 4-2: Action motivators (Adapted from Willette and Ganz, 2011)

Recommendations

Presented according to their perceived priority and recommended order of implementation

1

PROTOCOL DEVELOPMENT

- Do not 'reinvent the wheel'. Adapt similar protocols to fit anti-trafficking reporting needs, e.g., suspected terrorist protocols.
- Develop a shared & standardised front-line reporting protocol across a voluntary community of airlines.
- Operational manual should contain profiling indicators focusing on but not limited to worse-case trafficking scenarios.
- An in-flight 24 hour anti-trafficking helpline can enable joint decision making that emotionally shares the responsibility.
- If time is available before flight arrival then the same helpline could potentially be incorporated into the report protocol as an intermediary between flight crew and ground staff.
- In cases of imminent flight arrival, flight crew must know who to contact (law enforcement/ border control/air traffic control/company's security department).
- Law enforcement must minimise disruption in collecting front-line staff statements or allow anonymous front-line reporting in initial stages of implementing a front-line anti-trafficking initiative.

SENIOR MANAGEMENT ENGAGEMENT

- Understanding & awareness of human trafficking must be increased at a senior management level.
- Voluntary engagement & long-term commitment is required.
- Companies can take control & develop tailor-made, self-regulated & effective anti-trafficking measures as opposed becoming subject to blunt & untargeted legislation.
- A voluntary community of airlines coming together to fight human trafficking will minimise potential risks & be more effective than airlines tackling human trafficking in isolation.
- Companies should adopt a zero-tolerance towards human trafficking.
- Anti-trafficking should become a part of the company's culture.
- The company has to be 100% behind all front-line profiling decisions.
- The positive impact of a 'champion of the cause' at senior management level should not be underestimated.
- Strategic multi-agency collaboration is necessary to avoid a 'talk-fest'.
- In the absence of front-line specific anti-trafficking legislation. If some airlines do not voluntarily engage in front-line anti-trafficking initiatives, 'naming and faming' companies with best practices is recommended as companies left behind will naturally incur a risk of litigation.
- If legislation is leveraged to encourage airline anti-trafficking participation, then it must be delivered in achievable phases.

2

3

FRONT-LINE ENGAGEMENT

- Encourage staff to become anti-trafficking champions.
- Empower & encourage front-line staff to engage with the topic in order to help overcome fear and apathy.
- Reiterate that the company fully supports & takes responsibility for front-line profiling decisions, as this will reduce the pressure staff may feel when faced with a potential human trafficking situation.
- Use airline testimonies to celebrate successes & explain failures as a natural part of the fight against human trafficking.
- Consider providing multi-agency access to front-line social media forums, e.g., law enforcement /NGOs representatives could access Yammer.
- Let victim's voices be heard through victim testimonies.
- Award staff engagement with a point-scoring system, e.g., watching an anti-trafficking documentary gives staff five points.
- The power of positive recognition from front-line managers for front-line staff's efforts cannot be underestimated.

5

FRONT-LINE EDUCATION

- Raise awareness & increase understanding of the crime's nature, scale & proximity amongst front-line staff.
- Bundle training onto compulsory e-learning to help to demystify the operational aspects of anti-trafficking reporting.
- Create anti-trafficking 'champions of the cause'.
- Anti-trafficking champions can be rostered down to the ground for additional training & must have emotional support.
- Include regular pre-flight anti-trafficking protocol run-throughs.
- Keep training up to date with human trafficking developments.
- If possible, share intelligence with front-line staff.

4

MEASURING PROGRESS

- Quantifiable KPIs include monitoring the rate of potential victim reporting, numbers of successful victim identification & level of staff education and engagement.
- On a human level, the positive outcome of saving a victim from a potential lifetime of abuse & exploitation is immeasurable.
- Report profiling cases to 24 hour anti-trafficking helplines for intelligence gathering.
- Long-term commitment & regular monitoring is essential.

Figure 4-3: Recommendations for developing front-line staff's anti-trafficking role in airlines

Combatting Human Trafficking in Airlines

Motivations, Obstacles and Solutions in Developing
Front-Line Staff's Anti-Trafficking Role

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Abstract

Human trafficking is the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by means of threat, force, coercion or deception to achieve control over another person for the purpose of exploitation. Although aviation is described as a 'business of freedom', its convenience and inter connectivity are misused by traffickers to transport their victims to their final destination. Airline front-line staff have an opportunity to intercept this crime and report potential victims or perpetrators to the relevant authorities. Front-line anti-trafficking profiling could also potentially mitigate business risk. This research aimed to explore the perceived motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing front-line staff's anti-trafficking role in airlines and discover the extent to which it was believed that this initiative should be implemented, if at all. To achieve this, a qualitative framework analysis for applied policy research was utilised, and highly experienced and reputable key stakeholders participated in semi-structured interviews. The resultant themes were cross-referenced with academic literature. Using an adapted action inhibitor and motivator theory, thoughts, attitudes and feelings that could limit or maximise the success of front-line anti-trafficking profiling were mapped. Actionable outcomes and recommendations were also presented. The large majority of key stakeholders believed that front-line staff in airlines should be involved in the fight against human trafficking. This research concludes by stating that if airlines come together to address this nefarious crime, then the 'business of freedom' will be a label well earned.

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Chapter 1

Introduction



Chapter 1–Introduction

1.1 Background

‘There are more slaves now than at any other period in history’ - at first this statement seems shocking, perhaps even sensationalist, to those who thought that slavery was a crime shackled to the past (The Mekong Club, 2018; Law, 2017). However, slavery, in its modern form, still thrives. A crime that is as prolific as it is deplorable, the process of enslaving people is called human trafficking (Anti-Slavery, 2018). Described as hiding in plain sight, its very ubiquity is what often shields it from the public gaze. From the food we eat, the electronic devices we hold, the victims we unknowingly pass in the street, the makeup worn by millions, and the clothes on our back, we are all complicit, knowingly or not, in perpetuating the modern slave trade (Afshariyan, 2018). Indeed, there is a website that calculates how many slaves are ‘working for you’ based on your levels of consumption and lifestyle habits (see <http://slaveryfootprint.org/>). However, a number on a screen still instils a level of detachment from the real life of the human being whose freedom has been stolen, and so too are the global estimates hard to assimilate.

A staggering 40.3 million children, women and men are estimated to fuel a business built on ‘threats, violence, coercion, abuse of power and deception’ (International Labour Organization and Walk Free Foundation, 2017; Walk Free Foundation, 2018, p.1). When put into context, not only is this more than Canada’s total population, but it is also more than the populations of London, New York, Sao Paulo and Hong Kong combined, and this figure is only set to increase (International Labour Organization and Walk Free Foundation, 2017; Worldometers, 2018; Large, 2015; HM Government et al., 2017). Human trafficking is one of the fastest growing international crimes of our century and the second largest source of illegal income worldwide, generating an estimated yearly profit of \$150 billion (Human Trafficking Foundation, 2018; Human Rights First, 2017). This might at first seem overwhelming as one might wonder where and how you begin to combat an all-encompassing and insidious crime; and yet invaluable headway has been achieved, and progress will continue to be made.

Now that human trafficking has been proven to be a critical source of revenue in funding terrorism and other organised crime, the call to disrupt it

is stronger than ever (United Nations Security Council, 2016; Malik, 2016). As an offence that finds protection in people’s ignorance or inaction, it is becoming rapidly uncovered as non-governmental organisations, law enforcement, governments, legislators, prosecutors, and increasingly the private sector and society combine forces. However, with an estimated 16 million victims of modern slavery in the private sector alone, there is room for the private sector to do much more to engage and assist in this fight (International Labour Organization and Walk Free Foundation, 2017).

The aviation industry is no exception and, in addition to fighting modern slavery in its supply chains, is uniquely positioned to act. Facilitating commerce, reuniting family and friends, and often the starting point for countless voyages of self-discovery, flying is described as a ‘business of freedom’ (IATA, 2018). However, it is precisely this convenience and interconnectivity that is misused by traffickers to steal liberty from others. Airports and airlines are used by human traffickers to move their victims to their final destination. With recent figures speculating that ‘about 500,000 [victims] a week or 71,000 a day move via commercial flights around the globe’, it begs the question: how long can aviation companies continue without taking active steps to try and protect their passengers from being exploited by what is being called the ‘great human rights issue of our time’? (Reed, 2018; Gov, 2016). Although some airlines are already undertaking anti-trafficking initiatives, there is growing pressure from governments, regulators, NGOs and civil society for more airlines to join this fight (IATA, 2018). This call to act alongside other impetus, such as increasing anti-trafficking legislation, links with terrorism, and increasing consumer and investor awareness, has transformed non-engagement with anti-trafficking initiatives into a risk.

To ensure business survival, airlines and airports must continuously create value that, when applied in the context of risk management or corporate social responsibility (CSR), translates to creating value through effective risk management and contributing to a consumer’s sense of well-being (Green and Pelozo, 2011).

In turn, combatting human trafficking bestows airlines with an empowering and unique opportunity to disrupt 'a modern evil' and mitigate business risk through intercepting, reporting, protecting and bringing justice to their exploited passengers (National Crime Agency, 2015, p.1). Similar to research in the hospitality industry, this could be achieved throughout the flying experience where critical intervention points bring victims and perpetrators in direct contact with front-line staff (Paraskevas and Brookes, 2018). When these staff are equipped with the ability to understand, recognise and respond, they could become an additional, and crucial, set of eyes and ears in the air and on the ground. As the international president of the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) explained:

As aviation's first responders, we are charged with the safety, health and security of the passengers

in our care. Traffickers steal lives. But for a window of time, we can see it, report it and law enforcement can bring justice (Dawson, 2015, p.1).

There are even filmed pleas from survivors of human trafficking reaching out for front-line staff in airlines to get involved:

I want to tell the flight attendants who want to help, thank you. Thank you for choosing to stand up and do what is right. To not ignore the issue, to not just talk about it even, but to truly make a decision to help fix it (AFA-CWA, 2015).

It is no wonder, that airlines, regardless of whether their motivation stems from a moral responsibility or a drive to protect their businesses, are increasingly turning their attention towards training front-line staff to be able to carry out this role (Upright, 2017).

1.2 Rationale for research

Research is just beginning to analyse how effective front-line anti-trafficking training actually is, which is a positive step towards identifying empirical evidence in an area that is criticised for being over-dependent on ideologically driven studies (Lerum and Brents, 2016). However, training is only one aspect to consider when developing front-line staff's role in anti-trafficking intervention. Feelings towards the suitability of increasing front-line staff's involvement and general queries around how best to implement a response protocol leaves key stakeholders across implicated agencies divided in opinion. Those who are aware of growing front-line staff involvement question whose responsibility is it to tackle human trafficking - after all, border control has traditionally been at the forefront of customer screening and inspection (Independent Chief Inspector of Borders and Immigration, 2016). Furthermore, there are reservations about how best to establish handling procedures, the reliability of profiling, how to handle suspicious cases without embarrassing passengers or staff, and many other issues.

Although there is doubt about the best way for airlines to take action and support the fight against human trafficking, there is no question that those who find themselves in situations of exploitation deserve help. Left unchallenged, this crime will continue to steal the freedom of millions and threaten our individual, societal and international safety. As a crime that often calls for a multi-agency approach, lack of unanimity amongst key players can be severely detrimental to successfully combatting human trafficking. This research is a crucial step towards resolving these differences in opinion and has the power to advance the fight against human trafficking by creating actionable outcomes. This dissertation sets to achieve this by applying a qualitative framework analysis for applied policy research to explore key issues and themes expressed in semi-structured interviews across the following key stakeholders:

- A:** Modern Slavery Victim Rehabilitation Specialist;
- B:** Airline Head of Front-line Learning and Customer Experience;
- C:** International Litigation Lawyer and Private Sector Anti-Trafficking Advisor;
- D:** Modern Slavery Subject Matter Expert;
- E:** Commercial Airline Captain and Head of Flight Safety;
- F:** CEO of NGO specialising in Combatting Modern Slavery in the Private Sector;
- G:** Airport Operations Intelligence Sergeant;
- H:** UN Human Trafficking Advisor, Specialising in Human Trafficking Economics, Response and Measuring Progress;
- I:** Air Traffic Control Specialist; and
- J:** Aerodrome Safety Investigation Manager.

1.3 Aims and objectives

In line with the rationale set out in the preceding section, it is evident that further research into the question as to how the airline industry responds to the threat of human trafficking could greatly benefit the industry and anti-trafficking initiatives, as well as contribute to closing the existing literature and knowledge gaps (Zhang, 2009).

This research has two overarching aims. Firstly, to facilitate multi-agency communication by reconciling key players' attitudes, thoughts and beliefs under one narrative and discovering the extent to which it is believed that front-line staff in airlines can assist in tackling human trafficking, if at all (Patton, 2002). Secondly, to find actionable outcomes that will ultimately combat human trafficking. To achieve this, the following objectives must be met:

1. a comprehensive range of industry professionals and subject matter experts are required to participate in the interviews;
2. through analysing the interviews, the perceived motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing front-line staff's role in fighting human trafficking must be identified, critically analysed and summarised; and
3. if themes or actionable outcomes and recommendations result from the research, they must be presented in a clear, pragmatic manner.

1.4 Outline of dissertation

In Chapter 2, terminology such as profiling and human trafficking will be defined. The crime's scale and relevance to the airline industry, as well as the International Air Transport Association's (IATA) proposed reasons on why airlines would be motivated to engage in front-line anti-trafficking, will be cross-referenced against current literature. Ganz's theory of action motivators and inhibitors will also be introduced. In Chapter 3 the research design is then presented. This is followed by Chapter 4 where the resultant data is analysed. Adapted from Ganz's theory, the thoughts, attitudes and feelings that could limit or maximise the success of front-line anti-trafficking profiling will be mapped. So too will recommendations be presented. This dissertation then concludes in Chapter 5 by identifying the implications and limitations of this study and directions for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review



Chapter 2 – Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The following analysis of relevant literature contextualises and develops the conceptual understanding of the research from an academic viewpoint. This will serve as a backdrop to the later analysis of the semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, allowing the emergent issues and themes from the data to be cross-referenced against contemporary academic journal material to identify any discrepancies and similarities.

The selection of literature on the topic of trafficking in human beings opens to researchers a limited range of information that is more generic and less sector-specific. Due to this and the cross-disciplinary nature of the crime, this dissertation will include a wide range of topic literature. Business journals, sociological perspectives, criminological studies, and publications on human rights will be used where applicable, alongside aviation-specific literature. Where possible, priority has been given to respected peer-reviewed academic journals. However, due to the legislative nature of the research, government, political union reports, national crime agencies, independent monitoring bodies and NGO resources will supplement academic literature.

In order to contextualise anti-trafficking in aviation, this chapter will begin by defining general and specific terms such as profiling and human trafficking. Subsequently, the form, scale and nature of what exists will be discussed. Then, attention will be given to examining the reasons why airlines should engage in anti-trafficking initiatives. Afterwards, Gantz's theory of action inhibitors and action motivators will be introduced. Where relevant, this literature analysis will also identify gaps in the existing knowledge, discuss limitations in the secondary data (providing suggestions for solving shortcomings in literature) and highlight opportunities for further research.

2.2 Terminology

Developing front-line staff's role in airlines to help combat human trafficking requires front-line staff to profile passengers and report when something does not look right. Criminal profiling, according to Kocsis, 'represents a process whereby behaviours and/or actions exhibited in a crime are assessed and interpreted to form predictions concerning the characteristics of the probable perpetrator(s) of the crime' (2006, p.2). Although there are doubts over the reliability of such methods, there have been many attempts to group human trafficking victim and perpetrator characteristics together despite the fact that it is agreed that traffickers and victims may not fit a stereotype (Surtees, 2008; Kocsis and Palmero, 2015; Home Office, 2016; Human Trafficking Foundation, 2018).

The reason why human trafficking victims and perpetrators may not present stereotypical characteristics is due to the nature of the crime. From women forced into prostitution to child slavery in agricultural supply chains to whole families working for nothing to pay off generational debts, human trafficking is a complex process that takes many forms and guises (Ratcliffe, 2018; Humanity United, 2018). This is further complicated by the fact that those targeted by the crime do not often consider themselves to be victims (Lawrence and McSweeney, 2018). For example, within aviation, victims are often 'tricked into travelling voluntarily on airlines...[because] the traffickers promise them non-existent jobs in the foreign countries, secure the tickets, passports and the travel documents for the journey' (Macan-Markar, 2009). Add to this the fact that the definitions of terminologies vary from country to country, and it is no wonder that confusion surrounds the topic (Wylie and McRedmond, 2010).

Slavery, modern slavery, illegal workers, human trafficking, human smuggling, trafficking in human beings or persons (THB), forced labour or prostitution are but some of the language that is used, often interchangeably, and quite often incorrectly, even by subject matter specialists (Large, 2015; Home Office, 2012). The implications of this are at least threefold. Firstly, confusion around the terms perpetuates an element of mystery around the topic, which only serves to obfuscate the crime. Secondly, improper use of terminology can have serious legal consequences. If incorrectly identified as 'illegal workers' rather than 'victims of human trafficking', survivors who have been manipulated, abused or threatened, might

find themselves criminalised, deported and then even more vulnerable to those who wish to exploit them (Large, 2015; Morgan, 2017). Finally, if this were not enough, a lack of clarity and inconsistency on a lexical level has the ability to weaken what it represents, and on a symbolic level, this undermines any notion of a united front or solidarity in the fight against human trafficking (Brown and Gilman, 1960).

The power of terminology should therefore not be underestimated, and for the purpose of this dissertation, the United Nation's (UN) Palermo Protocol (2000) definition of trafficking in human persons will be utilised. The UN defines human trafficking in the Palermo Protocol as the 'recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by means of threat, or use of force, coercion or deception...to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation' (United Nations, 2000). For the rest of this dissertation, THB, the abbreviated form of 'trafficking in human beings', will be utilised.

Human Trafficking = Act + Means + Purpose

The act: recruiting, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons

The means: force, fraud, coercion, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability (for...)

The purpose: sexual exploitation, forced labour or domestic servitude, slavery, financial exploitation, illegal adoption, criminal exploitation, benefit fraud, sham marriage, removal of organs etc.

Figure 2-1: Elements of THB (Human Trafficking Foundation, 2018)

For children, the 'means' component in Figure 2-1 is not required as they are not legally considered as able to give consent, but with adults, THB comprises of three elements: the act, means and purpose (Ibid.). For instance, if front-line staff in aviation were to identify a potential victim and they were intercepted at the border before the exploitation happens, that person is still a victim as the 'trafficking occurs once certain acts are carried out for the purpose of exploitation' (Home Office, 2016, p.27). Furthermore, although the word 'trafficking' sounds like movement and this dissertation focuses on intercepting the transport of victims, human trafficking does not require transportation in order for the crime to constitute itself as such (US State Department, 2008). Referring back to the definition, it can be the recruitment or transportation or transfer or harbouring or receipt of persons or all of the aforementioned combined. THB also differs from human smuggling. Human smuggling 'tends to focus on facilitating movement across borders (transiting)', for example getting a person from point A to point B; whereas 'trafficking involves exploitation by threats and force, even after the individual has arrived in the country of destination' (Home Office, 2016, p.23; Home Office, 2012, p.8).

2.3 The scale of THB and its relevance to airlines

Given that human trafficking is already a relatively risk-free crime, key authors recognise the importance of targeting THB at every given opportunity (Bales, 2007, Kara, 2011). However, tackling human trafficking is complex, and each touch point may require different tactics and resources for any intervention to be truly successful. Understanding the scale of THB and its relevance to airlines is therefore an essential prerequisite for addressing the research problem of identifying the motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing front-line staff's anti-trafficking role. However, a paucity of empirical studies involving primary data has led to piercing criticism of the reliability of current THB estimates (Sanghera and Pattanaik, 2005; Shih, 2016; Zhang, 2009; Lerum and Brents, 2016). This uncertainty surrounding estimates poses a problem for airlines who may wish to assess the likelihood of finding THB on their planes. It has been suggested that a coordinated effort of front-line staff reporting trafficking cases across airlines has the potential to help refine this area of knowledge. This is because front-line staff's reporting could help gather data to indicate favoured THB routes and provide an insight into how much a company's services are utilised to facilitate such exploitation (IATA, 2018). However, for now, current estimates are inferred from sophisticated prevalence models, statistical analysis and a rapidly growing body of evidence (Global Slavery Index, 2018).

Unravelling the numbers

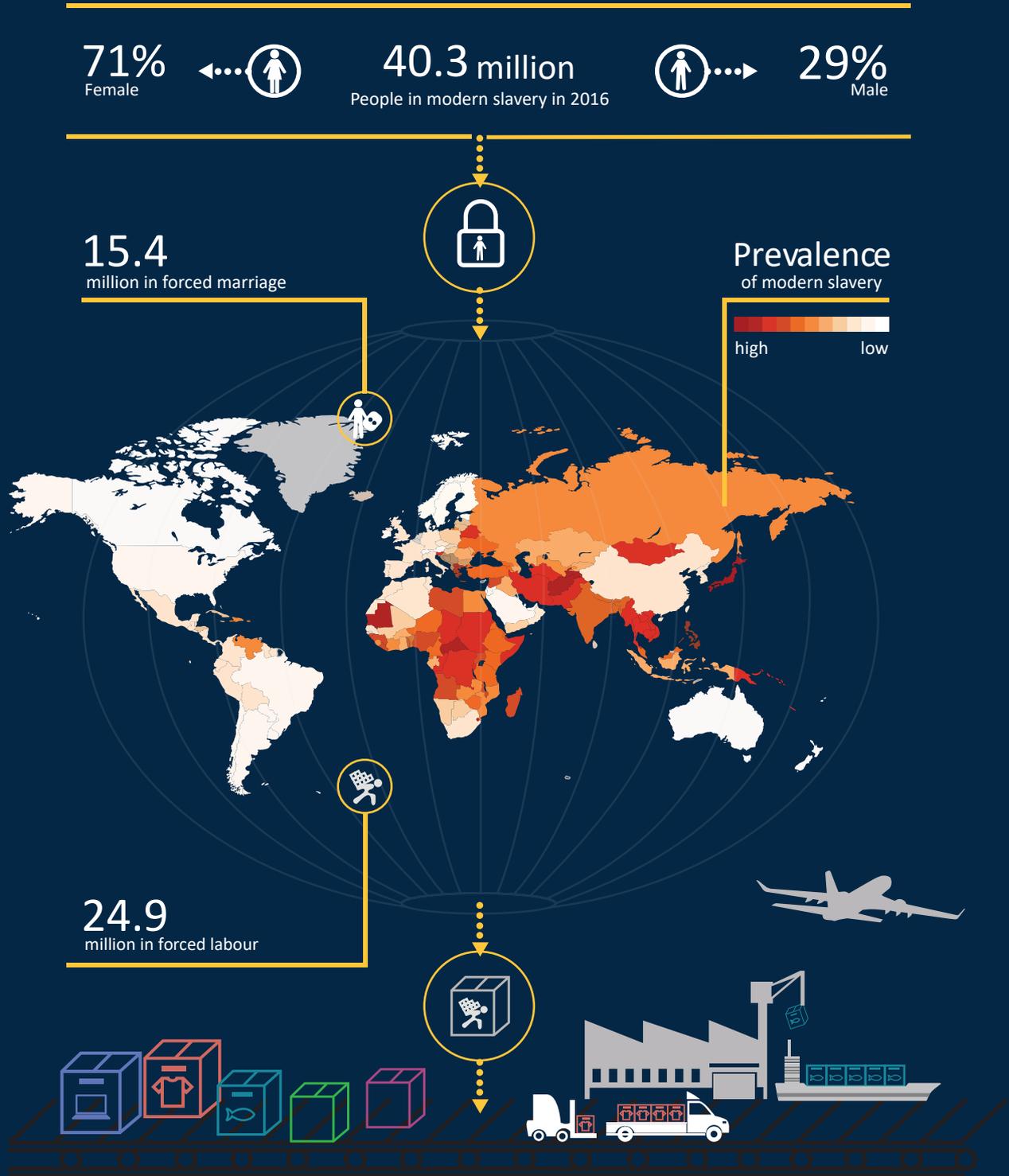


Figure 2-2: Estimated number of those living in modern slavery (Ibid., p.1)



Figure 2-3: Main destinations of transregional flows and their significant origins, 2012- 2014 (UNODC, 2016, p.9)

Figure 2-2 above shows the global distribution of the prevalence of those living in modern slavery, and Figure 2-3 shows transregional flows of victims. Data such as this, paired with victim demographics, allows for logical inferences of how the aviation industry is exploited by traffickers (Ibid.). For example, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimated that from 2012 to 2014, 57% of THB victims were transported across international borders (Ibid.). As aviation is an affordable and popular form of transport, it stands to reason that victims would be amongst the 4.1 billion who travelled by air in 2017 (CABI, 2017; Reed, 2018). Furthermore, aside from listening to the testimonies of victims who detail their journeys by plane, East Asian THB victims are found in places as far-removed as Southern Africa and Central and South America, which ‘confirm[s] the ease with which modern merchants of slavery exploit international air travel’ (Commission of the European Communities, 2001; Macan-Markar, 2009).

However, academics fear that the methodology for obtaining estimated figures defy verification or replication and are interwoven with ‘mythology’, biased ‘gendered and racialized patterns’ and ‘anecdotal stories’ (Sanghera and Pattanaik, 2005; Shih, 2016; Zhang, 2009). To reinforce these arguments, academics turn to recent robust empirical investigations whose evidence has been shown to ‘run counter to dominant discourses about sex work and human trafficking’, highlighting the need for further enquiry across the topic (see Lerum and Brents, 2016, p.21 for further detail). Another key argument used by academics to support this line of reasoning is the discrepancy found between the estimated figures and the number of reported cases (Zhang, 2009, p.181).

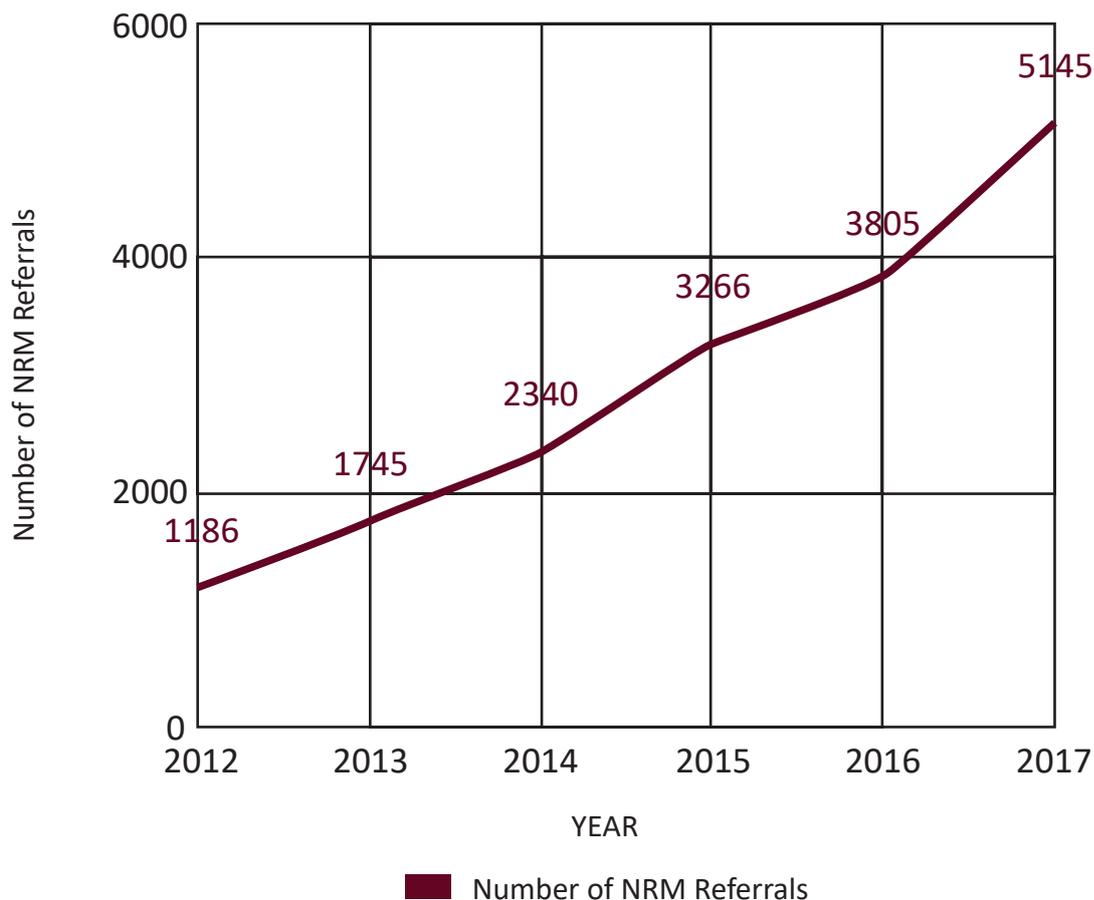


Figure 2-4: Number of potential victims referred to the NRM, 2012 to 2017

Figure 2-4 above shows the number of potential victims referred to the National Referral Mechanism (NRM), which is an optional governmental system whereby first responders, such as doctors or care workers, can refer victims for support in the UK. As detailed in the graph, there were 3,266 victims officially entered into the NRM in 2015; a long way off from the estimation that as many as 10,000 to 13,000 potential victims resided in the UK in 2015 (Bales, Hesketh and Silverman, 2015; National Crime Agency, 2017). At first, this disparity in the figures seems perplexing. Even the Home Office admits that ‘the true extent of modern slavery in the UK, and indeed globally, is unknown’ and yet goes on to state that ‘the scale of modern slavery in the UK is significant’ (Home Office, 2016, p.8). However, this paradox becomes unravelled when one considers the nature of the crime.

Even those who find fault with current literature show appreciation for how THB is a ‘complex social problem with many interplaying factors’ (Zhang, 2009, p.194). Add to this the ‘hidden nature of the phenomenon’ combined with varying global definitions and tolerances towards the crime, and, naturally, its scale is difficult to assess definitively (Home Office, 2012). Furthermore, victims are some of the most vulnerable people in society who may be unable to escape their situation of exploitation, unaware that they are victims, threatened, coerced, fearful of authorities, and wrongly prosecuted as criminals and subsequently deported (Global Slavery Index, 2018).

While all estimates are capable of being challenged, there can be no doubt that THB exists and that the convenience of travelling by air is exploited. There is also indisputable evidence that as more is being done to uncover and understand the crime, more potential victims are being identified. For example, there was a 35% increase in potential victims reported from 2016 to 2017 alone (see Figure 2-4; National Crime Agency, 2016, p.1). Add to this the recent reports that have calculated that the number of modern slaves estimated to be ‘hidden’ in the UK has risen tenfold to 136,000, then this only serves to ‘reinforce that we are dealing with an evolving threat’ (Guilbert, 2018, p.1; Ionova, 2018). Even though the validity of this ‘evolving threat’ may be questioned, the resultant pressure on airlines from reports such as these is unequivocal.

2.4 Motivations for airlines to engage in front-line anti-trafficking initiatives

In recognition of this 'evolving threat', IATA released a document titled 'Guidance on Human Trafficking' (IATA, 2018). Within this document, IATA identifies three reasons as to why the aviation industry is compelled to engage in the fight against THB, other than because it is 'the right thing to do':

1. Airlines are increasingly required to comply with anti-trafficking legislation.
2. Recent investigations indicate a clear link between human trafficking and international terrorism where trafficking is used as a means of funding terrorism.
3. Consumers and investors want to buy from and invest in companies that demonstrate commitment to sustainability and being good corporate citizens (Ibid., p.10).

2.4.1 Legislation

As Aviation Security International states, 'more and more countries are implementing legislation aimed at tackling human trafficking that affects companies including airlines' (2018, p.13). To ensure that the aviation industry addresses the real risk of finding potential victims or perpetrators on board their flights, airline-specific regulations require carriers to train cabin crew to identify and report THB. For example, in the US, the Federal Aviation Authority passed an Act in 2016 making regular front-line staff anti-trafficking training mandatory (Hidden in Plain Sight, 2018).

Other legislation has also developed particularly rapidly in the last few years. What started with a legal emphasis on responsible sourcing in supply chains exemplified by the California Transparency in Supply Chains Act in 2011 has now developed to become a 'very broadly framed offence' which 'criminalises the turning of a blind eye to situations which are indicative of exploitation and trafficking' (Barham and Coles, 2016, p.1). For example, the hospitality industry, which has many parallels with aviation, has seen a pioneering civil lawsuit in the US whereby high-profile hotel and motel companies, such as Hyatt, have been charged with turning a blind eye 'with the goal of maximizing profits' even if minors were exploited (Ortiz, 2018). Furthermore, in the UK, the 2015 Modern Slavery Act requires commercial organisations with a total turnover of £36 million or more to report annually on what steps have been taken to ensure that slavery and THB are not taking place in their own business or in their supply chains (Pinsent Masons LLP, 2015). These developments are arguably a positive step towards fighting THB as research has shown that legislation is more effective when measures are implemented to prevent the crime in relation to business activities in addition to obligatory reporting in their supply chains (Planitzer, 2016).

With Australia now introducing a Modern Slavery Bill modelled on the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015, it stands to reason that both the increased risk in litigation and increased airline-specific legislation may come to bear across the wider aviation industry and regulatory bodies (Business & Human Rights Resource Centre, 2018). However, the extent to which airlines are affected by such legislation is largely dependent on the operating country's position on the crime, the degree to which the law is enforced, and the companies' perceived level of self-interest to comply (Kirgis, 1996). For example, Hong Kong has been criticised for denying that a THB problem exists, which in turn may lessen the impetus of an airline that predominantly flies to or from Hong Kong to address the issue (Lum, 2018).

2.4.2 Socially conscious consumers and informed investors

As well as running the risk of offences being committed, increasing legislation also shows that where trafficking is present then so too is the possibility that airlines or airports are vulnerable to criticism (Barham and Coles, 2016). This means that exploitation is not only illegal, but also a business and economic liability (Marchant, 2012). According to IATA, 'consumers and investors want to buy from and invest in companies that demonstrate

commitment to sustainability and being good corporate citizens', which implies that the business and economic liability referred to previously can be considered through both a corporate sustainability (CS) and corporate social responsibility (CSR) lens (IATA, 2018, p.10). CS and CSR are described as having 'separate pasts' yet 'common futures' and airlines have increasingly adopted related practices as they allow 'firms to seek sustainable

growth by understanding social and environmental expectations through communication with various stakeholders and integrating those expectations in strategic planning' (Murphy and Schlegelmilch, 2013; Seo, Moon And Lee, 2015; Montiel, 2008). Combatting THB could constitute effective CS and CSR management and provide companies with a competitive advantage within the airline industry. Indeed, combating trafficking is recognised outside of the airline industry under the UN's 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (Crown Prosecution Service Cymru et al., 2018, p.4). To further support this theory, in the Future of Aviation 2035 analysis, values and communities were a core theme for airlines to consider in order to ensure future business success (IATA and School of International Futures, 2017). This in turn highlighted the need for airlines to meet future consumer expectations and passenger care, which, given the developing social awareness around modern slavery, implies that THB could be on the agenda (Ibid.). This suggests that training staff could be 'both essential to combat trafficking and key to sustained business success' and inversely, that airlines that do not engage in anti-trafficking initiatives run a risk of negative repercussions (Marchant, 2012, p.1).

However, there is scarce evidence that consumers' buying behaviour is consistent with their positive attitude towards ethical products or services. In fact, some studies that analysed fair-trade products and airline green initiatives show that consumers were generally unwilling to pay higher fares or adjust their purchasing behaviour according to their ethical beliefs and values (Pelsmaker, Driesen and Rayp, 2006; McDonald et al., 2015). This in turn calls into question whether airlines would see a return on any investment made through socially conscious consumers paying more for a service that fights THB. Furthermore, as every airline is different, the extent to which they would be influenced by consumer behaviour is largely dependent on their target audience. Evidence that identifies links between CSR and prevention of exploitation is still being researched. One study that sought to explore synergistic effects of cost-effective CSR and service quality on airline performance found that incorporating CSR does not always result in a financial improvement (European Commission, 2012; Seo, Moon And Lee, 2015). However, as such a study was limited to an American airline,

whether these results would be reproducible across all airlines remains to be investigated. Despite this limitation, what was particularly interesting was that whereas full-service carriers' performance improved when CSR activities were integrated, low-cost carriers performance declined (Ibid.). This highlights the relativity of what airlines can consider to be in their best interests. Therefore, when it comes to attracting ethical consumers and investors, the extent to which anti-trafficking front-line initiatives would benefit the company is airline dependent.

Although the extent to which a customer may be willing to spend more in exchange for ethical products or services is questionable, the potential for severe reputational damage is not (Barham and Coles, 2016). If THB were discovered on an airline and no measures were made to intercept and bring justice, this would constitute a negative endogenous shock that has the power to damage an airline and airline group's reputation (Yu and Lester, 2002). In a world where 'social media expands the spectrum of reputation risks and boosts risk dynamics', airlines cannot ignore the 'notable effects on corporate-level strategic endeavours' – as demonstrated by United Airlines whose market capitalisation experienced a \$1.3 billion drop after a passenger was filmed being forcibly removed from a flight (News.com.au, 2018; Aula, 2010). So too must authentic and credible positive communication of social media be leveraged in order to be competitive in the modern business environment (Middlemiss, 2003). Airlines can use successful anti-trafficking interventions for such purposes; for example, international newspapers all report when front-line staff have managed to intercept possible THB cases where young children have been stopped from boarding the plane or saved when spotted in flight (Puhak, 2018; Upright, 2017; Bulman, 2017). Despite some criticism about front-line anti-trafficking endeavours, even airlines who reported victim profiling incidents that transpired to be misplaced were praised for following their gut feeling (Seo, 2018; RNZ, 2018; Negroni, 2017). However, trait-based profiling presumes a degree of offender or victim homology and is not foolproof (Kocsis and Palmero, 2013). Negative publicity may therefore result from erroneous profiling, such as in misidentified THB and terrorist suspects (Nye, 2017; Negroni, 2017).

2.4.3 Links with terrorism

Terrorism has many other overlaps with THB other than a shared profiling technique found within aviation as ‘in order to obtain funds, terrorists have typically resorted to organised crime tactics such as... trafficking in human beings’ (Malik, 2016). Further supporting this, evidence strongly suggests that trafficking of women and girls is a critical component of financial inflows of particular terrorist groups (United Nations Security Council, 2016). As seen with the \$22 billion revenue drop after the 9/11 terrorist attack, terrorism poses a constant threat to airlines and has the potential to cause a major loss to business (IATA, 2018; IATA, 2001). It is therefore in an airline’s best interests to avoid creating a facilitating environment for terrorism to prosper. Indeed, the Future of Aviation 2035 foresees the related issue of geopolitical instability as a key source of future disruption to the aviation industry, and this has far-reaching implications (Future of Aviation 2035, 2017). Geopolitical upheaval has been identified as both a ‘push’ factor leading to increased occurrence of THB and an important predictor of terrorism incidents (Zimmerman and Kiss, 2017; Fahey, 2010; Wheaton et al., 2010; Hughes, 2000). Therefore, tackling THB may be an indirect and preventative form of deterring perpetrators from taking advantage of the aviation industry in more ways than one.

2.5 Action inhibitors and motivators

Another way of viewing motivation is through Ganz’s theory of action inhibitors and action motivators (2011). According to Ganz, potential action is inspired firstly through emotion, and this emotion is influenced by action inhibitors and action motivators (Ibid.). As per Figure 2-5, Ganz suggests that feelings of inertia, apathy, fear, isolation, and self-doubt cause inhibition, whilst feelings of urgency, anger, hope, and solidarity, as well as the sense that ‘you can make a difference’, stimulate action (Ibid.). With this in mind, key stakeholders’ perceived motivations, obstacles and solutions will be analysed and mapped according to this theory.

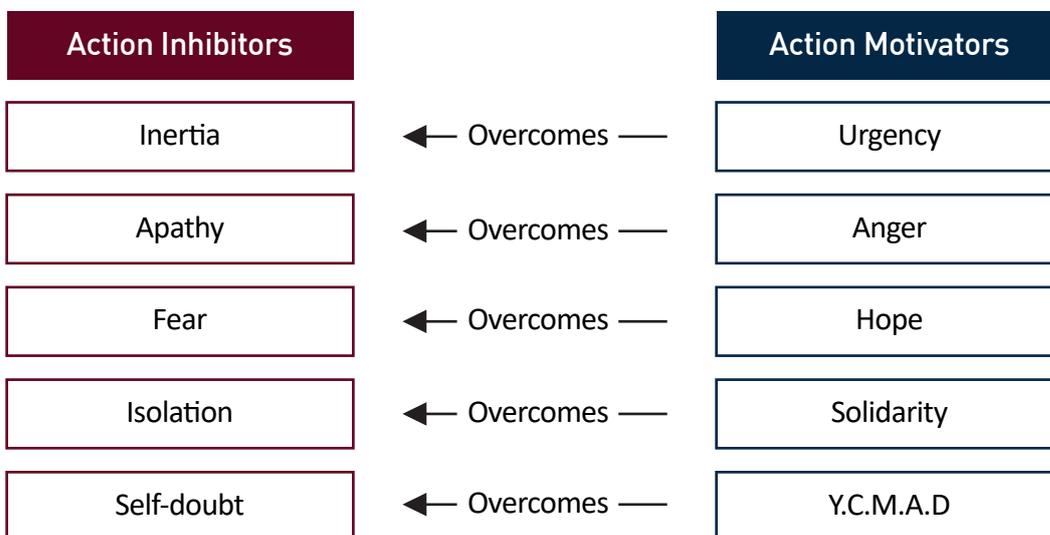


Figure 2-5: Motivating action (Willette and Ganz, 2011, p.277)

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter critically analysed literature in order to identify the form, scale and nature of the crime of THB, its relevance to airlines and the extent to which the motivations outlined by IATA's document could apply to the wider airline business. The literature review suggested that despite the dearth of data concerning the exact way in which airlines are implicated in THB, the evidence is strong enough to conclude that airlines are exploited by human traffickers. This field calls for further investigation, and it has been recognised that airlines are being asked to respond to this need as they could help fill this knowledge gap via front-line anti-trafficking profiling. As societal awareness and understanding are evolving, this call for greater involvement may only intensify.

IATA outlines three compelling reasons why airlines should engage in front-line anti-trafficking initiatives. Firstly, current trends in legislation confirm a movement towards more countries adopting anti-trafficking regulations and the beginning of legislative action against similar industries that are charged with turning a blind eye to the crime. However, the extent to which airlines are affected by such legislation is largely dependent on the operating country's position towards the crime, the degree to which the law is enforced, and the companies perceived level of self-interest to comply. Such self-interest may stem from the motivation to meet increased consumer and investor demands for airlines to incorporate CS and CSR. Although the extent to which airlines are influenced by this

factor would be airline dependent, the financial risk of endogenous shocks could be severely damaging for all. Furthermore, positive, credible and authentic social media can result from erroneous anti-trafficking profiling as well as success stories, and such social media leverage has been described as necessary to maintain a competitive advantage in the modern business environment. Thirdly, the links between THB and terrorism have been verified. As geopolitical instability is highlighted as a major source for future disruption for airlines and proven to increase the likelihood of both terrorism and THB, it is in the airline industry's best interest to mitigate this risk where possible. Finally, Ganz's theory of action inhibitors and action motivators was introduced and will be applied later in Chapter 4.

The fact that the above concerns the contextualisation and analysis of the motivations of why airlines should engage in THB, but not their ability or opportunity to do so, is a limitation (Ölander and Thøgersen, 1995). What is more, the discussion does not touch on a main reason why airlines may engage in front-line anti-trafficking: the moral impetus to do the right thing. The following chapter outlines the methodology utilised by this dissertation in order to explore key stakeholders' thoughts, feelings and beliefs in regard to motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing front-line staff's anti-trafficking role in greater detail. After this, the analysis of the findings will be discussed.

Chapter 3

Methodology



Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes and justifies the philosophical and methodological approaches taken to conduct this study. Firstly, the rationale behind using the interpretative paradigm will be presented and the methodological design outlined. As the purpose of this chapter is to be self-critical towards the data collection method, advantages and disadvantages relating to the chosen approach will be discussed. Finally, the reliability, validity, quality and ethical considerations of this specific study's design will be considered, and this chapter concluded.

3.2 Research paradigm

As THB continues to receive more scholarly attention, the issue of modern slavery in all its nuances has been approached through various theoretical and conceptual lenses (e.g. see Bernstein et al. 2012; Brookes and Paraskevas, 2017; Lerum and Brents, 2016, p.18, Hoang, 2015; Parreñas, 2011; Sanghera, 2005; Colon-Rivera, 2012; Commission of the European Communities, 2001). Situating the research in these larger conceptual and theoretical frameworks is important as they help guide the researcher in explaining, mapping and mastering the resulting phenomena (Kuhn, 2012).

The nature of this dissertation's research topic lent itself to two possible paradigms: positivist or interpretive. In a field criticised for being laden with ideological bias and anecdotal stories, a positivist approach, which favours researcher independence and analytical objectivity, might have seemed an obvious way in which to address this issue (Sanghera and Pattanaik, 2005; Shih, 2016; Zhang, 2009; Lerum and Brents, 2016). However, a positivist approach was quickly discounted as the research problem is defined in terms of addressing a complex societal phenomenon, and the aims and objectives of this research determined an adoption of the interpretive paradigm (Winterdyk, Perrin and Reichel, 2011).

An interpretive paradigm recognises that culture, values and beliefs are ingrained in a socially constructed reality; this was a necessary perspective to consider given that both the crime and the aviation industry transcend international borders (Morgan and Smireich, 1980). Additionally, this approach views a stakeholder's perception of reality as inextricable from the contextual environment in which the research takes place, and it is reasonable to presume that the professions of those interviewed could influence their attitudes towards the crime (Ibid.). For example, an anti-trafficking charity worker might have a different social perception of the reality of THB from a CEO of an airline. Furthermore, under the ontological assumptions of the interpretive paradigm, reality is considered subjective and multiple (Collis and Hussey, 2013). An appreciation of the simultaneous duality and subjectivity of reality was therefore required in order to meet the aim of facilitating multi-agency communication by reconciling key players' attitudes, thoughts and beliefs under one narrative. Revisiting the previous example, just because an anti-trafficking charity worker might perceive the crime differently from a CEO of an airline, does not imply that one opinion is superior to the other.

3.3 Research methodology

Assumptions inherent in the interpretive approach in turn made the qualitative framework analysis for applied policy research and primary research an apt choice for this dissertation. This is because it is designed 'to gather specific information and has the potential to create actionable outcomes' and it takes into account the natural environment in which the phenomenon takes place (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009, p.73; Ritchie and Spencer, 2002; Collis and Hussey, 2013).

Although mixed methods were compatible with this framework, a qualitative approach was preferable as it allowed for the in-depth exploration of the attitudes, thoughts and beliefs and for direct quotes to be taken from experts in their relevant fields (Patton, 2002). To further facilitate this exploration, a semi-structured interview was chosen as it allowed the stakeholder to express new concepts that might have otherwise not arisen if they were limited to a set of specific questions (Creswell and Creswell, 2017; McCracken, 1988; Patton, 2002).

As demonstrated in Table 3-1, interview questions were carefully considered and chosen to align with categories proposed for the chosen methodology (for interview questions see Appendix A and B). All interviews subsequently followed the following structure: contextualising the issue; examining reasons for why the phenomenon exists; evaluating the obstacles that might hinder front-line anti-trafficking initiatives; and (depending on whether front-line profiling was supported or not) brainstorming how to overcome these obstacles going forward.

Category	Goal	Conceptual Questions	Interview Example Questions
Contextual	Identifying the form and nature of what exists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the dimensions of attitudes or perceptions that are held? • What is the nature of people’s experiences? • What needs does the population of the sample have? • What elements operate within a system? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are your biggest concerns about tackling THB from your industry perspective at the moment? • Who do you believe is responsible for fighting THB and other related crimes (the private sector, law enforcement, government/legislation, NGOs, society)?
Diagnostic	Examining the reasons for what exists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What factors underlie particular attitudes or perceptions? • Why are decisions or actions taken, or not taken? • Why do particular needs arise? • Why are services or programs used or not used? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do you think that front-line staff in airlines have not been used more in the fight against THB in the past? • From a business perspective why should a CEO of an airline engage more in the fight against THB?
Evaluative	Appraising the effectiveness of what exists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are objectives achieved? • What affects the successful delivery of the program and services? • How do experiences affect subsequent behaviour? • What barriers exist to systems operating? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In your opinion, what would be the limitations/ benefits/ challenges of front-line staff in airlines collaborating in the fight against THB? • Do you think it is reasonable to ask front-line staff to take on this anti-trafficking role?
Strategic	Identifying new theories, policies, plans or actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What types of services are required to meet the needs of the participants? • What actions are needed to make sure the program or services are more effective? • How can systems be improved? • What strategies are required to overcome the newly identified problems? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In simple terms, do you think that front-line airline staff should be involved in the fight against THB? • What strategies do you recommend to combat THB within aviation? • Which of these suggestions would you prioritise? • How would you suggest to measure the effectiveness of anything put in place?

Table 3-1: Applied policy research categories and interview questions (Adapted from Srivastava & Thomson, 2009, p.74)

After the data was collected, the framework analysis consisted of five stages:

1. familiarisation;
2. identifying a thematic framework;
3. indexing;
4. charting; and
5. mapping and interpretation (Srivastava & Thomson, 2009, p.75).

The use of the qualitative data analysis programme NVivo™ aided the first three stages as it allowed a precise and thorough coding of the interview transcripts, lexical data frequency searches and cross-thematic analysis. After themes were repeatedly refined and reduced, charting and mapping allowed the third objective to be met by presenting the resulting themes and data in a clear, visual and pragmatic manner.

3.4 Advantages and disadvantages

To facilitate the communication between key stakeholders, an equal representation of various professions was chosen for this methodology. However, this could arguably lead to a bias towards stakeholders being in favour of front-line staff initiatives, as stakeholders working outside of the aviation industry may not have an in-depth understanding of aviation-specific limitations. As reproducibility is the hallmark of reliable studies, future research can improve on this by employing large-scale questionnaires for the wider aviation industry to collect quantitative data to see if such results align with the findings of this research (Drummond, 2009). The limitation of this, however, is that as THB is widely misunderstood, this research design might therefore have unreliable results. The prerequisite would be for participants to have a verified base knowledge of the subject before being allowed to contribute to the study.

Aside from other inherent disadvantages found across all methodologies that employ semi-structured interviews (such as the potential for interviewers to influence stakeholders with a degree of interview bias in the formulated questions), the salient limitation of the research is to be found in the criticism surrounding the adoption of an interpretive, qualitative approach in this field of study (Kvale, 1996).

This dissertation argues that the fear that primary data collection founded on interviews with key stakeholders may be 'grounded in the construction of particular mythology' is only validated if the resultant data is misleadingly presented as fact (Zhang, 2009, p.179). Speculation provides an insight into thoughts, feelings and perceived barriers which ultimately - wrongly or rightly - has the power to shape the industrial response to a crime that is in want of new frontiers and innovations. Qualitative, key-stakeholder analysis should therefore not be discredited as 'anecdotal', but explored, understood and cross-referenced with current, secondary academic literature to highlight similarities, discrepancies and areas for further research (Zhang, 2009, p.179). This is especially true in front-line anti-trafficking initiatives in aviation as it is a relatively new method to address the issue, and front-line reporting has the theoretical potential to help aid the collection of future empirical evidence (IATA, 2018). In essence, the need for empirical data within the field of studying THB is undeniable, but to be able to reach that stage of data collection, it is of paramount importance to 'assess policies and procedures from the very people that they affect' (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009, p.72).

3.5 Sampling strategy

The caveat to this argument is that, for this approach to be effective, the key stakeholders had to be representative of their industry at large, which, considering the scale of the international US\$2.7 trillion industry, is a tall order (IATA, 2018). The reliability, validity and quality of this research are consequently inherently linked to the credibility and range of the people interviewed. For this reason, great lengths were taken to ensure that those interviewed were highly experienced and reputable experts in their respective fields.

The expert recruitment process relied upon word-of-mouth and global networking amongst those who are passionate about proactively tackling human trafficking. World leaders in this field were also brought together by innovative cross-sector conferences jointly run by IATA and the UK Modern Slavery Training Development Group, as well as organisations at the forefront of anti-trafficking and aviation such as the Mekong Club and the Air League, allowing the research to evolve into a highly authoritative piece of research.

Ethical considerations concerning participant well-being were treated with due diligence and respect. In line with this, approved data collection methods designed to ensure anonymity, privacy and confidentiality were meticulously followed. To uphold this anonymity, identifying details of the stakeholders shall not be disclosed; however, their combined experience of over two hundred years testifies to their expertise.

To maximise credibility, all the opinions presented in the stakeholder interview analysis are attributed to the stakeholders, and the utmost care has been taken to present the findings in an unbiased manner. All material will be referenced by using the stakeholders' corresponding letter: A, B, C etc. (for list of stakeholders and their appointed letter, refer to Section 1.2). It should also be noted that despite being a qualitative study, the number of stakeholders who were in agreement about key themes were presented throughout the analysis (e.g. three out of eight stakeholders believe that... etc.). This is not an attempt to imbue the research with a quantitative angle, but to assist readers to get a better and more immediate grasp of when key stakeholders were aligned in their opinions.

Eight out of the ten stakeholders completed a thorough, in-depth interview lasting one to one and a half hours, and their transcripts were the only data used in the analysis. However, as the 30-minute interview with the air traffic control specialist and the aerodrome safety investigation manager focused on very specific questions about protocol development, where relevant, points were included. Informal discussions with senior management within airlines also took place, and once again, as their views happened to have coincided with other stakeholders, they are unofficially present in this study. To demonstrate the style of interview, one interview transcript has been included in Appendix B. The rest have not been included as they contain identifiable material that would undermine stakeholder anonymity.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter justified the overall philosophical approach and consequent design selected for this research, which for ease of reference, is summarised in the diagram below (see Figure 3-1). The interpretive paradigm was chosen as it views reality as a social construction, which is pertinent to THB as it is also described as a social phenomenon. The research therefore focuses on exploring key stakeholders' perceptions of the issue (Winterdyk, Perrin and Reichel, 2011). The use of a qualitative framework analysis for applied policy research was consistent with this philosophical framework as it facilitates in-depth exploration of semi-structured interviews and systematic analysis of the resultant data. Salient advantages and disadvantages of the chosen methodology were discussed, and the reliability, validity, quality and ethical elements considered. Disadvantages were limited where possible through the careful selection of a range of highly experienced stakeholders. It was suggested that, in order to verify the results from this research, large-scale questionnaires for the wider aviation industry are required to see if the results are reproducible.

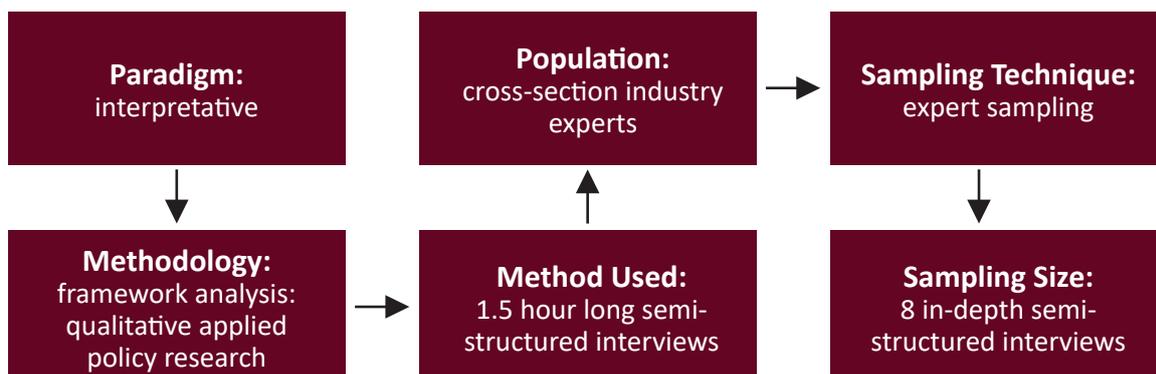


Figure 3-1: Summary of research methodology

Chapter 4

Analysis



Chapter 4 – Analysis

4.1 Introduction

Seven out of eight key stakeholders believed that airlines' front-line staff should be involved in the fight against THB (stakeholder C, a non-aviation industry professional, was not in favour). Through analysing the primary data, this chapter discusses the perceived motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing front-line staff's anti-trafficking role. The presentation of results comprises five sections, and these are presented according to their perceived priority and recommended order of implementation:

1. senior management engagement;
2. protocol development;
3. front-line education;
4. front-line engagement; and
5. measuring progress.

There are three figures presenting infographics to help present the results in a clear, pragmatic manner. Figures 4-1 and 4-2 are placed within the analysis section 'protocol development' and Figure 4-3 summarises the recommendations and key findings and is placed after the in-depth analysis.

4.2 Senior management level engagement

All those in favour of developing front-line staff's anti-trafficking role viewed senior-management-level support as critical to ensuring its success. Stakeholder B went on to advise that it was not enough to show partial support and that participating airlines had to adopt a zero-tolerance company position towards the crime. Furthermore, in this stakeholder's view, the positive influence of having a 'champion of the cause' at senior management level could not be underestimated (B). However, it was emphasised that, as all airlines are inherently different from one another, the motivations that might resonate with individual companies to address THB will vary enormously across the industry (B). Because of this, one approach may not fit all (B, C and F). The following themes concerning senior-level engagement arose during the interviews:

4.2.1 Legal risk

In line with the literature review, legislation was praised for being a powerful catalyst for raising airline awareness of THB as companies can no longer justify 'turning a blind eye' to the issue (A, C, D, F, H). All stakeholders were also conscious of how legislation, such as The Modern Slavery Act 2015, could continue 'to raise the legislative bar', causing some airline companies to proactively 'immunise themselves' by self-regulating as this would be more cost-effective and tailored to the companies' capabilities than having to follow 'blunt' legislation (B, C, F, H). Engaging in front-line anti-trafficking profiling was therefore argued to potentially improve companies' long-term sustainability and enable them to be ahead of the game: after all, 'wouldn't companies prefer to be seen as heroes rather than beaten up later?' (A, C, D, F, H).

Legal elements found in the literature review were further developed, and it was emphasised that, unless airlines are proved to be 'knowingly trafficking', the risk of being liable for transporting victims and perpetrators is low (C, H). Parallels

between the aviation sector and the hospitality/cocoa industry were drawn, and case studies given where plaintiff law firms targeted wealthy companies and sued them with impunity for not addressing a known problem of THB due to the complexity of the phenomenon (C, F, H). The message was clear: if companies wish to avoid severe reputational damage, 'this attitude cannot continue' (C). As more airlines become mobilised in fighting THB through front-line profiling, those left behind would in turn 'exponentially increase' their risk of litigation (A, B, C, D, F). However, if mitigating legal risk is a prime motivation for airlines to engage in fighting THB, then it was argued that immediate attention should be given to their supply chain rather than the transportation of victims and perpetrators (C, H). This was seen as being exemplified by Air New Zealand who have 'taken prawns off the menu' as a demonstration that as a company they 'do not want to be caught with someone accusing them of being careless' in addition to wanting to 'do the right thing' (C, F).

4.2.2 The right thing to do

Accounted for in the literature review but not discussed, doing the right thing was, across the board, a principal driver for airlines to engage in front-line anti-trafficking profiling (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H). From stakeholder experience, when senior management were educated and above all emotionally engaged in the issue, they were quick to come up with intelligent, cost-effective and feasible solutions (B, C, F). This is in part why engagement at senior-management level was given such paramount importance (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H).

However, the noble idea that businesses would get involved in the issue out of a sense of morality was attenuated by questions such as ‘as a business, why should we care?’, and doubts as to what makes THB any different from countless other social causes (B).

Stakeholders regularly highlighted a perceived conflict between the human and business perspective, with the latter viewpoint tending to focus more on ‘What do we do to prevent ourselves from getting into trouble?’ as opposed to ‘What do we do because it’s the right thing to do?’ (B, F).

4.2.3 Links between combatting trafficking and sustained business success

In addition to reducing legal risk, five other business-oriented reasons as to why airlines might be motivated to engage front-line staff in anti-trafficking measures were raised. Dependent on the airline, it was argued to potentially:

1. provide a competitive advantage (A, B, C, D, E, F, G);
2. strengthen brand identity (B, F);
3. be good for the bottom-line if consumers become more socially conscious of the issue (A, B, D, E, G, F);
4. provide opportunities for positive public relations (A, D, E, F); and
5. indirectly mitigate the risk of terrorism (D, E, G, H).

In comparison with the literature, there seems to be more compelling motivations, but on closer examination they all connect with the three points highlighted by IATA (see Chapter 2, section 2.4). Those less inclined to believe that companies would be morally driven led with the reverse of these elements, accentuating the ‘damage’ of not engaging rather than the possible positive outcomes (D). Also, one stakeholder felt that the link to terrorism, albeit proven, was mentally too remote a connection for companies to act upon (G).

4.2.4 Airlines’ unique opportunity and ability to be a force for change

As briefly mentioned in the academic literature, all elements of ‘motivation, opportunity and ability’ were deemed as necessary to make an actionable impact (F, H). It was felt that airlines at large still question their relevance or role in fighting THB, which negatively impacts their motivation (B, F). However, for experts on the matter, it is precisely the unique opportunity and ability that airlines possess to fight THB that is really encouraging. The collaborative answer from stakeholders focused on six matters:

1. as one of the five components that THB needs to prosper (finance, ability to recruit victims, demand for exploiting victims, location to operate, and transport), aviation has a robust strategic position to deter perpetrators, intercept the crime before the exploitation takes place and even save lives (A, E, G, H);
2. airlines would be a ‘new front to address the issue’ which was seen as a much-needed innovation in the fight against such an international crime (F, H);
3. the enormous potential for building empirical data and intelligence from front-line staff reporting potential victims was seen as paramount in developing an intelligence-led approach that would hone resource allocation and ease operational front-line anti-trafficking difficulties (D, G, H);
4. educating approximately 65,000 cabin crew could have a knock-on effect in the wider society, aiding a social behavioural change (E);

5. unlike border control, airline front-line staff have a larger window of opportunity where they are in direct contact with victims or perpetrators, giving them more time to notice when something does not look right (E, G); and
6. if staff were supported, educated, and given the confidence to report their suspicions of potential victims, the task in hand would harness their high emotional intelligence and innate skill set (B, E).

4.2.5 When airlines do not voluntarily engage in front-line anti-trafficking profiling

Despite the aforementioned reasons, some airlines might still not engage in front-line anti-trafficking (B, G). This led to questioning which approach is better: Punitive measures and regulations? Positive reinforcement through incentives such as awards? Or both?

Some stakeholders saw 'doing the right thing' as a form of moral obligation that may 'force' companies to engage in anti-trafficking in order to preserve ethical appearance (D, E). A voluntary legally binding document whereby an airline formally announces its anti-trafficking participation, such as a memorandum, was, however, seen as a step too far. A memorandum was dismissed as a viable option because a company would rarely voluntarily create the risk of being sued (C). If the company does not voluntarily engage with the issue in a satisfactory manner, some stakeholders believed a punitive approach, such as a monetary fine or legislative action, would then be necessary (A, D). Two stakeholders also strongly advocated 'naming and shaming' to harness the power of consumers and negative public relations (D, E). Other stakeholders disagreed, feeling that if the top level of a company was unwilling to engage in the fight against THB then it was a 'hopeless case' where even legislation would be ineffective (B, C). If legislation were to be effective, then it was felt that it must cater for airline heterogeneity and be delivered in achievable phases (B). The following reasons were presented:

1. third-party toolkits (e.g. toolkits developed by expert NGOs in partnership with airlines) would have minimal impact without senior management support (C);
2. lack of top level engagement might be indicative that the airline is corrupt or operates in corrupt countries that deny having a THB problem (C);
3. without senior management support, the company would do the 'bare minimum' to 'check boxes' and find ways around the regulations - especially if legislation was perceived as too complicated, unrealistic or expensive (B, C, F).

Positive reinforcement through awards and incentives was also considered by stakeholders to be problematic. One stakeholder felt that such tactics were unnecessary as 'it puts the care of humanity second when ... caring for another person should always be the most important thing' (A). In contrast, the industry perspective only saw value in such methods if fighting THB aligned with airline brand identity (B). Furthermore, reward and recognition for engaging in social causes was viewed as highly competitive (B, F). For example, an airline would be more inclined to align their brand with green initiatives in a bid to receive the 'greenest airline award' as the public were highly engaged in this topic (B). In essence, what the companies stood to gain from engaging in a 'green' initiative was clear and substantiated with verifiable customer demand, implying the opposite was true for anti-trafficking. However, this was counteracted by another stakeholder, who expressed the view that combatting THB can provide airlines with a unique competitive advantage and, due to the novelty of airlines engaging in the topic, they would stand a much greater chance of winning awards (F). In effect, the more mainstream the initiative, the harder it is for aviation companies to be leaders in it, and what better cause to champion than combatting a heinous and nefarious crime such as THB?

This fed into two stakeholders' fervent belief that time and effort should be given to 'naming and faming' companies with good anti-trafficking business practices rather than using its scurrilous counterpart to damage those who do not join the fight (C, F). After all, as mentioned before, if anti-trafficking initiatives were to continue to gain momentum, then airlines would match or beat what their competition is doing, and litigators will actively pursue those who do not engage anyway (A, B, C, F).

There were two perceived limitations in voluntary airline participation:

1. there may be little or no intelligence on the voluntary flight paths (H); and
2. the traffickers will learn which airlines are not that strict and shift their operations accordingly (F).

4.2.6 Is it an airline's responsibility to fight THB?

All stakeholders felt that airlines had a responsibility to tackle THB, but for different reasons. Six out of eight stakeholders concluded that it is everyone's responsibility to fight THB when they have the ability to do so (including NGOs, governments, the private sector, legislators, society at large, law enforcement etc.) (A, B, D, E, F, G). In contrast, those who diverged from this answer distinguished two spheres of responsibility: illegal and legal business (C, H). For these two stakeholders, it was the

responsibility of government and law enforcement to fight illegal businesses such as illegal prostitution or prohibited drugs (C, H). For legal businesses such as airlines, fighting THB through the use of front-line staff was seen as a value add but not the main anti-trafficking initiative that airlines should adopt (C, H). Instead, they felt that airlines' principal responsibility was to ensure they had no THB within their supply chains, e.g. food and uniform clothing suppliers (C, H).

4.2.7 Call for a united front amongst airlines

Stakeholders felt that if front-line profiling were to go ahead, many obstacles for implementing front-line anti-trafficking in airlines would be significantly lessened if a community of airlines were to work together (B, C, F). For example, airlines could share best practices or lessons learned from mistakes that had been made (B, F). Antitrust issues between airlines were dismissed as a 'myth' as a united front of airlines would distribute the responsibility of profiling decisions and standardise the procedure (B, F). Also, engaged companies would understand that the only way to make a difference in the fight against THB would be if companies were to come together in a collective way (B, F).

However, for a community of airlines to work together, the prerequisites were that such collaboration had to be voluntary and preferably in a safe, face-to-face, 'behind closed doors' environment (B, C, F). The reasoning behind this was threefold:

1. a voluntary approach would result in a motivated 'collection of like-minded people' (B, F);
2. a 'behind closed doors' policy would help alleviate the concern of 'naming and shaming' (C, F); and
3. a non-judgemental, safe environment is required to encourage honesty around sensitive issues such as financial or reputational concerns and help companies share experiences of where airlines have identified incidents of trafficking (D, C, F).

4.2.8 Strategic multi-agency response

A multi-agency response is where there is a coordinated effort and collaboration between various organisations such as law enforcement, NGOs, and different industries such as hospitality. This collaboration was perceived as necessary to ensure front-line staff anti-trafficking success (A, D, F, G). However, as airlines know their business and what is feasible, all were hopeful that airlines would develop the momentum internally to willingly confront the crime (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H). It was also highlighted that collaboration was a 'two-way street' and some felt that they could do more to understand industry-specific obstacles, assist and make life easier for airlines where possible (A, G).

Negative elements of multi-agency collaboration also arose. To avoid a 'talk fest' it was advised by one stakeholder that partnership should be strategic and, 'unless the organisation or service provider has a specific set of skills, tools, processes and procedures to help move things forward', then it was best avoided (F). Conflicts of interest were also evident as there was trepidation that other agencies would stand to gain more than they would lose from airlines collaborating in the fight against THB (B).

Despite these drawbacks, at its most fundamental level, all stakeholders representing their various sectors were aligned with wanting to fight THB (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H). What was seen as missing was better communication and understanding of each other's difficulties and barriers (A, D, G). For now, it was agreed that the same three prerequisites of collaboration mentioned in the previous section applied (F; see Section 4.2.7).

4.3 Protocol development

Adding a new protocol for anti-trafficking was considered ‘quite complex but not undoable’ (B). This was mostly due to the nature of the aviation industry. Highly regulated by safety, any addition or change to operations has to be carefully scrutinised and deliberated (B). The following section addresses the perceived obstacles and potential solutions in developing a front-line anti-trafficking protocol.

4.3.1 Profiling

As discussed in the literature review, there were many doubts over the reliability of profiling. Described as ‘grey’, victims and perpetrators defy categorisation and consequently developing a front-line response for THB poses a major obstacle for protocol development, increases the risk of trafficking misidentification and complicates the reporting process for front-line staff (A, B, C, D, E, F, G). Stakeholders, however, stressed that similar protocols already exist, such as reporting a terrorist suspect or coping with a disorderly passenger (B, C, E, F, H). The message was therefore ‘not to reinvent the wheel’ but adapt similar pre-existing protocols where possible (E, F).

Although ‘grey’ profiling is diametrically opposed to the ‘black and white’ format found in an operational manual checklist, stakeholders did outline three generalised victim scenarios:

1. the victim is not aware that he/she is a victim and might be ‘trained’ on what to say and how to act;
2. the victim is aware that he/she is a victim but is too scared or unable to reach out for help; and
3. the victim is aware that he/she is a victim and is desperate enough to reach out for help (F).

In an attempt to reconcile the ambiguity of profiling and address the need for a clear operational protocol, an intermediate solution arose. It was suggested by one stakeholder that airline operational manuals could contain profiling indicators focusing on the last two points stated above or the worst-case trafficking scenario (F). It is important to stress in the manual that THB is not limited to the suggested indicators so as to minimise the danger of missing potential victims (A, E).

Duality of indicators was also an obstacle as one man holding a young girl’s passport could be a fatherly action or that of a perpetrator (A, B). Stigma, negative connotations or ‘taboo’ were seen to surround stereotypes of victims or perpetrators, with stakeholders even admitting that if they were mistakenly identified they would feel ‘horrified’ (A, B, E, G). Misidentification, as seen in the literature review, was also feared to lead to a negative media sting (B). For example, in a world where scandals result from when aeroplane toilets are broken mid-flight, what would happen if a wrongly profiled perpetrator happened to be an influential politician? Once more, a united airline community was seen to provide the solution for the aforementioned problems (F; see section 4.2.7). Just as passengers are now accustomed to strict safety screening, a shared standardised protocol across airlines would make anti-trafficking precautions the ‘norm’ (B, E, F). This would make it more likely that airlines are praised for their mistaken attempts rather than criticised (B).

Despite the possibility of negative public relations, the overriding sentiment was that it is better to have tried and got it wrong than to have not tried at all (A, B, D, E, F, G). In contrast to doubts cast from the literature review, three stakeholders also said that lack of front-line anti-trafficking would result in them choosing another airline, with two stakeholders even willing to pay more for a service that supported front-line anti-trafficking intervention (A, E, G). This is because they felt that such an airline would not protect them or care about their welfare and it reflected poor ethical practice within the airline itself (A,E).

Passengers, however, are not the only people who may be emotionally perturbed by profiling. ‘Embarrassing’, ‘intimidating’, ‘too much responsibility’: all interviewees empathised with the difficulties front-line staff might face when having to profile passengers (A, B, C, E, G).

4.3.2 Is it reasonable to ask front-line staff in airlines to profile?

Opinions about the specific elements of profiling that would inhibit or facilitate front-line staff’s ability or willingness to profile differed amongst interviewees. However, seven out of eight stakeholders believed it was reasonable to ask front-line staff to engage in this task so long as staff had a clear and concise protocol to follow, were regularly trained, had emotional support, were not held responsible for profiling decisions, and the disruption from reporting potential victims was minimised (A, B, D, E, F, G, H). The one stakeholder who strongly disagreed with front-line involvement felt that it would not be feasible to teach the skills required for profiling within the confines of a traditional front-line training programme (C). For this reason, this stakeholder believed that the task was more suited for law enforcement and also voiced concerns for front-line staff and victim safety (C).

Adapted from Ganz’s study on ‘Public Narrative, Collective Action, and Power’ (2011, p.277), the theory of action inhibitors and action motivators was applied to the findings and summarised in the infographics on the next few pages (see Figures 4-1 and 4-2 or Appendix C). Unlike Ganz’s model, action motivators did not directly align to ‘overcome’ action inhibitors, but links between the characteristics can be drawn as shown here in Table 4-1:

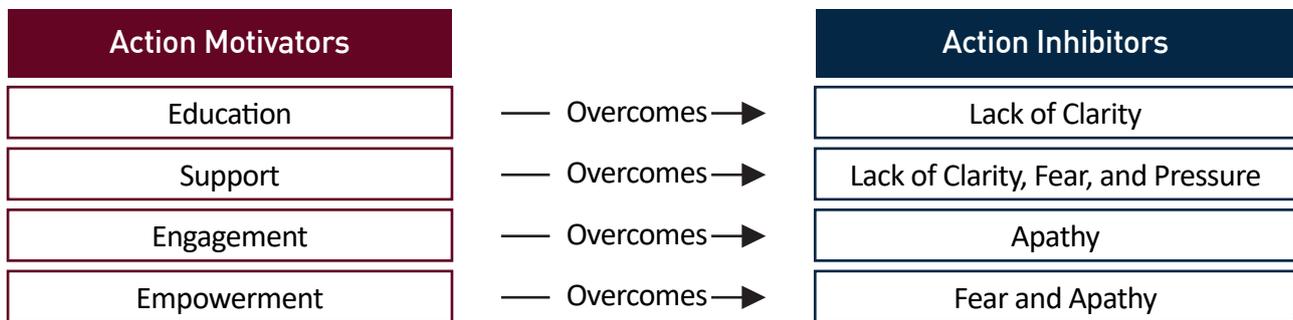


Table 4-1: How action motivators overcome action inhibitors (Adapted from Willette and Ganz, 2011)

Action Inhibitors

In Anti-Trafficking Profiling in Airlines

Eight cross-sector experts were interviewed regarding the motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing airlines front-line staff anti-trafficking role.

The following elements were perceived as 'action inhibitors'. These are characteristics that could limit the success of front-line anti-trafficking profiling. Quotes lifted from interview transcripts are shown on the right-hand side.

LACK OF CLARITY 7/8

- Profiling is always 'grey' so there will always be an element of self-doubt present when profiling
- Requires 'good cause to suspect'
- There is a lack of clarity on how to report due to no consistency or structure in the reporting protocol

FEAR 5/8

- Intimidating
- Fear of being wrong or misidentifying victims
- Fear of making a scene
- Fear of consequences
- Embarrassing
- Fear of damaging a company's reputation

PRESSURE 5/8

- High pressure due to profiling ambiguity & potential for negative repercussions
- Too much responsibility
- Front-line staff's job is to make passengers happy: incorrect profiling might upset them
- More suited to law enforcement

APATHY 3/8

- It is easy to understand why so much effort goes into a safety protocol, but human trafficking? Not so much
- Potential for enormous disruption to staff routine & schedule
- Reluctant to act

Figure 4-1: Action inhibitors (Adapted from Willette and Ganz, 2011)

Action Motivators

In Anti-Trafficking Profiling in Airlines

Eight cross-sector experts were interviewed regarding the motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing airlines front-line staff anti-trafficking role.

The following elements were perceived as 'action motivators'. These are characteristics that could contribute to the success of front-line anti-trafficking profiling. Quotes lifted from interview transcripts are shown on the right-hand side.

EDUCATION 8/8

- Increased awareness & understanding about the crime's nature, scale & close proximity is required
- Front-line staff are able to understand, recognise & respond when identifying potential victims or perpetrators

SUPPORT 7/8

- Front-line staff are safe in the knowledge that the company supports them in their decision 100%, no matter what
- Protocol is developed & consistent
- It is clear who to contact for support

ENGAGEMENT 6/8

- Front-line staff are emotionally engaged in the topic to the point where they 'hate' the fact that the crime exists
- The well-being of vulnerable people warrants the potential disruption to personal routine
- Staff are proud of their company's position towards trafficking

EMPOWERMENT 3/8

- Staff are confident
- Front-line staff are willing to listen to their gut feeling, act & bring justice
- The airline is seen as a protector or guardian of their passengers' safety & well-being

Figure 4-2: Action motivators (Adapted from Willette and Ganz, 2011)

4.3.3 Disruption

None of the stakeholders showed awareness that IATA recommends that front-line staff reporting remain anonymous due to concerns over airline staff safety during investigation (IATA, 2018). However, front-line staff disruption was viewed as a major obstacle for anti-trafficking profiling (B, G; see Figure 4-1 under Apathy). The disruption was estimated to potentially last up to four hours, which could:

1. deter staff from reporting due to personal inconvenience caused;
2. incur financial costs due to time needed to reschedule rosters; and
3. result in airlines paying for staff's time which would otherwise be, from a business perspective, productive (B, G).

Although recognising the deterrent that such disruption would cause and the need to make the process easier for airlines, the importance of taking a front-line staff statement was emphasised (G). For one stakeholder, even hypothetical in-flight video footage of the victim or perpetrator would not negate the need for a personal statement (G).

4.3.4 Joint decision making

A catalyst to aid the transformation from an action inhibitor, such as lack of clarity, fear and pressure (see Figure 4-1), into an action motivator, such as feeling supported and empowered (see Figure 4-2), is to minimise and share the responsibility of the decision making. This can be achieved by incorporating a helpline that would allow front-line staff to confer with an anti-trafficking expert in-flight. As a similar system already exists, such as the medical emergency helpline MedLink, which

provides 24-hour contact to a medical professional via a satellite phone connection, this option could be feasible (B, F). Potential obstacles to implementing this included concerns about prohibitive costs, anonymity and passenger data protection (B, F). Although not suggested in relation to this issue, stakeholder D mentioned the UK's anonymous helpline 'Crime stoppers' and something similar to this could negate the latter two issues.

4.3.5 Who to report to

Clarification is needed when it comes to knowing who to report possible THB cases to, which applies to the captain as well as the front-line staff (A, B, F). Operational variation, dissimilarity in resources, and lack of consistency or coherency amongst airlines, airports and law enforcement were seen as major obstacles to front-line anti-trafficking success (B, D, G). Failing the solution of a united community of airlines that share best practices, if there is sufficient time before flight arrival, an anti-trafficking helpline could also act as an intermediary between the air and ground. This would outsource the need for an airline to develop unique reporting protocols for each flight route and destination, boosting coordination. For example:

1. the helpline could be informed of the potential trafficking scenario/PNR passenger details;
2. provide in-flight staff advice if necessary;
3. be aware of the resources available at the destination airport;
4. contact the relevant authorities prior to landing to allow for passenger background research and to prepare them to potentially question the passenger in greater detail (e.g. border control for less severe potential trafficking and law enforcement for more extreme cases); and
5. log the report consequently building up intelligence.

This idea was presented to the stakeholders. Counter arguments against this solution consisted of the following:

- THB may be too 'niche' to warrant such a response (I);
- THB is too large a problem for a national helpline for airlines to be able to cope (C);
- intelligence gathering is only useful if used (C, H);
- there may be issues regarding passenger data protection (B);
- an airline still needs to know who to contact if a potential THB victim is recognised too close to landing (C); and
- it is too dependent on a satellite phone connection (I).

4.4 Front-line education

After airlines have ideally taken a zero-tolerance position towards THB and have a shared, standardised front-line reporting protocol, then it was argued by three stakeholders that the rest comes down to education and training (A, B, F, G). This is because even the best training would be redundant if staff are not encouraged to actively engage in the profiling or if there is no way to communicate a potential trafficking scenario to the correct authorities (A). Even the stakeholder who was not in favour of front-line anti-trafficking interventions strongly supported front-line education regardless of their active involvement (C; see Figure 4-2).

4.4.1 Training

Despite being the third stage to implement, this does not make training any less important. It was agreed that education was central to overcoming the action inhibitors front-line staff might experience when it came to profiling (A, E, F, G; see Figure 4-2).

Training staff within aviation has unique limitations due to the predominantly in-flight nature of the work, complex rosters and sheer number of employees (A, B). To roster front-line staff down to the ground is rare and unfeasible as this would require staff to be unproductive and paid ground-rate, costing way into the millions, so such training

may only occur once every decade (A, B). These factors also make one-on-one contact, even with freely delivered training, a challenge (A). The most likely scenario is for airlines to bundle and package the anti-trafficking training onto compulsory e-learning modules such as in-flight sales (A, B). Stakeholders recognised that a potential limitation is how effective such front-line training might be (B).

Due to the nature of THB, training has to keep up to date with the latest developments (A). Furthermore, anti-trafficking protocol run-throughs had to be revised frequently, for example during pre-flight emergency run-throughs (E).

4.4.2 Intelligence sharing

Three stakeholders stressed the importance of taking a proactive approach informed by intelligence over a reactive stance (G, D, H). Indeed, one stakeholder felt that front-line staff involvement is only as effective as the known risk of a trafficking victim being on board a flight (H). Taking this one step further, this intelligence may only be as good as the level of communication in place to relay the information to where it needs to be - after all, why screen 40,000 passengers coming through an airport 'if you've got five or six people who are coming on different flights that you're concerned about?' (G). From these arguments, it can be inferred that, if there were a push to involve front-line staff in

the identification of victims, then they deserve to be given information which would alert them to a suspicious or high-risk passenger on board their flight so that they can watch out for signs.

In terms of identifying 'persons of interest', one stakeholder observed that how traffickers and victims purchase flights can raise red flags (E, G). For example, 'if you pay by cash two hours before the flight and it's a one-way ticket and you've got no hold baggage, you'll be ticking boxes and that will tell a story to somebody, they may want to look at you' (E). Similarities were drawn between this proactive response and an anti-FGM trial conducted at Manchester Airport, UK (E).

4.5 Front-line engagement

For airline staff to put training into practice, however, they must overcome apathy and become empowered to engage with the issue (A, B, F, G; see Figures 4-1 and 4-2). Anti-trafficking training has to therefore inspire action, but there are other ways to stimulate engagement. The following outlines the ideas that arose from the interviews.

4.5.1 Stimulating engagement

In aviation, there are already some 'Workplace Champion Programmes' in place (such as Diversity Champions or Foreign Object Debris (FOD) Champions). This is where enthusiastic and passionate individuals encourage other employees to engage in the specific matter they represent. All stakeholders in support of a front-line staff anti-trafficking role strongly advocated the creation of an 'Anti-Trafficking Champion' (A, B, D, E, F, G, H). However, it was stressed that a champion of the cause is not the same as an anti-trafficking expert (A, G). To mitigate the risk of the champion being too heavily relied upon by fellow staff, extra training and emotional support were strongly advised (A, G).

Airline and victim testimonies were important to elicit an emotional response to the crime but were also key to fostering a non-judgemental environment when passengers are misidentified (B, D, F, H). Put simply, successes are to be celebrated; misplaced profiling is to be communicated as a natural part of eradicating a modern evil; and airlines are calling on front-line staff to help the company win this fight and will support them in their decisions no matter what (B, G).

Internal company social media platforms such as Yammer could also put front-line staff in direct contact with law enforcement or NGOs to encourage 'baby steps' towards filing a report (F, G). Given the urgency of the issue, ideally, any concerns about passengers on board a flight would be immediately reported (A, C). However, a non-judgemental reflective space can mean that the next time front-line staff see a situation, they are more likely to act (G). Those against the use of this tool felt very strongly about the following:

1. transport is a window of opportunity before victims disappear into exploitation, so reports must result in action – not get lost on social media (A, C);
2. time and effort need to be prioritised to where the most progress can be made - social media is too low impact (B, F); and
3. using social media is simply a superficial, check-box exercise (B).

One stakeholder suggested that engagement could also be rewarded via a point scoring system where front-line staff get rewarded each time they do something positive such as taking the slavery footprint survey or watching an educational video etc. (F). Other than this, positive recognition for profiling attempts from senior management was highly encouraged (F).

4.6 Measuring progress

Implementing front-line anti-trafficking requires long-term commitment, and what constitutes success is subjective (A, H). The following section covers the stakeholder's opinions as to how best to measure front-line profiling progress.

4.6.1 What constitutes success?

Whether a dedicated helpline was integrated into the report protocol or not, recording profiling attempts to an anti-trafficking helpline was seen as the best method to measure the impact of front-line anti-trafficking (D). This is because such helplines often already have the infrastructure to create statistics and data as to how often a front-line trafficking report results in correct identification or prosecution (D). However, an increase in the number of profiling attempts made in general, correct or not, was also perceived as a success as it is still an effective deterrent for the crime and improves the likelihood of intercepting when trafficking is present (G).

In the initial stages of the front-line anti-trafficking, measuring engagement was argued to be just as important as operational key performance indicators (B). This can be achieved by analysing the training and measuring the level of staff engagement which in turn also highlights areas that may need improvement (B).

Finally, all stakeholders emphasised that, on a human level, the positive impact and knock-on-effect of saving a victim from a potential lifetime of abuse and exploitation is immeasurable (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H).

4.7 Alternatives

Seven out of eight stakeholders believed that front-line anti-trafficking in airlines should be developed, but that is not to say that there were no other ways in which airlines can play a vital role in the fight against the 'great human rights issue of our time' (Gov, 2016, p.1). Below are alternatives that came from the interviews:

- responsible supply chain management (C, H);
- job opportunities to aid the rehabilitation of survivors (E, F, G, H);
- donating unsold seats on a standby basis or selling seats at a reduced rate (to cover meal costing and fuel consumption) to charities such as The International Organization for Migration. This way, funds can be donated towards helping the safe repatriation and reintegration of victims rather than going towards transport (B, E, F, G, H);
- airlines can also be a vehicle for raising awareness. Playing educational in-flight films that have a call to action against modern slavery can not only inform the public, but also key stakeholders in other businesses (B, C, D, E, F, G); and
- A community of airlines collectively responding to the crime can also help aid a societal behavioural change towards the issue, both inside and outside the company (B, C, D, E, F, G).

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter reflected on the findings that the strong majority of stakeholders believed that airlines' front-line staff should be involved in the fight against THB. Motivations, obstacles and solutions were critically analysed and presented under five sections: senior management engagement; protocol development; front-line education; front-line engagement; and measuring progress. After a thorough discussion of these emergent themes, recommendations have been summarised in Figure 4-3 on the next two pages (or see Appendix C).

As per the chapter's structure above, each section was presented according to its perceived level of priority and recommended order of implementation. Although displayed in stages, it is vital to note that no single stage is more important than the others. Rather, the success of front-line anti-trafficking initiatives was seen to require effective implementation of all five stages to ensure maximum front-line anti-trafficking impact.

Recommendations

Presented according to their perceived priority and recommended order of implementation

1

PROTOCOL DEVELOPMENT

- Do not 'reinvent the wheel'. Adapt similar protocols to fit anti-trafficking reporting needs, e.g., suspected terrorist protocols.
- Develop a shared & standardised front-line reporting protocol across a voluntary community of airlines.
- Operational manual should contain profiling indicators focusing on but not limited to worse-case trafficking scenarios.
- An in-flight 24 hour anti-trafficking helpline can enable joint decision making that emotionally shares the responsibility.
- If time is available before flight arrival then the same helpline could potentially be incorporated into the report protocol as an intermediary between flight crew and ground staff.
- In cases of imminent flight arrival, flight crew must know who to contact (law enforcement/ border control/air traffic control/company's security department).
- Law enforcement must minimise disruption in collecting front-line staff statements or allow anonymous front-line reporting in initial stages of implementing a front-line anti-trafficking initiative.

SENIOR MANAGEMENT ENGAGEMENT

- Understanding & awareness of human trafficking must be increased at a senior management level.
- Voluntary engagement & long-term commitment is required.
- Companies can take control & develop tailor-made, self-regulated & effective anti-trafficking measures as opposed becoming subject to blunt & untargeted legislation.
- A voluntary community of airlines coming together to fight human trafficking will minimise potential risks & be more effective than airlines tackling human trafficking in isolation.
- Companies should adopt a zero-tolerance towards human trafficking.
- Anti-trafficking should become a part of the company's culture.
- The company has to be 100% behind all front-line profiling decisions.
- The positive impact of a 'champion of the cause' at senior management level should not be underestimated.
- Strategic multi-agency collaboration is necessary to avoid a 'talk-fest'.
- In the absence of front-line specific anti-trafficking legislation. If some airlines do not voluntarily engage in front-line anti-trafficking initiatives, 'naming and faming' companies with best practices is recommended as companies left behind will naturally incur a risk of litigation.
- If legislation is leveraged to encourage airline anti-trafficking participation, then it must be delivered in achievable phases.

2

3

FRONT-LINE ENGAGEMENT

- Encourage staff to become anti-trafficking champions.
- Empower & encourage front-line staff to engage with the topic in order to help overcome fear and apathy.
- Reiterate that the company fully supports & takes responsibility for front-line profiling decisions, as this will reduce the pressure staff may feel when faced with a potential human trafficking situation.
- Use airline testimonies to celebrate successes & explain failures as a natural part of the fight against human trafficking.
- Consider providing multi-agency access to front-line social media forums, e.g., law enforcement /NGOs representatives could access Yammer.
- Let victim's voices be heard through victim testimonies.
- Award staff engagement with a point-scoring system, e.g., watching an anti-trafficking documentary gives staff five points.
- The power of positive recognition from front-line managers for front-line staff's efforts cannot be underestimated.

5

FRONT-LINE EDUCATION

- Raise awareness & increase understanding of the crime's nature, scale & proximity amongst front-line staff.
- Bundle training onto compulsory e-learning to help to demystify the operational aspects of anti-trafficking reporting.
- Create anti-trafficking 'champions of the cause'.
- Anti-trafficking champions can be rostered down to the ground for additional training & must have emotional support.
- Include regular pre-flight anti-trafficking protocol run-throughs.
- Keep training up to date with human trafficking developments.
- If possible, share intelligence with front-line staff.

4

MEASURING PROGRESS

- Quantifiable KPIs include monitoring the rate of potential victim reporting, numbers of successful victim identification & level of staff education and engagement.
- On a human level, the positive outcome of saving a victim from a potential lifetime of abuse & exploitation is immeasurable.
- Report profiling cases to 24 hour anti-trafficking helplines for intelligence gathering.
- Long-term commitment & regular monitoring is essential.

Figure 4-3: Recommendations for developing front-line staff's anti-trafficking role in airlines

Chapter 5

Conclusion



Chapter 5 – Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This research aimed to facilitate multi-agency communication by bringing stakeholders' attitudes, thoughts and beliefs together to discover the extent to which it was believed that front-line staff's anti-trafficking role in airlines should be developed, if at all. In order to achieve this, three objectives were devised:

1. a comprehensive range of industry professionals and subject matter experts were required to participate in the interviews;
2. through analysing the interviews, the perceived motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing front-line staff's role in fighting THB had to be identified, critically analysed and summarised; and
3. if clear themes or actionable outcomes and recommendations resulted from the research, they had to be presented in a clear, pragmatic manner.

This chapter reflects on the main findings and how, or to what extent, these aims and objectives were met.

5.2 Main findings

This research started with an overview of THB and outlined why there is a growing pressure for airlines to assist in combating this social phenomenon. It was advised that not engaging in anti-trafficking initiatives had the potential to become a business risk due to a notable increase in the understanding and awareness of the complexity, large scale, and proximity of the crime. A thorough, critical investigation of relevant literature then ensued to contextualise, verify the validity of this argument, and develop the conceptual and theoretical understanding of the research from an academic viewpoint. Despite the fact that the dominant discourse surrounding THB estimates is not academic, it was found to be undeniable that airline services are misused. Based on current estimates, this suggests that airlines could have already facilitated the journey of thousands of passengers into exploitation, if not more - and this is a number that will only increase.

Compelling reasons put forward by IATA as to why airlines might be motivated to engage in anti-trafficking were cross-referenced with current literature. Increasing anti-trafficking legislation links with terrorism, and increasing pressure from consumers and investors who want to buy from and invest in companies that demonstrate commitment to sustainability and being good

corporate citizens were shown to be well-founded. However, the extent to which these reasons would motivate an airline to address anti-trafficking was greatly dependent on the airline itself. All these points were subsequently reflected in the interviews with stakeholders, which explored the perceived motivations, obstacles and solutions of implementing front-line anti-trafficking initiatives within airlines.

Most stakeholders believed that front-line staff in airlines should be involved in the fight against THB. Although doing the right thing was seen as the main motivation for this engagement, airlines were also said to have a unique opportunity and ability to combat the crime. Despite this advantage, there are many obstacles to overcome when implementing such an initiative. Thoughts, attitudes and feelings that could limit or maximise the success of front-line anti-trafficking profiling were mapped according to Ganz's theory of action inhibitors and action motivators. However, as seven out of eight key stakeholders interviewed felt that this approach should be implemented, this result ultimately suggests that perceived obstacles in implementing this initiative are not insurmountable and that this option should be explored and considered by individual airlines.

In the current absence of stricter regulation and punitive measures, positive reinforcement of good business practices was argued to be essential. A recurrent solution across themes was the idea for a collective, voluntarily and like-minded community of airlines to work together to address THB as this could:

- enable best practices and mistakes to be shared;
- allow airlines to take control and develop a tailor-made self-regulated response before ‘blunt’ legislation is forced upon the industry;
- standardise the front-line reporting protocol;
- facilitate the gathering of intelligence which in turn can help hone resource allocation, ease operational difficulties and provide empirical evidence as to the true prevalence of the crime;
- accelerate passenger familiarity with the preventative measures (just as passengers are accustomed to anti-terrorism safety measures);
- minimise the focus of potential negative media stings should passengers be misidentified and unappreciative;
- foster a cohesive, consistent and coordinated response amongst airlines, which would boost anti-trafficking effectiveness; and
- help aid a societal behavioural change towards the issue, both inside and outside the company.

Overall, five main themes emerged from the research which were presented according to their perceived level of priority and recommended order of implementation: senior management engagement; protocol development; front-line education; front-line engagement; and measuring progress. All five were viewed as crucial to maximise front-line anti-trafficking impact. Despite the fact that the majority of key stakeholders advocated front-line staff anti-trafficking involvement, alternative ways to combat THB were also strongly encouraged.

5.3 Aims and objectives revisited

This research has ventured into uncharted territory by clarifying the extent to which key stakeholders believe that front-line staff’s anti-trafficking role should be developed. An underexplored topic area, this is not only a critical step towards answering the calls for more empirical research, which in this context, takes the form of front-line reporting, but it also greatly advances anti-trafficking endeavours. To minimise limitations inherent in this research design, great lengths were taken to ensure participant credibility. The wide range of stakeholders in this study held senior management positions and were reputable experts who had over two hundred years of combined experience in their respective fields. For this reason, the first objective was considered to be met. However, this dissertation recognised that further research can improve on this and explore whether these results are reproducible in the wider aviation and anti-trafficking industries.

So too were the second and third objectives achieved. Perceived motivations, obstacles and solutions in regard to developing front-line staff’s anti-trafficking role in airlines were identified, critically analysed and summarised. Actionable outcomes and recommendations were then clearly

presented in Figures 4-1, 4-2 and 4-3. As this research facilitated multi-agency communication, the implications of this research are dependent on the reader. Hypothetically speaking, an NGO worker specialising in training front-line staff may come away with a better appreciation of the difficulties of front-line training in airlines, and a CEO of an airline who was originally against front-line anti-trafficking may reconsider and explore the feasibility of adopting similar measures in his or her own business.

Areas for further research have been mentioned throughout the research. For example, clearer data on how airlines are implicated in THB is needed, and it has been recognised that front-line reporting can potentially help fill this knowledge gap. There can also be research to see whether financial performance of different airlines improve with the incorporation of anti-trafficking initiatives. Whether the results of this dissertation are reproducible in the wider aviation and anti-trafficking industries is also of interest. Furthermore, further research could focus on exploring how to develop a cost-effective, standardised front-line reporting procedure within aviation.

5.4 Final remarks

THB is a complex social phenomenon that is fuelled by the exploitation of an estimated 40.3 million children, women and men (International Labour Organization and Walk Free Foundation, 2017). So often there is a detachment on how such a crime is relevant to our everyday lives, and yet THB is closer than many people might think. The crime could happen to anyone; the clothes people wear could have been made in appalling work conditions; the food prepared for dinner harvested by exploited labour; and an adolescent might fly to meet a stranger they met online lured by the promise of a modelling career (Loney, 2018; Benton, 2017; Hunter and Di Pietro, 2017; Puhak, 2018). Proven to be misused by traffickers as a means to transport

THB victims, airlines have a unique window of opportunity to notice when something does not look right, report it, bring justice and even save human lives. What is more, key stakeholders believe that it is possible to develop front-line staff's role to achieve precisely this.

THB is a complex and lucrative business generating an estimated yearly profit of \$150 billion (Human Rights First, 2017). Naturally, airlines participating in anti-trafficking measures will not solve this problem overnight, but it is undeniable that if airlines do decide to come together to address this nefarious crime, then the 'business of freedom' will be a label well earned.

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Appendix A – Interview Questions

The following is an example of the interview questions that were used in the stakeholder interviews (see Appendix B for a full transcript example). In this case, the interview was designed for stakeholder C, the international litigation lawyer and private sector anti-trafficking advisor. Each interview was tailored according to the stakeholder's expertise in order to fully explore the themes (expert specific questions are italicised). However, consistency was achieved by keeping the majority of the questions the same throughout all interviews.

Context: identifying the form and nature of what exists

- What do you think most people's perceptions of human trafficking is and why?
- What are your biggest concerns about tackling human trafficking from your industry perspective at the moment?
- *Do you think progress has been made in terms of human trafficking legislation?*
- *Do you think that airlines are at risk of facing an increase in litigation regarding transporting human trafficking victims and perpetrators? Can you provide an insight into the thought processes in plaintiff law firms when they target cases?*
- Who do you believe is responsible for fighting human trafficking and other related crimes (the private sector, law enforcement, government/legislation, NGOs, society)?
- If you yourself were mistakenly identified as a possible human trafficking victim by cabin crew, how would you feel?

Diagnostic: examining the reasons for what exists

- *Money laundering is a serious offence within the financial sector, so why do you think that the same level of punitive measures does not apply to airlines when they facilitate human trafficking and essentially accept proceeds of a crime?*
- *The Anti-trafficking Blue Lightning Protocol in the US wants participating airlines to sign a Memorandum of Understanding in regard to front-line training. However, several airlines have reportedly declined to sign the MoU. Why do you think a memorandum might dissuade aviation companies from joining the fight against human trafficking?*
- *Similar legislation to the UK Modern Slavery Act is being introduced in Australia. Do you think consistency across legislation is important? If so, why?*
- Why do you think that front-line staff/aviation have not been used more in the fight against human trafficking in the past?
- From a business perspective, why should a CEO of an airline engage more in the fight against human trafficking?

Evaluative: appraising the effectiveness of what exists

- Given the cross-sector implications for the crime, many call for a multi-agency response to tackle it. But with different agencies comes different agendas, so how do you think aviation companies should collaborate with these multi-agencies in order to move forward with fighting human trafficking?
- *In what ways can legislation be improved? And do you think this would encourage the aviation industry to develop front-line staff's role or other means of fighting human trafficking?*
- In your opinion, what would be the limitations/benefits/challenges of front-line staff in aviation collaborating in the fight against human trafficking?
- Do you think it is reasonable to ask front-line staff to take on this anti-trafficking role?
- In simple terms, do you think that front-line staff should be involved in the fight against human trafficking?
- Are there other ways in which the aviation industry can help combat human trafficking?

Strategic: identifying new theories, policies, plans or actions

- What strategies do you recommend to combat human trafficking within airlines?
- Out of these suggestions which line of action would you prioritise first?
- How would you suggest measuring the effectiveness of anything put in place?
- If an airline/airport is unwilling to engage more in the fight against human trafficking, which approach is better? Punitive/ fines and regulations? Positive Reinforcement through incentives? Both?
- Do you see a distinction between anti-trafficking practices being applied within the industry (e.g. low-cost carriers/ premium services)?
- Can you suggest ways to improve the communication between airlines and multi-agencies?
- What can aviation companies do to incentivise/build more confidence for front-line staff to engage more in fighting human trafficking?
- Are there other ways in which the aviation industry can help combat human trafficking?
- Can you envisage how technology can be better utilised in supporting anti-human trafficking initiatives in aviation?
- It has been suggested in other interviews that, instead of NGOs or governments paying for air tickets for victims to be repatriated, airlines could volunteer unfilled seats so that the money can be given to the victims to help them re-build their lives when they are back in their destination country? What are your thoughts and feelings about this idea?
- Can you identify a way in which airlines and airports can help raise public awareness of the human trafficking issue?

Appendix B – Interview Transcript

The following is an example of an interview transcript. In this case, the interview belongs to stakeholder E, the commercial airline captain and head of flight safety. Other interviews are not provided as they contain identifiable material that would undermine the stakeholders' anonymity. Questions are in bold text, and interviews were written in a 'true verbatim' style.

• To start it all off you've seen the questions that I've sent through to you, they're not fixed in stone. So first of all if we could start off with a bit of background - there's going to be 4 sections of the interview, basically looking at contextualising it, then its diagnostics, then it's evaluative and then it's strategic and looking forward to the future, to give you an idea of the flow of things. To start things all off, how aware do you feel that people are of this issue within your industry as a captain?

I don't think people are hugely aware of it, I'm fairly convinced they know about it in the background, but it's not something that's in their face. So if you mention human trafficking, modern day slavery, something like that, they would probably say 'oh yes I read something about it in the paper last week', I think that's at the level, unless something happens - so the cockle pickers incident that occurred at Morecambe Bay, that brought it right to the front, then it was front and centre and it was a topic of conversation for a while. But apart from that it [?] in around the background, it's not in their face.

• Okay, so what do you think people's perceptions are of modern slavery and why do you think that is?

I think most people's perceptions are based around press reports, and I'm ashamed to say that I think most people take at face value what they read in the less robust newspapers - I won't mention any names but... And I think that when something happens and it's newsworthy then they get to hear about it. So in conversations I've had, it's the aforementioned cockle pickers, it's the Filipino maids, it's people brought in from the Eastern Bloc countries, so prostitution - I think that's their particular picture of the landscape of it, because that's what you see in the press, and I think that's why they think that. There are some people who understand that slavery occurs in Africa, and maybe the Middle East but I think that's about it.

• So are you saying that, in terms of their knowledge of how it actually occurs in the UK, within their own environment they're pretty unaware of it?

I think it's pretty scant awareness.

• So a bit of a controversial question: who do you believe is responsible for fighting human trafficking and other related crimes - do you believe it's the private sector, law enforcement, government, legislation, NGOs, society?

All of the above. I am horrified. I am absolutely horrified. I feel queasy in my stomach when I think of somebody who doesn't have the opportunities that I've had in life, doesn't have the freedoms that I've had in life, or my children or my grandchildren, or the whole of the society that I know. I think that somebody else whose life is controlled in a simplistic way, in a medieval way is wrong. It is just plain wrong. I cannot see any justification for it and that is the responsibility of society at large. If we don't take on board the [?], then it'll never go away.

• Ok fantastic, so you see it as the private sectors and everyone is involved every single...

Every single part of society has to be aware, and has to do their bit.

• So if you found out as an airline was frequently using or facilitating human trafficking with some reason to suspect that they were aware of this being an issue, but did not take any measures to tackle this, would your willingness to use this service change?

Absolutely. I wouldn't get on board. I just wouldn't. No matter how difficult it made it for me personally I would not use their services. I haven't been to countries I'd like to visit because I don't like their record of human rights, I won't buy stuff from organisations that I don't think are doing it correctly. Now I'm lucky, I

have the ability to do that, but I think that I have the knowledge. I wouldn't use them, I just wouldn't use them, I wouldn't get on board.

- **So as a captain would you say that if you're thinking about the people that you're actually transporting, do you think there's any reason why the general public or the people using your services would be affected in the same way, or do you think that its a case that you know more about it therefore you're more affected?**

Possibly - I do know more about it and therefore I'm probably more aware. Do I think people - people are strange aren't they? You get - they will buy products because they're cheap, knowing that they might injure them or their family. And we're not talking about people who are forced by circumstances into doing that, we're talking about people who could readily afford, either financially or morally, to do something, but they choose not to because it's either cheaper or easier not to.

- **So if you were mistakenly identified as a possibly human trafficking perpetrator by a member of cabin crew and intercepted on your way through to border control, how would you feel?**

I think initially I'd feel affronted, I think anybody would. On the other hand, I've been stopped because people think that what I'm carrying might be dangerous, or I've been asked to justify why I'm in a certain position and I take my emotional head on, and put my rational head back on - actually people are doing their job and I'm glad that they are. So yeah, I'd feel miffed to start with, but when I had actually thought about it a little bit more than the first ten seconds then I'd go 'that's fine'.

- **It's definitely a concern for companies, of the misidentification of potential victims and perpetrators - they're worried about that - do you think that that's a justified concern?**

Oh that's a difficult question. I can see from their point of view, so most major airlines, if you look at their inflight magazine, which is one of the ways they communicate with their captive audience. Sat on the plane, here's the magazine with the company propaganda, and it doesn't matter which company it is. Company propaganda, aren't we wonderful - and when you actually look for say something on disruptive passengers, there's probably about half a column inch on page 126, and you've really got to look for it, because airlines don't like admitting that sometimes their passengers play up. 'Our passengers wouldn't dare do anything like that would they!' Because they see that as a negative thought for their business and their fiscal elements. So yes I can see that the airlines themselves would be a little bit nervous about, advertising in their view, advertising that human trafficking took place on their aeroplane. I can see that. I actually think that the travelling public would, if it was couched in the right way, wouldn't mind, so we're seeing companies now say 'we don't use plastic straws' or 'we make sure our paper cups are sourced responsibly', 'we make sure that everything goes off this aeroplane will be recycled to the best of its ability'. Now we're seeing airlines do that. So for me it's just the next step of educating the airlines, and I put shipping companies into this as well, people transporters, and I think that we will see that gradually.

- **Okay so moving on now to a diagnostic element, so looking at what's actually in place and what's going on, where's it going wrong, or if it's going wrong. So to the best of your knowledge are there currently any issues within the victim reporting process within airlines and if so what are they in your opinion?**

I think individual cabin crew members are nervous about upsetting passengers, and I'll refer you back to your earlier question 'how would I feel'. Well, some passengers might not rationalise it as logically as I do because they probably don't have that knowledge, and therefore the perception is you're treating them as a bad person when they're not. And I can see cabin crew might be upset about doing that, because that's not their job. Their job, an element of their job is to make sure that passengers have a good experience on the carrier that they're flying with, so I can see that would be a concern, and therefore you've got to train the cabin crew correctly. And I know of at least one airline who have turned around and said at a senior management level 'our cabin crew are not pleased with that', and that to me was - I don't think it was a well thought out statement, and I'm sure if I had that person in a room on a one to one, I could probably reverse that [?] dissent [?]. But it's indicative of how they think. So yeah, I think that's an issue. Some airlines do have protocols within their operations manual that discusses suspected human trafficking and what to do,

but they don't train it. So when you arrive as cabin crew you get a stack of books about six inches thick, go away and read that, and you don't get examined on that particular element, and with the best [?] ones [?] in the world, if you don't test people on something they'll go 'that's nice to know, not have to know, read that once when I joined the company ten years ago and I'm sure it's there somewhere, I don't know where it is', and we're all guilty of that.

• **In terms of coming back to what you said about that top level idea of that - our staff they're not police workers, along that line, so along that argument of the profiling, do you think that victim and perpetrator profiling is actually quite simple, is it complicated and would you actually describe it as grey or would it be black and white?**

It's grey, it's definitely grey, but I can guarantee you that once our cabin crew have been in post for a while, [?] pretty sure a while [?] they get to understand how passengers behave. And they can tell the difference between a nervous passenger, a drunk passenger, a mother whose been separated from her kids because they're in the row in front or the row behind, they have that ability. And I guess a bit like how a parent knows when their children are out of sorts, the cabin crew are very good at knowing when the passengers are out of sorts, and the hair on the back of their neck will stand up when something is wrong. I don't know how they do it, because I can't, but they do, they have that ability to do that. So if you make them more aware, and stick it into their logic box then it'll come out.

• **Now we're moving onto a - unless they're anything you'd like to add about the kind of in anything that we've so far spoken about?**

It's personal opinion, but I would like to see suspected human trafficking issues put on to the UK training modules that they're obliged to do. Other countries are doing it, and I don't see why we can't.

• **I was going to bring that up actually, so we've got America which are pushing through the obligatory training for front line staff, I believe it's being revisited now on a yearly basis or something along those lines, so we spoke about how not only is it enough to have it in the manual but is it the case where it needs to be trained, and it also needs to be followed up on? So you foresee it as something which should be built into - a bit like a captain how you have to revisit the flight safety -**

Absolutely, and once a year all flying crew, so with [?] pallets and camera crew [?] have to do safety and [?] emergency [?] procedures, ground training for SCP. And part of those are done on a cyclical basis, so one year we'll do fire and the next year we'll do depressurisation and the year after that we might discuss ditching, and it's a cyclical basis. There's no earthly reason why you couldn't add the human trafficking elements into that cycle. So it wouldn't be every year possibly, but it would come up every so often. Now the other thing we have to do is training in transporting of dangerous goods, and the recognition of them, and it's a huge topic which we get asked ten questions on - its a different ten questions every year. So it just keeps it fresh in your mind, that it's there, and they could do it that way. So they could either do it on a cyclical basis or they could do it on an annual.

• **Do you think it wouldn't take much then?**

No no, it would take no time at all. It would take a bit of time to write a syllabus, which most airlines training department could do or the civil aviation authority could mandate that it's done, and they could put the elements in, and they do it in a couple of weeks, and it would just sit there and just come round. And because we're now using computer based training a lot, you could have a data bank of a hundred questions but you only get to ask five a year, but you don't know which five, and that's what they do with other topics. But would it take any effort? A bit. A hell of a lot? Certainly not.

• **So looking at the kind of broader things, on a broader level what would be the benefits of front line staff in aviation collaborating in the fight against human trafficking?**

Interesting. The benefits are that if you consider there are some approaching fourteen thousand pilots who are UK licensed, and about - between sixty five and seventy thousand cabin crew, and I would hazard

a guess that most of those are not shrinking violets - they're going to be up front with their friends and the rest of it - so they are going to start talking about it outside of aviation, so the word will be spread. But actually in an operational sense, they are going to start picking people that they suspect, and it's the suspecting bit, and they are going to report those people to the appropriate authorities, who are going to do whatever is required in that particular case and all cases are different. Ultimately, those people who are trafficking high value human cargo, using the aviation industry to do that, are going to think twice. So it's going to make their life more difficult. Is it going to move the thing to somewhere else? Yes, it might do that, but at least its going to shut down one of the main transportation vectors for this sort of, this cargo, and we are going to make life more difficult, the same as we have for the terrorists, we make life more difficult, because you can't just now walk onto an aeroplane, and the same will apply for people who are trafficking human beings. They must believe 'I will be caught'.

- **So then we're looking at the limitations really of involving front line staff?**

So if you're taking - there's two elements to front line staff: those that are ground based, and those that get airborne. Ground based staff, I want to include them in the program as well, because they can probably pick things up as well before they even get to the aeroplane - fantastic, deal with it of sorts. But the limitation of people on the aeroplane is they've got other duties. So there's always a one making sure that the passengers are fed and watered, but they're also there for safety of the passengers if something happens, if there's a medical problem they are the St. John's ambulance brigade, so they've got many duties that they have to do. This would just be an element of it, and of course the airplane isn't physically connected to the ground at this point, so the main communication channel is going to be through the pilots, and that's going to be by radio. And that depends where you are in the world, as to how you do that.

- **And we can revisit that later. So briefly, some of the challenges, it could be a case of repeating some of the limitations, but can you think of any challenges that we haven't yet spoken about?**

Believing in yourself. I think that is one of the greatest challenges, is 'I think there's something wrong, now what do I do about it?', and nobody wants to make a fool of themselves. Things get slipped by because people, particularly British people, we don't like making a fuss, my grandma didn't like making a fuss, my mother doesn't like making a fuss, and funnily enough neither do I, and that's how it works. And I don't think that's necessarily a British trait, I think nobody likes making a fuss. They don't want to accuse somebody of a horrendous crime unjustifiably. So people want to be a hundred percent certain, and of course they can't be a hundred percent certain, so there's a reluctance about doing what they're doing, so I think that's a problem on a personal basis, and then on an industry basis, once you've identified somebody, who you think might be being trafficked or moving around for modern day slavery, then its how do you get that information up through the system, and we've got protocols to do that.

- **So talking about protocols, I'm now introducing a protocol which was suggested in terms of the reporting process for front line staff, and as a captain I'm aware that you're very well attuned to the actual limitations and the realistic abilities of this, so this is just to serve as a kind of help us think about it, but in terms of the protocol at the moment, what would you suggest in terms of what is realistic? How could a protocol actually be enacted in your point of view from front line staff on the plane?**

The protocol you've shown me has a marvellous flow diagram for dealing with issues, and certainly in the airline industry I could produce for you twenty of these in various flow diagrams of how we do things when things go wrong. So when ops are normal we know what we're doing because there's a standard set of procedures, when ops are not normal, then you try not to learn things that you don't do every day, because that's when you make mistakes. And this as a protocol is brilliant, it has some deficiencies from an airborne or even a seaborne ship, it doesn't have an input vector for what we do. It's great for people on the ground, but it's not so good for the crews when they're air or sea borne.

- **So if we're talking about a moment in flight, say where a flight crew raises the attention of yourself as a captain that there could be a potential victim on board the flight, what is the kind of protocol that you would do? Would you contact air traffic control? At what stage would you do that? Or is there currently in place a protocol that you actually...**

So, the company I work for does and depending where you are in the world you would either contact the company's home base, and then we have a security department within that, they would do whatever they need to do. If you were close in when it was revealed to you, you might not actually find out about it until say you're taxiing in - then we would tell air traffic. And at the moment, I've spoken to some air traffic people, in a social sense because we do meet them, and I've just mentioned it and they were scratching their heads as well cause they don't have this. So everybody needs in fact a suspected human trafficking card or folder or whatever 'what do I do? Oh human trafficking I need that book', open the page, there it is. There are some criticisms I've got on it, I know the helpline for instance is written on the box to the left, but every time you quote the helpline, you should have that number - because I was going 'where was it written here somewhere' or you write it across the top of your your [?] folders [?] . In terms of the presentation it needs some work.

- **Am I right in thinking as well there needs to be a cohesion about the action plan across all parties involved?**

Yes.

- **And what parties would they be? So we have the flight crew, we have the captain, we have the air traffic control - talk me through the kind of the touch points or the people that are implicated within this reporting process.**

If the cabin crew suspects human trafficking, what they should do is they should have a checklist within their operations manual, and something like this for them would be really good, and it should have some of the indicators - if they're thinking 'is this it, is it not?' - why not put the indicators here because they're well known. So you'd have that, and you fall out the bottom and it would go discuss this with other cabin crew member, and we have discreet processes in aviation to prevent a positive bias feedback. So you would try and do it with a totally independent cabin crew member who you haven't said 'that's human trafficking isn't it?' - 'I'm a bit suspicious of these people over there can you let me know what you think about them?'. And we do that, and that would be ready to go. And then you need to have a system that having done that you relay it up through the chain of command within the cabin crew fraternity within the aircraft, then you bring it to the flight crew. Because the flight crew are now can talk to the ground, and of course the flight crew know nothing about this because they're at the front of the airplane, they've not had any interaction with these passengers, so they will need to understand what ticks and boxes and processes the cabin crew have done, so that they can have confidence that when they're being told that there's this going on at the back of the aeroplane and there's a worry, they don't think its vexatious or malicious or mistaken, they actually treat it seriously. And at that point they have some checklists to do and they go ahead and do it.

- **And that checklist would either involve getting in contact with ATC?**

Yeah, and it's nothing new, it's really well done because with things that go wrong on the aeroplane, it depends where you are, who you tell and what you tell, and it's just an additional thing that we would do, it's not a leap into the darkness.

- **So overall then do you think that front line staff in aviation should have a greater role in fighting human trafficking?**

Yes, oh absolutely, yes. If you consider the numbers, and the methods used for transporting people, around the globe, particularly the high value people that are trafficked most of it's done by - the more I've got into this the more I realise we're not talking of an [?] ex-army three tunnel [?] with 200 refugees stuck on the back of it, we're talking about individual people being moved, and the problem is they might not even know they're being trafficked at this stage. So they're being moved and if we can train our staff to spot this then that's great for me. And people must remember it's not only into the UK it's also out of the UK as well, or across the UK. People are trafficked for various reasons and - you know my view, I won't waffle.

- **Let's go into an idea that's been put forward about the idea that within front line staff you can have champions of the cause who are volunteering or are especially interested or committed to the idea and they are almost personnel where fellow members of staff can come to them for advice and inputs - do you think that this is a good idea to have a representative within cabin crew within front line staff who represent this cause?**

Yes, so if we take diversity, human diversity and making sure that people are different from you are not disadvantaged or discriminated against has been a journey that has been going on for a long time. It's no longer acceptable to tell jokes about Irishmen - my father would've loved to tell jokes about Irishmen, and my grandfather would've thought it was obligatory, and this is a journey that is taking place. And companies to make sure that this journey takes place in a sensible manner put in diversity champions. So we have done that, and there is no reason why we couldn't do it with this. On a technical front we have a problem with dirty aprons, I mean airport aprons, not things that go around your waist. And foreign object damage, FOD, can do an awful lot of damage to aircraft, even up to crashing them, hence the Air France Concorde was effectively brought down by a bit of FOD, and so we make it responsibility of every person on the apron, if they see something on the apron, pick it up and put it in a FOD bin. And that requires continuous reminding, because people get used to seeing stuff on the ground, they ignore it or they're busy or the sun's in their eyes or something like that. And we have FOD champions, we have diversity champions, so there is no reason in God's good Earth why we couldn't have champions for suspected human trafficking. Absolutely none at all, and would actually say if we roll this out as a big campaign, I would say almost obligatory that we have those to get the message out properly, I think you probably scale it back as people become more aware, as we've done with diversity. People become more aware, we don't need to keep banging on about it, but yes I think we should have them.

- **Then turning towards technology, is there a way that you can envisage that technology could play a greater role or an assistive role in helping front line staff carry out this task?**

We could quite easily use those two bits of information that we know about the passengers - one is PNR, that's passenger name and reference, and then there's API which is the advanced passenger information. API it tends to be held by governments because they require your passport details and where you've come from and where you're going to let you into the country. PNR is used by airlines really so that they can profile their passengers to make sure that if there's an offer going out to go to New York is pointless exercise selling to sell to somebody that only ever goes to Venice, so they do that. It would be really easy to use the PNR and API data, because they mine it, it's not difficult to do that, to look at discrepancies in passengers and in fact they do that now for anti-terrorist versions, so if you pay by cash two hours before the flight and it's a one way ticket and you've got no hold baggage, you'll be ticking boxes and that will tell a story to somebody, they may want to look at you. Now they may decide actually you're dad's ill and you really have to rush home and you're just doing it quickly - that's fine, and it will trigger it, or there might be something more sinister about it. But what it'll do is it'll raise that PNR - it'll raise that passenger's profile, which they can then look at.

- **Which means would you foresee that say the front-line staff are given an awareness that this is a -**

It would happen automatically, as it does - in the scenario I've just described, that person will become a person of interest, and questions would be asked. And there's no reason why you couldn't do it if you tweaked the software in the protocols within the system, you could have other methods of making people 'people of interest', they've been trying at Manchester for young girls being taken out for FGM, they've been trialling it there to see if something suddenly triggers.

- **With the development of getting more like wifi on board the actual plane and with the development of apps, in-flight apps, where you could use - can you foresee a future where perhaps someone could actually use an app to relay the message or even within front line staff, say they had a specific technology amongst themselves for professional reasons - can you foresee that being a mode?**

I'm about a million years old when it comes to computers and technology so I think all things are possible - whether there would be an appetite to do it or not I don't know, maybe if you're going to give it, the whole process some human aspect and I think it deserves it, then I see no reason why you shouldn't leave the human element in there. I would like to see the human checks and balances put in, and I'd like to see the human concern put in. I don't want to see 'Computer says no', I actually want to see human beings take this on board, which right back to the question where you said 'whose responsibility is it?', it's all of our responsibilities.

- **One thing about this protocol that I have in front of you is this need to call a number. And there is an example where a passenger thought that something wasn't quite right with a fellow passenger and they got off the plane and again whilst they were queuing for border control they thought something is not quite right, they got through border control and then they rang the number. Considering that actually you're advised not to turn on your mobile phone, not use your mobile phone and it's not allowed within the border control area, do you foresee this idea of actually ringing someone prior to going through border control as a feasible report mechanism?**

It amuses me this, you cannot use your mobile phone here. Really? Why not? Come on, get with the program people. I have been to several airports where there are notices in passenger queues that say along the lines of 'if you see something say something' and they talk about suspicious packages but they also have things about human trafficking. Quite frankly I liken it to not driving across a solid white line. You can't drive across a solid white line unless you have to avoid an accident - so you can't use your mobile phone unless you have to because there's an emergency situation and quite frankly, as far as I'm concerned, this is an emergency situation. The niceties - bah, use your phone, I would.

- **Is there anything else before we summarise and pull things together a bit more that you want to add at this point, that you think is important in a development of a protocol?**

Education. I want to educate people. We see the newspaper reports and they're very sensationalist, we get to see the television reports, very sensationalist. And it's a bit like in McDonalds, you eat it it's gone, you know? Move on. Fast food, this is fast information. And I would like to start to ingrain the information, I'd like to see it in schools. I really would. I would like to see it as part of the social education that goes on in schools now. We teach our kids that it's not acceptable to fight each other, fighting stops when you're ten, it's not acceptable to do that. It's not acceptable to call people names, it's not acceptable to belittle people because one leg's longer than the other. We teach them all these things; that it's not acceptable to steal. We do all these things, why shouldn't we be teaching our children a bit more of human respect, so that's one thing I'd like to see. I'd also like to see more responsible purchasing on the parts of companies. I know the protocols are there, but it's very easy to ignore them, particularly in purchasing chains. So company A says they want 1000 mobile phones, they don't send a secretary out to buy a thousand mobile phones, it goes through the purchasing department and it goes through a supply department and eventually people tender a thousand mobile phones, and until somebody starts asking the questions then you've no idea whose made them.

- **So you're looking towards the supply chain element as well, and human trafficking on a broader scale?**

Absolutely. So there's education on a personal society level, and then there's more responsible purchasing on company levels. People will get it, people are already spending more money on Fairtrade products, because they have a moral compass which we agree to. My moral compass is pointing in one direction when it comes to this, and I must admit sometimes I get quite cross because I'm outraged that this is still going on - and I know it's a bit of a Daily Mail thing 'Outrageous!', but it's how I feel! I feel sick to the stomach that there might be somebody on my aeroplane who is going to a life of servitude and I could've stopped that.

- **So do you think that for example that some airlines have actually put educational material on the plane in terms of the in-flight, be the word, entertainment, where they have a documentary about human trafficking, along those lines of actually using the flight as a vehicle of education - what do you envisage, what could be better done?**

When you get on the plane as a passenger, in-flight entertainment is there. And before every block of in-flight entertainment, whether it be a movie or a documentary or a television thing, there is an opportunity for advertising. And the airlines use it, of course they do. I wouldn't think that they don't. And I would like to see that element - what's it going to take, ten seconds? Fifteen seconds? I would have a documentary, we do carry documentaries on the aircraft, I would like to see documentaries about this, but I'd also like to see bus adverts. I know we're looking at aeroplane transport, but not everyone flies on an aeroplane, I want to see adverts on the bus, I want to see them on the tube, I want to see them on trains, I want to see them outside the Peacock theatre that we're looking at now. Why on Earth can't they have one there?

- **On this point I'd like to say an example story based in Thailand to the best of my knowledge, where they found a human trafficking route, where women were being transported across the border with an attractive man who said I've got a very good job for you on the other end of the border. And like we mentioned earlier, some victims don't actually self-identify, so the women would sit on the bus and they would see a video on the seat in front of them saying 'have you been offered a job? Does it seem too good to be true?' And went through the things and the women were able to actually get out before they crossed the border to bring it to attention - obviously not forgoing the issues of reporting in another country, so that example, do you think that this is something that could be done on popular human trafficking flight routes?**

Yes, Absolutely.

- **And do you think that on an industry perspective, someone like a CEO of an airline would feel inclined to actually agree with that?**

I think they might have to be forced to do it. I think there might be some, uh, put them into a moral situation where they couldn't say no, or it'd have to be a piece of legislation. Actually hit them in their pocket, if we can say to the travelling public do you really want to fly with this airline who doesn't take this responsibly, and then they're going to get off a blue coloured aeroplane and get on a red coloured aeroplane, or vice versa. The shareholders are going to be banging it in, and I go to the shareholders, I go to share holder meetings, I'd start with the board, I'd write to every board member, in fact I have done with one company - to every board member to say 'what are you doing about this? Do you realise this is damaging your airline?'

- **So do you think that if there was a better societal understanding of the issue that it might force the airlines' hand to address it on a moral obligation but also market obligation?**

Yes. The industry has altered what we do based upon pressures, so the aircraft now are quieter - they don't need to be, in fact it'd be better if they weren't, because actually it makes them less efficient, but they're quieter. They burn less fuel. Now that has come about because fuel is expensive, but it's also because the people who look at carbon foot printing and that sorts of stuff go 'Come on airlines, get with the program'. We've got airlines now looking at bio fuels instead of taking stuff out of the ground - brilliant, absolutely fantastic. Has this come from a moral obligation? No, it's a financial one. So let's make it a financial one. If we can't get them doing it morally then let's get them doing it financially. I don't care - I'll let their tires down till they do it, that's my view.

- **There's another way that has been brought up as a potential way that airlines can actually support human trafficking, and it does have a monetary implication as well. There's an element where some victims are being perhaps repatriated, and in order for them to actually get back to their country of origin or start a new life, they need to get on a plane. And sometimes you'll find that the government or the charities are actually funding the price of that air ticket to get them back, now potentially if there's an empty seat on an airplane - which there is no doubt always going to be - the airline could actually donate that ticket-**

They could.

- **to the victim, and instead of the money going toward the airlines to pay for that flight, then the money could actually be given to the victims to help restart abroad. So do you think that's a feasible idea?**

Brilliant idea. Yes I think that not only is it feasible, it's a brilliant idea, because if they are there on a standby basis so that if the airline can sell the seat, then actually they're not going to go today, they're going to go tomorrow - what does it actually cost the airline? Four percent of the actual weight of the person in fuel burn, so it's going to cost them in fuel burn, and it's going to cost them a meal or two during the flight - so is that outlandish? No it's not. It's as cheap as chips to the airline. The seats not being sold, once the airplane gets airborne, any seats that aren't sold are a wasted opportunity. Why not use it? I think that's a superb idea, and put the moral obligation on them. So long as it's a protocol that says 'look Mr. Airline, if you can sell the seat the person can go tomorrow, because they don't have to be there on Tuesday, they can get there on Wednesday or Thursday or Friday', brilliant. In fact the other way of doing it would be to have a word with capacity management, as they know where they are with the seats so they could say 'well actually it's three days to go, we've still got a hundred seats left, we're never going to sell a hundred seats in three days, come on'. So there's several ways of doing it.

- **So not only does looking outside of improving the frontline protocols, there are other ways which airlines could address the issues?**

And of course from an airline perspective, no news is bad news but good news is better, you can always say in your annual report 'these past twelve months we've repatriated X number of people trafficked to a new life', big tick. Good news story. Oh absolutely yes, and it's doable.

- **Happy to hear that that's doable. Let me think if there's anything else that we need to cover. I think that for my part in terms of the questions we've covered a lot and we've covered everything quite well. We've moved through, we've established the issue, what's in place and why is there an issue, we've talked about what we can do, what are the limitations, about improving it, and in terms of strategy we've actually come up with ideas on how to push forward, so just to summarise, what would be in terms of the next steps, actionable steps, for you, what would be the next steps?**

[small section omitted due to issues of preserving anonymity]... But I'd also like to see something, as I was saying, in education. I'd like to see more evidence within posters and stuff like that, publicity, and it's cheap as chips. I've got a meeting next week with the head of security at Manchester airport, and I am going to be saying to him 'why do you not have any posters?' - because I've looked and I can't see them, so if they're there they're not visible, and if they're not visible they might as well not be there. So I'm going to be doing that. So next steps, we need people like yourself, we need people like yourself to prove that there's an issue. So this is why this research is absolutely essential, because you can put an academic spin on it and you can say 'look this information is here, we've done the research, we've spoken to a million and six people who know what they're talking about, and this is what they're telling us, and these million and six people want something to be done, but they're not talking to each other cause that's other thing that's happening I think. They're not talking to each other, and you guys can do that. You can actually be the cement in the brick wall.

- **Actually coming back to that, so from just talking I've got three questions that've come up. One of them is collaboration, so we have human trafficking which is a highly complex crime, which touches and it actually implicates a lot of different people along its way, so do you think that there should be better collaboration, at the moment between the different bodies involved?**

Yes there should, and there's no reason why there shouldn't be. One of the issues which this addresses, single point of contact. So its all very well knowing something's wrong, but what the hell do I do about it right? And if I've got a number - so if we look at action fraud for instance, huge cybercrime stuff going on people getting phished, and we're getting scammed and spamming emails. We didn't know what to do about it. Action fraud was set up, and they are now getting the information that's allowing the serious crime units around the country to do the investigation, and target the investigation. There's no reason why we shouldn't be able to do this. And I would have that number emblazoned on the side of the post office tower every Thursday evening at sunset. I would do things like that I'd like to see some documentaries. 'd like to see some little news bits you know that they put in - you know if it's a slow news day and there's nothing to do, they've got things sat on the shelf that they can pick up 'well I have a couple of human trafficking ones there', a couple of stories about stuff. We don't hear about it until somebody is prosecuted for having twenty four young men sleeping in their garage being farmed out to cheap labour, we don't see that, being paid a quarter of the minimum wage. I'd like to see that happen. It's just wrong.

- **So there needs to be more collaboration between parties but can you foresee why collaboration hasn't really happened, as well as it maybe should?**

It's somebody else's problem isn't it? I mean that's it. It's somebody else's problem. It's a terrible shame but somebody else will deal with it. It's a bit like the FOD I was telling you about. If you're on the apron, it's your problem.

- **I know we've heard about how regulation is getting better, there is energy being put into that, it's work in progress but its progressing, and ultimately if the airlines are not able or capable to do this within their own environment then government might get to the point where they are enforcing and they are intervening so is that something that you think holds water, that argument?**

Yes it does, and we can involve our European colleagues so, I go to a group at the commission SAGAS - Stakeholder Advisory Group in Aviation Security, and I do that because I represent the European cockpit associations so we're a social partner, and being a social partner I can bring things to the table, and I will bring to the table human trafficking. I'll probably get a lot of 'oh very interesting but not our aisle', I fully expect that but I will put it on the table, but I will point out to them that ten percent of a hundred and eight one billion dollars goes towards funding terrorism and therefore its in everyone's interest to get it sorted out. So I will be quite mischievous if I need to use a back door to do that to raise the profile I will.

- **I've only got two more questions left, leading on from what you've just said, if you were pitching why someone should get involved to a business person in the airline, so we're talking about a CEO what would be the main points that you would angle it at?**

I would say, words to the effect of, they have a moral obligation to prevent this abhorrent trade, and would they purchase goods from a company that they knew was promoting slavery - promoting is the wrong word since they don't promote it, that's slightly over-egging the pudding isn't it - turning a blind eye. They're turning a blind eye to the facilitation. We do an awful lot to prevent drug smuggling for instance, cause that again is a trade that is not acceptable. We don't allow people to move - most of it is done by internet now but pornography, we used to stop... we're not talking about smutty magazines on the top shelf of a news agents, we're talking about real nasty, exploitative pornography. We did an awful lot to stop that moving around in the day because it wasn't acceptable. So coming back to the point I would try and hit them in the pocket by saying we will have a campaign that makes it morally unacceptable to fly on an airline that doesn't have a policy on human trafficking. We appreciate you can't stop it, you're not going out and starting it, but you are turning a blind eye to the transport vector that is using your machinery. You should be doing everything you can to prevent it.

- **One last question, a company, Co-Op, just down the road, they have created something called the bright futures scheme... in that capacity the idea that rehabilitation for victims, providing employment opportunities to help them reintegrate into society - can you foresee airports or airlines actually providing or facilitating that role in terms of providing maybe potential employment or...?**

I don't see, again, I don't see why they wouldn't - there are some issues working inside the critical part of an airport, because you need background checks and all the rest of it - that might cause a problem. It's not insurmountable, but it might cause a problem. But there's no reason why they couldn't work land-side. There's no reason at all, I think, it's interesting, [?] poacher turned game keeper [?] I actually think people that are being trafficked probably recognise the signs, and I would be using them a bit like hackers, you try to get them into government to spot when you're being hacked. I'd love to see that happen. But I don't see any reason why we as a country couldn't provide... obviously the exercise of course would be to return them to their own environment if we can, but we don't want to put them back to where they were before simply to have them come out again. So I would treat them very much like refugees, and if I can find somewhere where I can rehabilitate them I would put them in to - bearing in mind they're probably on their own, they're now not with their family, they are lost souls which we have a duty to put our arms around and cuddle, and they're not here necessarily because they wanted it, they've either been duped or forced - don't we have a moral responsibility to do that? Or am I a bit grandma-with-an-apple-pie here? I believe we have a moral responsibility.

- **Before we finally end, is there anything else you'd like to add?**

Nope, I think we've covered a lot.



Appendix C – Infographics

Please find the infographics resulting from this research on the next four pages.

Action Inhibitors

In Anti-Trafficking Profiling in Airlines

Eight cross-sector experts were interviewed regarding the motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing airlines front-line staff anti-trafficking role.

The following elements were perceived as 'action inhibitors'. These are characteristics that could limit the success of front-line anti-trafficking profiling.

Quotes lifted from interview transcripts are shown on the right-hand side.

LACK OF CLARITY 7/8

- Profiling is always 'grey' so there will always be an element of self-doubt present when profiling
- Requires 'good cause to suspect'
- There is a lack of clarity on how to report due to no consistency or structure in the reporting protocol

FEAR 5/8

- Intimidating
- Fear of being wrong or misidentifying victims
- Fear of making a scene
- Fear of consequences
- Embarrassing
- Fear of damaging a company's reputation

PRESSURE 5/8

- High pressure due to profiling ambiguity & potential for negative repercussions
- Too much responsibility
- Front-line staff's job is to make passengers happy: incorrect profiling might upset them
- More suited to law enforcement

APATHY 3/8

- It is easy to understand why so much effort goes into a safety protocol, but human trafficking? Not so much
- Potential for enormous disruption to staff routine & schedule
- Reluctant to act

Figure 4-1: Action inhibitors (Adapted from Willette and Ganz, 2011)

Action Motivators

In Anti-Trafficking Profiling in Airlines

Eight cross-sector experts were interviewed regarding the motivations, obstacles and solutions in developing airlines front-line staff anti-trafficking role.

The following elements were perceived as 'action motivators'. These are characteristics that could contribute to the success of front-line anti-trafficking profiling. Quotes lifted from interview transcripts are shown on the right-hand side.

EDUCATION 8/8

- Increased awareness & understanding about the crime's nature, scale & close proximity is required
- Front-line staff are able to understand, recognise & respond when identifying potential victims or perpetrators

SUPPORT 7/8

- Front-line staff are safe in the knowledge that the company supports them in their decision 100%, no matter what
- Protocol is developed & consistent
- It is clear who to contact for support

ENGAGEMENT 6/8

- Front-line staff are emotionally engaged in the topic to the point where they 'hate' the fact that the crime exists
- The well-being of vulnerable people warrants the potential disruption to personal routine
- Staff are proud of their company's position towards trafficking

EMPOWERMENT 3/8

- Staff are confident
- Front-line staff are willing to listen to their gut feeling, act & bring justice
- The airline is seen as a protector or guardian of their passengers' safety & well-being

Figure 4-2: Action motivators (Adapted from Willette and Ganz, 2011)

Recommendations

Presented according to their perceived priority and recommended order of implementation

1

PROTOCOL DEVELOPMENT

- Do not 'reinvent the wheel'. Adapt similar protocols to fit anti-trafficking reporting needs, e.g., suspected terrorist protocols.
- Develop a shared & standardised front-line reporting protocol across a voluntary community of airlines.
- Operational manual should contain profiling indicators focusing on but not limited to worse-case trafficking scenarios.
- An in-flight 24 hour anti-trafficking helpline can enable joint decision making that emotionally shares the responsibility.
- If time is available before flight arrival then the same helpline could potentially be incorporated into the report protocol as an intermediary between flight crew and ground staff.
- In cases of imminent flight arrival, flight crew must know who to contact (law enforcement/ border control/air traffic control/company's security department).
- Law enforcement must minimise disruption in collecting front-line staff statements or allow anonymous front-line reporting in initial stages of implementing a front-line anti-trafficking initiative.

SENIOR MANAGEMENT ENGAGEMENT

- Understanding & awareness of human trafficking must be increased at a senior management level.
- Voluntary engagement & long-term commitment is required.
- Companies can take control & develop tailor-made, self-regulated & effective anti-trafficking measures as opposed becoming subject to blunt & untargeted legislation.
- A voluntary community of airlines coming together to fight human trafficking will minimise potential risks & be more effective than airlines tackling human trafficking in isolation.
- Companies should adopt a zero-tolerance towards human trafficking.
- Anti-trafficking should become a part of the company's culture.
- The company has to be 100% behind all front-line profiling decisions.
- The positive impact of a 'champion of the cause' at senior management level should not be underestimated.
- Strategic multi-agency collaboration is necessary to avoid a 'talk-fest'.
- In the absence of front-line specific anti-trafficking legislation. If some airlines do not voluntarily engage in front-line anti-trafficking initiatives, 'naming and faming' companies with best practices is recommended as companies left behind will naturally incur a risk of litigation.
- If legislation is leveraged to encourage airline anti-trafficking participation, then it must be delivered in achievable phases.

2

3

FRONT-LINE ENGAGEMENT

- Encourage staff to become anti-trafficking champions.
- Empower & encourage front-line staff to engage with the topic in order to help overcome fear and apathy.
- Reiterate that the company fully supports & takes responsibility for front-line profiling decisions, as this will reduce the pressure staff may feel when faced with a potential human trafficking situation.
- Use airline testimonies to celebrate successes & explain failures as a natural part of the fight against human trafficking.
- Consider providing multi-agency access to front-line social media forums, e.g., law enforcement /NGOs representatives could access Yammer.
- Let victim's voices be heard through victim testimonies.
- Award staff engagement with a point-scoring system, e.g., watching an anti-trafficking documentary gives staff five points.
- The power of positive recognition from front-line managers for front-line staff's efforts cannot be underestimated.

5

FRONT-LINE EDUCATION

- Raise awareness & increase understanding of the crime's nature, scale & proximity amongst front-line staff.
- Bundle training onto compulsory e-learning to help to demystify the operational aspects of anti-trafficking reporting.
- Create anti-trafficking 'champions of the cause'.
- Anti-trafficking champions can be rostered down to the ground for additional training & must have emotional support.
- Include regular pre-flight anti-trafficking protocol run-throughs.
- Keep training up to date with human trafficking developments.
- If possible, share intelligence with front-line staff.

4

MEASURING PROGRESS

- Quantifiable KPIs include monitoring the rate of potential victim reporting, numbers of successful victim identification & level of staff education and engagement.
- On a human level, the positive outcome of saving a victim from a potential lifetime of abuse & exploitation is immeasurable.
- Report profiling cases to 24 hour anti-trafficking helplines for intelligence gathering.
- Long-term commitment & regular monitoring is essential.

Figure 4-3: Recommendations for developing front-line staff's anti-trafficking role in airlines



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