Modern Slavery

FROM PRODUCTION TO CONSUMPTION



Generation 2.0
For Rights Equality & Diversity

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GENERATION 2.0 FOR RIGHTS, EQUALITY & DIVERSITY

Generation 2.0 for Rights, Equality & Diversity (Generation 2.0 RED) was launched in 2006 as an initiative of a group of young people with immigrant backgrounds who were born and / or raised in Greece. At the time, the group operated unofficially under the name "Second Generation" and its mission was to gain access to citizenship for the invisible generation of children who were born or raised in Greece to immigrant parents. In 2008, the group started collaborating closely with the "Institute for Human Rights, Equality and Diversity (i-RED)", an independent research institute that aims at connecting scientific evidence with field experiences. In December 2013, the group officially merged with i-RED, resulting into one organisation, Generation 2.0 for Rights, Equality and Diversity, based in Athens.

Today, Generation 2.0 RED is a non-profit organisation consisting of multidisciplinary specialists of diverse descent, who share the vision that all of us, collectively and as individuals, have the right to an equal and active participation in a multicultural society. The mission of Generation 2.0 RED is realised through a holistic approach, as the team intervenes through action and research on the individual, social and legislative levels, and aims to empower individuals and communities to promote human rights, equality and diversity, and to fight against racism, xenophobia and discrimination. Its core lines of action are Advocacy, Legal Counselling, Career Counselling and Non-Formal Education.

GENERATION 2.0 RED IN MANOLADA

In 2017, after the referral of the case of Manolada[1] (Chowdury v. Greece) to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), Generation 2.0 RED began a series of actions in two areas of Greece, Nea Manolada and Filiatra, as part of the project "Increasing Access to Justice for Land Workers". These two areas were chosen due to violations of migrant land workers' rights. Generation 2.0 RED built relationships with the communities of Bangladeshi migrant land workers, held multiple educational sessions on legal rights and community empowerment, and closely monitored the issues the communities face. The organisation also worked on gathering reliable data with the objective to use these in relevant actions to claim rights. This enabled the production of the report "The Life of Migrant Land Workers in Nea Manolada and Filiatra"[2], which was based on a questionnaire survey on the land workers' demographic data, their legal status and living/working conditions. The questionnaire was completed during regular visits by the organisation (01-06/2018).

On 5 September 2018, a hundred and sixty-four land workers from Bangladesh and Pakistan – victims of the fire that broke out on 7/6/2018 in the makeshift shelters of Nea Manolada – filed an application-petition to the Central Service of the Labour Inspectorate with the legal aid of Generation 2.0 RED. This petition was also communicated to the Ministry of Migration Policy, the Greek Ombudsman, the Office of the National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings, the Ministry of Agriculture and the National Commission for Human Rights.

In December 2018, Generation 2.0 RED created Manolada Watch with the aim to monitor and publicise the working and living conditions of migrant land workers in Manolada, which are recorded through regular inspections, and to ensure they are made known to both the authorities and the public.

The present report is the next step Generation 2.0 RED is taking in the recognition of the phenomena with characteristics of Manolada and in the mobilization of the citizens with the final goal of taking the necessary institutional measures.

[1] See Appendix I. The Historical Background of Manolada.

[2] The report is due to be published in English: S. Giulini / S. Eshete, "The life of Migrant Agricultural Workers in Nea Manolada and Filiatra" in: Fouskas, T. (ed.) (2021), *Immigrants, Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Times of Crises* (Preface by Marco Martiniello), European Public Law Series, Athens: European Public Law Organization (forthcoming).

INTRODUCTION

Modern slavery is one of the most significant problems in the world, not only because it affects a large segment of the global population, but also because it constitutes one of the greatest violations of human rights and destroys, literally and utterly, the lives of modern slaves. Such phenomena exist in Greece too. We often come across situations of modern slavery, in person or through the news, and the 2013 incident in Manolada is a telling example.

In the Greek context, there are cases that share the characteristics of the case of Manolada with respect to the labour conditions of production – and they are not in any way isolated incidents. This research, the findings of which are presented in this report, aims to sustain the interest in this issue by focusing on the other fundamental market actor, that is, the consumer, highlighting its importance as element in the debate on combating the conditions of modern slavery.

More specifically, the research objective was to explore the following:

- Consumers' awareness of modern slavery and their stance on the issue, both broadly and in relation to situations occurring in the agricultural sector.
- Their role in tackling this phenomenon, their perception of the role and responsibility of other stakeholders (the state, non-profit/non-government actors, business actors) and the way in which they believe this situation can be remedied.
- The consumers' trust in certification labels of ethical agricultural production. In the present research, we focused on the labour dimension and, therefore, on the "slave-free" labels.
- The factors that sensitise consumers to take action against modern slavery.

The qualitative research that was carried out to find answers to the above questions was split into three sections. In the first, preparatory section, we focused on definitions, terms and concepts relating to the phenomenon of modern slavery. To ensure we understood the issue as best as possible, we studied issues such as the practices of modern slavery, the ways of tackling it, the differences between regions, etc. We conducted bibliographical, legal and online research on all the above, as well as two interviews with specialists on issues of modern slavery, more specifically with Mr Iraklis Moskof, Greek National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings, and the lawyer Mr Vassilis Kerasiotis.

With regard to the content of the term and its description to the interviewees, we examined the Greek and international legal framework[3] (to the extent we deemed necessary), while taking into account the specialists' comments. The second and main stage was the empirical research, the body of which comprised thirty semi-structured in-depth interviews with consumers from three regions of Greece (Athens, Heraklion-Creta, the Peloponnese). The sampling aimed for the greatest possible demographic differentiation between interviewees.[4]

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[3] In this way, in the present report the term "modern slavery" refers to the "particular and punishable exploitation of the vulnerable position of the 'modern slave'". On a legal level, we relied on Article 4 of the European Convention for Human Rights (ECHR) (Prohibition of slavery and forced labour), Article 323A of the Criminal Code (trafficking for labour exploitation) and the statutory provisions of Law 4052/2012 along with those of the Migration and Social Integration Code (Law 4251/2014 as it stands), which refer to particularly exploitative conditions of labour and of human trafficking. In brief, the chosen definition encompasses situations where a person is forced through violence or other forceful means into conditions of labour exploitation (that is, the unlawful obtainment of monetary gain from the modern slave through labour, slave-holding, committing criminal acts, etc.). In addition, we observe "particularly exploitative labour conditions" – blatantly disproportionate in comparison to the labour conditions of legally employed workers – which have implications for the workers' health and safety and harm human dignity.

[4] See Appendix II. The Social Profile of Interviewees

To begin with, interviewees were asked to provide images that, in their opinion, represent situations of modern slavery, so that part of the conversation would revolve around these. This practice allowed us to collect more information on their perceptions, knowledge and opinions. The interviews lasted, on average, forty minutes each, and were transcribed in order to be qualitatively analysed in depth to extract the information that was deemed relevant. We drew inspiration for the sample design, the question guide and the interpretive thematic analysis from the British study "Consuming Modern Slavery Report" that was published by Dr Carrington Michal, Professor Chatzidakis Andreas and Professor Shaw Deirdre.[5] Consequently, we also attempted to compare the findings of the two studies in terms of similarities and differences.

In the third and final stage, after the interviews and their qualitative analysis had been completed, we discussed the findings with three statutory bodies specialising in issues of modern slavery and human trafficking. These were Mr Iraklis Moskof, Greek National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings, Ms Angeliki Serafeim, Legal Advisor at the National Referral Mechanism for the National Centre for Social Solidarity, and the organisation A21. The goal was to further corroborate our findings – and more broadly the issues our research deals with – and to explore their potential added value at an institutional level. Finally, we began informal conversations with two agricultural producers to explore how they evaluate our findings.

The report comprises four chapters. In the first chapter we present the criteria the interviewees used to define modern slavery, the factors that they believe promote the occurrence of the phenomenon and, lastly, issues pertaining to their geographic distance from / proximity to these situations. The second chapter deals with the responses and techniques the interviewees used mainly to justify their lack of action in response to this phenomenon, which were identified through the thematic analysis of the interviews. The third chapter deals with the responsibility and the role of stakeholders, including consumers, in the fight against modern slavery. Finally, the fourth chapter focuses on the situation of modern slavery in the Greek agricultural sector. We also presented the interviewees with the hypothetical possibility that a label of slave-free agricultural production could be introduced in Greece and asked them about their potential response.

[5] M. Carrington, A. Chatzidakis, & D. Shaw, (2018) "Consuming Modern Slavery report", at: <https://www.consumingmodernslavery.com>. See also, M. Carrington, A. Chatzidakis, & D. Shaw (2020), "Consuming Worker Exploitation? Accounts and Justifications for Consumer (In) action to Modern Slavery", *Work, Employment and Society*, 0950017020926372.

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CONSUMER PERCEPTIONS[6]

[6] See Appendix III. Interview Extracts, Table 1.

1.1 DEFINING CRITERIA FOR MODERN SLAVERY

The interviewees who took part in the research cited a multitude of criteria and characteristics, in order to judge when a person or a group of people fall within the boundaries of modern slavery. It is worth mentioning, however, from the very beginning, that there was confusion surrounding the boundaries between extreme labour exploitation and modern slavery. To a certain extent, this was to be expected due to similar findings in the British study.[7]

Most interviewees cited the characteristics of the labour itself as defining factors for whether a person can be considered a modern slave. More specifically, the pay, the working hours, the physical strain, the hardship, the harmfulness and how hazardous the work and work conditions are, as well as the lack or deprivation of freedom, choice, and the right to free speech and opinion. The violation of labour rights was also emphasised, along with the behaviour of the "employer" towards modern slaves.

"...I connected it to child labour, which I believe to be a form of modern slavery, because it is forced labour."

"...they work many hours, for very little pay, and perhaps the labour conditions more generally might be reminiscent of slavery."

"...another element is the threat of violence to bodily integrity and life itself [...] this is about the victim and the perpetrator."

PROPOSITION 1:

RAISING PUBLIC AWARENESS AND UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT CONSTITUTES MODERN SLAVERY IS A KEY FACTOR IN THE FIGHT AGAINST IT, AND A NECESSARY PREREQUISITE.

[7] "Consuming Modern Slavery report", Op.cit.

1.2 FACTORS THAT ENABLE MODERN SLAVERY

As for the reasons behind the occurrence, existence and perpetuation of modern slavery, the interviewees referred to multiple factors that enable and/or promote this phenomenon, which we can separate into two broad categories. The first category concerns more general – more systemic, we would say – factors, such as profit (often with clear references to capitalism), consumerism, racism and sexism:

"...in the capitalist society we live in, with profit being king in our world, I think it would be difficult to change things."

"I think it's got to do with a general racism that exists in Greece towards people of different ethnicities. I don't think it's got to do with their labour identity but with Greeks' racist behaviour. Clearly."

"...I believe that for this job it's very important to see that the face of this particular forced labour is female, because it's a phenomenon that more commonly affects women."

The second category concerns, more so than the first, the vulnerable position of the individuals, which plays a central role in pushing them into conditions of modern slavery or trapping them in these;[8] for example, destitution, lack of financial resources, lack of identification and legitimising documentation, and age:

"...it's got to do with the individual, whether the individual is vulnerable or not. Because the more vulnerable the individual is, the more they will fall victim to exploitation by other people."

"So someone who doesn't have papers – can they do anything other than this?"

"Child labour, firstly, is absolutely modern slavery in my opinion. And it's not just a form of modern slavery in the terms that we... It's clearly slavery like during the Middle Ages or even antiquity."

Additionally, A21 noted the preliminary stage of luring and deceiving victims, which was not brought up in the interviews. *"So how these people were approached by potential employers, and through what means they ended up working where they work..."*

Concerning vulnerability, a further finding had to do with age. In general – and in line with earlier studies –[9] vulnerability was considered an absolute characteristic of children and less so of adults. By extension, adult slaves are seen as more responsible for their labour and living conditions, in the sense that they can potentially defend themselves and respond to these.

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[8] This does not mean however that the two categories are not significantly related to each other, nor that these elements are to blame for the situation modern slaves are experiencing nor that the individuals themselves are partly responsible for it.

[9] "Consuming Modern Slavery report", Op.cit.

PROPOSITION 2:

SENSITISING THE PUBLIC TOWARDS ALL FORMS AND CAUSES OF MODERN SLAVERY, TOWARDS THE GENERALLY VULNERABLE POSITION OF MODERN SLAVES (SEX, AGE, IMMIGRANTS' LEGAL STATUS) AND TOWARDS THE LURING TACTICS USED IS KEY.

In order to define and categorise modern slavery, the interviewees used various approaches, mainly empathy, and demonstrated emotions such as anger, sadness, compassion, disappointment, etc.

"It doesn't mean you don't experience feelings of reflection, of rage when thinking in terms of the broad category we consider ourselves as belonging in, which is human beings."

"...you can sort of put yourself in her position and imagine her experience, that she can't shout, which can be seen from this entrapment, it gives off this suffocating feeling."

"I feel sadness for these people, compassion perhaps, that they're forced to work in this way, for meagre amounts of money."

There was also an approach that focused more on rights, laws and ethics:

"The first is what we would call the issue of the rule of law, so legal rights."

"...and whatever the case, the practice of child labour is also illegal."

In general, empathy worked effectively when it came to child slavery. As far as adult slavery was concerned, the attempt to demonstrate empathy often led to assigning responsibilities, and hence, paradoxically, to a lesser degree of sensitivity, as was the case in the British study.[10] This finding was also confirmed by A21, which was of the opinion that emotion-based campaigns might be less effective than right-based campaigns.

PROPOSITION 3:

CONSUMER MOBILISATION CAMPAIGNS RELYING ON ISSUES OF RIGHTS, LAWS AND ETHICS MIGHT BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN CAMPAIGNS RELYING ON EMPATHY.

[10] "Consuming Modern Slavery report", Op.cit.

1.3 LOCATIONS AND SITES OF MODERN SLAVERY

In order to examine how interviewees perceive and acknowledge modern slavery in relation to their geographical distance from it, we asked them to point to situations they regarded as happening "nearby" and situations happening "far away, somewhere else in the world".

The majority of interviewees stated that situations of modern slavery can occur across the world, in slight contrast to the British study's findings, where consumers considered slavery to be something that mainly applies to faraway countries with weaker institutions.[11] Despite this, they seemed to be aware of the differences in the form, the extent and the intensity of the phenomenon mainly between developed and developing countries. This opinion was primarily based on the legal, cultural and social differences between countries, but also on the differences that exist between the production of goods and the provision of services, with various implications (physical-mental strain, visible-invisible labour, etc.). A significant number of opinions, however, equated modern slavery in the two sectors (products-services) considering them equally intense, irrespective of the different characteristics of labour in each.

Other observations made were that modern slaves in developed countries are usually immigrants and refugees and that modern slavery takes on a more interpersonal character, meaning there is a direct connection between the victim and the perpetrator; in contrast, modern slaves in developing countries are indigenous, modern slavery is more impersonal and occurs as a result of the practices of big multinational companies.

"Yes, it's the same thing on a smaller and larger level. I mean, here I offer you a job with fewer legal rights, let's say, but it still allows you to have a better standard of living, like living in a home, having your own food, having a relative amount of freedom, and doing what you could do as a free person, going out, dressing up and having social interactions. And in the other example, I still offer you a job that allows you to survive, but just to survive, with absolutely nothing else."

"...slavery in the production of goods is more widespread than in service provision, and of course of a different nature, because service provision is slavery only in the form of the work – how you offer the service, financially, exploitation of working hours."

Trafficking for sexual exploitation was considered an exceptional case, not only because it is a global phenomenon but also because it differs from most other forms of modern slavery that are subject to a clear division of goods and services. Additionally, few interviewees referred to the difference between voluntary and forced sex work, which was also the case in the British study.[12]

"I don't consider sex work to be slavery, but trafficking, when it's non-consensual, this type of work essentially you're paid to be raped. It's usually forced, there definitely are beatings, it's at gunpoint, there are definitely incarcerations."

[11] "Consuming Modern Slavery report", Op.cit.
[12] "Consuming Modern Slavery report", Op.cit.

According to the interviewees, nearby situations of modern slavery concern migrant labour in the agricultural sector, with the strawberries in Manolada being the chief example; human trafficking, mainly of women, for sexual exploitation; and child labour, mainly in minorities, such as Roma children. Reference was also made to the tourism and food and beverage industries.

Concerning modern slavery far away, interviewees mainly referred to child labour, human trafficking for sexual exploitation, textile and electronics factories, and labour for the sourcing and mining of gemstones or precious metals. There was no mention of domestic work however, which was noted by A21 and the National Referral Mechanism.

The distance that the interviewees had from situations of modern slavery seemed to shape their opinions significantly. They judged the near and far away examples quite differently, depending on how close they were to such phenomena and how often these were made public, and whether or not they believed that they were – or could be – affected by them. In other words, they considered nearby examples to be more important, affecting their everyday lives more profoundly, and said it was likelier they would respond to them, which is in agreement with the findings of the British study. Similarly, their feelings towards modern slavery situations depended on their proximity to these, with closer incidents giving rise to more intense feelings (again, in agreement with the British study). Nonetheless, it was also said that it was not the distance that counted, but the situation in question each time and its characteristics.

"When you experience something more personally and it is also near you, I find it shocks you much more than something you hear about that is happening somewhere far away."

"Because when something's happening next to you, it obviously threatens you. Maybe this could be you, maybe you'll be next."

"It's not about the distance in miles because we know very well that the miles are not... These things can happen right next to you at any time."

"...how unfair the world is and how where each one of us is born is a matter of luck. In the end, it's pure luck – the country, the family, the conditions."

2

HOW INDIVIDUALS RESPOND TO MODERN SLAVERY [13]

The second chapter deals with issues of awareness, understanding and moral intensity of the phenomenon of modern slavery. Through the thematic[14] analysis of the qualitative interviews, we tried to understand how interviewees perceived situations of modern slavery within different contexts, such as the geographical distance they had from these, the form of modern slavery, its difference from extreme labour exploitation, etc.

[13] See Appendix III, Table 2.

[14] For example, V. Braun & V. Clarke (2006), "Using thematic analysis in psychology", *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. See also, C. J. Thompson (1997), "Interpreting consumers: A hermeneutical framework for deriving marketing insights from the texts of consumers' consumption stories", *Journal of marketing Research*, 34(4), p. 438-455.

2.1. MORAL INTENSITY

Moral intensity refers to whether or not the individual perceives the problem as being of an ethical nature requiring a solution and being influenced by factors such as the person's geographical distance from it, how condemnable it is, who suffers its consequences and how significant these are. Moral intensity is considered a necessary prerequisite for any decision and action – if an issue's ethical dimensions are not seen as important, then a positive action is impossible.[15]

The first and most important stage in the ethical decision-making process is the awareness, or in other words the recognition, that a situation presents an ethical dilemma, such as causing harm to others.[16] Moral intensity or, in other words, the perception of an issue as being of an ethical nature, is determined by various parameters, such as distance, how many people are harmed and who they are, and its frequency. In reference to how the interviewees perceived the moral intensity of modern slavery, two dimensions were prominent: (a) how near or far away the interviewees were from the particular case of modern slavery and (b) the characteristics of the person considered a modern slave, more specifically, their age and sex.[17]

For some cases of modern slavery taking place in developing countries, interviewees expressed the opinion that these were not as morally reprehensible. They did not perceive them as being of an ethical nature to the same extent as they would if these took place nearby or in developed countries, because of the different cultural and legal frameworks in the two country categories, and also because of their own great distance from them.

"... so I know – as it were – about the situations of slavery that exist in India, talking to friends I have over there, where because of other social conditions they have with castes and all that, their own social theories, they find it natural that some people live in a condition of slavery, and it does not bother them."

"In some countries where such incidents are treated as normal by the state itself, by the people themselves, it is more difficult; then you have to change a people's entire worldview, their culture if you will.* [...] *It's easier to deal with it in the Western world, because [here] it's more reprehensible."

Interviewees seemed to be particularly sensitive to trafficking for sexual exploitation, not only because of the intensity and the particularly inhumane characteristics of this phenomenon, but also because it mainly affects women.

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[15] For example, T. M. Jones (1991), "Ethical decision making by individuals in organizations: An issue contingent model", *Academy of management review*, 16(2), p. 366-395. See also, J. M. McMahon & R. J. Harvey (2006), "An analysis of the factor structure of Jones' moral intensity construct", *Journal of Business Ethics*, 64(4), p. 381-404.

[16] J. R. Rest (1984), "The major components of morality", In: W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gerwitz (Eds.), *Morality, moral behavior, and moral development*, New York: Wiley, p. 24-38.

[17] As neutralisation and delegitimation tactics are directly related to moral intensity, many of their characteristics and the interview extracts we have chosen overlap.

"I believe that sex is definitely a factor."

"Because I'm a woman too, I have a special... it becomes personal, we take it personally. It's a tragic situation. No human deserves this, let alone a woman."

Quite often interviewees refused to acknowledge the conditions of slavery when concerning adults – particularly when contrasted with child labour – because, as mentioned above, adults are seen as having the capacity and the choice to react and define their own lives, whereas children do not; this was also observed in the British study.

"...so that's what got my attention, that there's a child in the picture. She's not even an adult young woman who okay, could at least have the right to choose."

"For children it's even worse because by themselves they do not have the ability to refuse... they're more like puppets."

"...they're different because here we're dealing with adults, who have the right to choose, and they can refuse, or leave or find another job. They're free to do that. While the children there, or especially working children, or other workers, are enslaved. They can't, they have no other choice. They have to do this."

"...in one case we're talking about children, minors, and in the other we're talking about adults."

With reference to the different stance and approach individuals adopt towards modern slavery of children and adults, the National Referral Mechanism commented that the former is approached in a more emotive and empathetic way, rather than a rights-based one.

PROPOSITION 4:

BELIEFS ABOUT SLAVES' PERSONAL CHOICE AND COMPLICITY MUST BE TACKLED THROUGH CONSUMER MOBILISATION CAMPAIGNS.

2.2 NEUTRALISATIONS AND DELEGITIMATIONS

In subchapter 2.2, we attempted to identify the tactics that interviewees used in order to delegitimise[18] or neutralise[19] the issue of modern slavery in its various manifestations. These tactics are products of learned social behaviour and are usually employed less consciously, or at least in a habitual manner. More specifically, the neutralisations are commonly treated as "excuses" and/or as attempts to remove the feelings of guilt for not taking action in relation to an issue; they may also, however, be sound opinions on the topic at hand. We did not focus on this distinction in our analysis as we wanted to understand the interviewees' awareness of modern slavery and the lack of action. In other words, we were interested in the consequences of employing these tactics, rather than in the nature of the tactics or the motivations behind their employment.[20]

DENIAL OF INJURY

The use of this tactic aims to the dismissal or denial of (further) "injury" to modern slaves through trivialisation. Interviewees do this in two ways: firstly, by conflating modern slavery with labour exploitation, which means the former does not require special treatment compared to the latter; and, secondly, by considering themselves and referring to themselves as modern slaves.

"This happened to me personally. I can also tell you how I reacted, if it's of interest to the survey. And there, I will tell you that I clearly belong to the slaves; consciously."

"Let's say where I work now, they wouldn't let me take a break; now supposedly they didn't want me to take a break because I don't do anything tiring, I just press buttons.* [...] *I'm supposed to get paid, but what do I get is enough to pay rent, bills, all that. So, I have some money, and he may not, but I think it's the same."

"...although I can appreciate that this slavery exists, modern slavery, I don't know how different it is from the slavery conditions in the service sector."

"I chose the profession of waiters, not as a profession, but as a need to realise this young person's profession, young people who have two or three degrees, or a PhD, and unfortunately there are no employment opportunities for them.* [...] *I believe there's no truer form of modern labour slavery in our time."

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[18] T. Ugelvik (2016), "Techniques of legitimation: The narrative construction of legitimacy among immigration detention officers", *Crime, Media, Culture,* 12(2), p. 215-232.
[19] G. M. Sykes & D. Matza (1957), "Techniques of neutralization: A theory of delinquency", *American sociological review*, 22(6), p. 664-670.
[20] For example A. Chatzidakis, S. Hibbert & A. P. Smith (2007), "Why people don't take their concerns about fair trade to the supermarket: The role of neutralisation", *Journal of business ethics*, 74(1), p. 89-100.

DENIAL OF VICTIM

This particular tactic aims to devictimise modern slaves in various ways. The main way that interviewees employed was the acceptance of the slaves' situation as a given and as "natural" owing to the cultural, social, political and legal frameworks of the countries they live in. Some also referred to the internalisation of victimhood by modern slaves, which, they believed, to a certain extent removes the urgency of the situation.

"...slavery, as a concept, is understood in the western world. In some countries, unfortunately, slavery is a way of life. There's no distinction, there's nothing else. When you haven't experienced anything else, it seems normal to you."

"...they think it's... not their obligation, but continuing the family tradition, and the family... It's like your dad has a shop and you're working in your dad's shop..."

"They've been brainwashed into thinking that 'we work, we're not like other kids that sit around and go to school.' They've been made to feel proud in their enslaved status."

DENIAL OF RESPONSIBILITY

Through this tactic, interviewees removed their own responsibility for tackling the phenomenon of modern slavery, by indicating other bodies and persons who are either to blame for its existence or responsible for its resolution.

"On the flipside, I don't feel like I can do something about it, to tackle it. Often, I'll hear about this sort of thing in the news and just move on. That's essentially what I do, let's not kid ourselves."

"The truth is no, because I also don't know how I could do anything different about it."

In relation to earlier studies,[21] we observed relatively less frequent usage of tactics such as the denial of definitive evidence, the defence of necessity and dehumanisation.

PROPOSITION 5:

CAMPAIGNS FOR CONSUMER MOBILISATION MUST ADDRESS NEUTRALISING BELIEFS SUCH AS THE DENIAL OF INJURY, DENIAL OF VICTIM AND DENIAL OF CONSUMER RESPONSIBILITY.

[21] M. Carrington, A. Chatzidakis & D. Shaw, Op. cit.

3

TRUST, RESPONSIBILITY AND ROLES[22]

[22] See Appendix III, Table 3.

3. TRUST, RESPONSIBILITY AND ROLES

With regard to who should tackle modern slavery, interviewees pointed mainly to the state as being the most appropriate and responsible for dealing with the phenomenon, and sometimes referred to the responsibility of the individual but as part of a multi-stakeholder framework (workers, society, etc.). Some referred to the responsibility of modern slaves themselves, arguing that their action is a necessary factor for the comprehensive tackling of the phenomenon, without however stipulating this as a "demand". It should be noted that those who did mention this, did not blame modern slaves for the situation they are experiencing.

"I believe that everyone, from the position they are in, can do things in this direction. That's what I believe, that each person can do their bit."

"...it is our responsibility, and the workers' responsibility, or those we would call slaves, to do so [to eradicate modern slavery]***; but it's not a responsibility as in 'it's your fault for not having fixed it', but just that if someone's going to fix it, it's going to be us."***

"...each of us individually can't do anything, but if we act collectively – and this is where the trade unions come in, as do the Institutes of Consumer Affairs. If these all take coordinated and collective action, they have power."

As we wanted to get a well-rounded sense of who is responsible for tackling the phenomenon of modern slavery in a scenario that would actively involve all the stakeholders, we asked interviewees for their opinion on various bodies and actors, such as the state, the non-profit/non-government sector, the private sector and consumers. It should be noted that a significant number of these opinions came up before our targeted questions.

As mentioned above, the greatest responsibility was assigned to the state, with emphasis given to the adoption of stricter legal frameworks, the conduct of more checks and the imposition of fines on offenders. References were also made to powerful international intergovernmental organisations, such as the European Union, the United Nations and the World Health Organisation, as well as to the roles that these can play.

"...the primary responsibility necessarily must lie with the nation-states. In other words, those who are responsible for what takes place on their territory. What I mean is that they are sovereigns."

"I think state institutions have more to do [with it], that is, governments... Those who legislate, i.e. those who make the laws and those who serve them respectively. That's where it starts."

"I think that all the companies concerned should be checked for labour conditions, for papers, whether or not the workers are properly declared, all of this. And by the police afterwards. There should be sanctions from both the state and the institutions."

"Of course, international organisations like the European Union become involved, right? International organisations with broader interests, the United Nations, etc."

Opinions on the non-profit/non-government sector were split almost equally. On the one hand, it was argued that the sector can contribute significantly to tackling the phenomenon, particularly in raising awareness and sensitising the public, along with exerting pressure on governments and businesses. On the other hand, interviewees also expressed suspicion and pessimism on whether these bodies effectively pursue their own missions, putting their economic interests first.

"International organisations can too, non-profit organisations, because they exert pressure. So, they are the opposition to the ruling class. Because despite being a minority, they have the power and the voice to get themselves heard. So they have leverage."

"...some institutions should provide information to citizens about everything that is happening around us, to mobilise them, to sensitise them."

"...perhaps setting up organisations that will defend these people's rights. Although we've seen time and again organisations that don't do what they should be doing* [...] *or perhaps some international organisations could denounce this kind of actions in the countries where the existing laws do not defend these people's rights. Yes, perhaps things like that could be done. But I think that further down the road, they lose sight of their goal, when profit gets in the way."

Opinions surrounding businesses moved along the same lines. On the one hand, it was argued that businesses alone can deal with the problem comprehensively by ceasing to employ such practices; on the other hand, intense pessimism was expressed, particularly when taking into account their pursuit of profit maximisation.

"I think the greatest responsibility lies with the person who's paying, so the employer. Because he has the knife and he also has the watermelon, as the saying goes. So he determines how he'll pay the other party, how far he'll exploit them. Because the other party is a victim. So the perpetrator in this case is the employer* [...] *Because, for example, if we say there's an embargo enforced... Say there's a company that has many people, workers, and exploits them, and consumers enforce an embargo, at the end of the day it is still the employer who will say 'let's put an end to exploitation'. So he's the one who has the final say."

"I wouldn't assign as much responsibility to those who take advantage of situations like this. What do I mean? Because as cynical as it sounds, they're doing their job – for one. And for another, if you grant them the right to make decisions on this, it is as they've laid claim to a function that does not belong to them."

"And at any rate businesses will try to make a profit in every way, that's their job."

Corporate responsibility was mentioned by other bodies too, such as A21: *"Businesses have a much larger share of responsibility than we might think. They are responsible for ensuring there is transparency across their supply chains and that the human rights of those even at the very end of the chain are respected"*.

PROPOSITION 6:

BUSINESS ACTORS MUST BE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN TACKLING MODERN SLAVERY THROUGH CHECKS IN THEIR SUPPLY CHAINS AND COORDINATION WITH OTHER BODIES.

Interviewees made fewer references to consumer responsibility, which they considered less important; this was particularly prevalent when interviewees also reflected on their own responsibility. This opinion was often accompanied by references to the operation of other stakeholders, their stance on modern slavery and their inadequate action, as well as by suspicion towards them. Some, however, referred to consumer choice and the power it entails through the ability to intentionally avoid certain products, particularly when done collectively (boycotts). At the same time, reference was also made to the futility of this practice, in the sense that it cannot bring substantial change.

"Consumers can simply change their consumer habits so that such situations are not maintained. He/she may have some leverage, but certainly cannot be the one to fully root such phenomena out."

"Checks are very important in every process, seeing whether or not something is being observed. Because I might say things, but – and everyone says they'll do things – but what does that do if they aren't done? There's no reason to debate about something specific. What I believe, is that the state must act immediately. Only the state can do it because it requires something big."

"...so consumers need to become sensitive to the situation, to know about it, because it's important to have the information. [...] *Consumers need to be aware of this situation, to act on this situation collectively."*

"...even the consumer buying a product... you might say he might not know. But living in this world, full of information, you can know where each product comes from, if you want to."

"...getting consumers not to buy these products, so that the employer gets the message: 'for what reason', 'so do people actually react to what is being done?"

PROPOSITION 7A:

THE CONSUMER'S ROLE IN EFFORTS TO TACKLE MODERN SLAVERY MUST BE STRENGTHENED, THROUGH FURTHER EDUCATIONAL AND SENSITISATION CAMPAIGNS.

PROPOSITION 7B:

IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT CONSUMER RESPONSIBILITY IS CONSIDERED AS PART OF A BROADER FRAME OF ACTION INVOLVING OTHER STAKEHOLDERS, SO THAT IT IS CLEAR THAT THIS IS A COMPLEMENTARY AND NOT A REPLACEMENT ROLE IN THE ABSENCE OF NECESSARY ACTION ON BEHALF OF STAKEHOLDERS SUCH AS THE STATE AND BUSINESSES.

4

THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR[23]

[23] See Appendix III, Table 4.

4.1 MIGRANT LAND WORKERS

The research also focused on instances of modern slavery that take place in the agricultural sector, more specifically when involving migrant workers. For the agricultural sector in Greece, the National Rapporteur commented: *"The same goes for land workers. In the sense that, yes, they do get paid something, but they are totally uninsured and totally exposed to a multitude of risks, including the use or threat of violence, and blackmail by their employers* [...] *in many of these cases it is thought that it was just a disagreement over the money. The criminal side of the exploitation is not recognised"*.

Interviewees appeared to be aware of this phenomenon, with many referring to it as one of the predominant instances of modern slavery in Greece, giving the 2013 incident in Manolada as an example.

"...this is a clear case of slavery. To work and have it considered reprehensible that you dare to ask for the money you've earned, and to have these people dare open fire, to injure."

"Of course, you do not use people for six months without providing them with the basics."

"They have them working in squalid conditions for infinite hours, and for little money."

"This might perhaps be one of the only instances we heard about, because I think it happens a lot more."

Asked about their distance from such situations and the extent to which these affect them, interviewees referred to their proximity to the agricultural sector and to situations of modern slavery there. Responses matched our predictions, with urban residents saying they were far away from them and rural residents mentioning how close to them they were. More specifically, rural residents often reported incidents they personally knew about or had witnessed themselves. In contrast, urban residents, and especially in the Athens area, said that their connection with the agricultural sector was as consumers of agricultural products (something which was also mentioned by residents in rural regions). In slight contrast to the British study,[24] the resounding majority of interviewees said that they perceived phenomena of modern slavery in the agricultural sector as equally reprehensible as any other situation of modern slavery that was discussed.

"I'm sure it's close to me geographically, because I'm in Crete, which is an agricultural area."

"The fallacy is that I feel like I'm far away, but I'm not. Because if tomorrow tomatoes don't grow, I'll look for them and ask why we have no tomatoes."

"It's no different for me. The fact that these people work in a sector that I personally happen to have no experience of, no idea, doesn't mean that their problem does not concern me. Because one person's problem in a society is, I believe, everyone's concern, because if it can happen to me, then it can also happen to you, it can happen to anybody."

[24] "Consuming Modern Slavery report", Op.cit. See also, M. Carrington, A. Chatzidakis & D. Shaw, Op.cit.

4.2 CERTIFICATION LABELS OF ETHICAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN RELATION TO LABOUR CONDITIONS

We also presented the interviewees with the hypothetical possibility that a label of slave-free agricultural production could be introduced in Greece because we wanted to see what their potential response would be. We presented them with a series of labels certifying that the products are slave-free, fair trade or organic. The majority of interviewees ignored the existence of the first two labels and were unaware of any similar ones. In contrast, many knew of the organic product labels.

The resounding majority stated that they would prefer products with this label and would recommend and promote them to others. It seemed, in other words, that they were willing to choose products based on their labels, provided they were aware of them.

On the other hand, there is a difference between consumer preference and actual behaviour, a fact that is supported by the existing literature,[25] and a number of interviewees expressed suspicion and disbelief towards labelling, which they considered to be a form of marketing that might not reflect reality.

Nonetheless, several people said that on becoming aware of the incident in Manolada in 2013 (through which they also became more broadly aware of the labour conditions there), they stopped buying strawberries from Ilia. Finally, it was said that the extra cost such a label might add to a product can act as a deterrent.

"But if there is a label which* [...] *which means 'slave-free', as you said, for better or worse I think it weighs on your conscience* [...] *I at least would talk to some people. So, I'd see such a move positively."

"I'd buy it. I would agree with the idea in the sense that you're helping a humanitarian effort, and it goes without saying that I would approve, and I would also buy the product and recommend it too; I would let others know about it."

"It would be very positive in order for us to know how a product has been produced. We'd be able to choose products in a very different way, and I think that would force others to adapt to the new conditions."

"...so when I see the strawberries, I really associate them with these people and I don't buy them because I know they use very powerful pesticides, which is also why they get these people to work this job. Because the pesticides are so powerful, other people won't do the job. And with all that in mind, it's a deterrent, and while I like them, I really don't buy strawberries."

"The consumers themselves, absolutely. Absolutely. So, the strawberry thing is a major deal for me. Let's never buy strawberries again! I don't."

"So with strawberries I always check where they come from so that the person doing this, the exploitation, doesn't get "rich", doesn't make a profit. So that I don't contribute to this producer's growth, to the production in general."

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[25] For example R. Caruana, M. J. Carrington & A. Chatzidakis (2016), "Beyond the attitude-behaviour gap: Novel perspectives in consumer ethics: Introduction to the thematic symposium", *Journal of Business Ethics,* 136(2), p. 215-218.

Commenting on the possibility that such a label could be introduced in Greece, A21 said: *"We would encourage the purchase of such products even if they represent a small portion of the market; it will still be important. That is, it will perhaps exert pressure on other businesses or brands that do not have such transparency".* The role that a label certifying ethical production can play in Greece was also mentioned by the National Referral Mechanism: *"Indeed there are two benefits to using a label. One is that you recognise that practices approximating labour exploitation are endemic in this production sector. The other is that you give them the opportunity for accolades. You initiate this conversation which is not very widespread in Greece, that a producer's or businessperson's ethics are valuable too".*

PROPOSITION 8:

THE CREATION OF A "SLAVE-FREE" LABEL MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY TRANSPARENCY, MULTIPLE CHECKS AND A RIGOROUS AWARENESS-RAISING CAMPAIGN, AIMING TO GET CONSUMERS ACTIVELY INVOLVED.

EPILOGUE

The significance of this study is obviously not in assigning blame to individuals in their role as consumers. On the contrary, we have observed the following: firstly, the interviewees generally perceive modern slavery as an injustice that needs to be rectified; secondly, they understand that multiple vulnerabilities lead to exploitation and can potentially render people modern slaves – hence a person's life and dignity lose their meaning; thirdly, the people we spoke with are generally willing to take action by utilising their leverage as consumers to tackle phenomena of modern slavery, provided there is a framework that actively involves all relevant stakeholders.

According to bodies such as A21, interviewees *"grasp, if not all, then at least a large number of the elements that we need, in order to say that, yes, this is a case of human trafficking"*. Similarly, the National Referral Mechanism commented that *"... they covered all the parameters.* [...] *That is, they even covered the structural element* [...] *and pinpointing a person's multiple vulnerabilities as risk factors (for example, their legal status in the country, poverty and all that) is spot on; as is the whole thing with racism and gender discrimination".*

The literature, the institutions but also the experience of organisations in the field converge on the issue of who is responsible for tackling modern slavery. For example, all institutions argued that the role of the state, especially on a global and collaborative level, was of paramount importance. Consumers also largely agree on this and are ready to support initiatives that tackle modern slavery at an institutional level and actively involve the private sector in this attempt. It appears that the case of Manolada left its mark on the Greek consumers and triggered a wider reaction against the injustice that took place, which in fact affected the consumption and reputation of the product. However, according to the National Referral Mechanism, the vulnerability of migrant workers remains, as "all these risk factors accumulate", such as one's legal status, insufficient Greek language skills, and general destitution.

The prospect of the creation and adoption of a label certifying that agricultural products have been produced with respect to labour rights, is worthy of our attention, as it seems that consumers are ready to embrace such an effort. In addition, it is worth discussing this effort with producers themselves, as has been determined through the initial exploratory conversations.

In general, all institutions described the role of the consumer as especially important due to its capacity to affect product mobility and marketability. It can, and must, be promoted in order to incentivise organisations and businesses to strive for more transparency in their supply chains and across labour conditions in general.

APPENDICES

I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MANOLADA

In 2013, there was a mass shooting of Bangladeshi migrant workers in Nea Manolada, which shocked Greek society. The migrant land workers represented a large segment of the strawberry industry and there had been multiple recorded cases prior to the defining incident in 2013. This was the most prominent case of labour exploitation that was ever publicised in Greece. The case went to court but the Greek judicial system did not rule in favour of the Bangladeshi land workers. Despite the reactions from the civil society, the courts ultimately justified the producers' actions and cleared them of all charges.

Having exhausted the national legal remedies, the land workers turned to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) through the Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI) and the Greek lawyers Mr Markos Karavias and Mr Vassilis Kerasiotis. The case was named Chowdury and Others v. Greece. In 2017 the ECHR ruled against the Greek state and in favour of the 42 land workers. According to the Court, Greece violated article 4 paragraph 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights, as the state failed to protect the workers from human trafficking, labour exploitation and bad labour conditions.
In the reports submitted following the ECHR's ruling, Greece argued that all necessary measures to protect workers from such violations are in place, and described the case as an "isolated incident" ("cas isolé").

On 3 September 2020, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, which is responsible for supervising the implementation of ECHR judgements, decided to end its supervision of the Chowdury and Others v Greece case, because the applicants had been compensated. However, the Committee made this decision without taking into account the observations submitted by European and Greek human rights organisations, and therefore without further checking the situation in Manolada and whether the relevant legislative framework in Greece had been improved.

Focusing on the protection, the empowerment and the integration of migrant land workers, one of the conclusions we have drawn is that both the central and local authorities seem unwilling to take action, particularly when this means clashing with the local agricultural producers. The initiative to create a legislative framework, through the addition of article 13A in Law 4251/2014 in 2016, which established insurance coupons for those migrant land workers, who do not have papers and are employed in the agricultural sector, failed to be sufficiently enforced in practice. Further, Greece's non-ratification of the ILO's Convention C129 on Labour Inspection in Agriculture hinders the efficient and sufficient inspections of agricultural labour conditions by the Hellenic Labour Inspectorate (ΣΕΠΕ). All these parameters perpetuate the present situation where workers live in squalid conditions, particularly during the strawberry peak season in April and May. Our organisation knows well, through our regular inspections in Manolada since 2017, that essentially nothing has improved; the labour and living conditions remain particularly difficult. Meanwhile, the state has not devised an organised plan regarding the legal status of the more than 7000 land workers employed in the cultivation of strawberries; as a result, many remain without any form of residence permit, and consequently are not protected by labour law.

II. THE SOCIAL PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS				
	Herakleion	Athens	Peloponnese	Total
Age				
18-29	3	6	5	14
30-39	3	3	1	7
40-49	2	1	2	5
50+	2	0	2	4
	10	**10**	**10**	**10**
Sex				
Male	6	5	3	14
Female	4	5	7	16
	10	**10**	**10**	**30**
Employment Status				
Self-employed	2	2	0	4
Private Employee	6	3	6	15
Civil Servant	1	2	2	5
Unemployed	0	3	1	4
Retired	1	0	1	2
	10	**10**	**10**	**30**

III. INTERVIEW EXTRACTS

TABLE 1: CONSUMER PERCEPTIONS

Findings	Interview Extracts
1.1 Defining criteria for modern slavery	**Lack of freedom, choice and speech, labour conditions, violation of labour rights, and the "employer's" behaviour**
Criteria that were used to determine a person is a "modern slave"	"...because these people who are trapped and can't be freed and escape from this forced labour, and they often can't talk, they're asking for our help [...] to defend them, to help them get out of this impasse they're in, where they are like prisoners, like animals in a farm." "...and in fact they are... It's not even 'slaving away'. I'd say it's slavery." "...there's no capacity for another choice." "I don't think there's anyone who consciously chooses it. They're forced." "So we take someone who has no rights, who is unable to talk, react, do anything, and we exploit them to the maximum so we can gain something." "He may not be a slave, he may have freedom, it's not that he's chained, but in reality he may not be chained, but he's tied to a life in which he can do nothing else." "...to me it's a blatant form of slavery, to have your body exploited, kissed, treated like a product to gain profit from." "...which first and foremost has to do with depriving a person of their freedom. So, the first element is this. [...] being able to give herself as she decides." "...this is probably work without rights. We do not know to what extent they receive the agreed remuneration, what an agreement even means, in other words. We don't know what a deal means there, do we? We don't know what kind of blackmail is being carried out by the powerful party." "...and for me this is a form of modern slavery, [...] namely that there are too many people, in the context of economic and social impoverishment, who work in very precarious and bad working conditions to produce our own clothes." "And they are paid disgraceful wages, in miserable conditions. This – for me – is slavery. Even though they're paid, if this can be considered remuneration, it's not a job for me, it's slavery."

Findings	Interview Extracts
	"...the fact that people work for too many hours with very low wages. And the conditions are... adverse conditions, i.e. in terms of space, of situations [they face]."
	"The employers are very strict, they use verbal blackmail, and curse at the workers very often."
1.2 Factors that promote/allow for modern slavery	**Structural (profit-seeking, consumerism, racism, sexism):**
	"...unfortunately for people who suffer this form of modern slavery, it is organically linked to what we would call the way society produces today."
	"...very large brands all over the world, mainly coming either from the United States of America or from Europe, which exploit people to work in their factories, and their factories are not at each country's base, but are elsewhere, they are in the most underdeveloped – I do not know if this term is appropriate – underdeveloped countries."
	"We are talking about a consumerism framework which also has a global scale."
	"Many people can be enslaved and used as slaves in the name of profit and money. Even in their work, even in 2020."
	"When we talk about a system which, by definition, is based on the exploitation of human beings, I do not think we can ask for or expect working conditions which will not involve such situations."
	"They find it very easy to exploit some people for their own benefit."
	"All this exploitation has to do with some people's profit."
	"...maybe they're exploited more because they're not from here and no-one has their support."
	"...as for being migrant workers, I think it's absolutely connected with modern slavery in Greece."
	"Let us not forget that there is a great deal of xenophobia and racism."
	"Because women are considered by many to be the weak sex, they are very often exploited, they are abused, they are victims of rape many times; and through trafficking, things can often get worse."
	"Because of the [female] sex too, the fact that maybe it is a weaker sex, so one can take advantage of it more easily..."

Findings	Interview Extracts
	People's vulnerable position – vulnerabilities (poverty, lack of legal documents, age): "...he's [the employer] taking advantage of the other person's need for money, he's using his position of leverage over the other person's vulnerability, financial vulnerability, to exploit them." "...who may not have another means of surviving financially." "Poverty is what brings slavery." "...you choose to take advantage of poverty, of destitution, of poor mental health situations and of their need, to make yourself some money." "...as [they] are blackmailed in relation to their papers." "These things had various other side effects, certainly of a criminal nature, such as taking their passports. So they couldn't travel without a passport, or get up and leave." "It's perhaps the most traditional picture, the most "normal" picture we come up with when thinking of modern slavery, because that's the first thing that comes to mind, child labour." "...I am very saddened to see child labour to such an extent. For me it is unacceptable."

Findings	Interview Extracts
1.3 Locations and sites of modern slavery	**How geographical distance and the classification of products-services affect perceptions of modern slavery and the feelings experienced.** "First of all, when I thought about modern slavery, Greece didn't come to mind, but instead I thought about the banana republics in some part of Africa or some other region in America, where there are kids who are taken advantage of, and they have very, very miserable living conditions." "When I heard about modern slavery, the children in Africa were the first thing that immediately came to mind." "...when it comes to modern slaves, most people working in the West are immigrants, so they've come from other countries, whereas in third world countries in Africa, most people are native-born." "Over here we have immigrants and refugees who do these jobs, and for us this is an "opportunity", as it were, to have cheaper labour and not have as many demands on their insurance, nutrition, transportation, etc." "Another difference is that employers in Africa are more faceless, because the employers may be in America or Australia, or I don't know where, and they've just sent someone to supervise them, while in the incident in Manolada they [the employers] were on top of them, abusing them, threatening them, that 'if you don't do this I'm going to kick you out, if you don't do that I'm going to kill you'." "I think modern slavery is found in sectors that can become dangerous to human life. This can be the agricultural sector, the industrial sector, people can live and work in appalling circumstances. [...] In the provision of services, the only service that comes to mind is that of prostitution." "...it is easier to imagine what is happening in the production of goods, but I believe that in the provision of services, I do not think it makes much difference anymore." "In service provision, you can't have a very poorly paid person, a person living in very poor conditions, coming into contact with a customer. Whereas in the production of goods where the only thing coming out is the final product, I think it's much easier to have worse conditions at all levels."

"I think that the production of goods can be tougher in terms of required strength and fatigue, but in the provision of services, precisely because you provide services, of any kind, it may be harder both physically but also on one's morale."

"Look, the truth is, when you see something happening in front of you, it's more intense emotionally."

"...and while the distant examples we mentioned before make me sad, and I would like something to happen about them, the local ones make me more angry, because I live in this country too."

"I think I can understand things going on in my country better, because I understand the context in which it's happening."

"I can't say I feel any different about it. Certainly the negative feelings I have are almost the same."

"They affect me the same, just when something is far away and isn't happening next to you, it's easier to forget about it."

"Okay, when something is close to us, it always affects us more. Whatever a person says, this proximity, or how close an event is to us, or how many kilometres away from us, I think it does make a difference."

TABLE 2: MORAL INTENSITY AND NEUTRALISATIONS

Findings	
2.1 Moral intensity	"When something is faraway, I don't know, maybe it doesn't move you as much, and you feel like you can't do something about it. If it's something nearer by, you might know the mechanisms better let's say, where you could report something to have it be dealt with, or it might be happening to a loved one or even to you, or you might feel that it will affect you too. And if it's happening to my neighbour it might happen to me too, so I'll try to do something in this direction. When it's something faraway, it's different, for sure." "To the extent that we are not affected - unfortunately that's the way it goes - what is far away from us, we do not pay attention to. But if it happens in our backyard, our home, our neighborhood, in our town at any rate, okay, we'll say 'Here? How did this happen? Why did this happen? Why did we let this happen?' Unfortunately, that's the truth, and we look to save our own skin or not be stigmatised in the environment we live in." "Perhaps when something isn't that close by, we might... not exactly be disinterested, or not care about our fellow human being or about what goes on in other societies, but for better or for worse I believe that we get so preoccupied with our daily lives that we somewhat forget about it, perhaps as a means of self-protection... because very often I feel like I can't change the world, so by thinking about it I just make myself feel awful, and very often not thinking about it for a bit is a form of defense. But when it's something in your immediate environment, of course you see it on an everyday basis, so it affects you more." "Mostly because I'm of the same sex as the person depicted, [it makes me think] about the position of women in society, and how we grow up, about the stereotypes and role models we have. And how, ultimately, money is the driving force behind everything and affects some people's lives and fate." "Rapes during trafficking, rapes for the purpose of rape, that's why trafficking occurred. It was mainly women." "It's one thing taking advantage of an adult who can protect himself. When you take advantage of a child, it's even more obscene." "A minor does not have a fully developed personality, they cannot defend themselves, they do not comprehend their rights. Maybe they also take advantage of the fact that they come mainly from disadvantaged family backgrounds."

Findings	Interview Extracts
2.2 Consumer neutralisations	**Denial of Injury** "I too am experiencing exploitation in my own sector as we speak." "I can talk to you about me. The previous job I was in, which okay, doesn't compare to the African kids we talked about before, but anyway... Every week we'd take the company phone after leaving work, or otherwise during weekends, and it only rung one person for a very small fee, which in my mind... I'd include that as modern slavery." "This is a personal story, I saw it and I experienced it." "The simplest form of it is – whoever it concerns - not having health insurance, not getting health insurance stamps and being paid minimum wage. At least legal minimum wage I mean. So this is, in fact, a type of modern slavery." "The modern slavery that happens in Greece is the... many times a person is forced to work overtime without being paid, and this is done all the time, repeatedly, and not once." "Slavery to me, which I've seen and experienced, is a man who's in his office from morning till night [...] Slavery to me means living to 'slave away'. Whereas the right thing is... not slaving away but instead working to live and create." **Denial of Victim** "In other countries, say, people consider ideal a job that isn't ideal in Greece, the job's conditions are not considered ideal and many would not do it. In other words, I believe that in Africa, for example, in some African countries, people work in much worse conditions than in Greece today in 2020, without necessarily complaining, and even consider it normal." "But also due to the need to make a living, people are thankful that "at least this exists". So the worst thing that happens in modern slavery is that we have accepted it, we have accepted that we don't have rights. We have this fatalistic mentality that that's the way it's going to be."

Findings	Interview Extracts

Denial of Responsibility

“So they don't affect me directly because I don't see it right next to me. It's a little bit further away. But it would still affect me in the sense that I see it and I get annoyed and I know it's not right. But I'm not doing it, and no one in my circle is doing it for me to criticise it.”

“No, I don’t react. Because I can't react. Like, what can I do as one single citizen?”

“The truth is, I've never thought about it, about what I could do, say, to stop this happening. Maybe I've said it in the back of my mind, say, somehow, but I've never thought about what I could do in practice.”

TABLE 3: RESPONSIBILITY AND ROLES

Findings	Interview Extracts
3.2 Responsibility	**State** "First of all, I believe there must be state checks of the standards according to which the packing factory was set up." "For me, the state has to step forward. To break the vicious circle, the state has to step forward. The state needs to organise societies in such a way that such cases are not possible." "The state is supposed to... its duties include providing protection to its citizens. So, eliminating such phenomena is first and foremost a job for the state." "When it comes to dealing with it, that's where the laws and police need to work more drastically." "The state alone. Who else?" "I also believe that in general because the European Union is sensitive to climate change, to production processes, to the ways in which certain processes are carried out [...] they too have a great responsibility. So, I believe that they are also a form of stakeholders." "I think someone world-class, like the UN, NATO, the World Health Organisation. All these bodies that are responsible on a global scale. And I think they are able to impose a system that, in a utopian world, would be fairer for everyone." **Non-profit/non-government sector** "Some organisations could inform people about what is happening in various companies that are proven to apply such tactics, so that consumers also avoid their products, and this might force them not to resort to that [slavery]. So, the better you inform the world, the easier the word will spread. It's easy to sensitise people, I think. The briefing. That is, NGOs, organisations that deal with such things." "That is why there are organisations, that is why there are human rights, that is why there are courts and international organisations - to protect people who probably do not know their rights." "I personally don't expect much from NGOs because I don't believe that most of them are doing what they're supposed to. I believe that what they've become nowadays are just labels, just facades and so on."

Findings	Interview Extracts
3.2 Responsibility	"You can't assign the responsibility to NGOs. And the reasons are... NGOs advance a certain light-hearted sensitisation. But these things can't be overturned with words, nor, as I said before by changing consumer behaviours."
	Private sector
	"Anyone who is in a position to have people working under him must behave in a better way, in a more humane way [...] I don't think anything can be done by the people these 'bosses' employ."
	"Other than that, perhaps companies [...] Companies, in their attempt to attract more customers, and more sensitivities, in general, could set certain requirements for the countries in which modern slavery exists and hence be able to eliminate it, at least from where they get the raw materials, and in part have bodies self-regulate."
	"Companies, I don't think so. Companies are in on the game. That is, they're another side of the same coin."
	Consumers
	"So does the consumer. When, for example, you know that a business has brutal ways of dealing with its staff, or treats them like slaves, you can boycott it. And not shop for these products."
	"Consumers are the same, we have a share of the responsibility in the sense that we determine which businesses to support, and we must send them the message that there are consequences to their decisions."
	"A consumer's potential I think is boycotting markets... by not buying products from companies that enforce such inhumane conditions, but it doesn't lead anywhere."
	"Whatever I can do personally, to not support this situation, I should do it. [...] The part we play is infinitesimal, but for moral reasons I believe I must still do whatever I can."
	"I think there are organisations etc. that are going after this thing, that are making extreme situations known to the public, and I think that's how it could be done. With a lot of pressure from some organisations or some people..."

TABLE 4: SITUATIONS OF MODERN SLAVERY IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

Findings	Interview Extracts
4. Agricultural sector	**Awareness of situations of modern slavery in the agricultural sector** "These people are looking for work, and as harsh as this sounds, no matter how much you give them, they're going to come to work because they don't have anything else they can do to make ends meet." "Well, one of the first things that came to mind [...] was Manolada, where various incidents took place concerning immigrants who didn't have the necessary documents to come here, so they took advantage of them, gave them low pay, and many times there had been some incidents from what I remember with gunshots." "I imagine that to a large extent these images are quite commonplace in the Greek provinces, in the countryside mainly [...] So the typical example that we know of [...] is the case in Manolada that was taken to court, with the decisions we all know about, and so on. So it seems like it's a pretty generalised phenomenon." "I do know however that even here in Crete there is exploitation of foreign workers and that they give people lower wages and that." "When we had the Manolada case here, where we talked about 'bloody strawberries', because it was the peak of the exploitation of these people who'd worked without being paid for many months and at some point they tried to claim what belonged to them, all the wages, and from what I heard there was a big argument and there was a fight and shots were fired and so on." "I had in mind the exploitation of immigrants in agriculture, and more specifically in the prefecture of Ilia, where there had been a great furore over the strawberries, the production, the working conditions of immigrants; over how they were treated, and the lousy conditions in which they lived, over how they were financially exploited. [...] I imagine that when it comes to agriculture is a common thing in other areas too; perhaps even in other sectors. It just so happens that it came to light and I know of it too. Because for sure there will be more that I don't know about, that I've missed."

Findings	Interview Extracts
4. Agricultural sector	"I consider the picture of strawberry workers in New Manolada to be the second one. [...] the working conditions behind them are inhumane, their working hours are exhausting, their wages are... you can't call the 3 euros these people get 'wages', they don't have adequate living conditions, nor adequate... these privileges that we have in the western world don't exist there. It's a form of slavery... they live trapped, they are slaves, they are clearly slaves, and not only are they slaves in their working environment, but they were used by slave traders and traffickers in order to leave their country to come to Greece or to Europe to find a life with better conditions, and there once again they were taken advantage of." "It's in the Manolada region. Over there they are in need of cheap labour, so they take them and possibly hold the workers prisoner, often against their will in order to collect agricultural products." **Proximity to the agricultural sector and situations of modern slavery within** "It's mainly about buying products." "So agricultural production is not part of my everyday life." "Wherever a person might be, a person's exploitation has nothing to do with whether he's next to me, or if he's miles away. The results are the same." "So if that's what we consider to be distant from me (because most probably, ideally, I would never go to pick strawberries in a foreign country) it's something that angers me more. But I don't know if that counts as being far from us. Like, it is very close to us." "If we are talking about consumer habits, markets and so on, surely products from the agricultural sector are products that we consume on a daily basis. With this in mind, if I'm informed or become aware, (whether willingly, by myself or through a news outlet that a particular producer) of a particular company, which is giving products to a supermarket and they're being placed on their shelves, that treats their employees in these conditions that can be described as conditions of slavery, then it will certainly be something that would change my consumption habits, as far as these products are concerned." "I do consume agricultural products. I generally try, if I hear from some source that something bad is going on, and I have reason to believe that it is actually happening, well, we're a country with a lot of agricultural production, I can just get the same product from somewhere else. So again, I try to support those who I believe it's ethical to get behind."

Findings	Interview Extracts
4. Agricultural sector	**Label of "slave-free" agricultural products** "It would be the one I would use from now on, and if there is a possibility that such products could be imported, which have been produced in a fair and slave-free way, yes I would include them in my daily life and I would urge my friends and family to do so too." "I'd advertise it to those around me. And I would try as a consumer, if it is a product that I personally buy and I am interested in, to buy from this particular company." "Of course I'd prefer it. Like we prefer products that are... here too we choose, because we know where they come from." "I believe that a modern educated person would be very sensitised and incentivised to buy this product, it would be something that would motivate someone to buy the product. I believe it would be very good for the consumer." "I would definitely choose it. I would prefer it. Of course, if it was also a product that... I mean, I always try to balance the cost, to be able to afford the product" [...] companies want the profit. And if a product sells better, for any reason, then I believe that they would put it into practice. If not right from the beginning, then down the line." "I think this is done again with bad intentions, because if there is a portion of the world which – what we were saying before, at least shows opposition by boycotting such products, they are again trying to alter this portion's course, and assimilate them back into consumption, giving them false guarantees. Because I do not believe that this is done out of genuine motives or evidence of anything. It's a marketing ploy." "First of all, I would look up what this label means and what the prerequisites are to getting it. And if I thought that having a label on that product really does mean that there is a moral attitude towards workers, it would clearly make me think positively about it. Of course, if this label is used to raise the price 7-fold compared to what it would normally be – because they do have a tendency for that too in the market – then I would have to think again. But it would clearly predispose me positively, as long as its sole purpose was to signpost the moral and proper treatment of employees, without the company gaining any extra benefit from this process."

Findings	Interview Extracts
4. Agricultural sector	“I agree, I'd like it. It’s just, because we are talking about Greece, I don't know whether... That is, if, for example, there’s a company and someone comes to sign that you are indeed fair to your employees, I do not know whether this would be done fairly, the signature and the company’s stamp.” “I'd be sure it’s not true. Because it's something I know about personally, and if it's something I've seen with my own eyes or heard with my ears, no one can change my mind.” “I'd buy it, I’d like it, but on the other hand I think it's a little funny. The fact that you’ll choose a product with that logic, it’s like saying everything else is... who’d have thought we’d get to the point where we have labels for what's produced without slavery. So what does that say about everything else? That they do involve slavery?” “So not buying strawberries – okay, I don’t buy any. But you’re clearly doing it for emotional reasons, so you can feel that [...] it has no real value in my opinion. It’s just for emotional purposes so you can feel a little better.”

Modern slavery is one of the most significant problems in the world not only because it affects a large segment of the global population, but also because it constitutes one of the greatest violations of human rights and destroys, literally and utterly, the lives of modern slaves. Such phenomena exist in Greece too. In sectors such as agriculture, situations resembling the case of Manolada are by no means isolated incidents. This research, the findings of which are presented in this report, aims to sustain the interest in this issue by focusing on the role of the consumer instead of the producer, highlighting it as equally significant in the debate on combating the conditions of modern slavery.

The present report is the next step Generation 2.0 for Rights, Equality & Diversity is taking in the recognition of the phenomena with characteristics of Manolada and in the mobilization of the citizens with the final goal of taking the necessary institutional measures.

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