



Royal College of Art
Postgraduate Art and Design

**From Compliance to Care:
Shaping Modern Slavery Competency in Architectural Professional Practice**

PhD Thesis

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This thesis represents partial submission for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Royal College of Art. I confirm that the work presented here is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

During the period of registered study in which this thesis was prepared, the author has not been registered for any other academic award or qualification. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

Paul Priest, 11th of February 2024

Dedication

I dedicate this to my three children, William, Henry, and Alexandria, whom we welcomed to the world during the course of this project. I want you to know that anything is possible.

I thank my parents for teaching me the values on which this work is based, and of course, my wife, Nicola, with whom I look forward to sharing many more adventures.

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Glossary of Terms

Modern Slavery

While acknowledging its contested meaning, I will use the following definition of modern slavery in this thesis for its simplicity and applicability to relational and structural forms (Mende and Drubel, 2020, p. 318) of modern slavery, “[f]irst, the control of a person over another, second, an involuntary aspect in their relation, and third, the element of exploitation” (Mende, 2019, p. 5).

Accountability

Since the early 1990s, requirements for managerial accountability have allowed the general public to judge institutional and professional performance. However, neither raising management responsibility nor mandating more openness has remedied the problems they were designed to tackle (Ray, 2005, p. 98).

Agency

I use the word agency to mean an action or intervention producing a particular effect and “the ability to take action or to choose what action to take” (*Cambridge Dictionary*, 2023a).

Architects Registration Board (ARB)

The ARB is the statutory body for registering architects in the United Kingdom. It operates under the Architects Act 1997 as amended, prescribes architectural qualifications, maintains the Register of Architects, issues a code of professional conduct and imposes sanctions.

Code and code

Code refers to the RIBA Code of Professional Conduct. In contrast, code is “a set of principles that are accepted and used by society or a particular group of people” (*Cambridge Dictionary*, 2023b).

Competency

Competence is an action, behaviour, or outcome that a person should be able to demonstrate, as well as the capacity to transfer skills and knowledge to new circumstances within the occupational field (Holmes and Joyce, 1993).

Compliance

Regulation is “the act of obeying a law or rule, especially one that controls a particular industry or type of work” or “the act of doing everything that someone tells or wants you to do” (*Cambridge Dictionary*, 2023c).

Compliance Management System (CMS)

A compliance management system (CMS) is a set of compliance rules, processes, and procedures to clearly and systematically meet legal and regulatory obligations.

Construction Industry

The construction industry is “an industry whose product is the services necessary to produce durable buildings and works. In the International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC) (UN, 1968), construction covers general and special trade contractors primarily engaged in contract construction” (Hillebrandt, 2000, pp. 3–4).

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

The European Commission defines corporate social responsibility as “a concept whereby companies decide voluntarily to contribute to a better society and a cleaner environment” (European Commission, 2001, p. 4).

Debt Bondage or Bonded Labour

Crates (2018) defines debt bondage or bonded labour as “a specific form of forced labour, in which the element of compulsion is through debt. It is characterised by a creditor-debtor relationship in which the worker is trapped by an unsustainably high debt to their employer” (Crates, 2018a, p. 1).

Early Supply Chain Involvement (ESI)

ESI is a form of collaboration in which purchasing firms involve suppliers at an early stage in the life cycle of a product, generally at the time of product concept or design (Zsidisin and Smith, 2005, p. 44).

Environmental, Social, and Corporate Governance (ESG)

The United Nations Global Compact whitepaper “Who Cares Wins” (UN Global Compact, 2004) first introduced the term Environmental, Social, and Corporate Governance (ESG). It claimed that “successful investment depends on a vibrant economy, which depends on a healthy civil society, which is ultimately dependent on a sustainable planet” (UN Global Compact, 2004, p. 3).

Exploitation

Although there is no precise legal definition of exploitation, according to European and United Nations conventions, it encompasses forced labour, servitude, and slavery. Allain et al. (2013) define exploitation as “[t]aking unfair advantage of another person in a work situation, where the element of ‘unfairness’ is established against a benchmark established in law” (Allain *et al.*, 2013).

Forced Labour

The International Labour Organization’s (ILO) definition of “forced or compulsory labour shall mean all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily” (International Labour Organisation (ILO), 1930).

Globalisation

Globalisation is the systematic removal of barriers to the cross-border movement of factors (labour, capital), goods, technology, knowledge, information, belief systems, ideas, and values. It is driven by personal, economic, social, or political goals that push people, organisations, and governments to expand their operations beyond national borders (Kaplinsky, 2005, p. 9).

Global Value Chain (GVC)

The GVC is the global process of bringing a product or service from conception to production, including physical transformation, the input of producer services, and consumer distribution and disposal (Kaplinsky, 2005, p. 101).

Governance

Governance refers to “who” makes choices, “what” their powers and duties are, and “how” they exert their authority and influence (Lockwood *et al.*, 2006, p. 116).

Human Rights Due Diligence

The United Nations defines Human Rights Due Diligence (HRDD) as “[a]n ongoing risk management process [...] to prevent, mitigate and account for how [an organisation] addresses its adverse human rights impacts. [...] [Including] adverse human rights impacts that the business enterprise may cause or contribute to through its own activities, or which may be directly linked to its operations, products or services by its business relationships” (United Nations, 2011).

Human Trafficking

The Council of Europe defines human trafficking as “[t]he recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion...to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purpose of exploitation” (Council of Europe, 2005).

Law

Law is “a rule, usually made by a government, that is used to order the way in which a society behaves” or “the system of rules of a particular country, group, or area of activity” (*Cambridge Dictionary*, 2023d).

Multi-national Corporations (MNCs) and Trans-national Corporations (TNCs)

MNCs are centralized businesses that control their operations and the production of goods and services domestically and abroad. TNCs are decentralized businesses that manage their production of goods and services with other nations, often to lower production costs.

Responsibility

Responsibility, like agency, is always both personal and collective. In the case of architecture, it is individual when it concerns the scope of the architect's work but communal when it comes to the collaborative activity of the delivery of a large project. Responsibility is not just the narrow sense of competence in fulfilling the client's requirements

but also the broader sense of responsibility for the built environment and its implications for the future (Ray, 2005, p. 113).

Reasonable Skill and Care

A contractual obligation to conduct work with “reasonable skill and care” creates a performance requirement similar to the standard of care in negligence. It is an implied duty to exercise the same level of skill and care as that of another reasonably competent member of the profession (*Designing Buildings*, 2021a).

Regulation

Regulation is “an official rule or the act of controlling something” or “according to the rules or the usual way of doing things” (*Cambridge Dictionary*, 2023e).

Risk

Risk is a hazard, danger, possibility of loss or injury, or the degree of likelihood of loss. Taking a risk combines a hazard with choice or will. In construction projects, risks are typically taken by selecting from a set of risks and eliminating unacceptable ones (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 9).

Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA)

The RIBA is a professional body for architects, primarily in the United Kingdom but also internationally, founded for the advancement of architecture under its royal charter granted in 1837.

Sustainable Development

The report of the Bruntland Commission provides the most prominent definition of sustainable development as that which “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

Supply Chain Management (SCM) or Sustainable Supply Chain Management (SSCM)

Sustainable supply chain management is “the management of material, information and capital flows as well as cooperation among companies along the supply chain while taking goals from all three dimensions of sustainable development, i.e., economic, environmental and social” (Seuring and Müller, 2008, p. 1700).

Preface

As a Chartered Member of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), I have twenty years of industry experience and a multi-billion-dollar built project portfolio. Ten years were spent in practice in the UK and ten in the Middle East. As Director of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Studios, I established and directed three regional design offices, providing me and this research project with a knowledge base of British and international working methods and professional standards. My professional experience has facilitated a solid commercial understanding of the sites of enquiry and enabled continued access to industry and government.

This period in industry advanced my hard skills in client and stakeholder management, architectural service design, professional service and construction contracts, business development, and commercial and operational strategy. Establishing an early presence in so-called “emerging” and “frontier” markets, involvement in British government trade delegations, and familiarity with diverse clients imparted the importance of professional standards, relationships and care. Adapting diasporic professional services frameworks to local contexts and participating in the RIBA’s International Chartered Practice Pilot Scheme has enhanced this unique perspective. Above all, these experiences have informed my sincere respect for diverse cultures and practices and sparked my profound desire to redeploy this knowledge to make a positive social contribution. Thus, it was my intent to return to the UK and academia for reflection and engagement with the social responsibilities of architectural professional practice.

Drawing on my personal experience, this autoethnographic research project began with a critical reflection on the RIBA International Chartered Practice in the Middle East region. Since establishing trade in architectural services in the 1970s, British architects have maintained a strong presence in the UAE, attested to by the recent introduction of the RIBA International Chartered Practice status to certify standards of British practices internationally. In Dubai, the newly opened RIBA office (RIBA, 2019a) marked the institution's first establishment of operations outside the UK. The RIBA Gulf Chapter represents the professional membership body in the Middle East region, the largest export market for British architecture. Unfortunately, there are several international human rights and labour rights treaties, such as those endorsed by the ILO and OECD, to which the UAE is not a signatory. This, combined with the lack of statistical data on labour standards, which these organisations publish, means that architects working in this area are exposed to the risk of contravening their direct and fiduciary responsibilities in an important commercial market.

My research interests lie in revealing the complexity of seemingly straightforward scenarios, such as the RIBA Code of Professional Conduct, using visual tools as a research method to draw out relationships and paradoxes. Despite taking an unconventional academic route, my strengths are divergent thinking, conceptual expansion, and overcoming knowledge constraints. I am neurodiverse, and as a result, my soft skills have developed to compensate for traditional academic and social limitations. I feel most comfortable inhabiting the edges and hold equality, morality, and justice as central societal values; hence they are the subjects of my academic work. My research interest lies in revealing the complexity of seemingly straightforward scenarios, using visual tools as a research method to draw out relationships and paradoxes. Having stepped from practice to academia, I intend to commit to

reflection through a critical analysis of experience in practice. The project works towards legitimacy across disciplines by instrumentalising practical knowledge in academia and, in doing so, extending its agency and impact.

Whilst my experiences in practice have enabled me to make connections across boundaries, my approach through inverse thinking has clarified my research objectives and helped me to deal with complexity. My experience in architectural practice has provided me and this research project with a grounded knowledge of British and international working methods and professional standards. My adaptation of diasporic professional services frameworks to local contexts has enhanced this unique perspective.

Chapter 0 - Introduction: From Compliance to Care

0.1 Autoethnographic Position

My career as an architect in professional practice routinely presented me with an interface with some of the worst social effects of capitalism. Yet while my work contributed to these social effects, within the architectural profession, everything I was doing was considered “best practice”. To perform this “best practice” required extensive professional training and industry experience: my projects were financed and fully insured, delivered through RIBA Chartered Practices, and won many awards. The introduction of the revised RIBA Code of Professional Conduct for architects, and an increased focus by the wider profession on the geographies in which I have practiced (predominantly the MENA Region) led me to consider how architectural professional practice and modern slavery coexist. Having informed myself of the issues of modern slavery, I tried to imagine how I might have done, or might do things differently. What began to become apparent was an absence of practical alternatives to the status quo in contemporary architectural practice, and a paradox that despite the architect’s close proximity on site to construction labourers, builders, and other site workers at risk, we are infinitely separated socially, structurally and legally from those who may need care. How can we be so close as to physically touch someone on a construction site we are overseeing, and yet be unable to help, or even to know, their circumstances?

In this project, I use my lived experience as a reflexive positionality with which to reframe global architectural practice by revealing through care the voices of, and laws relating to, those usually overlooked in the governance of international development, and here specifically with reference to modern slavery. As emancipatory action research, the axiological objectives of the project are to make an impact and stimulate change within the architectural profession, specifically with Chartered RIBA Architects in the UK and abroad. This has required me to recognise my privileged position within the architecture profession and to redefine myself quite radically within the industry by speaking about a subject that not only has limited exposure but is, by many, considered taboo in contemporary commercial practice. Perhaps it is the current widespread precarity within the architectural profession that prevents such open critique; however, I have committed to starting this difficult conversation, and I do so by presenting some uncomfortable findings about the architectural industry, its institutions and practices (see [Chapter 0.7](#)).

Reflecting on my professional practice in architecture as I worked through literatures around modern slavery in construction and international development revealed a growing tension in my evolving values. In this context, I turned to explore an auto-ethnographic approach for this research project. In critically appraising my own professional practice, the auto-ethnographic method was effective in highlighting previously opaque social relationships in construction projects (Lövstedt, 2014). The method builds off of the work of Adams (2012), who positions auto-ethnography as aiding practitioners in understanding situations, reactions, emotions, and learning from experiences for improved future actions (Brookfield 1995, Ellis 1999) (Grosse, 2019, pp. 7–8). This self-focused critique led to a deconstruction of the familiar modes of understanding my relationship to architectural practice and

the profession at large, and in so doing, it ultimately required a fundamental shift in the framing of the project. This shift was not one of perspective but of re-centring. Schön might describe this as a process of oscillation. One must begin with the original discipline, “even if it is arbitrary”, knowing that “you can dissolve the original discipline in order to try another one, and that you can later make knowing violations of the initial geometry” (Schön, 1983, p. 85).

Methodological reflexivity over time allowed me to recognise my positional shift and defined these methods’ common values for me. Rather than continuing to focus on building a better compliance model for the architectural profession regarding the inclusion of modern slavery within the RIBA’s Code of Professional Conduct, I was now working towards a concept of practising care. This approach has emerged from within, guided by modes of research, practice, and my unique life experience. Care was taken during the research regarding the ethics of its approach, subject, and participants. In conducting the study, I have attended to the situation with care on multiple levels; from my attention to the subject of modern slavery to “the workers who are exploited”; in bringing attention to the issue; in the ethical approach to participants, and hopefully, in the communication of its findings. The literature outlines the importance of critiquing received notions and reflection. What is central to this approach is to “bring together potentially hidden (or absent) voices and opinions, through foregrounding experiences and knowledge [... and] It is important that these critiques are shared visibly, to allow for debate and conversation” (Udall, 2019, p. 48). Schön’s “reflection-in-action” approach allows practitioners to examine and critique their past understandings, thereby fostering fresh meaning in uncertain situations (Schön, 1983, p. 61). Every design decision is a local experiment that adds to the overall study of problem-reframing. This idea has been tested in the research across jurisdictions by continually reframing it and encouraging a reflective dialogue with the situation, “in which one comes to appreciate and then to develop the implications of a new whole idea” (Schön, 1983, p. 94). The practitioner’s “tacit frame” defines strategies of attention, how practitioners strive to modify their situation, and the values that shape their practice (Schön, 1983, p. 309). Thus, those conscious of their tacit frames have alternative ways to frame their reality (Schön, 1983, p. 310). However, being reflexive, one inevitably uncovers uncomfortable realities (Pillow, 2003).

Foucault (1994) argues that such ethical work requires a historical examination of the self’s foundational principles through self-criticism. The project is intended to reveal the circumstances that lead to self-reflection, initiate alternative strategies for building relationships, and “construct a new way of being” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018, p. 184). Through an ongoing critical pedagogy, I hope to demonstrate the ethics of an ontological change that goes beyond Western constructs of the self through a process of self-governance (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018, p. 184). Taking this concept further, Foucault’s notion of telos (Foucault, 1994) describes “the willingness to disassemble self, to deconstruct one’s world (and one’s research practices if a researcher) in ways that demonstrate commitment to an ethical practice that would avoid the construction of power over any individual or group of others (even unpredicted, yet-to-be-determined others in the future). Telos is a form of self-bricolage, slowly elaborating and establishing a self committed to thinking differently, that welcomes the unknown and can function flexibly” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018, p. 185).

The diversity of opinion obtained by including all RIBA Members in the survey was important, as this made visible the values of all stakeholders, including those not typically represented in the shaping of institutional policy. This

emphasis on the individual was critical in moving beyond ontological assumptions of a singular perspective in this qualitative research. I hope that the research creates a context in which the subject of modern slavery can be brought into dialogue with RIBA Members. I will, therefore, use critical practice to allow a language to develop to facilitate discussion and improve awareness within the institutional frameworks of research and industry. Through instinct, the project was “felt” before it was “known” as Deleuze (2000) asserts, intelligence always comes afterwards (Deleuze, 2000, p. 23). It is the function of the project, then, to trust these feelings and articulate them through the narrative of a critical social enquiry.

0.2 Research Aim

Modern slavery is an urgent issue in construction supply chains. The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) response to this risk has been to introduce modern slavery regulation for its Members. Just how this might be achieved in practice is the subject of this critical research.

Guidance for best practice in regulatory compliance is now commonplace. It includes globally recognised standards, Environmental, Social and Corporate Governance (ESG) initiatives, Compliance Management Systems (CMS) and Governance Regulation and Compliance (GRC) technology. However, this project considers the professional duty of the RIBA Code’s prescriptive requirement for compliance through the critical lens of care ethics. This research, therefore, contributes to the growing body of knowledge on modern slavery in construction, focusing on the policies, geographies, and institutions capable of making change.

I begin this research by asking whether the requirements of Component 5.1 (Members shall comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery) and 5.3 (Shall exercise reasonable skill and care to use supply chains which are free from Modern Slavery) (RIBA, 2019b) of the RIBA Code of Professional Conduct, introduced in 2019, are fit for purpose. By identifying the points of interface between the Code and situated architectural practice, the complexity of a seemingly straightforward requirement for ethical decision-making will be revealed.

In evaluating the efficacy of this performance requirement, I suggest that the Code is unlikely to achieve its intended objectives due to Members’ lack of preparedness, and a lack of guidance for achieving compliance or understanding the regulator’s enforcement and reporting strategy. In considering the fitness of the Code’s substance, I comment on the value of including legislation within the institution’s code of ethics and the relevance of the MSA across the jurisdictions of a transnational institution.

This project hopes to raise awareness of modern slavery in construction supply chains and provides a framework for discussion and the development of future academic and industry endeavours.

0.3 Research Questions

Primary Research Question:

‘How might RIBA Members uphold their Code of Professional Conduct: to ‘comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery?’.

And the sub-questions:

Research Sub-Question A: Is the Code (Components 5.1 and 5.3 of the RIBA Code of Professional Conduct) fit for purpose?

Research Sub-Question B: What is the standard of skill and care of the average Member in complying with the Code?

Research Sub-Question C: How prepared to comply with their Code do RIBA Members feel?

Research Sub-Question D: How might Members effectively manage the risk of modern slavery in their project supply chains?

0.4 Contemporary Context

Previous research attests to the value placed on professional standards by RIBA Members. Yet despite 95% stating that demonstrating professional competence is extremely important (RIBA, 2020a, p. 12), 12% have “basic” or “no” knowledge of professional ethics (RIBA, 2020a, p. 12). In 2020, the RIBA declared that “meeting the SDGs is essential to world sustainability, a world where no one is left behind” (RIBA, 2020a, p. 12). However, as 68% of Members were found to have “basic” or “no” knowledge of the SDGs (RIBA, 2020a, p. 11), “this is a knowledge gap that needs responding to” (RIBA, 2020a, p. 12). In 2020, Carys Rowlands, RIBA Head of Professional Standards, made “a call to arms, a call for a step-change in practice now – in this decade of action – for people, prosperity and planet” (RIBA, 2020a, p. 6). My research responds to this challenge.

The RIBA has positioned itself as having the highest professional standards in contemporary architectural practice. It claims a world-renowned architectural pedigree and is Europe's leading exporter of architecture (RIBA, 2017a, p. 39). As such, it moves forward with ambitious policy as a key player in global construction and is said to be “a leader in developing and exporting new construction standards” (HM Government, 2018, p. 36). Acknowledging the urgency of modern slavery in construction project supply chains, the RIBA revised its Code of Professional Conduct (Code) in 2019 to include a specific clause tackling modern slavery. This project, therefore, began with a critical reflection of the RIBA, framed by recent shifts in the global dynamics and regulation of RIBA Members. It attends to the dual pressures of navigating socially responsible practice and internationalising the British architect's professional standards.

It explores the impact of regulatory change on the architect's duty of care by defining the standards of conduct required for compliance across a global lawscape. Despite the prevalence of international regulation, the endemic nature of modern slavery suggests that these initiatives remain ineffective in practice. This ecosystem ranges from

hard to soft, global to local, involving human rights, labour rights, and social and economic governance. Further, the architect must practice within and against deregulated structures, jurisdictional complexity and permissive governments. Despite demands for reform, the profession lacks resilient, practical solutions. Consequently, Members are underequipped to navigate the complex and often vague obligations of social policy and so remain powerless in protecting the rights of the individual.

The research offers a unique and urgent insight into the socio-institutional codes of international development by engaging with the RIBA Decade of Action's "call for change" (RIBA, 2020a, p. 6). The project focuses on the Code's impact on the architect in practice as a real-world stimulus for change. It does so by critically investigating the readiness of RIBA Members to comply with their Code by defining the gap between existing and compliant practice. Designed to generate an ethnographic evidence base, it surveyed 826 Members' opinions, followed by 12 hours of semi-structured interviews. This primary data is analysed to reveal the prevalence of human rights risks in Members' project supply chains, measure their standard of skill and care, and understand the Code's efficacy. The findings and recommendations of this project have been distributed to Members in the format of an industry report. Importantly, it advocates a shift from compliance to care.

Hopefully, this research provides an empirical basis for further investigation to assist modern slavery policy implementation and inform future architectural practice. Its findings should offer value to Members and the wider architectural community, not limited to those delivering work in so-called 'high-risk' areas or specifying globally sourced materials. It is especially pertinent to those who might believe that modern slavery is an issue that only exists "elsewhere".

0.5 Hypothesis

I argue that "care", an essential quality of architectural practice, is being eroded and replaced by an approach of "compliance". I suggest that this shift has been facilitated by a combination of the architect's diminishing agency and the increasing complexity of legal and contractual structures of the global value chain. I argue that before the era of globalisation, architects practiced with care and maintained an intimacy with the labour of production in their projects. These processes and relationships have been replaced with a model that privileges global output and efficiency.

I, therefore, hypothesise that regulatory compliance with the Code cannot be assumed through the normative procedures of British domestic practice. I predict that the average RIBA Member is not sufficiently prepared to comply with the Code, which is likely to compromise the integrity of this professional standard throughout project value chains.

0.6 Collaboration

The project has collaborated with many different organisations and audiences in its development. It has received support from the RIBA as an institution through distributing the survey and publishing the results in a RIBA Professional Feature, which was circulated to its database of 28,000 Members. The advantage of the research positioning in practice has been the rapid dissemination of knowledge and feedback. The project has also been supported personally by both RIBA Presidents during its development, the Director of Professional Standards at the RIBA, and the Director of Standards at the ARB. The project was shortlisted for the UKRI (AHRC) Policy Internship scheme, leading to research conversations with individuals at the Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology (POST) and policy advisors to the UK Government. These opportunities led to pivotal discussions with members of the Home Office, in particular a government minister who was central to the drafting of the MSA, who provided valuable background information and advice on the project, as well as policymakers and researchers in the Modern Slavery Unit, who provided insight into the latest developments and strategy in their specialist field.

0.7 Impact

The research hopes to achieve academic impact through relevance, originality, knowledge exchange, and industrial collaboration by foregrounding socially responsible architectural practice. The project works across social science and humanities disciplines and demonstrates industry crossover at its core. The professional impact of the work will naturally be centred around the RIBA. However, as the world's oldest professional institution for architects, with its increasing international presence and validation of education courses worldwide, the wider construction industry in the UK and internationally will seek to understand the RIBA's undertaking in modern slavery. The work will directly relate to the RIBA's 28,000 Members, including 5,500 international Members. Therefore, it is hoped that the societal impact will be to hold the RIBA and its Members to account and shine a light on the complex issue of modern slavery.

Because most of the research was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, I encountered significant challenges in disseminating the work. This was felt by the limitation of personal interaction with individuals during the conduct of research and in wider social settings such as workshops and conferences. Despite this, persistence and resilience saw this project through to completion. This work has elevated my profile in the field, leading to my participation as a panel member of the London School of Architecture (LSA) Ethical Practice Roundtable; I have provided resources for the Steering Group for Stronger Together's Tackling Modern Slavery in Construction programme; presented the work at the RIBA's 2024 Smart Practice conference, and continue conversations with organisations such as Design for Freedom, a movement that brings industry leaders together to eliminate forced labour in the building materials supply chain.

Publications:

- RIBA Professional Feature #324: Are Members Prepared to Comply With the RIBA's Modern Slavery Requirements in Their Project Supply Chains? RIBA, 9th February 2023
- Modern Slavery in Professional Practice; Industry Report and Recommendations, RIBA, 2023
- Internationalising the Professional Standards of the Chartered British Architect for Socially Responsible Global Development, Iterations: Design Research and Practice Review, Issue 8, January 2020, DOI 10.31880/10344/8363
- [Internationalising the Professional Standards of the Chartered British Architect for Socially Responsible Global Development](#), The Matter of Architecture, 31st May 2019
- [Book of Abstracts; Presidents Award for Research](#), RIBA, 2019

Seminars:

- Global Supply Chains in the 21st Century, RIBA Smart Practice Conference, RIBA, 21st November 2023
- Ethical Practice Roundtable, London School of Architecture, 3rd November 2022
- "*Just a Footnote" Workshop, RCA, 21st February 2021
- Post Graduate Research Conference, RCA, 5th March 2020
- Critical Intentions, RCA, 16th January 2019
- RIBA Research Matters Conference, University of Sheffield, 18th October 2018

0.8 Methodology

0.8.1 Research Design

The research has been designed to extend across scales and jurisdictions, from professional governance in the UK to professional practice globally, revealing the architect's social and legal contracts in practice. In doing so, it offers a unique and urgent insight into the weaknesses in the professional standards of British architectural practice and the opportunities for improving them.

This work foregrounds the social dimension of procurement practices and supply-chain structures by evaluating the translation of the professional standards deployed by chartered British architects in delivering construction projects internationally. It is positioned at the intersection of research and industry across diverse meta and sub-institutions; grounded in the arts and social sciences, it focuses on academic and professional perspectives on interrogating humanities in architecture. The lived experience of the Middle East creates an entry point into British professional practices overseas, and reflexive cultural anthropological methods are used to analyse ethnographic data and conduct qualitative studies. A close relationship was required with a number of individuals and organisations throughout the project. This involved contacting participants through various access routes and identifying connections to others with similar characteristics. This pragmatic sampling strategy, termed snowballing, is used in ethnography for reaching hard-to-reach groups and individuals (Edwards and Holland, 2023, p. 7).

The work that will follow is complex and, in some cases, contradictory. It deals with a range of scales and subjects. I intend to approach this project with care and diligence, “articulating the repercussions and impacts of every design choice” (Royal College of Art (RCA), 2021a). My approach to making sense by labelling and categorising the organisational phenomena (Connaughton *et al.*, 2015, p. 190) has resulted in a densely argued and diversely referenced text. My intention and commitment to encompassing all aspects of the issue and my thesis organisation reflect my feeling that the subject is complex and requires a comprehensive and multi-dimensional approach. The methods, structure and content of the thesis I have chosen attend to this concern. Using legal reasoning, I draw on the literature throughout the thesis as I consider and present these different sources. The legalistic format of this thesis was selected for its organisational qualities, whilst retaining a closeness to sources, yet is also individual, reflecting the nature of my thought processes and methods of making sense.

0.8.1.1 Mixed Methodology

Taking the view that modern slavery is a wicked problem means that no single method would adequately satisfy the research aims. It is claimed that architecture is a design profession that refines a complex network of social, cultural, and technical aspects to create quality as part of the human environment. Further, this socio-cultural nature means its 'problems' are not actually solvable, merely negotiable (Plowright, 2014, p. 27). Research emphasises “the ability

to conceptualize new forms of collaboration, rethinking subjectivities and acknowledging that the professional and personal are critical social projects” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018, p. 184). This is particularly relevant considering the distinct methods of science and design. The scientific method is a problem-solving pattern used to understand existing phenomena, while the design method involves inventing new things of value. “Science is analytic; design is constructive” (Gregory, 1966, p. 6). To critically engage with a subject as complex as modern slavery, a mixed methodology approach will be required, enabling comparative analysis between quantitative and qualitative data. Qualitative and quantitative approaches offer greater insight than either method alone (Creswell, 2017).

The literature indicates a strong methodological bias towards positivism and rationalism. The implications of the construction management research community's positivist tradition, methodological conservatism and lack of interpretive research design have been documented (Dainty, 2008, p. 10). Technical rationality holds that our social world is objective, measurable, and explainable, and seeks to solve problems using scientific procedures and theories. Rationalist-based methodologies attempt to provide a complete, comprehensive, linear, and universal approach to design, viewing the results as “solutions” to problems (Plowright, 2014, p. 23). However, in practice, problems do not appear as givens (Schön, 1983, p. 40). Traditional academic tropes appear embedded in specific research communities, which may limit the depth of understanding in complex research fields. Alternative approaches would provide a broader range of investigation and a richer data source.

Although a multi-method approach offers the potential for new insight, there appears to be resistance to moving away from existing academic paradigms. It has been suggested that those conducting social science research in construction management should adopt a “multimethodology” to better understand social action's significance through the actors' eyes (Dainty, 2008, p. 10). Research subjects and processes are complex and multidimensional, requiring various methodologies (Mingers, 2003, p. 2). However, some suggest a negative attitude toward academic mixed methods research, possibly attributed to the Design Methods Movement. This conventional viewpoint linked quantitative procedures and positivist research to natural science, qualitative approaches, and interpretive research to social science. Therefore, positivist and interpretative methods have often been seen as conflicting paradigms and the topic of considerable dispute (Brown, 2012, p. 79). The claim that academic research into professional practice is limited appears partly due to academic methodological traditions, an issue I wish to address in this research project.

0.8.1.1.1 Autoethnography

Autoethnography provides a unique theoretical foundation for the research. This perspective is founded in my lived experience of international architectural practice, as described in [Chapter 0.1](#). Further, auto-ethnography creates a reflective approach to the literature (see [Chapter 0.8.1.1.2](#)), establishing the thesis's intellectual geography by classifying the literature and positioning the project within it (McMenamin, 2006, p. 134). After Charmaz, Strauss, Corbin, and Glaser, the theories were developed and grounded in data, not the existing literature (Ramalho et al., 2015, p. 5). Considering that the grounded theory research process is non-linear (Dunne, 2011, p. 120), unlike a traditional literature review that is conducted before the primary research, the literature review is considered as

“contextualisation” (Dunne, 2011, p. 121). With this in mind, I generated the scope of my literature following the methodology outlined by Dunne (2011, p. 119). As data collection and analysis developed, I began considering how familiar theories could be used to progress the analysis. Further, I sought new theories in the literature to explain or contradict the findings emerging from data analysis to improve their quality, rigour, and depth (Dunne, 2011, p. 119). These reflections establish the intellectual geography of the research project, its form and content being the result of my grounded research approach.

0.8.1.1.2 Grounded Theory

The epistemological analysis of the project adopts the mode of practitioner-based grounded theory based on subjective learning (Levers, 2013), whilst new knowledge gathered in the researcher mode is of a constructivist type (Charmaz, 2014). I chose the grounded theory approach for two reasons: first, for originality, as the particular knowledge of the researcher as an architectural practitioner is not represented in the academic literature on the subject of modern slavery in construction; second, from necessity, due to the lack of literature that takes this perspective, so a new approach was required. According to its founders, grounded theory is an innovative methodology that facilitates “the discovery of theory from data” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 1). In grounded theory, the researcher is not concerned with evaluating hypotheses derived from existing theoretical frameworks but with developing a new “theory” based on evidence gathered in the field. As a result, these findings are deliberately privileged over existing theories (Dunne, 2011, p. 1). The research strategy should provide data to answer research questions, shaped by an understanding of the relationship between theory and data. In grounded theory, explanations are generated from empirical context, described as “theoretical sampling” by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 (Edwards and Holland, 2023, p. 6). “It is often precisely people’s prejudices that enable them to produce innovative insights and alternative models” (Bryant, 2009, p. 21). This approach acknowledges the value of researchers’ existing theoretical knowledge when engaging with their research. Studies (McMenamin, 2006, p. 134) suggest they should avoid imposing a specific theoretical framework on the research at the outset, an approach termed “theoretical agnosticism” (Henwood and Pidgeon, 2003, p. 350). My use of grounded theory reflects my lived experience of architectural practice and knowledge of modern slavery in construction. Rather than suppressing this experience, I have acknowledged it and built on it with the research project's findings.

The grounded theory approach can be compromised by the early involvement in existing literature and concepts, as is typical in traditional academic methodologies. My methodology has applied reflexivity as one technique to mitigate potential detrimental influence (Dunne, 2011, p. 118). As the researcher influences both the collection and interpretation of data, whether primary or secondary, reflexivity is considered an essential component of this process (Heath, 2006). Research (Ramalho *et al.*, 2015, p. 7) claims that a continual comparative approach is an analytic tool for reflective thinking that requires “constantly comparing the data, codes, categories, and memos among themselves” (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Further, conducting self-reflection helps to contextualise the researcher's research practice within their cultural background (Dressel and Langreiter, 2003). Grounded research has been found to be valuable in identifying desirable changes in practice and improving educational and professional growth in construction (Addis *et al.*, 2016, p. 433). A significant factor in the

selection of interviews as a follow-up to the Member survey was based on the observation that interviews can facilitate reflexivity by challenging the researcher's assumptions during the research process (Mruck and Mey, 2007). The research has, therefore, been shaped by reflection at all project stages.

There are several types of grounded theory methods; I use the one known as “constructivist” in this research. The constructivist grounded theory method (GTM) is a qualitative research methodology that embraces researcher influence (Ramalho *et al.*, 2015, pp. 5–6), and its groundedness “results from these researchers' commitment to analyze what they actually observe in the field or in their data” (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1162). This groundedness recognises preconceptions and influences and engages with existing knowledge critically rather than disregarding it (Thornberg, 2012). Not only does the researcher's lived experiences impact the research process (Ramalho *et al.*, 2015, p. 7), but “the researcher could prove to be a key source of important information” (Devereux, 1967). The resulting theory “*depends* on the researcher's view; it does not and cannot stand outside of it” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 239). The subjectivity and voice of the researcher should be recognised and considered as a factor in shaping the resulting theory (Meek, 2003), as the dialogue between these participants enriches the research process in its co-construction of knowledge (Marks and Mönnich-Marks, 2003; Russell and Kelly, 2002). Therefore, my existing knowledge of the research subject influenced decisions and interpretations made during the research process. An example of this is in analysing the survey data, recognising the sensitivities and contradictions in practitioners' responses to the Member survey, and reflecting on personal experience during the interview process.

0.8.1.1.3 Transdisciplinarity

This research works across disciplinary boundaries to offer a new perspective on traditional design research and engages with the significant ethical challenges of rapidly urbanising cities worldwide. I provide a holistic approach to the project by combining a broad spectrum of disciplines to form a coherent whole. Perhaps the most apparent work across disciplines is between academia and practice, a rare union described in [Chapter 1.3](#). Combining disciplines can foster new approaches and form a common language, enhancing the interaction between these fields (Koch *et al.*, 2019, p. 312). Transdisciplinary can also be seen through my engagement in the humanities, which brings critical and analytical approaches to philosophical questions around care. These disciplines contrast the scientific methodologies of the social sciences in understanding compliance. The humanities have been used to support my arguments on anthropology, architecture, philosophy, religion, and jurisprudence. Conversely, the social sciences have provided a basis for my discussions on political science, economics, business, and law. My conclusions stress the importance of considering complex issues from various perspectives, linking abstract and case-specific knowledge and promoting practices that benefit the common good. It is logical, then, that the etymology of the term “carescape” is itself an expression of transdisciplinarity (see [Chapter 9.7](#)).

0.8.1.1.4 Critical Practice

This critical research builds on the extant literature on the professional codes of architects conducted by Roberts (2019), Foxell (2018, pp. 225–235), Sadri (2015), Glass (2012), Imrie and Street (2011), Hilburn and Hughes (2005), and others. Such criticality requires a rigorous approach to praxis, often involving situating local practice within the larger political context to identify structural oppressions (Ledwith, 2007, p. 598). By engaging in a politics of 'difference', feminist theorists have promoted self-criticism and empathy towards diversity to challenge dominant 'truths' that displace subordinated ones (Ledwith, 2007, p. 602).

0.8.1.1.5 Action Research

Lewin (1998) claimed that “the best way to understand something is to try to change it” (Lewin, 1998, p. 79). I, therefore, work in the tradition of the practice-based approach using action research (Lewin, 1946) to engage participants and initiate social change. This method focuses on the root causes of oppression and applies methods that align with its values (Ledwith, 2007, p. 599). In this instance, care. By uniting theory and action in tackling social justice (Ledwith, 2007, p. 597), I consider this work and its wider engagement to be emancipatory action research. This has been achieved through its collaboration, the dissemination of the research findings, and their use in action. Outputs include the publication of an industry report with its recommendations for practitioners, written articles and presentations at conferences for industry, and ongoing conversations with the RIBA about this project and its implications. “People’s individual issues lead to local projects; local projects link with others, elsewhere, to form networks and alliances; alliances lead to movements that provide a real collective possibility for change” (Ledwith, 2007, p. 609).

0.8.1.1.6 Survey and Interview Methods

The literature suggests that surveys and interviews may be complementary due to their distinct strengths and weaknesses (Harris and Brown, 2019, p. 2). Therefore, the selection of the survey and interview was intended to combine statistical methods of broad outreach with one of qualitative richness. I surveyed 826 Members’ opinions to generate an ethnographic evidence base, followed by 12 hours of semi-structured interviews. This primary data is analysed to reveal the prevalence of human rights risks in Members’ project supply chains, measure their standard of skill and care, and understand the Code's efficacy. The relevant sections describe these methods in detail (see survey method [Chapter 7.1.1](#) and interview method [Chapter 7.2.1](#)), and the validation of the results is noted in [Chapter 7.2.3](#) and [Chapter 7.2.3](#).

0.8.1.2 Submission Mode

It is important to note that the research was carried out for submission “by practice” for most of the project's duration. The project started on 24th September 2018 as a PhD “by practice” and was approved as a PhD “by thesis” by the Research and Knowledge Exchange Office on 25th April 2022. Having conducted research during this time for a PhD “by practice”, it was decided that a “by thesis” submission would be more appropriate to convey the research (see paragraph 4 of [Chapter 6.9.1](#)).

0.8.1.3 Research Limitations

The research presented here is naturally subject to limitations. The grounded nature of the research, whilst building on the previous lived experience of the issues, brings an inherent subjectivity and criticality to the work. Further, due to the illicit and hidden nature of the research topic, there is little existing empirical data to draw on. The same factors contributing to the research's originality are also causes for its limitation.

Methodological limitations may also be present in the primary research, including the possibility of sampling bias, non-response bias, acquiescence bias, social desirability bias, question order bias, and interviewer bias. Restrictions of such qualitative research relate to its validity and reliability, as some techniques have limitations beyond the researcher's control (Simon and Goes, 2013, p. 1). Despite efforts to maintain consistency, "Because qualitative research occurs in the natural setting it is extremely difficult to replicate studies" (Wiersma, 2000, p. 211). In considering the generalisability of online surveys, it is important to note that there is no way of knowing the respondents' motivations, and it is impossible to determine the extent of bias (Andrade, 2020, p. 2). Although studies reveal that self-reports to questionnaires are adequate indicators of actual behaviour, others claim low correlations between self-reported and observed behaviour (Steg *et al.*, 2009, p. 310). As was the case in this research, surveys that are distributed with time constraints create a limitation in that individuals who are pressed for time, such as architectural practitioners, are less likely to respond (Delva *et al.*, 2002). Further, surveys typically face the challenge of constraining respondents into certain response categories, restricting the diversity of responses. Unlike interviews, when respondents may ask clarifying questions, respondents are often confined to the language in the survey itself for guidance (Simon and Goes, 2013, p. 3). For these reasons, I conducted follow-up interviews to add an additional layer of data gathered using a different method. It is hoped that the limitations of these voluntary qualitative methods have been minimised by using a multi-methodology approach.

Because most of the research was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, I encountered significant challenges during the project's development. A responsive approach was required to adapt the project, its general progress, and its methods to accommodate the social impact of the pandemic. One example is that all interviews were conducted virtually. Although all interviews used audio and video, this format limited the interpersonal connection that would have been initiated had the interview been conducted in person. Research shows that many in-person interview nuances are lost on a virtual platform, which requires unique interviewer abilities to compensate for some of the changes (Oliffe *et al.*, 2021). However, studies also indicate that since the pandemic, the traditional notion of

in-person interviews as the 'gold standard' has been challenged by the extensive qualitative studies conducted using remote digital mediation (Edwards and Holland, 2023, p. 51). Despite these challenges, every effort was made to remain as close as possible to the project's original vision and maintain the highest standards of academic research.

Further research would benefit from considering the weaknesses identified above. In addition, a more comprehensive range of empirical data gathered throughout the construction supply chain, and a policy impact assessment on the Code in practice would help shape policy implementation.

0.8.2 Research Modes

Having defined my autoethnographic position and methodological approach, it is essential to note the evolution in my positionality as a researcher during the project. This was characterised by three distinct modes, as outlined in Figure 1.

0.8.2.1 Research as Practitioner

The project started as a PhD "by practice". I conducted the research during this time through the lens of an architectural practitioner, "as an insider in the profession gives an account" (see (Jia *et al.*, 2017, p. 484) on (Cuff, 1992)). My positionality at this point saw me frame my research question as a commercial challenge. In that sense, it presented as an obstruction that required a technical solution that responded in the language of compliance.

0.8.2.2 Research as Academic

As the research progressed, I shifted my positionality to that of an academic researcher through my increasing knowledge and heightened sensitivity to the situation. A moment of "enlightenment" came when I recognised that the situation was one not to be fixed, but to be understood. This stage relied more on methodology, working at a "slower" pace, yet it was pragmatic. This provided more detail and depth to the situation and, thus, a more objective view.

0.8.2.3 Research as Care

This moment allowed for reflection, both on the new knowledge of my lived experience and on the process of reflection back into the project. This mode enabled me to access practitioner and researcher knowledge, and flow between them. I consider my position as *between* the modes of practice and research. It seems that to be between establishes not only a position for critique but is free from the pre-established frameworks that come from working from simply *within*. This fluidity might be considered the scientist-practitioner approach in psychology (Jones and Mehr, 2007). The best description I have found that might be applied here is through feminist theory, as that of care ethics. Hence, from compliance to care.

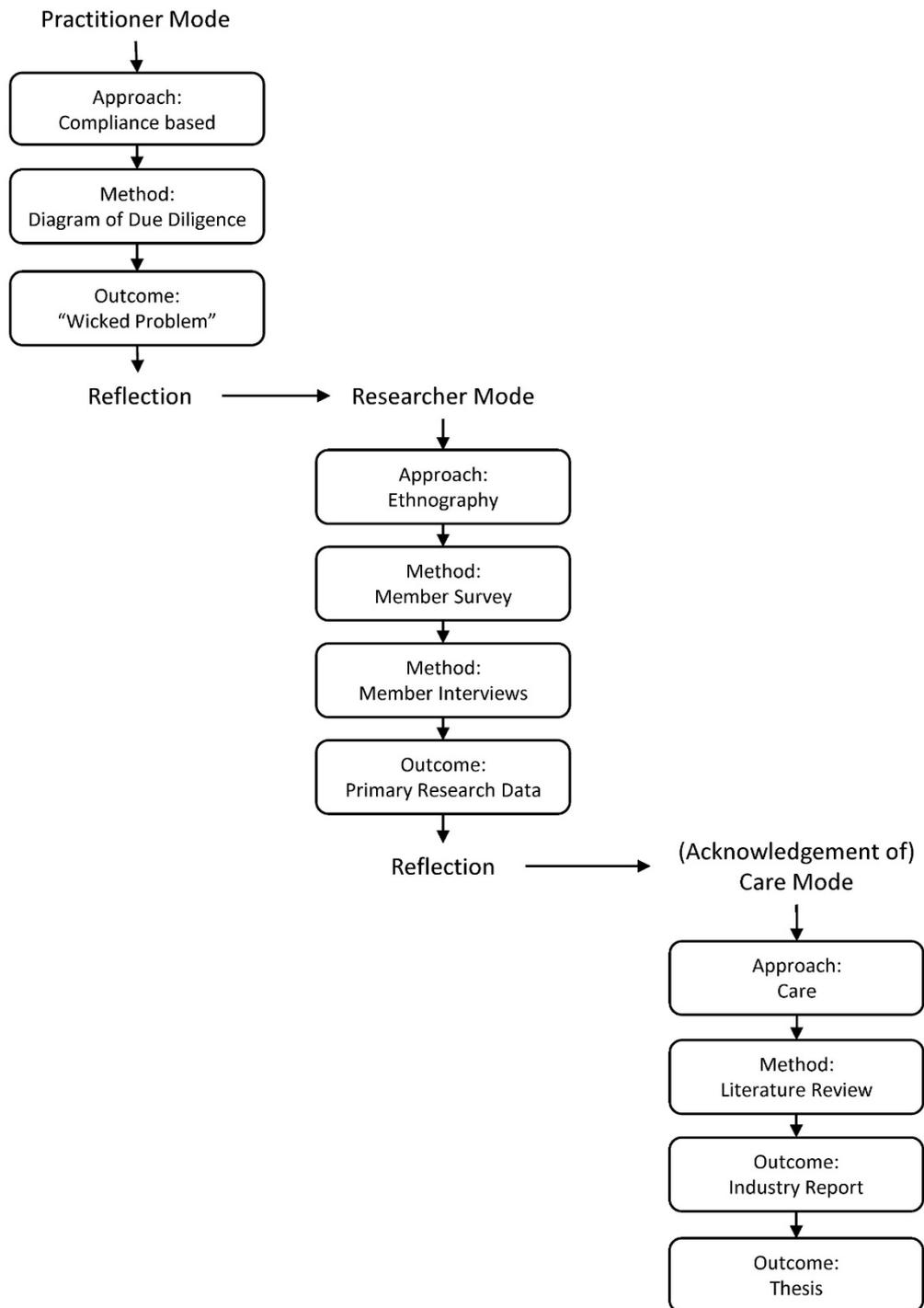


Figure 1 Diagram of project research modes (Author)

0.8.3 Shifting Mode: From Compliance to Care

As UK practitioners, our duty of care is governed by laws and regulations. Our projects and supply chains now mean those working on our projects are in diverse geographic, legal, social, and cultural spaces. How might we navigate these spatialised duties, or lawscape? How might we care for distant others when they are situated in alternative jurisdictions? Compliance with codes alone cannot assure the rights of the individual, and if followed strictly, it is an exercise in futility.

In defining how the frame of care differs from one of compliance, one might consider its intended outputs at the start of the project whilst in the mode of a practitioner. The project was to develop a technology-based “tool” or “overlay” to “certify compliance” with the necessary legal and regulatory requirements: a procedure that might be integrated into practitioners’ existing workflows but at the same time mitigates their risk of modern slavery liability. On reflection, I realised the brief I had set myself was to sever this legal connection, the final remaining thread between myself and [“the workers who are exploited”](#).

One tangible indicator of this shift was the introduction of the concept of the lawscape. Beginning as an exercise in due diligence of legal code, it became clear that to attend to “the workers who are exploited”; these codes were shifting jurisdiction from a written code to a spatial, situated dynamic. What began as a list of legal requirements became spatialised until abstraction. What became apparent is that those most in need of care are unseen through the lens of compliance. A response would require an alternative strategy. It would require care.

0.8.4 Defining the Frame: An Ethic of Care

Care has been a topic of discussion in architecture since the 1970s, yet until recently, it has been considered a radical concept. Yet, urban theory has a long history of dealing with injustice and inequality (Fincher and Iveson, 2012), issues which are often concealed by complexity. Feminist care ethics strives to reshape urban philosophy by emphasising our interconnectedness and responsibility and exposing injustice, silence, and neglect in a way that inspires action (Williams, 2020, p. 6). Recently, some architects have argued for an “architecture of care” to advocate for built environment professionals to go beyond their professional obligations in international architecture and use their capacity to tackle social injustice (Smith and Boamah, 2022, p. 5). Others advocate a convergence of design and care to develop relationally aware, politically and ethically responsive modes of building urban environments (Bates *et al.*, 2017, p. 15). They argue that, when combined with design, care can inspire alternative, more inclusive forms of agency and togetherness (Bates *et al.*, 2017, p. 250). As Hakim *et al.* suggest, “[t]o put care centre stage means recognising and embracing our interdependencies” (Hakim *et al.*, 2020, p. 13). Further, understanding the relational and interconnected nature of care and infrastructure allows us to envision democratic forms of care in which marginalised actors can participate (Alam and Houston, 2020, p. 7). Similarly, as Addyman and Smyth argue, “[e]mbedding the ethics of care in the management process is more than a disposition. It is a social practice constructed in relationships and interactions.” (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 26). In addition to the traditional emphasis on communication as a driver of project success, research (Chinowsky *et al.*, 2010) demonstrates the

importance of social relationships and trust among key project members (Turk and Klinc, 2020, p. 22). After all, research on working conditions in supply chains is about humans, not mere resources (Soundararajan *et al.*, 2021, p. 10).

Tronto (1993) asserts that the integrity of care requires the four moral elements to fit together as a whole. An ethic of care demands attentiveness, responsibility, competence, and responsiveness (Tronto, 1993, p. 136).

Attentiveness	A proclivity to become aware of need	To care about
Responsibility	A willingness to respond and take care of need	Taking care of
Competence	The skill of providing good and successful care	Care giving
Responsiveness	An ability to react positively to need	Care receiving

Figure 2 The integrity of an ethic of care (Author, based on Tronto (1993, pp. 126–136))

This definition, as shown in Figure 2, forms the basis of the project's framing. It will be my point of reference in evaluating the project's success. I have applied this approach as a methodological framework to each research method, notably in the structure of the Member survey and interview questions.

0.8.5 Thesis Structure

In conclusion to this chapter, I present this thesis's structure below (Figure 3). This demonstrates how grounded theory and the shifts in research mode have shaped the project, as explained in [Chapter 0.8.3](#).

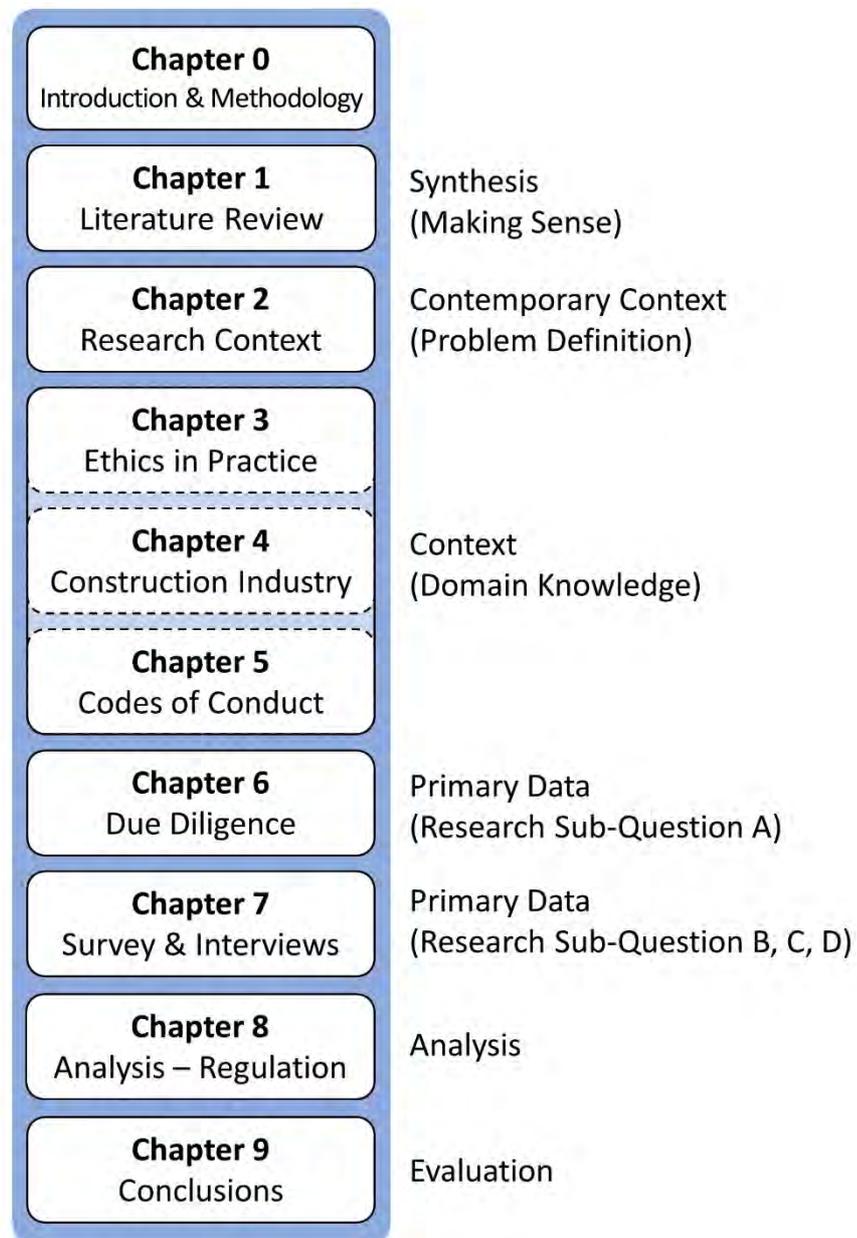


Figure 3 Project structure (Author)

Chapter 1 - Literature Review

Introduction

My literature review provides the contextualisation of the research project, its form and content being the result of my autoethnographic (see paragraph 3 [Chapter 0.1](#) and [Chapter 0.8.1.2](#)) and grounded theory approach (see [Chapter 0.8.1.3](#)). As such, the material presented is a record of what I consider its intellectual geography, conferred through the critical legitimacy that has been accorded. The categorisation and structure of this material are intended to provide a fuller account and follow a sequence that I consider logical to the narrative of the project, which is summarised here.

1.1 Care Ethics

Scholarship presents care as an alternative value and practice to attend to the needs of those for whom we are responsible. Tronto (1993) claims that for a society to be judged as morally admirable, it must, among other things, adequately provide for the care of its members and its territory (Tronto, 1993, p. 126). One of the most popular definitions of care, offered by Tronto and Fischer (1990), construes care as “a species of activity that includes everything we do to maintain, contain, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment” (Tronto and Fisher, 1990, p. 40). Tronto's care involves two ethical motives: reaching beyond oneself and the desire to repair the world (Cohen and Fenster, 2021, p. 263). This definition posits care fundamentally as a practice of four sub-elements: empathy, responsiveness, attentiveness, and responsibility (Tronto, 2015, p. 6).

Lawson (2007) suggests that through care, we take up social responsibility in our professional practices (Lawson, 2007, p. 1). Care is always an activity, a practice (Fitz and Krasny, 2019, p. 29). Caring is also a value, offering standards for assessing and advocating for improved ones, often rooted in unfavourable dominance structures (Held, 2005, p. 15). As care meets needs, it is always relational. “It starts in the middle of things. Care practices don't suddenly begin; they are already ongoing” (Tronto, 2015, p. 4). Caring involves moral commitments and daily skills, such as attentiveness to unmet needs and taking on responsibilities (Tronto, 2015, p. 7). Caregiving also makes us competent, as we need to know how to monitor and measure the effects of our care (Tronto, 2015, p. 8). The literature suggests that care provides a lens through which to respond to social challenges outside the perpetuating frameworks.

Care ethics is a component of the care literature that advocates an approach to ethical behaviour that centralises relationships with others. The ethic of care is driven by a nurturing and emotional paradigm that prioritises relationships above “rules”, “principles”, or “judgement” (Wasserman et al., 2000, p. 67). Essential aspects of care ethics are social justice, welfare, and human rights (Lee and Smith, 2004; Proctor and Smith, 1999). The core emphasis of care ethics is the compelling moral importance of attending to and addressing the specific needs of the

people we accept responsibility for (Held, 2005, p. 21). Lawson (2007), a development geographer drawing on critical poverty studies and feminist care ethics, argues that care ethics require us to be aware of our power and privilege and consider how these can be restructured as relations of care and mutuality. This demands understanding how difference is socially constructed and analysing structures and institutions that reproduce exclusion, oppression, and environmental degradation (Lawson, 2007, p. 7). An ethic of care has epistemological potential by centralising social relations and requires diverse research methods and evidence (Lawson, 2007, p. 4). The relevant literature responds to the normative structural frameworks of neoliberal society with an alternative approach to social justice.

An aspect of care that is important to this project is described by Lawson, who claims that if social change is to be achieved, extending care to “distant others” is critical for success (Lawson, 2007, p. 6). Massey’s (2005) perspective on spatial interrelations and inequality challenges us to consider “the long chain of ordinary actions in which we find our political responsibility” (Massey, 2005). However, despite Cairncross’s claim for the death of distance in 1998 (Cairncross, 1998), it is clear that some connections are still far removed. In acknowledging criticism of the viability of care ethics beyond the local, Lawson highlights the contradiction in excluding the other in a local context. Lawson asks: “Can care ethics move beyond the interpersonal, the near and familiar, to care for distant others?” (Lawson, 2007, p. 6). Considering the distant and often fractured relationships between individuals in global production, care ethics offers a way of connection. However, this must first be established locally.

The literature suggests that negotiating and aligning objectives is essential for innovating in practice, especially when dealing with complex issues such as ethics. Interrogating the development process guided by values promotes awareness of complexity and design activities by articulating the repercussions and impacts of every design choice. This method should be perceived as a positive process in which options and their consequences are addressed as opportunities for new solutions (Royal College of Art (RCA), 2021a). In considering ethical decision-making in architectural practice, we might apply Lawson’s suggestion of linking research areas with an ethics of care approach. This would aim to connect “the substance of our work with questions about responsibility both in our practices of research and daily life. Beyond thinking about how we are implicated in inequality through our “ordinary actions”, how we can build a caring, theoretical, and empirical analysis?” (Lawson, 2007, p. 7). Research demonstrates that using social values as a mindset can challenge how a corporation approaches innovation. A social value approach encourages agents to develop solutions considering their duties and impact. This strategy capitalises on the virtuousness of individuals and their ability to think through “ethical by design” solutions, creating opportunities to innovate and build new forms of business (Royal College of Art (RCA), 2021b). In response, this project advocates a values-driven ethical philosophy rather than a data-driven approach to align social and commercial objectives and embrace the power of ordinary actions through an ethic of care.

If we are to consider change, we must challenge the status quo. Tacit knowledge, a person-specific and context-dependent concept, is gendered in construction, with the industry and sites being predominantly male-dominated (Raiden, 2016, p. 1). Reviewing the construction management literature reveals that this primarily focuses on masculine ideals and rational management (Raiden, 2016, p. 1). Traditional gender roles perpetuate cultural and social norms about women’s and men’s societal roles, with caring strategies often associated with women and

maternal behaviour (Raiden, 2016, p. 13). This has implications for construction policy and practice, which must be considered to incorporate alternative strategies and knowledge to inform practice on site (Raiden, 2016, pp. 18–19). Respect and care have been shown as essential to well-being and improving the treatment of individuals in the workplace (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 22), and the effects of a caring strategy for sensemaking on construction sites using the narrative as the ‘site team as a family’. Findings indicated that by paying attention and caring for their team beyond professional boundaries, individuals, in return, looked out for each other (Raiden, 2016, p. 14). Analysis of gender as multiple and coexisting suggests that individuals may employ various gendered strategies, with gender being constructed by their actions (Raiden, 2016, p. 15). A transformational construction industry business model should foster a just and caring culture of open communication for knowledge sharing to nurture trust, respect, and well-being (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 28). The literature shows the potential for alternative approaches for industry, which will require research into unconventional practice models supported by substantial evidence to guide change.

1.2 Defining Modern Slavery

In establishing a standard definition of modern slavery for this research, it is essential to note that more than 300 international slavery treaties have been signed since 1815, and none has been totally effective or, indeed, has adopted the same definition (Weissbrodt *et al.*, 2002, p. 3). Unsurprisingly, this definition is a source of contention (Quirk, 2006) and a central consideration in developing this research. Despite these alternative academic perspectives on modern slavery, the corpus of literature cited in the thesis refers to standard texts and forms the general definition of modern slavery adopted in it (please see definition in Glossary). A summary of Article 4 of the European Convention on Human Rights (United Nations, 1948), the Modern Slavery Act 2015 (Crown, 2015a), Core Universal Instruments and Regional Instruments are provided alongside a historical context and summary of the implications of Brexit. Working through these definitions raises further questions about translation, cultural relativism and legitimacy.

It is important to note that the state of modern slavery is not absolute. It is a practice at the end of a spectrum that begins with decent work and progresses to minimum legal compliance, followed by substandard, unscrupulous, unethical, non-compliant, and illegal practices (Crates, 2018a, p. 18). The line between legitimate work and slavery is frequently blurred, and the workers who are exploited may not be technically “in” slavery all the time. The degree of exploitation in each situation may differ, and conditions can deteriorate gradually. Such practices include dismissing or threatening to dismiss individuals, punishing people for refusing to work overtime or becoming ill, using intrusive surveillance, setting unrealistic production targets, and withholding wages (Crates, 2018a, p. 19). Modern slavery is, therefore, a dynamic condition with a broad set of circumstances.

As its nomenclature suggests, modern slavery is a contemporary form of an early practice. The literature (Bales and Robbins, 2001, p. 18) describes how slavery has existed since ancient times and was a provision of the *jus gentium* (Latin, “law of nations”) under Roman law (Buckland, 2010; Greenidge, 1958, pp. 15–18; Sawyer, 1986, pp. 1–8; Watson, 1991, p. 132). Since slavery was abolished in most states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it has

evolved from a legal right to a criminal act within the illicit economy (Crane, 2013, p. 51). As a result, the manifestation of slavery is now much more ambiguous and dynamic (Quirk, 2006, p. 51). An internationally agreed definition of slavery has been debated since the abolitionist movement's inception due to disagreements over which behaviours should be classified as slavery and the demands for specific corrective actions (Weissbrodt *et al.*, 2002, p. 4). Slavery in supply chains has been described as “the exploitation of a person who is deprived of individual liberty anywhere along the supply chain, from raw material extraction to the final customer, for the purpose of service provision or production” (Gold *et al.*, 2015, p. 487). Two approaches are evident in modern slavery literature: the modern slavery approach, which defines, captures, and measures slavery, and the critical approach, which examines how definitions prevent its abolition (Mende, 2019, p. 2). The history of slavery and its persistence today is evidence of its resilience to various approaches to its abolition.

Contemporary governance strategy employs multiple approaches to address modern slavery. However, policy and law can be complicated and use technical terminology unfamiliar to the architectural practitioner. Therefore, in addition to the definition above, I include in the Appendix a list of the project’s constituent policies regarding European modern slavery governance, highlighted for their relevance to the architect practising in the UK. An essential modern definition of slavery is expressed in the 1926 League of Nations Slavery Convention: “Slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised” (League of Nations, 1927). Modern slavery is addressed under Article 4 of the ECHR Prohibition of Slavery and Forced Labour (European Court of Human Rights, 2020). The UK made these rights part of its domestic law through the Human Rights Act 1998 (Crown, 1998) and the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015 (Crown, 2015a). Globally, slavery prevails in three forms: (1) chattel slavery, in which people are born, captured, or sold into permanent slavery; (2) debt bondage slavery, in which people pledge themselves against loans for an indefinite period, but their labour does not reduce the debt, due to extortionate interest rates or false accounting; and (3) contract slavery, in which individuals are lured into the trafficking and enslavement process through fake employment contracts (Bales and Trodd, 2013, p. 7). As defined in the [Glossary](#), I will use the following definition of modern slavery in this thesis, “[f]irst, the control of a person over another, second, an involuntary aspect in their relation, and third, the element of exploitation” (Mende, 2019, p. 5).

1.3 Academic Research of Architectural Professional Practice

The literature review identifies a gap in the transdisciplinary research of architectural professional practice. The UK’s academic research and architectural professional practice are claimed to operate in “separate spheres, with very different interests, methods and expertise” (Hensel and Nilsson, 2019, p. 162). Further to these different frames, “There is a long tradition of studying architecture “from outside” by researchers from other disciplines” (Nilsson and Dunin-Woyseth, 2008, p. 2). Foxell (2018) puts this in strong terms, declaring that “[n]ow that sociologists have largely abandoned serious study of the professions, it falls to those on the inside to do this necessary work” (Foxell, 2018, p. 8). A range of social questions remain unanswered or unresearched from a critical and social science perspective developing construction processes (Koch *et al.*, 2019, p. 309). This suggests a gap in academic research relating to professional practice, which this project hopes to contribute.

Research indicates possible limitations in the prevailing logic of particular academic fields. Critics note the epistemologically positivistic approach of some academic research, stating: “The most crucial problem is that constant conjunction of elements or variables is not a causal explanation or indeed an explanation of any kind. It is simply an atheoretical statement about the world. It doesn't answer the question, why?” (Easton, 2010, p. 118). Others claim that perspectives from social science have been selective and have not gone far enough (Bresnen *et al.*, 2005a, p. 487) and that the literature has made limited efforts to expand beyond positivism and incorporate a wider range of critical social science thinking (Bresnen *et al.*, 2005a, p. 488). It is suggested that academic understanding is hindered by a focus on psychological theories and normative motives rather than addressing outcomes, substantive issues, and individual perspectives (Aguinis and Glavas, 2012, pp. 952–953). Grosse emphasises the need to transcend the technical aspects of positivist education in civil engineering to address social interactions in complex social environments effectively (Grosse, 2019, p. 5). Whereas logical positivism may lead to abstraction, social constructivism can lead to relativism. It is claimed that neither viewpoint does the study of construction management expertise full justice (Newton, 2016, p. 458). These observations are essential in understanding the opportunities for future research and how an unconventional approach might be required.

The literature indicates a lack of appreciation of the applied rational approach of practice in academic study. Some (Sandberg and Tsoukas, 2011) criticise organisational and management theories for failing to recognise the logic of practice. This is due to differences in core ontological-epistemological assumptions between scientific and practical rationality (Cidik *et al.*, 2017, p. 5). Schön (1983) defines technical rationality as the rigorous application of scientific theory and technique in professional activities, shaping our understanding of professions and institutional relations (Schön, 1983, p. 21). Gutman suggests that architects and sociologists have opposing viewpoints. The architect tends to anthropomorphise forms, give them life, and investigate their potential social relevance. On the other hand, the sociologist applies inference because values, norms, status, and class cannot be seen; they can speculate their presence even when they are not immediately apparent (Gutman *et al.*, 2010, p. 182). Architecture has historically been divided into two traditions: the master builder and the humanist. The contemporary master builder technique is fast, with construction, representation, and material development technologies progressing rapidly, while the humanist tradition is slower, with ideas that take time to mature. These two traditions have clashed, but this state of affairs is not inevitable (Kopec, 2012, p. 36). There are fundamental distinctions between the rationales and techniques of academics and practitioners, which require further study to define this transdisciplinary gap.

Academic literature defines the fields of academia and practice as distinct milieus. Drawing on British philosopher Gilbert Ryle's two categories of knowledge, “knowing that” and “knowing how” (Ryle, 1946), commentators highlight the contrast between the bodies of knowledge that have been maintained in the disciplines of academic research and professional practice in architecture (Nilsson and Dunin-Woyseth, 2008, p. 2). After several decades of scholarly research in architecture, the interest in one field in the other is said to be relatively weak (Nilsson and Dunin-Woyseth, 2008, p. 3). Others argue that the distinction between architectural theory and practice is impossible, as the two threads are mutually reliant. It is essential to provide a more critical and nuanced understanding of this interaction and the critical potential of theory between academia and commercial practice (Cayer *et al.*, 2016, p. 87). The division is created between architects based on “whether they identify with being ‘theory-based’ or ‘practice-based’”. However, the division between theory and practice is artificial” (Plowright, 2014,

p. 53). Whilst their respective institutions perpetuate the separation of these disciplines, the evidence suggests that their common ground is rich with opportunities for mutuality.

The disciplines of practice and academia are separated by the forms of their language and outputs. Schön (1983) observes that competent practitioners typically know more than they can say (Schön, 1983, p. viii). Research highlights the conflict between the way architects learn and the nature of academia in terms of content and communication methods. Academics prefer to publish their findings in journal papers, while practising architects prefer communicating visually and via peer-to-peer conversations. This challenges academics to bridge the gap between academia and practice, especially given the impact of the Research Excellence Framework (REF) (Dye, 2014, p. 11). Architects often obtain their knowledge from colleagues and online sources rather than academic publications due to a lack of time, difficulty finding the right journal, difficulty accessing academic language, and a general antipathy to academia (Hay and Samuel, 2017, p. 3). A factor limiting the dissemination of research to the practice context is perhaps the result of the “highly esoteric” language of academia, particularly considering the practitioner's standard mode of expression through non-verbal communication (Nilsson and Dunin-Woyseth, 2008, p. 3). Some have observed that while academic audiences seek to understand how research will enhance their knowledge (Weiss, 1995, p. 217), professional audiences prioritise the applicability of research, staying informed about current understandings and implementing good practice (Weiss, 1995, p. 218). The research highlights significant barriers to transdisciplinary collaboration, which requires alignment if an impact is to be made outside disciplinary boundaries.

Researchers have indicated that the context of academic research is central to its application in practice. Duffy (2008) highlights the need to integrate information across disciplinary boundaries and bridge the gap between university-based research and research users in practice (Duffy, 2008, p. 1). “Only a few studies have looked closely at particular cases and have striven to analyze the logic of design and how architects reflect-in-action (Schön, 1983, 1987), or how design problems are construed and resolved, and how clients and architects negotiate (Cuff, 1991)” (Yaneva, 2009, p. 24). It is vital to recognise context in shaping contemporary managerial practice, and failure to do so makes initiatives for change irrelevant (Fernie et al., 2006, p. 98). Construction management and construction informatics, like any research discipline, face challenges in balancing rigour and relevance (Bresnen 2017, Schweber 2015) (Koch *et al.*, 2019, p. 310). Despite the focus of academic research on industrial practices, engagement with the logic of practice is necessary for it to be accepted within its subject area.

The existing division between academia and practice suggests a need for alternative working modes. The gap in transdisciplinary research has produced a latent demand for enhancing the academic research perspective “from outside” with a view “from within” (Nilsson and Dunin-Woyseth, 2008, p. 139) and calls for research expertise and research dissemination in professional practice (Hensel and Nilsson, 2016). Transdisciplinary work can strengthen dialogues between professional researchers and practitioners, creating a new community of 'practitioner-researchers' (Nilsson *et al.*, 2018, p. xix). This third community is emerging from the previously separate disciplines of academic research and professional practice (Biggs and Büchler, 2011, p. 98). Practitioner-researchers are individuals who have experience and values as practitioners but also produce research in an academic context (Nilsson and Dunin-Woyseth, 2018, p. 17). The literature emphasises the need for transdisciplinary study, and it

appears that practitioner-researchers may play a central role in bridging this gap and, in doing so, enriching traditional disciplines.

Academic knowledge plays a central role not only in academia, but also in legitimising practice. Abbott (1988) notes that the power and prestige of a profession's academic knowledge contribute to its ability to sustain its jurisdiction. Academic knowledge validates professional work by elucidating its foundations and connecting them to primary cultural values, such as rationality, logic, and science. Academic professionals demonstrate the rigour, clarity, and scientifically logical nature of professional work, thus legitimising it in the context of broader values (Abbott, 1988, p. 44). Research is increasingly used in professional, non-academic and transdisciplinary contexts to investigate and solve present-day problems, merging professional and academic values (Nilsson *et al.*, 2018, p. xiii). The literature strongly supports the value of academia in maintaining the activities of practice, but the impact of academic research is increasing through its integration into commercial operations.

Academic research into professional practice requires better integration into the culture of practice if the broader questions of practice are to be addressed. However, “[b]etween the funding councils and their advisors, and the academics applying for this funding, there are few, if any, people conversant with the issues facing practice” (Hensel and Nilsson, 2019, p. 162). Some consider liability a perceived constraint to effective collaboration between academia and the UK construction industry (Connaughton and Weller, 2013). Others suggest a lack of understanding about how to foster knowledge creation in construction firms, capture it, and make it easily accessible to individuals, project teams, and businesses (Shelbourn *et al.*, 2006, p. 57). Architects will be expected to address social, ecological, economic, and cultural challenges in society more consciously, which will require stakeholders, professionals and disciplines to collaborate in new and integrated ways (Hensel and Nilsson, 2016, p. xvii). Despite the complexities of doing so, “it is vital to develop research to bridge the gap between the financial models of policy, public perception, and the practices of architects” (Samuel, 2018, p. 97). Academic research into architectural professional practice holds immense potential to capitalise on its unique knowledge and to bring real change to the industry.

1.4 Pragmatism

The literature suggests pragmatism as an approach that offers the potential to bridge the gap between academia and practice. Pragmatism is a theory of the meaning of ideas and their consequences. Pragmatism requires a willingness to change and respond to individual circumstances, emphasising the importance of trying different methods and evaluating them (Scott, 2016, p. 555). Pragmatism was introduced into architectural discourse as a socially engaged theory of practice that drew more on the philosophy's progressive roots than its positivist origin (Ockman, 2020, p. 283). Pragmatism's problem-oriented epistemology has challenged the premise that design problems are well-structured (Melles, 2008). It acknowledges the significance of abstract theory but contends that its true worth is seen in the context of practice. Its goal is to clarify, coordinate, and inform practice (Farmer and Guy, 2010, p. 372). Pragmatists focus on practical implications in addressing the research problem and often use

mixed-method approaches with both quantitative and qualitative sources (Scott, 2016, p. 556). Pragmatism's highest ideal is action (Scott, 2016, p. 556). "The case is made that as pragmatism's highest ideal is action, this corresponds closely with the typically intuitive attitude of the AEC community" (Addis *et al.*, 2016, p. 437). Schön (1983, p. 43) contends that a techno-rational approach to design only applies in the most basic situations and for issues of little societal consequence (Guy and Shove, 2000, p. 67). The most challenging global issues are "messes" that defy technological resolution (Farmer and Guy, 2010, p. 373). The literature suggests that a pragmatic approach recognises the importance of conceptual thinking, but that its value is in its application.

1.5 Modern Slavery in Situ

The academic research on modern slavery in situ is relatively new and suffers from significant gaps in knowledge due to the lack of reliable data. The term "modern slavery" was introduced in the academic discourse on labour exploitation and unfree labour around 2007 (Smith and Johns, 2020, p. 272). The literature (Caspersz *et al.*, 2021, p. 181) claims that modern slavery is used today as an umbrella term to describe various forms of severe relational exploitation in the workplace, at home and elsewhere (Nolan and Boersma, 2019) (Commonwealth of Australia, 2017) (Voss *et al.*, 2019). LeBaron (2018) argues that research on modern slavery is challenging due to its illegality and ethical concerns, hindering academic inquiry and policy efforts to combat labour exploitation (LeBaron, 2018, p. 6). Methodological challenges include access to respondents, data credibility, metric reliability, research ethics, practicality and politics (Caruana, 2018, p. 1). The movement of individuals between sectors, locations and industries has created a scarcity of data on exploitation within the construction industry. Further, many workers who are exploited do not identify as such, while others are wary of speaking to the authorities for support (Crates, 2018a, pp. 8–9). Although many citizens believe modern slavery is a problem in their home countries, they do not consider it directly affecting them (Sharapov, 2014, p. 5). The literature reveals that despite recent attention, further study is needed into all aspects of modern slavery, using rigorous methods.

There is a wealth of literature examining definitions and concepts of modern slavery, but little research on how these issues are manifested in practice. The material provides an understanding of human rights and exploitative practices within the definition of modern slavery (Awaysheh and Klassen, 2010; Brammer and Walker, 2011; Fukukawa and Teramoto, 2008; Isaksson *et al.*, 2010; Luken and Stares, 2005; Robinson, 2010; van Tulder and Kolk, 2001; Winstanley *et al.*, 2002). Modern slavery has been explored from various perspectives, including law, geography, politics, and international development (Liu *et al.*, 2022, p. 140). The intersection of business and human rights is overlapping, contested and fluid (De Burca *et al.*, 2013, p. 726). Academic focus on specific dependent variables of modern slavery can be classified as either *de jure* (rules) or *de facto* (practice) rights. However, it is essential to note that findings from different variables are not directly comparable, but are often presented as such (Berliner *et al.*, 2015, p. 195). Calls have been made for a deeper understanding of the intricacies of construction projects as social settings (Cicmil and Marshall, 2005, p. 4). Notwithstanding frequent mention of the "immense profits" (Kara, 2009) or vague references to economic forces such as "poverty" and "globalisation" (Bales, 1999), economic and business approaches to the problem are rare, and substantive analysis of the business of forced labour is scarce (LeBaron, 2021a, p. 31). LeBaron (2021) claims that a lack of meaningful business analysis of modern

slavery is due to the long-standing tendency of academia and policy to represent it as something that occurs in the shadows of the economy, involving rogue criminals (LeBaron, 2021a, p. 31). It appears that despite academic efforts to engage in the issue of modern slavery, the typical conceptual framing and lack of industry focus of contributions of this kind mean that they offer limited insight and potential for application.

The literature provides valuable insight into the potential causes of modern slavery. Research has considered these from different perspectives (Crane, 2013). A typology of the root causes of forced labour in supply chains is split between supply and demand, as follows: supply – poverty, identity and discrimination, limited labour protection, restrictive mobility regimes; demand – concentrated corporate power and ownership, outsourcing, irresponsible sourcing practices, and governance gaps (LeBaron, 2021a, p. 32 Figure 1). LeBaron (2018, p. 3) investigates the political and economic dynamics of forced labour and summarises the literature that explores how and why forced labour emerges in the global economy (Barrientos *et al.*, 2013; Crane, 2013; Fudge and Strauss, 2013; Mezzadri, 2016; Phillips, 2013). Research (LeBaron, 2018, p. 3) supports the arguments that poverty, a lack of labour protection, and societal prejudice make the industry vulnerable to modern slavery (O’Connell Davidson and Howard, 2015; Phillips, 2011) and challenges conventional narratives by demonstrating that modern slavery is a predictable and consistent aspect of the global political economy (Anderson and Rogaly, 2007; Crane *et al.*, 2019; LeBaron *et al.*, 2018; McGrath, 2013). Despite the evidence of simplistic narratives relating to the cause of modern slavery in academic research, it appears that the study of the issue is now receiving greater attention and nuance.

The literature reveals novel methods of gathering intelligence on business practices. Research (Schaper and Pollach, 2021; Stevenson and Cole, 2018) into the prevention of modern slavery in supply chains has been conducted by analysing companies' modern slavery statements (Han *et al.*, 2022, p. 2). Evidence has also been generated on industry reporting practices, performance, and perceptions of corporate responsibility (Brown, 2012), the measurement and communication of social value (Watts, 2018), and the impact of moral disengagement on social responsibility (Eriksson, 2014). Data reveals the dynamic value of trust in construction supply chains, particularly relationships between main contractors and second-tier subcontractors (Xu, 2019). However, trust is frequently replaced by a plethora of box-ticking audits (Ray, 2005, p. 16) and can be outmoded in complex social, economic, and professional contexts (Ray, 2005, p. 97). The literature demonstrates how efforts have been made to understand corporate social responsibility through academic study, which is still at an early stage.

There appears to be very little literature on the social aspects of sustainability, and that which exists fails to account for the conditions that facilitate it. Researchers (Liu *et al.*, 2022, p. 140) find that the literature on business and management in this context is scarce (Crane, 2013; New, 2015), and environmental concerns dominate the research, with social components discussed only rarely (Seuring and Müller, 2008, p. 1699). Some (Trautrimis *et al.*, 2020, p. 3) observe that “[w]hile previous research has concentrated on economic and environmental risks (Christopher *et al.*, 2011; Foerstl *et al.*, 2010), ethical supply chain risks and their measurement and inclusion in procurement considerations are far less well researched” (Bai and Sarkis, 2010; Klassen and Vereecke, 2012; LeBaron *et al.*, 2017). The focus on “victims” has led to a lack of attention on traffickers, clients, and law enforcement agencies who may be complicit in enabling exploitation (Laczko, 2005, p. 14). The literature reveals that there is a gap in the knowledge of modern slavery, particularly in the fields of business and management studies.

1.6 Wicked Problems

Complex social challenges such as modern slavery are often referred to as “wicked problems”. In this section, I summarise the relevant academic research to understand its particular nature. Experts (Foxell and Cooper, 2015, p. 403) claim that the gap between policy intent and effective solutions in the built environment remains challenging, as many of the issues are categorised as “wicked” or “super-wicked” problems (Churchman, 1967; Levin et al., 2012). Some (Coucill, 2013, p. 79) suggest that wicked problems require the resolution of unforeseen conditions (Rittel and Webber, 1973) and that new problems often emerge as the result of their “solution” (Biddulph, 2012, p. 12). Further, “what you need to know about the problem only becomes apparent as you’re trying to solve it” (Cross, 2007, p. 52). Architecture is not just about making objects but connecting them to external factors and coping with the world’s constantly changing conditions. Thus, contemporary challenges require new approaches (Nilsson, 2013, p. 1). According to Alexander (1966), design problems are not rational problems for two reasons: they are too complex to be comprehensively mapped, and their variables are too dynamic (Alexander, 1966). It has been suggested (Melles, 2008, p. 9) that the contingent character of design requires shifting emphasis away from the design product and towards the network of social, ideological, and historical aspects that shaped it (Farmer and Guy, 2010, p. 373). The literature characterises modern slavery as complex and dynamic, suggesting that multiple approaches are required if a reliable study is to be conducted.

1.7 Modern Slavery Policy

This section will summarise the academic research relevant to understanding modern slavery policy. Beginning with the specific policy cited in the Code, I will outline the context in which this is situated. A summary of the literature on governance and regulation is followed by an overview of enforcement and compliance.

1.7.1 The Modern Slavery Act (2015)

The principal document referred to in the RIBA Code, and the domestic policy governing UK-based practitioners is the Modern Slavery Act (2015) (MSA). Research (Monciardini *et al.*, 2021) indicates how the MSA is part of a more significant wave of legislative reforms of corporate social responsibility that aim to increase transparency and due diligence in global supply chains (Buhmann, 2016; McBarnet, 2007; Phillips *et al.*, 2016). The 2011 United Nations (UN) Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs); the 2012 California Transparency in Supply Chains Act; the 2017 French Duty of Vigilance Law, and the 2014 European Union Directive (2014/95/EU), which requires large corporations to disclose non-financial information, including human rights due diligence, are among them (Monciardini *et al.*, 2021, p. 289). Companies with a turnover above £36m per year are required by Section 54 of the MSA to produce an annual statement outlining the measures they are taking to end slavery and human trafficking within their operations and throughout their supply chains. However, the MSA does not hold companies accountable for slavery or human trafficking in their supply chains and does not consider the principle of due

diligence to be a standard of conduct (Bonnitcha and McCorquodale, 2017, p. 908). The MSA increased penalties, allowing for life imprisonment for significant human trafficking and modern slavery crimes and improved protection for the workers who are exploited (CORE, 2017, p. 7). The literature indicates a shift in policy to tackle modern slavery, which has the capacity for increased stringency and scope.

A literature review finds that responses to Section 54 of the MSA have been weak. Some (Monciardini *et al.*, 2021) claim that the corporate response Section 54 has generally been uneven and somewhat unsatisfactory (CORE, 2017; Ergon, 2017; “First Year of FTSE 100 Reports under the UK Modern Slavery Act”, 2017; Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner, 2018; Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner and University of Nottingham: Rights Lab., 2018), and criticise Section 54 for its unenforceability and resulting ineffectiveness (Hsin *et al.*, 2021, p. 43). Research indicates that due diligence reporting is limited, with companies heavily reliant on audits, certification schemes, and third-party audits (CORE, 2017, p. 7), with many multinational corporations using standard templates and limiting the scope of their reporting to the United Kingdom (Crates, 2018a, p. 42). The Co-op Group policy and campaigns director, Paul Gerrard, states: “I’ve seen too many slavery statements from companies that say, essentially, there isn’t slavery in their supply chains. From a business point of view, this is either a highly unusual business or a foolish one that isn’t taking slavery seriously” (Crates, 2018a, p. 43). However, as corporations report more substantive activity over time, the MSA is a first but important step in combatting modern slavery (Schaper and Pollach, 2021, p. 9). The literature demonstrates the Act's initial success and indicates how this is likely to continue in the future.

1.7.2 Governance

Understanding the Act requires an appreciation of the governance context in which it is set. Literature on governance is abundant, and the key arguments are summarised here. Legal scholars (van der Heijden, 2009, p. 39) often cite the works of Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau as the foundation for modern Western states and governments (de Meij *et al.*, 2000; Van den Heuvel, 1994). Governance mechanisms have been described as an approach to influence organisations through the control and coordination of differentiation and interdependence (Eriksson, 2006). The two interconnected components of governance are the institutional framework of rules and the organisational system of actors (Argyris and Schön, 1997, p. 28). Project management studies have increasingly emphasized the importance of construction project governance and management at the project level (Miller and Lessard 2000; Pryke 2005; Crawford *et al.* 2008; Klakegg *et al.* 2008; Klakegg and Olsson 2010; Ahola *et al.* 2014; Müller 2017; Unterhitzberger and Moeller 2021) (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 87). Project governance is a process-oriented system that strategically directs, manages, and controls projects appropriately for the unique, time-limited, interdisciplinary, and complex context of projects (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 85). The term “network governance” refers to an institutional framework within which transactions are decided (Williamson, 1979). Critics (Foxell and Cooper, 2015, p. 399) note that whilst governments have made a concerted effort to shift toward “evidence-based” policymaking (EBPM) based on “what works” (Haskins and Baron, 2011), this approach has come under repeated and critical scrutiny (Cartwright and Hardie, 2012; Colin and Paul, 2012; Davies and Nutley, 2000). The literature describes governance as an extensive, complex, evolving network that crosses borders and uses diverse methods to control behaviour.

The UK government uses a behavioural approach to policy making. It does so by encouraging and supporting people to make better choices (UK Cabinet Office, 2010:8). However, the extent to which governments can manipulate individual ambitions and preferences and the legitimacy of state intervention in guiding sustainability is a topic of debate (Shove *et al.*, 2012, p. 141). Behavioural theories suggest that individuals are the primary agents of change, influenced by their social norms and context (Shove *et al.*, 2012, p. 143). Yet, if social practices result from complex and emergent processes over which no single actor has control, we must reconsider this approach to public policy (Shove *et al.*, 2012, p. 144).

1.7.3 Regulation

Termed “illusion” by Bourdieu and Wacquant, individuals typically seek a sense of belonging and have the propensity to be driven by the rules of the game (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 92). Rules are made operational through regulation and are considered necessary for protecting and guiding individuals and society (Supiot, 2007), yet the public sphere of the regulatory universe is but a small part of the process by which society regulates itself (Aalders and Wilthagen, 1997, p. 427). Therefore, such codes, regulations, and guidelines implicitly represent social trends (Moore and Wilson, 2009). Giddens (1984) finds that agents can be enabled or constrained by “rules” drawn on to govern interactions – a view shared by Adler and Borys (1996), who categorize regulation as coercive or enabling and make the point that an emphasis on conformance to procedures reduces employee discretion” (Brooks *et al.*, 2021, p. 990). Therefore, rules, or normativity of practices, serve as both grounds and limits for meaningful and practicable actions by practitioners (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 172).

A substantial body of academic literature exists on regulation in general, yet construction represents a small area of this study. Imrie and Street (2009) note that there is a lack of knowledge of how architects engage with and understand rules and regulations (Imrie and Street, 2009a, p. 2509), as well as the effects on, and consequences for, the design and production of the built environment (Ben-Joseph, 2005, 2005; Bentley, 1999; Carmona *et al.*, 2003; Davis, 2006; Dennis, 2008; Harris, 2004; Huger, 2004; Imrie and Street, 2009a). Others (Coucill, 2013, p. 65) identify a small but growing body of research on the implications of regulation from the distributed decision-making context of commercial architectural practice (for example, see (Ben-Joseph, 2005; Bentley, 1999; Carmona, 2009; Carmona *et al.*, 2006; Imrie, 2007; Imrie and Street, 2009b; Knox, 2007; Marshall, 2010; Ross, 2012; Talen, 2012). However, investigation (Imrie, 2007, p. 929) has found that research on the interrelationship between architects and regulation in architectural practice is scarce (Baer, 1997; Ben-Joseph, 2005; Bentley, 1999; Imrie, 2006; Imrie and Hall, 2001; Knesl, 1984; Knox, 2007; Saint, 2001). Both architectural practice and academia will likely benefit from increased attention to regulation in the construction industry.

The literature describes many facets of regulation and alternative forms of administration. Architects' actions occur within a complex web of intra- and inter-organisational relationships governed by rules restricting what can be designed and built. Such control systems of organisational and procedural complexity represent a societal shift toward what Braithwaite refers to as “the regulatory state” (Imrie and Street, 2011, p. 85). Regulation has been described as a component of capitalism that allows markets to function and the mechanism that moderates and

socialises it as risk regulation (Levi-Faur, 2005, p. 14). This has been characterised by some (van der Heijden and de Jong, 2013, p. 40) as “social” and “economic” regulation (Baldwin and Cave, 1999, pp. 44–48; Crandall, 2003; McAdams and Rasmusen, 2004). The “regulative framework” refers to all pertinent laws, regulations, technical standards, guidelines, and certification procedures that have received social acceptance (Van Gorp and Van de Poel, 2009, p. 80). The “regulative lens” is an institutional theory where control is exerted through rules and regulations (Scott, 2014). Combined, regulation and enforcement are known as a “regulatory regime” (Hood *et al.*, 2001; May, 2007), which acts as an institutional framework for the delegation of regulatory functions (May, 2007, p. 9). The institutional framework outlines expected behaviours, standards, compliance assessment, and sanctions for noncompliance, with enforcement monitoring and disciplining regulatees to maintain order (Giddens, 1984, p. 18; Weber, 1964, pp. 126–153). “Regulatory touch” balances regulatory intervention and market self-regulation, moderating all regulatory activities of prescribing, monitoring, and enforcing (Etienne *et al.*, 2018, p. 10). Heavy-touch regulation, such as prescriptive regulation, can impede innovation, but this depends on context (Etienne *et al.*, 2018, p. 13). The paradox is that although regulation appears to be an act of restraint, preventing one from doing something, it is suggested that “we must impose commands on ourselves in order to be free” (Imrie and Street, 2014, p. 24). The literature indicates a strong academic interest in the conceptual analysis of regulation in several fields.

An established research domain has produced many studies of the power dynamics and sociology of regulation. Jacques (1976) describes law as a human contract in contemporary states. Power in these environments is the rate of inducing behaviour in others, and authority is required to execute it (Jacques, 1976, p. 39). Regulation plays a significant role in risk reduction by providing a framework that enables diverse actors to interpret it (Imrie and Street, 2009a). It directs social activity to make it predictable and serves as a source of expectations and a communication medium (Burns and Flam, 1987, p. 55). However, individual opinions of regulations and acceptable means of achieving compliance are determined by perceptions of their fitness for purpose. This is consistent with Hu *et al.*'s (2020) notion of 'surface compliance,' which refers to behaviours aimed at 'demonstrating' compliance, as opposed to 'deep compliance,' in which practitioners engage discretionary effort to enhance overall organisational safety (Çıdık and Phillips, 2021, p. 26). Meyer and Rowan (1977) proposed regulatory decoupling as separating a company's daily operations from its symbolically adopted policies, influenced by public opinion, law, culture, and social prestige (Brooks *et al.*, 2021, p. 990). Companies may behave hypocritically or reject standards if they lack internal legitimacy. The construction industry has investigated the gap between goals and performance, but no research has applied regulatory decoupling to this field (Brooks *et al.*, 2021, p. 991). The literature shows that regulation is a small but essential component in guiding society, yet its dependency on hierarchies of power might simultaneously provide an opportunity for its exploitation.

Research indicates a move away from centralised regulation of the state and towards private regulation. Policy agendas must be flexible to accommodate knowledge development and have the capacity to adjust sustainable solutions to individual scenarios (Coucill, 2013, p. 70). Research tracks the shift from traditional regulatory methods to more experimentation, including voluntary initiatives in which authorities collaborate with industry organisations (Lyon and Maxwell, 2002). Research (May, 2007) summarises these approaches as follows: (1) self-auditing, which involves compliance inspections by regulated companies or third parties (Potoski and Prakash, 2004); (2)

management-based systems that require strict adherence to plans that prevent regulated harms (Coglianese and Lazer, 2003), and (3) performance-based methods that prioritise results above particular activities or technology (Coglianese *et al.*, 2003). Some (Almond and Gray, 2017, p. 16) suggest that decentred (or “polycentred”: Black, 2008; Grabosky, 2013) modes of regulation shift responsibility for performance to autonomous duty-holders and limit the state's regulatory role to one of oversight. Others argue that such neoliberal restructuring is enacted by legitimising delimiting regulation based on the interests of powerful economic and political actors (Tombs and Whyte, 2013; Tucker, 2013). However, none of these developments have replaced conventional regulation, which asserts the enforcement of rules by governmental agencies, with penalties for noncompliance (May, 2007, p. 9). Some critics (Bobby Banerjee, 2008; Fransen and LeBaron, 2019; LeBaron and Lister, 2015) argue that private regulation achieves nothing more than giving businesses a facade of respectability (Morris *et al.*, 2020, p. 10). Others (Almond and Gray, 2017, p. 16) describe top-down, command-and-control regulation as inefficient, inflexible, and ineffective (Baldwin *et al.*, 2010; Braithwaite, 2006; Holley *et al.*, 2013; Jordana and Levi-Faur, 2004; Lobel, 2005; Scott, 2009). Whilst the relative advantages of public and private regulation are debated, neither regulation works without robust enforcement (Morris *et al.*, 2020, p. 17). It is clear from the literature that private regulation is becoming an important aspect of the regulatory regime, and although definitive conclusions have not yet been drawn, the indications are that this requires more research in practice.

1.7.4 Enforcement

The literature emphasises the central importance of enforcement in successful regulation. “While legal rights are important, they are meaningless if they are not enforced” (Stallings, 2010, p. 135). Research (van der Heijden and de Jong, 2013) describes the term “enforcement strategy” as the tactical choices made by enforcement agencies and the types of actions they take (Bardach and Kagan, 1982; Hawkins, 1984; Kagan, 1994; May and Burby, 1998). Some (Locke *et al.*, 2013, p. 25) claim that enforcing labour and environmental standards within global supply chains requires a combination of public and private regulation (Bartley, 2011; Haufler, 2001; Kolben, 2007; Locke *et al.*, 2007; Pessoa, 2006; Trubek and Trubek, 2007; Utting, 2005; Weil, 2005). Tactical choices primarily include resource allocation, target setting, and monitoring results; types of action refer to sanctions and incentives (van der Heijden and de Jong, 2013, p. 1040). Others (Han *et al.*, 2022, p. 2) note that enforcement strategies are typically differentiated between deterrence-based and compliance-based approaches (Hawkins, 1984; Scholz, 1984a). The deterrence-based strategy seeks to prevent noncompliance before the law is breached by evoking fear of the consequences of noncompliance (Reiss, 1984) or to sanction noncompliance after the fact (Hawkins, 1984). Research (Cole and Aitken, 2019, p. 2) observes that through boycott threats, social activist organisations have become another source of concern for businesses, driving them to address social sustainability issues promptly (Pacheco and Dean, 2015). In the research, I describe the various approaches available to regulators in their regulatory strategies, which should be communicated and implemented successfully to be effective.

1.7.5 Compliance

The literature reflects the rise and reasoning of compliance theory from the early 1980s onwards. According to research (Short, 2019, p. 5), compliance theory evolved in response to enforcement and compliance observations made by regulation and deterrence theorists (Bardach and Kagan, 1982; Hawkins, 1984; Hutter, 1989). Some (Rickaby *et al.*, 2020, p. 14) note that “compliance, from an organizational perspective, has traditionally been understood as conformity or obedience to regulations and legislation” (Interligi, 2010, p. 235), and “their internalization in individual behaviour” (Braun *et al.*, 2012, p. 273). Compliance refers to “behaviour directed to the organization, such as attendance and obedience to rules that goes beyond minimum required levels” (Fischer and Smith, 2006, p. 545). Others (van der Heijden and de Jong, 2013, p. 1041) observe that the compliance-based approach fosters spontaneous conformity to norms while weakening those that lead to disobedience (Hawkins, 1984; Kagan, 1994; Parker, 2000) as moral objections to breaking the law are believed to cause spontaneous obedience (Tyler, 2006). Research also indicates that autonomous and innovative individuals are more likely to resist standards, which can be perceived as an intrusion. Further, coercive control can reduce effort and cooperation, especially in construction projects (Brooks *et al.*, 2021, p. 990). Because architects are subject to complex laws and regulations, compliance is essential to running a successful practice and advising clients appropriately (Brindley, 2021, p. 87). The interaction between the adoption of formal Compliance Management Systems (CMS) with “the perceptions, motivations and strategies of individuals within the corporation in relation to compliance (agency), and the local norms and habituated practices (culture or cultures) that mediate between corporate structures and individual agency” (Parker and Gilad, 2011, pp. 3–4). Whilst it might be argued that the compliance literature is logical in its response to regulation, its approach and language rely heavily on assumptions of power and control.

Academic opinion appears to have challenged the narrative of compliance since its inception. Regulation and governance studies have come under significant scrutiny for promoting the neoliberal objective of deregulation (Short, 2019, p. 7). Its persistent criticism is the presupposition of the validity of a capitalist economic system and the illegitimacy of it being policed (Pearce and Tombs, 1990, p. 429). Given the ambiguity surrounding “the law” and “compliance”, organisations look to the surrounding organisational domains. In mid-1960s America, when there were few examples of how to comply with civil rights law, employers developed rules that resembled statutes. These offices resembled administrative agencies, compliance personnel resembled police, and grievance processes resembled courts. Professional compliance networks contributed to the dispersion of these forms, and over time, they were viewed as proof of compliance (Edelman, 2007, p. 73). Helen Carter, a senior consultant at Action Sustainability and the Supply Chain Sustainability School, notes, “We need to get out of that mindset that modern slavery is a compliance issue. Organisations won’t know what’s happening below tier one unless they ask the right questions. Suppliers need to be comfortable enough to ask for help” (Crates, 2018a, p. 49). Compliance theory has fundamental weaknesses in its ideological and functional characteristics. Therefore, a core decision on the framing and methodology of the project was to shift its approach from the conventional way industry has addressed the problem of modern slavery.

1.8 Architectural Practice

In this section, I will summarise the academic research on the key subjects relevant to managing modern slavery risk in architectural practice.

1.8.1 Professional Services Agreements

The performance of individuals within their employment as architects and their obligations to their projects are strictly defined. However, the literature appears to pay little attention to this subject. Architects are “appointed” or “engaged” through what is known as a Professional Services Agreement (PSA), or simply, a “contract”. Macneil (1978) defines a contract as a collection of mutually binding and enforceable commitments or obligations to perform actions at a later date (Macneil, 1978). Others add that contracts act as control instruments (Ariño et al., 2014) and specify parties' rights and obligations via authority structures to reduce opportunistic conduct (Bird and Soundararajan, 2020, p. 84). They serve as vehicles of coordination, fostering communication and information exchange between parties and facilitating a shared understanding of the objectives and the means to achieve them (Epstein, 2014; Salbu, 1996). Projects require the expertise of formal processes and coordinating actions that “make things happen” and “work in practice” (Faulkner, 2007, p. 335). Notwithstanding some exceptions, the academic literature generally lacks a systematic and in-depth analysis of contracts in architectural professional practice that would provide significant value to practitioners.

1.8.2 Architectural Practice

Academic research provides a general understanding of the organisation and mechanisms of architectural professional practice. In defining the term “practice” more generally, although this can have many different meanings (Styhre, 2009, p. 19), practices have been described as “particular clusters of action, affectivity, and matter” (Kwinter, 2002, p. 14). They are what constitutes meaning in social systems, the dynamic relationships between the “site of the social” (Schatzki, 2002, p. 73) through “a set of doings and sayings” (Schatzki, 2002, p. 101). MacIntyre (1981, p. 194) distinguishes between practices and institutions: “Chess, physics and medicine are practices; chess clubs, laboratories, universities and hospitals are institutions”. Practices and institutions have a recursive relationship. Institutions are the outcome of practice, yet the institution validates the practice as a social activity (Giddens, 1984). Pidgeon and O'Leary (2000) highlight that organizational culture is related to how individuals make meaning through practices, which shapes their perceptions of risk, danger, and safety (Çıdık and Phillips, 2021, p. 7). Researchers and designers often integrate analysis and experiments into their own practices to learn empathically and experience practical consciousness in real-life situations (Scott *et al.*, 2012, p. 285). Agency is defined as what shapes practices and what is formed in situ and in actu (2002, p. xii). The site of the social is a mesh of organised activities that are contingently and dynamically evolving (Styhre, 2009, pp. 19–20). The literature provides many descriptions and analyses of the social and institutional dynamics of practice; however, there appears to be little empirical evidence of this aspect of architectural practice.

1.8.3 Practice Structure

The literature on the structures and formation of companies' practices is scant. Generally speaking, organisational structures are established to permit or limit activities (Pullman and Dillard, 2010). Research (Muzio *et al.*, 2013, p. 2) highlights that professional firms now tend to be multidisciplinary (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005) and transnational (Brock *et al.*, 2006; Suddaby *et al.*, 2007), which undermines the effectiveness of conventional self-regulation (Clementi, 2004). Further, firms are increasingly oriented towards the logic of efficiency and commerce (Anderson-Gough, 1999; Goodrick and Reay, 2011), which has supplanted that of conventional ethics and public service (Brint, 1994; Suddaby *et al.*, 2009). Finally, they contend that professional service firms are increasingly adopting both logic (Brint, 1994; Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2009; Leicht and Fennell, 2008) and structures (Brock, 1999; Brock *et al.*, 2007; Cooper *et al.*, 1996) of business corporations (Muzio *et al.*, 2013, p. 2). Although the largest professional construction services firms provide a disproportionately large amount of the sector's output (Davis Langdon Management Consulting & Experian, 2007), very little attention has been paid to them in the academic literature (Connaughton and Meikle, 2013, p. 106). Academic research appears to have prioritised the critique of the conceptual dynamics of neoliberalism over the applied practices of industry and a context-specific response to the problem of modern slavery.

Apart from a few exceptions, the literature on architectural practice is limited and lacks depth. Research describes the architect's traditional duties as design, project management, and contract administration. Contract administration includes acting as an independent certifier in cases where the architect is required to make an impartial decision (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 23). Construction projects necessitate technical proficiency, business economics, risk management, team formation, organizational theory, people management, and contract law knowledge to manage diverse roles effectively (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 12). Before the modern construction industry, building projects were controlled by a single architect or master mason. Few fully understand modern construction technologies today, and architects are left to manage interfaces between specialist work packages (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 32). The literature accounts for the general shifts in practice structure and the evolution of the architect's role, but would greatly benefit from a more comprehensive and empirical approach. A better understanding of the specifics of practice may help move the discussion forward in academia and industry.

1.8.4 Project Organisation

The literature identifies that construction projects are uniquely organised and highly individual. Cherns and Bryant (1984) note that any thorough analysis of the issues involved in the management of construction projects must consider at least three aspects: organisational, professional, and contractual (Cherns and Bryant, 1984, p. 2). The predominant decentralised project-based organisations in the construction industry are called loosely coupled systems (Weick, 1976). So-called "complex building projects" have been described as (1) distributed, in that they are designed and constructed by multiple, autonomous actors; (2) heterogeneous, composed of communities with distinct skills, expertise and interests; and (3) sociotechnical, in that they involve trust and values, as well as technological capabilities and fabrication processes (Boland *et al.*, 2007, p. 633). Dubois and Gadde (2002) argue

that the construction industry is a loosely coupled system, stratified into two interdependent layers: the loose layer in the permanent industry network and the tight layer on-site within individual construction projects (Dubois and Gadde, 2002). These organisations are highly interdependent (Thompson, 2017), with the most complicated dependencies in the design and construction phases (Walker, 2007). The temporary, complex, and unique nature of construction projects may contribute to the lack of academic research in architectural practice.

1.8.5 Project Value(s)

Value in the construction industry is typically reduced to financial value. Several significant industry reports, most notably by Latham (1994) and Egan (1998), have been critical of the construction industry's emphasis on "least cost selection". It has been argued that the predominant "least cost" approach has led to a single rationale for procurement and contractor and material selection, usually via price-competitive bidding, which has been found to compromise design due to a culture of blame and a lack of joint accountability (Devine-Wright *et al.*, 2003, pp. 46–47). Research on value creation in project management literature primarily focuses on efficiency, effectiveness and commercial values (Kuitert *et al.*, 2023, p. 1). Recent professional publications on practice encourage architects to reconsider value and break habitual patterns to create better systems, buildings, and futures, to benefit architects, clients, industry, and society (Bryden *et al.*, 2023). Some advocate for a holistic value-driven approach for sustainability transitions in the construction industry (Kuitert *et al.*, 2023, p. 15). The literature, although relatively scant, depicts the challenges architects face because they are located within a commercial system that is reductive of value. Suggestions for architects to reconceptualise value are valid, but systemic change requires more than a unilateral approach.

1.8.6 Risk Management

Social science risk research explores many theories and definitions of risk in the social world, such as risk perception (Slovic 1987), risk and governmentality (O'Malley 2009, 2013), socio-cultural risk (Douglas and Wildavsky 1982; Tulloch and Lupton 2003), and the risk society thesis and reflexive modernisation (Beck 1992; Beck, Giddens, and Lash 1994; Giddens 1991) (Heidenstrøm, 2021, p. 236). Koch and Schultz (2019) reveal that individuals navigate uncertainty through structured proactive and reactive problem-solving, influenced by project network structures, despite potential contradictory pressures from internal and external factors (Brooks *et al.*, 2021, p. 990).

A limited amount of academic research examines risk as a primary driver of ethical decision-making in the construction industry. The literature states that there are many ways to define risk (Renn, 1992), and despite its importance, the subject has received little academic attention (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p. 17). High-risk buildings are associated with complex technological and social contingencies (Çıdık and Phillips, 2021, p. 1). Therefore, risk should be considered a holistic framework based on collective mindfulness, rooted in organisational culture, to ensure safe outcomes from complex interactions (Çıdık and Phillips, 2021, p. 2). Organisations risk reputational damage and financial loss if misconduct is discovered, even if it is outside their control (Seuring and

Müller, 2008). As a result, purchasing businesses manage risk by implementing practices to ensure their suppliers' operations are compliant (Wilhelm, Blome, Wieck, Cheng Yong Xiao, *et al.*, 2016). Risk management concerns the awareness and potential control of risks within a company's scope (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p. 16), which can be achieved through screening techniques and centralized information management systems (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p. 17). Risk management is integrated into routines, which serve as cultural logic and guidelines for everyday life. These practices are seen as procedures of tacit knowledge and embodied skills woven into past and present experiences (Heidenstrøm, 2021, p. 243). The literature identifies the risks and challenges in its management, and suggests generalised procedures for mitigation; however, these appear neither to be situated within a specific context nor to advocate implementation methods.

The research observes that new legislation is changing the shape of practice through risk management. Risks are controlled by aligning inter-firm transactions through contracts, which specify outcomes for unexpected events and provide sanctions for breach (Poppo and Zenger, 2002). However, to address sustainability issues, the current relationships between post-construction liability, insurance, procurement, and the concept of sustainable development require alternative procurement strategies. The impact on liability raises novel risks, necessitating new types of insurance coverage (Pollington, 1999, p. 1). Compiling a risk register involves categorising risks and assigning likelihoods to establish a risk score, and is "a common procedure in the construction industry and is regarded as good practice" (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 94). The findings demonstrate the complexity and contingency of risk management and its interdependence with operational dynamics and context.

1.8.7 Social Practice Theory

Whilst a body of ideas that emerged in the 1970s, based on Wittgenstein and Heidegger's philosophical work that 'practice' was central to social life, the term 'practice theory' was coined in 1984 by Ortner (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 1). 'Practice-based studies', 'practice approach', or 'practice lens' emphasise the importance of practices in understanding organizational and social phenomena, arguing that social order, knowledge, institutions, identity, power, inequalities, and social change are influenced by these (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 98). Social practice theorists, including Giddens (1984), Bourdieu (1970, 1990), Reckwitz (2002), Schatzki (1996, 2002), Shove (2010), and Warde (2005), balance agency and structure to focus on the practice itself as the core unit of analysis, contrasting with individual and social structures of behavioural models (Hargreaves, 2011, p. 82). Practice theory helps understand situational and cultural influences on decision-making, underpinning various organisational and social science theories (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011). It provides an informed understanding of management and organisational practice, recognizing practice as a fundamental component of social life (Schatzki, 1996) and acknowledging its importance in domain activity, performance, and work (Nicolini, 2012) (Nakpodia *et al.*, 2023, p. 75).

Bourdieu's practice theory comprises three concepts: habitus, capital, and field, which collectively form the concept of "practice" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101) (Nakpodia *et al.*, 2023, p. 76). Habitus is a dialectal process where experiences are absorbed and reformed into new actions (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014, p. 27). This occurs when individuals engage with various practices throughout their lives, developing a sense of self and understanding the world, acting

as skilled agents (Hargreaves, 2011, p. 84). The capacity to act with effect is formed through relational and social grounds for action, known as practice performance (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 173). A 'community of practice' (Lave and Wenger, 1991) involves individuals sharing practices and perceptions which can bridge social, cognitive, hierarchical, geographical, and cultural boundaries (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 152).

1.9 Codes of Professional Conduct

In this section, I summarise the academic research relevant to understanding the institutional framework of professional architectural practice: this is necessary for grounding the RIBA Code and understanding the behaviours of individual Members and the broader institution.

1.9.1 Professional Institutions

An established body of literature on professional institutions from a diverse range of academic viewpoints is available. Radcliffe-Brown (1958) defines the institution as “[a]n established or socially recognised system of norms or patterns of conduct” (Radcliffe-Brown, 1958, p. 174). North (1990) states that “[i]nstitutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction. In consequence, they structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social, or economic” (North, 1990, p. 7). They regulate human relationships to promote behavioural regularity and predictability (Hodgson, 2006; North, 1990). Practice addresses questions about competence in professions and work environments, focusing on shared engagement, enterprise, and learning histories. The concept of a “community of practice” is used to represent and influence organizations and institutions, and “organisational knowing” is the collective arrangement across geographically separated situations in globalised processes (Orlikowski 2002) (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 176). Institutions have been described as regulatory, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that provide stability and meaning to social life, along with associated activities and resources (Scott, 2014, p. 56). Further, institutions may be the “codification of a value, the embodiment of value as a set of rules” (Canguilhem, 1989, p. 380). As such, institutions such as laws and regulations may be formal or informal, such as social norms and traditions (Moussa *et al.*, 2022, p. 2232). The framing of governmentality may be used to explain how institutions structure fields of action over time and space, well beyond the direct reach of practitioners (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 174). The research provides a variety of perspectives and interpretations of institutions in society, illustrating their key position in academic discourse.

Professional institutions have been studied through various socio-institutional concepts related to this research project; these include regulation, behaviour, and practice. Institutions contain formal rules expressed in laws, regulations, agreements, policies, plans, and other regulatory instruments, as well as informal norms articulated in other regulatory instruments (Imperial and Yandle, 2005). Moussa *et al.* (Moussa *et al.*, 2022, p. 2232) note how external forces shape company policies and structures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977), and establish behavioural conformity in social settings, a phenomenon named by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) as isomorphism. Such social norms include the practices, conventions, common discourses, informal agreements and understandings, roles and routines of a society (Ostrom, 2009; Young and Gasser, 2002). Research (Biesenthal *et al.*,

2018, p. 7) shows that institutional pressures, whether coercive (e.g., laws and regulations), mimetic (e.g., copying the behaviour of other entities or individuals), or normative (e.g., best practices agreed on by experts) encourage organisations to adopt similar forms to compete in their environment, and that non-conformance results in legal or social sanctions (Jepperson, 1991; Meyer and Rowan, 1977). However, while institutions shape how actors function, actors respond to institutions and modify them in response (Hodgson, 2006). Institutional theory is an essential foundational consideration in understanding the patterns of architects' practice and how an alternative frame may shape behaviour.

1.9.2 Professional Knowledge

Professional knowledge is an established area of academic research that considers the various types of knowledge and its value as a commodity and protection. Machlup (1962, pp. 21–2) identifies distinct categories of knowledge (Machlup, 1962, pp. 21–2). Wilensky (1964) notes that professional knowledge, like all knowledge, is partially tacit. This is due to our inability to report on complex entities fully, yet we can discriminate a complex pattern without knowing which features we use to do so (Wilensky, 1964, p. 148). The RIBA draws attention to the distinction between codified and tacit knowledge in the professions, as unless it is formalised, tacit knowledge cannot be shared with the public, and its advantages cannot be made widely available (RIBA, 2003, p. 52). The value of knowledge for professions is paramount, this being their primary commodity over tangible goods. The reasoning is that to ensure high commodity value, this knowledge cannot be freely available (Haenlein and Patel, 2017, pp. 54–55). The literature (Duffy and Hutton, 2004; Nilsson, 2005, p. 247) describes architectural knowledge as twofold: a project of both synthesis and propositions, focusing on things as they ought to be rather than things as they are (Simon, 1996). It is perhaps unsurprising to find knowledge well-represented in academic research. However, a deeper understanding of, and greater appreciation for, tacit knowledge in practice would benefit industry and academia.

The role of education in preparing individuals for the moral dilemmas of practice is a central theme. Samuel observes that “[i]f the current political paradigm continues to expunge professional knowledge, judgment and ethics from the heart of public service, then the professional institutions have a responsibility to fill this void as trusted advisors of government, champions of the disadvantaged and protectors of our environment” (Samuel, 2019, p. 3). Education should develop judgement and encourage multiple modes of thinking, rather than focus on specific methods of doing (RIBA, 2003, p. 97), as practitioners reflect on their knowledge to deal with uncertain and conflicted situations (Schön, 1983, p. viii). This should include the social and environmental consequences of one's actions throughout the value chain in built environment education (Hartenberger *et al.*, 2013, p. 68). The literature emphasises intuition and judgment as core qualities, and asserts that decision-making is a fluid and dynamic process.

1.9.3 Professionalism

There appears to be a growing interest in professionalism in the academic literature, a trend that is certainly mirrored in industry-focused publications. My research project responds to a series of industry publications on the professional standards of British architectural practice, including, but not limited to, *The Professionals' Choice: The Future of the Built Environment Professions* (RIBA, 2003), *New Professionalism* (Bordass and Leaman, 2013), *The Edge Commission on the Future of Professionalism* (Clarke, 2014), *Collaboration for Change* (Morrell, 2015), *Professionalism for the Built Environment* (Foxell, 2018), *Defining Contemporary Professionalism: For Architects in Practice and Education* (Jones *et al.*, 2019), *Professionalism: Past, Present and Future* (Samuel, 2019), and *Professionalism at Work* (Brindley, 2021). It is claimed that the sociological approach to professionalism ignores the notion that it cannot be separated from its context. We must, therefore, consider organisational and societal factors when studying what professionalism means today (Schott *et al.*, 2016, p. 586). While much is to be learned from academic and practice-based contributions to professionalism, both sources must be considered for a balanced view.

1.9.4 Legitimacy

The literature on legitimacy in architectural practice appears to be scant, yet it can be found in a more general context. Legitimacy has been defined as the congruence between the social values embodied by organisational activities and the norms of acceptable behaviour within the broader social system (Dowling and Pfeffer, 1975, p. 122; Parsons, 1960, p. 175). Maurer (1971) explains legitimation as the process by which an organisation demonstrates its right to exist to a peer or superordinate system (1971, p. 361). Alternatively, as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 573). Decisions made by regulatory bodies must balance legitimacy with efficacy. Goldin (2013) suggests that the more consensual the decision-making procedure, the more legitimate the outcomes will appear, but the less likely they are to reach an agreement. A lower barrier would be more likely to enable progress but also appear less legitimate, leading to conflict and undermining legitimacy (Goldin, 2013, p. 78). Legitimacy is presented as a delicate balance, yet of central importance to the power and authority of institutions dependent on it in securing and maintaining their social position.

1.9.5 Professional Standards

The literature defines professional standards, particularly concerning discipline within the institutional framework. Imrie (2007, p. 925) finds that architects' actions are influenced by a complex set of socio-institutional and political processes and relations, which, as Frampton (Frampton, 1989, p. 17) claims, "may be claimed that architecture is, in fact, the least autonomous, compelling us to admit to the contingent nature of architecture as a practice" (Hill,

2003a; Knesl, 1984; Knox, 2007; Margali Sarfalti Larson, 1993). The standards that have risen to prominence and that underpin the history of Western architectural practice are described by Foucault (1979, p. 4) as "standards that the subject of discipline came to internalise and manifest in behaviour" (Imrie, 2007, p. 927). Although heavily contingent, professional standards benchmark anticipated behaviour based on social norms.

1.9.6 Codes of Professional Conduct

The literature provides a solid conceptual basis for understanding the RIBA Code. Codes served as the foundation for civic and religious traditions of ancient politics and culture, representing a vision of success and aspiration for their communities (Gilman, 2005, p. 1). When codes are applied to the professions, such as the Hippocratic Oath, they assert distinction: codes are considered "the framework upon which professions are built" (Gilman, 2005, p. 4). A code of ethics is a formal document that states an organisation's primary values and the ethical rules it expects its employees to follow (Robbins, 1988). The profession acts as a normative reference group for individual practitioners and defines professional conduct rules for members and outsiders via its code of ethics. There are three types of codes: aspirational, educational, and regulatory (Frankel, 1989, p. 109). An aspirational code outlines principles, an educational code provides guidance, and a regulatory code regulates professional activity, enforced through monitoring and sanctions (Frankel, 1989, p. 110). The literature demonstrates that codes are an important part of professional practice, not only in establishing internal standards, but equally in communicating this to wider society.

The literature on codes of ethics includes various opinions on their effectiveness. Research suggests that we need to understand more about the complexity and the situated nature of ethical behaviour in practice (London and Everingham, 2006, p. 17). Despite being critical intellectual enquiries, debates on codes in the academic literature are typically detached from the context of practice. They are, therefore, distinct from the practitioner's questions, which are generally a combination of the general and specific (Gilman, 2005, p. 7). The literature (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p. 19) notes that corporate codes of conduct's content and implementation procedures have received growing attention (Kaptein, 2004; Preuss, 2009; Sobczak, 2003). Some argue that laws are often considered the basis for codes; however, codes that are simply implemented as laws are the least effective. Quoting former US Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren to demonstrate this point, Gilman notes that "law floats on a sea of ethics". It is "the ethical foundation, in terms of culture and socialization, that cannot be codified that makes law effective" (Gilman, 2005, pp. 23–24). Despite the criticism of codes of ethics for practice in the academic literature, a counter-argument is made concerning the legitimacy of these claims from their ideological position.

1.9.7 Implementation of Codes

The literature suggests that codes are more effective when implemented in states with strong press freedom and NGO activity, and those with enforceable domestic and international legislative obligations. These findings

emphasise the importance of multiple, overlapping, and mutually reinforcing governance systems (Toffel et al., 2012, p. 29). It has been claimed that the “bottom-up” ethical approach is more effective than imposing standards through legislation and regulation in supporting sustainable consumption and production (Russell et al., 2018, p. 1). The success of implementation is influenced by three factors: the MNC's authority, the effectiveness of an audit in effecting change, and the incentives required for change (Shbikat, 2019, p. 233). Systemic policy interventions only have effect when implemented in and through practice and are subject to ongoing reproduction (Shove et al., 2012, p. 162) through the forging and breaking of some of the links, relationships, networks and partnerships (Shove et al., 2012, p. 163). Research identifies three factors influencing social sustainability adoption in the supply chain: drivers, enablers, and barriers (Alghababsheh and Galleary, 2022, p. 84), and others provide a framework for assessing entities' readiness for addressing modern slavery (Liu et al., 2022, p. 148 Fig. 1). These findings indicate areas of success and limitation, which should be the subject of further empirical research.

Studies have shown that the successful implementation of codes relies on education, training and understanding. External pressure often results in different types of private regulation (Bartley, 2007), primarily based on company codes of conduct (Helfen et al., 2018, p. 5). However, research suggests that codes of conduct alone are often insufficient (Barrientos and Smith, 2007; O'Rourke, 2003), and require education and training as catalysts for implementation (Mamic, 2005). The literature (London and Everingham, 2006, p. 18) establishes that successful implementation requires input and representation from across the organisation (Wells and Spinks, 1996) and a shared understanding of ethical and professional values (Vee and Skitmore, 2003). Ethical codes have been shown to follow the concept of isomorphism, in that they borrow language from each other until they all start saying the same thing (Holder-Webb and Cohen, 2012). The research appears inconclusive in determining the success of ethical codes; however, their value lies within a wider framework of institutional activity.

1.9.8 Competency

The literature provides clear definitions of competency; however, its interpretation can be subjective. It has been defined as demonstrating knowledge, skill, personal attributes, and value orientation (Meyer and Semark, 1996), or something that someone working in a particular occupational field should be able to perform (Stewart and Hamlin, 1992). Competencies are also said to provide a shared cultural thread, a vocabulary for success, a framework for thinking about excellence, and a means of communicating the future (Wisher, 1994). Competency is a measure of one's ability to perform tasks well, determined by expert evidence, past performance, accreditation, qualifications, or industry norms, yet can be subjective (*Designing Buildings*, 2021b). The literature connects notions of competency with standards and professionalism, both interdependent components of constantly evolving professional institutions.

1.10 Sustainable Development

This section will summarise the academic research relevant to understanding sustainable development. I will begin with an overview of the subject, and following this, I will consider procurement and barriers in practice.

1.10.1 Sustainable Development

The literature on sustainable development is established and relatively broad, and it is observed to overlap significantly with similar concepts of social sustainability, sustainable procurement and CSR. The term "sustainable development" first appeared in the United Nations in 1987, when the World Commission on Environment and Development (the Brundtland Commission) published a report titled *Our Common Future*. It stated that "[s]ustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (Brundtland, 1987). Sustainable development is a goal for businesses and society, whilst corporate responsibility is used to monitor and measure the activities of organisations to achieve this (Brown, 2012, p. 51). The fundamental concept of sustainability is straightforward, being a process or state that can be maintained indefinitely, but without context, it is ambiguous and lacks meaning (Brown, 2012, p. 49). The highly contingent nature of the issue of sustainable development appears to have resulted in more generalised literature, which would benefit from empirical data.

There has been much consideration of what sustainable construction may entail. In 1994, Elkington coined the phrase "triple bottom line" based on the formulation "people, planet and profits" (Elkington, 1997). Sustainable development requires mitigating the negative impact of development by balancing three dimensions; social equity, economic growth and environmental conservation (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Research emphasises the importance of these three pillars (Carter and Rogers, 2008; Govindan *et al.*, 2020), which can be pursued concurrently (Carter and Rogers, 2008; Elkington, 1997), whilst a multi-stakeholder approach requires participation from every link in the supply chain (Liu *et al.*, 2011, p. 3). Some (Wu and Pagell, 2011) have considered how decisions on sustainability are balanced with profitability and are contingent on many unknowns (Dryzek, 2005; Redclift, 1989, 1991). Others claim that contributions to sustainable development will increase, if only to further business interests (Lützkendorf *et al.*, 2011, p. 498). Sustainable development is a term that suggests contradiction. Even sustainability has its tensions, as sustaining the status quo is unsustainable.

Despite its contradictions, sustainable development is at least an opportunity to start a conversation about industry priorities. Stigson noted in 1999 that there was a significant change in the attitude toward sustainable development by industry in just a couple of years. From perceiving these as risk concerns, these began to be viewed as opportunities and responsibilities, and importantly, for forward-thinking businesses, sources of competitive advantage (Stigson, 1999). However, it has been observed that the architect's definition of sustainability is limited, focusing on the technical aspects of buildings rather than broader societal issues. Some argue that practitioners occupy a comfortable and undemanding niche of complex but interesting technical issues. However, the more challenging ethical questions, such as whether the job should be done at all, in this manner, in this location, for this

purpose, for a particular group of users, and so on, are overlooked (Hill *et al.*, 2013, p. 20). Whilst we may hope for a better future, architects must be prepared to ask the questions necessary to make this a reality.

1.10.2 Sustainable Procurement

Research on sustainable procurement focuses heavily on the description and definition of the various approaches and concepts, and it is observed to overlap significantly with similar notions of social sustainability, sustainable development and CSR. The literature reveals multiple terms used to describe sustainable procurement, including sustainable supply management (Ageron *et al.*, 2012; Kolben, 2007; Krause *et al.*, 2009); purchasing social responsibility (Carter, 2004; Carter and Jennings, 2002a; Ciliberti *et al.*, 2008); socially responsible buying (Baden *et al.*, 2009; Maignan *et al.*, 2002); socially and environmentally responsible sourcing (Hoejmose and Adrien-Kirby, 2012); supplier socially responsible practices (Awaysheh and Klassen, 2010; Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p. 9), and socially responsible supply management (Koplin *et al.*, 2007; Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p. 9). Research has explored sustainable sourcing using case studies (Pagell *et al.*, 2010). Yet, researchers must contribute more to developing and testing theory rather than merely describing the phenomenon (De Bakker *et al.*, 2005), and investigate the complexities of socially responsible procurement (Hoejmose and Adrien-Kirby, 2012, p. 240). Despite the significant academic attention to the subject, there is very little evidence of these processes in practice.

1.10.3 Barriers to Sustainable Development

While considering the potential effectiveness of future strategies is important, the performance of existing practice provides empirical data on tested methods. Technical and structural constraints prevent procuring more sustainable alternatives (Preuss, 2005), as well as a lack of awareness (Köksal *et al.*, 2017; Mani *et al.*, 2016), competitive pressure (Mani *et al.*, 2016), knowledge, guidelines, law enforcement, time, senior management support, leadership skills, training, stakeholder communication, and additional cost (Alotaibi *et al.*, 2019, p. 13 Table 4). Some suggest that the lack of a systematic framework linking investment in social responsibilities to social or business outcomes may be inhibiting (Knox and Maklan, 2004, p. 514). Others claim that the availability of all relevant information to all parties, or information symmetry, in the supply chain is critical (Ciliberti *et al.*, 2009). Senior management is essential for implementing sustainable supply chains, yet research is needed to define their precise role (Hoejmose and Adrien-Kirby, 2012, p. 239). The research indicates that even basic activities are not being carried out, which suggests a more fundamental problem in industry than technical compliance.

The structures and cultures of architectural practice and its interdependencies define the rules of the game. The literature suggests that the new cooperation paradigm will unlikely change power distribution or improve working conditions in Global South export industries (Lund-Thomsen and Lindgreen, 2014). The risk of modern slavery appears "small and manageable" until the global supply chain is considered, due to structural problems and individuals' powerlessness (Christ and Burritt, 2018, p. 111). Further, the geographical, economic, legal, cultural, and

political separation of organisations presents agency issues that could lead to non-compliance with codes of conduct (Pedersen and Andersen, 2006), as well as cultural differences, bribery and corruption, a lack of training and education (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015), and organisational culture (Carter and Jennings, 2004; Svensson, 2009). Some identify vulnerable and insecure workforces as the Achilles heel of codes (Barrientos, 2008), whilst others recommend creating an ethical culture, developing regulatory procedures, maximising reporting of problems, having a no-blame culture, and systemic learning based on information capture (Hodges, 2016, p. 3). The adverse effects of global capitalism are not only its ability to produce modern slavery but also its ability to create a culture that permits modern slavery. The example of modern slavery in construction may be considered extreme by some, yet it represents the accepted but unjust model of Western business practice.

1.11 Corporate Social Responsibility

This section will summarise the academic research relevant to understanding corporate social responsibility (CSR). This superordinate industry term describes the RIBA Code's requirements concerning modern slavery.

1.11.1 Corporate Accountability

Corporate accountability is the process by which commercial organisations are held responsible for their actions. Research (Busse *et al.*, 2017, p. 2) confirms environmental and social issues as pressures for sustainable business practices (Carter and Liane Easton, 2011; Meixell and Luoma, 2015), and in a linked and networked commercial environment, the risk of reputational harm is increased (Caldwell and Phillips, 2005). As a result, stakeholders are beginning to hold purchasing organisations accountable for their supplier network (Hofmann *et al.*, 2014), known as the "supply chain liability effect" (van Tulder *et al.*, 2009). Such accountability is described as a relationship between an actor and a forum, where the actor must explain and justify their conduct, and may face consequences (Bovens, 2007, p. 450). This behaviour is consistent with qualitative principles, such as openness, consistency, proportionality, and procedural fairness. Therefore, respect for accountability systems, human rights, and fundamental legal principles is essential for such governance (Hsin *et al.*, 2021, p. 17). Some may consider corporate accountability as oxymoronic, considering the formation of companies to limit liability and the inclination and permissive nature of the corporations' definition of accountability.

The popular systems of corporate accountability generally involve management and auditing. Much of the current debate attempts to limit accountability by reducing it to management and auditing procedures (Newell and Wheeler, 2006, p. 3). Corporate hierarchies can lead to accountability being maintained through technocratic approaches, verifying actions to prescribed standards rather than implementing processes that might challenge established practices (Newell and Wheeler, 2006). "The right to demand and the capacity and willingness to respond to calls for accountability assume relations of power" (Newell and Wheeler, 2006). Models for alternative approaches for supply chain accountability in sustainability have been proposed by some (Gualandris *et al.*, 2015), whilst others use responsive regulation theory to emphasise monitoring for establishing accountability and

measuring effectiveness (Hsin *et al.*, 2021, p. 18). Despite its claimed intent, corporate accountability must overcome significant structural challenges to achieve its intended outcomes.

1.11.2 Corporate Responsibility

Corporate responsibility is a general term for the practice of conducting business ethically. Murray and Dainty's (2008) book is the first single volume to examine the various aspects of corporate responsibility with specific reference to the construction industry (Brown, 2012, p. 17). Many definitions of corporate responsibility relate to a concept rather than a practice. However, to be applicable to industry, this should be accompanied by a process for implementation, measuring effectiveness, and development (Brown, 2012, p. 32). Calls have been made for industry to better account for the complex social processes in the planning and management of construction projects (Grabher, 2002; Morris, 1994; Sydow *et al.*, 2004), and social science approaches are increasingly being applied (Bresnen *et al.*, 2005a, p. 487). The extensive research approaches the subject from several viewpoints, yet it appears light on implementation methods.

Corporate responsibility is the commitment to values beyond commercial objectives, and the competency of a practice in adhering to rules or laws. Carroll (1991) established the widely accepted “Four-Part Model of Corporate Responsibility”, which is a multi-layered concept organised into four interconnected aspects of economic, legal, ethical, and philanthropic responsibilities (Crane *et al.*, 2007). There are four drivers for corporate responsibility – internal and competitive pressures, external pressures from investors and consumers, regulatory pressures, and pressures from popular mobilisations, such as NGOs (Haigh and Jones, 2006). Clients, the general public, and NGOs now hold businesses accountable for their activities throughout the supply chain (Goebel *et al.*, 2012). Research asserts that the primary motivation for implementing CR was not to be tarred with the same brush of negative publicity (Bertels and Peloza, 2008, p. 13), and a single firm's wrong actions can cause a significant industry disruption and an institutional shift (Barnett, 2006, p. 1761). Conversely, when a large company improves its CR performance and requires all its suppliers to adhere to the same standards, this can result in suppliers implementing CR practices to retain business (Brown, 2012, pp. 47–48). However, in the context of commercial practice, this is a challenging state to achieve.

1.10.3 Social Sustainability

Academic studies note that social sustainability has received far less attention in the literature than environmental concerns. The literature (Ahi and Searcy, 2013; Carter and Rogers, 2008) finds that there have been various definitions of social sustainability in supply chains, with studies (Huq and Stevenson, 2020, p. 416) observing that research has focused less on social sustainability than on environmental sustainability (Kim *et al.*, 2018; Yawar and Seuring, 2017; Zorzini, Hendry and Huq, 2015). Some (Stevenson and Cole, 2018) analyse large buyers' detection and remediation methods, essential to improving capacity (Cole and Aitken, 2019, p. 7). Others (Huq and Stevenson,

2020, p. 417) hypothesise that as organisations operate within a network of interdependent relationships in the GVC, understanding sustainability's economic, environmental, and social components is critical (Vachon and Klassen, 2008). Several studies have advocated a more integrated approach to sustainable design beyond compliance with quantitative criteria (Building Futures, 2003; Building Futures, 2011; RIBA, 2005) (Coucill, 2013, p. 3). However, despite the significance of social sustainability to the Global South, to which many multi-national companies (MNCs) have outsourced (Yawar and Seuring, 2017), most research has been conducted in the context of the Global North (Huq and Stevenson, 2020, p. 416). The subject of social sustainability overlaps with sustainable development, sustainable procurement, and CSR, yet it is a growing area of research itself.

1.11.4 Corporate Social Responsibility

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is a broad term used to describe a business practice that is considerate of the rights of society. The literature on CSR is extensive. CSR is expressed as "context-specific organizational actions and policies that consider stakeholders' expectations and the triple bottom line of economic, social, and environmental performance" (Aguinis, 2011, p. 855). Social responsibility in business has been a subject of academic study for some time (Berle, 1931; Bowen, 1953; Davis, 1960; Dodd, 1932; Frederick, 1960). Studies have shown that CSR is receiving more scholarly attention (Wagner *et al.*, 2009), with analysis (Gold and Schleper, 2017, pp. 1–2) claiming that the CSR literature is expanding (Beske and Seuring, 2014; Carter and Rogers, 2008; Pagell and Wu, 2009) into areas such as supplier development (Busse *et al.*, 2016), decision-making (Brandenburg *et al.*, 2014), sustainability reporting (Turker and Altuntas, 2014), power imbalances (Touboulis *et al.*, 2014), socially sustainable supply chains (Moxham and Kauppi, 2014), and sustainable supply chain risks (Hofmann *et al.*, 2014), and is shifting to a focus on the nations that are suffering the most significant effects of industrialisation (Huq *et al.*, 2016), including studies focusing on modern slavery (Gold *et al.*, 2015). However, some (Brown, 2012, p. 18; Govindan *et al.*, 2021, p. 1; Russell, 2020, p. 334) report that social sustainability has not received as much attention as environmental sustainability (Yawar and Seuring, 2017; Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015). The business and human rights (BHR) perspective has developed predominantly outside of the scholarship on business and sociology. Key subject areas are identified, namely labour rights (Dawkins, 2016; Soundararajan *et al.*, 2018), child labour (Ballet *et al.*, 2014), modern slavery (Caruana *et al.*, 2021; Monciardini *et al.*, 2021), and businesses operating in or collaborating with oppressive regimes (Brenkert, 2016; Schrempf, 2011). However, these address a narrow view of the broader problem (Schrempf-Stirling *et al.*, 2022). The literature demonstrates a strong academic interest in a relatively new area of study.

The literature also suggests weaknesses in the quality and scope of some studies. Reports suggest an "inability – or refusal – of mainstream CSR scholars to apply a genuinely critical approach to the study of CSR, the corporation and the overall political economy of capitalism" (Haigh and Jones, 2006). Studies (Govindan *et al.*, 2021) found that key drivers for social sustainability adoption include stakeholder pressure, top management commitment, government pressure, supplier collaboration, and competitive advantages (Ehrgott *et al.*, 2011; Goworek, 2011; Meixell and Luoma, 2015; Walker and Jones, 2012). Some reveal a gap in knowledge on sustainability in multi-tier supply chains (Abbasi, 2017; Köksal *et al.*, 2017; Mani *et al.*, 2018; Nakamba *et al.*, 2017; Tachizawa and Yew Wong, 2014). Others find that CSR is an effective business tactic, yet there are few empirical studies on CSR in construction (Osuzugbo

et al., 2021, p. 83), with most international project management literature prioritising regulation over cognitive-cultural factors (Biesenthal *et al.*, 2018, p. 13). LeBaron (2021) identifies a focus on sophisticated benchmarking systems and investment models when attention should be placed on the routine practices of industry (LeBaron, 2021b, pp. 24–25). Further, most academic research on social sustainability has been conducted in so-called “developed countries” (Huq and Stevenson, 2020). Despite slavery being considered intrinsic, in management studies, its relevance is denied (Cooke, 2003). The literature is “problematic because it ignores the role of companies and managers in one of the most acute abuses of human rights in contemporary business practice” (Crane, 2013, p. 50). Future research should not only focus on compliance-driven measures but also identify approaches for a decent working environment (Lin-Hi and Blumberg, 2017, p. 801). It is also required for integrating and implementing CSR objectives into the design brief, as well as for defining, measuring, and evaluating a project’s success (Gilmore *et al.*, 2020, p. 8). The literature reveals an opportunity for improving knowledge in these areas through empirical data.

Corporate Social Responsibility is a commitment to Corporate Responsibility, the drivers of which are well established. The literature observes three basic principles of CSR activity, namely sustainability, accountability, and transparency (Aras and Crowther, 2009, p. 23). The sources, drivers, barriers and social sustainability performance have been explored (Govindan *et al.*, 2021, pp. 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17), with drivers of CSR implementation in the construction industry as policy pressure, market pressure, and innovation and technology development (Zhang *et al.*, 2019, p. 19 Table 6). The benefits of these initiatives are said to be financial, reputation, human resource, supplier-induced, policy, culture and awareness, and resources (Vigneshkumar *et al.*, 2022, p. 1747). Reputation is a crucial corporate asset that can be easily damaged, but can be maintained through a high level of corporate social responsibility (Roberts, 2003, p. 169). CSR should be seen as an opportunity rather than damage control or a PR campaign (Porter and Kramer, 2006). Beyond the improved standards in commercial activities, corporate responsibility adds value to practice and reduces the risk of misconduct claims.

CSR implementation is challenging for businesses for structural, technical and commercial reasons. The literature sheds light on modern slavery vulnerabilities in supply chains, and suggests that traditional approaches are inadequate to solve such problems (New, 2015). Typical barriers can include government policy, the nature of the construction industry, attributes of CSR, and stakeholder perspectives (Zhang *et al.*, 2019, p. 29 Table 8). Construction projects are usually driven by financial gain and corporate expansion, motivations which are antithetical to CSR (Liu *et al.*, 2011, p. 24), with firms unwilling to put CSR at the heart of their operations for fear of losing competitive advantage (Loosemore and Lim, 2018, p. 80). Research finds that business managers prioritise environmental and economic sustainability over social sustainability (Kusi-Sarpong *et al.*, 2018), and that contractors must develop effective strategies and communication techniques to meet increasing CSR demands, despite limited resources and differing interpretations (Watts, 2018, p. 6). Analysis identifies inconsistencies in incorporating CSR into the development process (Gilmore *et al.*, 2020, p. 7), whilst such implementation is somewhat ad hoc (Barthorpe, 2010, p. 11). This is partly due to the construction industry being made up of predominantly small and medium enterprises, which are disadvantaged in CSR implementation due to a lack of support (Bernaciak *et al.*, 2021, p. 15). However, CSR is not limited to actions taken by companies; such activities are relevant at all levels, including institutional, organisational, and individual actors (Aguinis and Glavas, 2012, p. 933). Some (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p. 15) highlight the coexistence of organisational and individual values in relation to social

responsibility and the potential conflict between them (2002b; Harwood and Humby, 2008; Park, 2005). It might be suggested that these challenges are in fact symptoms of the misalignment between ethical commitments and practice.

Despite its criticisms, there are some indications that practice is beginning to shift. Barthorpe's (2010) paper provides a counterpoint to the negative views of the UK construction industry for its lack of innovation and willingness to embrace change. Using case study examples, construction industry organisations in the UK can add value by implementing CSR (Barthorpe, 2010, p. 2). There is a recent trend for leading companies to be more willing to meet society's changing expectations (Zhang et al., 2020, p. 6), potentially through stakeholder engagement to define relationships and establish multiple levels of communication (Collinge, 2020, p. 35). Strategic business direction and organisational culture can positively impact such initiatives (Guo and Lu, 2021, p. 2). CSR reputation may be enhanced by incorporating specific sustainability criteria for supplier selection (Cole and Aitken, 2019, p. 7) at the request of stakeholders (Maignan *et al.*, 2002, p. 642), with research (Tate *et al.*, 2010) exploring the potential use of CSR reports to ensure that social responsibilities are fulfilled (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p. 17). Despite these developments, it has been suggested that CSR and codes are commendable and should be developed, but not replace national and international governance (Goldin, 2013, p. 191). CSR is an essential consideration in architectural practice and, despite its flaws, will play a central role in bringing important issues to the industry's attention.

1.12 Supply Chain Management

RIBA Members do not have an institutionally recognised strategy for managing social sustainability in their project supply chains. Therefore, in this section, I will summarise the relevant themes necessary to understand the obligations of the RIBA Code Principle 3, Guidance Note (GN) 5.3 (Supply chains include materials and people: Members should be aware of the labour used in the extraction, manufacturing and production of materials they use or specify, as well as the direct labour involved in their projects).

1.12.1 Early Supply Chain Involvement

Agency theory has demonstrated how Early Supply Chain Involvement (ESI) may effectively function as a behaviour-based supplier management method (Zsidisin and Smith, 2005, p. 46). Research indicates that a comprehensive supplier selection process and robust information exchange within a developing relationship can significantly reduce supply chain risk (Zsidisin and Smith, 2005, p. 54). There are many approaches to ESI in industry, which require an understanding of the Global Value Chain (GVC).

1.12.2 Global Value Chains

Recognition of the globalisation of production has been evident in the academic literature for almost fifty years. Hopkins and Wallerstein introduced the global commodity chain concept to explore the changing international division of labour in the late 1970s (LeBaron and Rühmkorf, 2017, p. 15). The global value chain (GVC) is described as bringing a product or service from conception to production, including physical transformation, the input of producer services, and consumer distribution and disposal (Kaplinsky, 2005, p. 101). The literature claims that there has been little research on modern slavery within the GVC, and some (Gold *et al.*, 2015) advocate more empirical studies (Benstead *et al.*, 2018, p. 2287). Analysis (Bresnen *et al.*, 2005a, p. 488) finds that drivers for research include the improvement of integration and collaboration across the GVC (Higgin and Jessop, 1965; Latham, 1994) to incorporate “best practice” from other sectors (Egan, 1998; Gann, 1996), and knowledge for the management of projects (Morris, 1994; Winch, 1996). GVCs are becoming more widespread due to transboundary production and consumption of products and services (Vaughn *et al.*, 2019), which some (Helfen *et al.*, 2018, p. 5) suggest are exploited by macro-level institutions at the bottom of the pyramid (Barrientos, 2013; Palpacuer, 2008). In the global construction industry, cultural differences impact daily business operations. Yet little has been published on how different cultural backgrounds affect the operating environment of an industry (Lorenz and Marosszeky, 2007, p. 427). Despite the abundant research on GVCs, there appears to be a lack of empirical studies or analysis on implementation methods.

The success of modern slavery initiatives is dependent on visibility throughout the supply chain. In describing modern slavery, some use the analogy of an iceberg, whose greatest threat remains invisible when viewed from an apparently safe distance (Meinlschmidt *et al.*, 2018). Many supply chains' horizontal, vertical, and geographical dimensions have grown in complexity (Bode and Wagner, 2015), meaning that the supply chain as a system is difficult to predict and control (Carter *et al.*, 2015, p. 90). Further, research (Meinlschmidt *et al.*, 2018, p. 1) suggests that the focus is mostly on direct suppliers (Pagell *et al.*, 2010) whilst ignoring lower-tier, or nexus, suppliers, who are critical within supply networks (Yan *et al.*, 2015). Most research has focused on client-main contractor relationships (Bygballe *et al.*, 2010). Some (Busse *et al.*, 2017, p. 3) note that visibility in the supply chain is limited (Carter *et al.*, 2015, p. 93), even in simple buyer-supplier relationships (Caridi *et al.*, 2013), with sustainability violations hidden in complex supplier networks (Meinlschmidt *et al.*, 2016). There are significant structural barriers to managing GVCs. However, it should be noted that this is intentional, and any proposal for improving this situation must consider this to gain any traction in practice.

1.12.3 Transparency in Supply Chains

Transparency is often suggested as an effective strategy for eliminating the negative effects of GVCs. Transparency in sustainable development is the extent to which information regarding an organisation's decisions and actions that affect society, the economy, and the environment is revealed to stakeholders (Hofstede, 2003). Transparency should imply that economic, social, and environmental issues are available for public, partner, and customer

scrutiny. Companies have developed three strategies to achieve transparency: (1) by publishing annual CSR reports (Tate *et al.*, 2010); (2) by developing internal CSR codes (Lee and Kim, 2009) and private supplier codes of conduct (Gugler and Shi, 2009), and (3) by resorting to other certification or standards (Ciliberti *et al.*, 2009) to endorse their processes via third-party accreditation. “Three sources of institutional pressure are inferred from modern slavery statements: international human rights accords (coercive), multi-stakeholder initiatives (mimetic) and professional standards (normative)” (Flynn and Walker, 2020, p. 1). Adherence to the codes or standards is usually required for securing orders, especially if they are situated in “high-risk” countries (Ehrgott *et al.*, 2011). Transparency is the driving force for many industry initiatives to tackle modern slavery.

Transparency initiatives are adopted by industry for their ability to mitigate regulatory risk effectively. Companies implement monitoring, auditing, and collaboration processes to ensure suppliers comply with their necessary social standards (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p. 17). Transparency enhances stakeholders' understanding of an organisation's operations and is a prerequisite for improving social responsibility (Dubbink *et al.*, 2008). Transparency reporting is becoming more popular, and investors increasingly demand that companies be evaluated using better ESG criteria (Crates, 2018a, p. 10). For small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), CSR disclosure positively affects capacity building (Stekelorum *et al.*, 2018, p. 5026). Further, reporting to stakeholders, actively engaging them and using their feedback can enhance transparency processes (Carter and Rogers, 2008). Transparency initiatives attempt to reinstate the visibility lost by the extension of supply chains, which has been shown to have some positive results.

However, the transparency approach involves considerable barriers. The effects of the emerging barriers to supply chain transparency are documented (Mol, 2015). Transparency-based modern slavery legislation assumes that more scrutiny will inspire businesses to manage risks (Pinnington *et al.*, 2022, p. 14), and requires a causal chain from disclosure requirements to targeted company activity (Hombach and Sellhorn, 2019, p. 26). Supply chain specialists recommend risk mapping their supply chains, but 72% of businesses are invisible beyond Tier 1 suppliers (Crates, 2018a, p. 51). Experts (Trautrimis *et al.*, 2020, p. 3) argue that a company has limited visibility not just of their operations (Carter *et al.*, 2015) but also of its multi-tier supply chains (Mena *et al.*, 2013). As the construction industry faces the challenge of its supplier base of thousands of materials, products, and components, it is suggested that collaboration might accelerate industry change (Crates, 2018a, p. 51). Some (Laari *et al.*, 2022, p. 1) observe that whilst more corporations release sustainability information, they may be unduly optimistic, particularly about the whole supply chain, where modern slavery might be concealed (Govindan *et al.*, 2021). Others highlight the need for social protection and effective employment law enforcement that prevents employers from reducing salaries below the minimum wage (Crane *et al.*, 2021, p. 282). However, despite Western buying companies imposing Supplier Codes of Conduct (SCC) on their suppliers, many suppliers in the Global South cannot fully comply, and some have been found to falsify reports (Jiang, 2009). As professional activity is complex and requires specialisation, any attempt to make a professional accountable must respect this complexity and specialisation (Ray, 2005, p. 100). Transparency initiatives must, therefore, be deployed as a response to a particular situation rather than a blanket response.

Even in the right conditions, transparency initiatives have shown mixed results. Transparency requirements often result in a greater focus on simpler objectives or performance indicators that may be presented simply (Ray, 2005, p. 103). Such non-financial disclosure is described as a “toothless tiger” in its current state (Jackson *et al.*, 2020, p. 26). Glass (2012) finds that few construction corporations generate social responsibility reports, and various sub-sectors use the term “sustainability” in diverse ways. The industry lacks standard metrics and methods to foster interactive stakeholder engagement (Glass, 2012, p. 15). Some have revealed heterogeneous reporting practices in modern slavery disclosure (Schaper and Pollach, 2021, p. 1) and that companies rarely measure their effectiveness systematically (Schaper and Pollach, 2021, p. 9). Corporations have been found to share good information while remaining silent on negative news (Sarumpaet and Fauzi, 2021, p. 687). “The CSR reporting practices of assessed UK building and construction firms are lacking in key respects, leave much to be desired and have plenty of room for improvement” (Evangelinos *et al.*, 2016, p. 2). Modern slavery reporting compliance is highly connected to business size, previous social responsibility commitment, network involvement, industry, and headquarters location (UK versus non-UK) (Flynn, 2019, p. 1). Empirical research found CSR reporting ceremonial rather than substantive, in line with corporate legitimization and “greenwashing” viewpoints (Haji *et al.*, 2022, p. 1), with the evidence supporting increasing scepticism about using CSR reporting practices to enhance perceived accountability (Michelon *et al.*, 2015, p. 2). The relationship between ethical sourcing and supply chain disclosure and competitiveness has shown mixed results (Chen and Slotnick, 2015), and there is little indication that the adoption of disclosure legislation has resulted in a substantive change regarding labour standards and rights in global supply chains (Phillips *et al.*, 2016, p. 28). Transparency initiatives offer many advantages in tackling modern slavery; however, their success depends on their effective implementation.

1.12.4 Traceability

The literature on traceability is relatively scant and is generally explored from a conceptual approach, focusing on environmental values. Some claim that few academic texts give an underlying conceptual definition of traceability (Katenbayeva, McKune, *et al.*, 2016), yet some (Karlsen *et al.*, 2013; Moe, 1998) suggest this can be defined as “unique identity” (Katenbayeva, Glass, *et al.*, 2016, p. 11). It has been asserted that for purchasing organisations to monitor the sustainability performance of thousands of lower-tier suppliers is costly and almost impractical (Rauer and Kaufmann, 2015). However, recent work has developed a theoretical framework and process model for traceability within the construction supply chain (Katenbayeva, 2021). Where efforts to remove modern slavery in the construction industry have been effective, they have demonstrated the FSC Chain of Custody's characteristics, such as involvement with peers and NGOs, for a more transparent corporate approach (Russell *et al.*, 2018, p. 12). Analysis reveals that implementing SA8000 (Social Accountability Standard) improved coordination and transparency amongst immediate partners but not with second or third-tier supply chain partners (Ciliberti *et al.*, 2008). Further, research on ISO14001, SA8000, FSC, and FLA standards revealed weaknesses, concluding that they are not yet achieving their desired outcomes (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p. 18). Currently, there is limited academic literature on the traceability of construction materials, with only a few studies focusing on responsible sourcing (Livesey and Hughes, 2013; Upstill-Goddard *et al.*, 2015). The literature demonstrates the value of

traceability in tackling modern slavery in construction supply chains. Still, it would benefit significantly from evidence of more situated experimentation with these concepts and empirical data.

1.12.5 Auditing

A popular mechanism of compliance is auditing. LeBaron et al. (2017) highlight the adoption of audits as a corporate governance tool linked to neoliberal economic governance, where states remove restrictions and delegate authority to transnational corporations (LeBaron *et al.*, 2017, p. 962). Some have cautioned against an over-reliance on social auditing, which is not synonymous with due diligence (Ford and Nolan, 2020, p. 27). Evidence suggests audits are a weak management mechanism for detecting and addressing non-compliance (LeBaron *et al.*, 2017, p. 967). While helpful in benchmarking and raising standards, they are unreliable in detecting slavery due to systemic flaws and commercial disincentives on UK construction sites (Crates, 2018a, p. 10). When efficiency and contractual agreements define the audit agenda, sustainability and ethics risk being undermined (Helin and Babri, 2014). Further, when sharp hierarchies of authority exist, those beholden to senior figures in the social structure are more likely to simply report what they want to hear. Only trust improves information flow (Tronto, 2015, p. 36). Few systematic studies have examined how organisations prioritise suppliers for audit, which is problematic for business accountability (Egels-Zandén, 2017, p. 515). Despite being a mainstream approach to compliance, auditing appears to have fundamental limitations.

Critics argue that audits are a form of productive power that legitimises and codifies companies' poor social and environmental records (LeBaron *et al.*, 2017). Big audit firms promote soft-law labour governance and oppose concrete performance targets, binding public regulation, and an independent watchdog role for civil society (Fransen and LeBaron, 2019, p. 260). Insiders widely accept the audit regime as ineffective in addressing environmental and social issues prevalent in transnational business (LeBaron and Lister, 2015, p. 924). "Meanwhile, the growing ranks of 'philanthrocapitalists' can apply their considerable skill at accumulating wealth to fixing the world's slavery problem" (Chuang, 2015, p. 148). Although conceptually valid, current auditing processes require more stringency if they are considered reliable evidence of modern slavery compliance.

1.12.6 Supply Chain Management

Supply chains have long been a feature of economic activity in construction and manufacturing. However, they are now ubiquitous in the global economy across every sector and continent (Ruggie, 2013: 6) (Wright and Kaine, 2015, p. 486). The Egan Report (1998) mentioned supply chain management (SCM) specifically, and made recommendations on its adoption (Pryke, 2009, p. 9). Supply chain management is a significant concern in the construction industry, with firms under increasing pressure to ensure their suppliers meet their social and environmental responsibilities and international standards when working overseas (Jones *et al.*, 2006, p. 5). However, the importance of supply chains in construction is not in their presence, but in their exploitation. Improving the supply chain requires contact with parties intentionally divided through contractual constraints

(Pryke, 2009, p. 11). This is an important point. Architects' lack of agency in tackling modern slavery caused by contractual and legal separation in supply chains is deliberate. Its remedy would require a challenge to the foundational principles of corporate law, such as the privity of contract and limited liability of companies.

SCM is not as simple as requiring all suppliers to adhere to specific requirements. Companies may lack the authority to drive change in their supply chain and face challenges of cultural norms, geographical distance, length of supply chains, and cost (Awaysheh and Klassen, 2010, p. 2). Further, SCM requires intervening in businesses where the client or a first-tier supplier does not have ownership or control (Pryke, 2009, p. 199). Intercultural competence is essential for successful project supply chain managers to think and act in ways that are appropriate to the cultures involved and with empathy for the different stakeholders (Pryke, 2009, p. 67). Success is determined by the unification of supply chain members, both in their technical abilities and cooperation. Project hardware cannot guarantee success, but "project software" can (Pryke, 2009, p. 68). Successful SCM is dependent on commitments and actions outside legal and contractual provisions.

1.12.7 Sustainable Supply Chain Management

The literature reveals the effort by academia to engage with the subject of sustainable supply chain management (SSCM). Yet, complexity and a lack of metrics have restricted progress 2002, despite early studies emphasising the significance of social aspects of supply chain management (Maignan *et al.*, 2002). Carter and Rogers (Carter and Rogers, 2008) introduced the element of sustainability to the field of supply chain management as recently as 2008, which is now a rapidly expanding field of study (Ansari and Kant, 2017). SSCM has been described as "[...] the management of supply chain operations, resources, information, and funds in order to maximise the supply chain profitability [...] while minimising the environmental impacts and maximising the social well-being" (Hassini *et al.*, 2012, p. 70). Some have explored modern slavery as a management practice (Crane, 2013), modern slavery in the supply chain (New, 2015), and investigated the connections between modern slavery and SCM by providing a model for understanding slavery risks (Gold *et al.*, 2015). Research (Gold and Schleper, 2017) claims progress in SSCM is still relatively modest (Pagell and Shevchenko, 2014), and much of the literature has focused on the environmental aspects of supply chains (Ashby *et al.*, 2012; Cole and Aitken, 2019, p. 2; Gold and Schleper, 2017, p. 1; Miemczyk *et al.*, 2012; Srivastava, 2007; Yawar and Seuring, 2017, p. 621). The literature (Huq and Stevenson, 2020, p. 417) suggests that it is more difficult to measure social than environmental performance (Zorzini, Hendry and Huq, 2015) due to the complex dynamics of social issues (Yawar and Seuring, 2017), and that it is simpler to agree on universal metrics such as carbon dioxide reduction (Huq *et al.*, 2014; Jia *et al.*, 2018), that facilitates performance monitoring (Touboulis *et al.*, 2014). Social SSCM lacks the metrics and visibility of the environmental crisis, which perhaps partly explains its perpetuation.

Responsible sourcing is a term used interchangeably with SSCM. The literature defines responsible sourcing as a strategy to safeguard the long-term sustainability of the construction supply chain. It involves social, ethical, moral, and economic considerations that depend on the participation of manufacturers, clients, contractors, and specifiers (Nicholson *et al.*, 2011, p. 9). Despite its lack of a universally agreed definition, responsible sourcing refers to

managing sustainability concerns linked with materials in the construction supply chain, frequently from an ethical standpoint (Glass *et al.*, 2012, p. 4). Others have defined specific terminology related to socially responsible sourcing (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015), and initiatives in construction have been considered (Arts and Faith-Ell, 2010; Hall and Purchase, 2006). Contributions have also been made through action research investigation of the industry response to modern slavery legislation (Benstead *et al.*, 2018, 2020). The literature provides a wealth of knowledge on the subject of responsible sourcing; however, this would be enhanced by empirical data from industry and a focus on social values.

Research suggests that industry is raising the status of social values in SSCM. Sustainability in global supply chains is a major social issue involving personal health, safety, human rights, and economic development (Maloni and Brown, 2006). Some (Bird and Soundararajan, 2020, p. 84) claim that supply chain sustainability has benefitted from contractual governance approaches, an aspect of transaction cost economics (Lumineau and Henderson, 2012; Lumineau and Malhotra, 2011). Research recognises the importance of expanding diligence processes beyond the boundaries of the firm to the supply chain level (Brockhaus *et al.*, 2013; Carter and Jennings, 2002a; Linton *et al.*, 2007; M. Tachizawa and Yew Wong, 2014; Meinschmidt *et al.*, 2018, p. 1; Wilhelm, Blome, Wieck and Xiao, 2016; Wilhelm, Blome, Wieck, Cheng Yong Xiao, *et al.*, 2016, p. 197), including sub-suppliers (Choi and Linton, 2011; Tse and Tan, 2011; Wilhelm, Blome, Wieck, Cheng Yong Xiao, *et al.*, 2016, p. 197). It has been argued that states should mix state-based enforcement with the empowerment of market participants via collaboration to share the regulatory burden (Harris and Nolan, 2021, p. 241). Project-level objectives should be consistent with national and sector-level policies, but applied to the specific requirements of each project (Gunatilake, 2013, p. 1). Positive steps are being made in industry, but more work is required to expand visibility beyond direct suppliers.

Conclusions: Making Sense of the Literature

First, I provided an overview and critique of the current state of knowledge in the subject areas relevant to this project, beginning with care ethics, which outlines my chosen frame for the project. Following this, I explored the literature to define modern slavery, from its origin to its current forms. In the following sections, I described the significant gaps in academic research in two areas: the first is academic research in architectural professional practice, which I identified as the result of its distinct disciplinary context; the second is modern slavery “in situ”, which is limited by the availability of reliable empirical data. Next, I explored the nature of wicked problems, which facilitates an appreciation of the complex and persistent nature of issues such as modern slavery. I then reviewed modern slavery policy, including the MSA, governance, regulation, enforcement, and compliance. This section defined the regulatory environment of the architectural practitioner – the “rules of the game” for industry. I discussed architectural practice in the next section, including practice contracts and structure, project organisation, risk management, value, and social practice theory. In this section, I outlined the literature on the organisation and management of construction projects by architectural practitioners and explained their approach and priorities in decision-making. I followed this with a focus on the RIBA’s Code of Professional Conduct. To provide context, I reviewed the literature on professional institutions, professional knowledge, professionalism, pragmatism, standards, legitimacy, codes of ethical conduct, competency, and behaviour change. This work provides a backdrop

by sketching out the professional's social contract and how this translates into formal codes and individual behaviour. The next section of the literature review considers Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), including Corporate Responsibility (CR), sustainable development, sustainable procurement, and its barriers. As these subjects have been researched more fully in the literature, this analysis is more comparative and considers the nuances of these debates. Finally, the literature review explores Supply Chain Management (SCM), including Early Supply Chain Involvement (ESI), Global Value Chains (GVCs), transparency and traceability, Supply Chain Management (SCM) and Sustainable Supply Chain Management (SSCM). These are essential industry areas that architectural practitioners will be expected to understand in tackling modern slavery in their project supply chains.

Chapter 2 - Contemporary Context: Tackling Modern Slavery in Construction Supply Chains

Introduction

In this Chapter, I provide the contemporary context and define the research problem. I begin by introducing the RIBA's Code of Professional Conduct requirement on modern slavery and highlight the importance of this research due to the British architect's central position in the global market. I then consider the prevalence of modern slavery, its root causes, and its significance in the construction industry. Finally, I examine the drivers of change and industry response and consider what might be required for practice to respond to this challenge.

2.1 Contemporary Context

Rapid urban development is a primary cause of the world's most significant social and environmental problems (United Nations, 2012). Increasingly globalised supply chains and the complex regulatory requirements of international development mean that the architect's intent is exposed to some of the most controversial practices of global capitalism. It might be suggested that institutions facilitating global development must play a role in attending to its negative impacts. If so, British institutions are well-positioned to effect change.

One way to engage with the significant social challenges faced by global capitalism might be to reimagine the relationship between architects and ethics. Translating the professional standards implemented in delivering construction projects internationally or the material and labour of project supply chains is to hold practice to a degree of principle. The research hopes to offer a unique ontopolitical understanding of regulatory policy in architectural professional practice, that is, to form the basis of discussions about knowing, governing, and being a human subject (Chandler, 2018, p. xiii). This benchmark will be used to understand how standards decay over distance, leading to a qualitative attrition of practice. The project's position at the intersection of research and industry allows me to combine academic and practice-based research to foreground the consideration of human rights.

For the RIBA Member, the labour of architectural practice involves long-established production processes that institutions control through promotion or regulation, systemic digital pattern-making and codified specifications from a limited palette. These are designed around the "user", must be "delivered" on time and on budget and must, of course, "comply" with "code". The revised Code of Professional Conduct is a significant step by the RIBA to tackle the issue of modern slavery, not least because it considers individuals in an increasingly distant and separated world. Component 5.1 states that Members shall comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery, and 5.3 states that they shall exercise reasonable skill and care to use supply chains that are free from Modern Slavery (RIBA, 2019b). With an institutional focus on what must be achieved, the question remains: How will this be implemented in practice?

In this research, I hope to address some of the findings of the RIBA's *Decade of Action: RIBA Members and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)* survey data regarding the knowledge of professional ethics and SDGs. The findings state that although 90% of respondents described professional competence, integrity and relationships as "extremely" or "very" important, 12% have "basic" or "no" knowledge of professional ethics (RIBA, 2020a, p. 12). More significantly, "meeting the SDGs is essential to world sustainability, a world where no one is left behind" (RIBA, 2020a, p. 12); however, 68% of respondents have "basic" or "no" knowledge of the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (RIBA, 2020a, p. 11), "this is a knowledge gap that needs responding to" (RIBA, 2020a, p. 12). Carys Rowlands, RIBA Head of Professional Standards, declares the report "a call to arms, a call for a step-change in practice now – in this decade of action – for people, prosperity and planet" (RIBA, 2020a, p. 6). Professional standards are essential to RIBA Members, and the SDGs sit at the heart of the institution's commitments.

Therefore, I will consider some of the key findings and recommendations of the RIBA Ethics and Sustainable Development Commission. Established by the RIBA Council in July 2017, it resolved to "assert the fundamental importance of public interest, social purpose and sustainability as core values within the profession" and to "create a sustainable development and ethics commission to consider how the profession can best reflect its core values and engage with the UN's 2030 Sustainable Development Goals" (RIBA, 2018a, p. 3). The RIBA claims that Goal 11, "to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable", "creates both an opportunity and a responsibility for built environment professionals to engage with these issues". Further, the New Urban Agenda, adopted at the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) in 2016, "provides a framework for sustainable urban development and an opportunity for the Institute and its members to engage with policymakers and local communities around a shared agenda" (RIBA, 2018a, p. 4). The RIBA has been vocal in its ambitions for sustainable development, which sets the agenda for future practice.

2.2 A Crisis of Care

Care is lacking in the construction industry. More broadly, the capacity for care is taken for granted in a capitalist society as free and endlessly available, requiring no attention or replenishment. In this context, nature is handled in the same manner. However, neither the reproduction of nature nor society is limitless, and both may be exhausted. Consequently, a "crisis of care" is as serious and systemic as the current ecological crisis (Fraser, 2016, p. 31). The care crisis has escalated over the past forty years due to neoliberal capitalism's approach of "profit-making as the organising principle of life". This has led to systematically prioritising financial capital's interests and flows and deconstructing welfare states and democratic institutions (Hakim *et al.*, 2020, p. 11). The capitalist working environment of the architectural practitioner is designed for commercial efficiency, and its fundamental requirement for continuous operation is profitability.

Care and capitalism are contradictory. They cannot coexist at their full potential, as the success of one is always detrimental to the other. The care crisis originates from a societal contradiction between capitalism and care, that

processes in capitalist organisations undermine care, a quality on which capitalist organisations depend (Fraser, 2016). Such mechanisms have legitimised the reduction of the welfare state and established corporate non-responsibility in most countries (Acker, 2006, p. 27). Lawson (2007, p. 2) describes this as the “reworking of governance and political subjectivities and their implications for social welfare provision and uneven development from local to global scales” (Harvey, 2003; Katz, 2001; Kelly, 1999; Smith, 1984; Sparke, 2005). Some suggest that by engaging the values of the ethics of care, such as sensitivity, empathy, responsiveness, and responsibility, we could more adequately judge where the market boundaries should be (Held, 2005, p. 130). It might be argued that the revision of the Code is a cynical attempt to bridge the structures of society and devolve responsibility from capitalist organisations to the individual. However, it might also be argued that those capitalist organisations are inherently incapable of providing such attention, and only the individual has the capacity to care.

2.3 The Business Case

As the UK takes an independent seat at the World Trade Organisation and navigates global trade dynamics, our trading standards, designed to improve compatibility and compliance, become more significant than ever. A study conducted by the Centre for Economics and Business Research in 2015 noted that the application of standards positively and significantly contributed to the UK economy: it resulted in around 28% annual growth in GDP, 37% in productivity gains and £6 billion in exports. The construction sector, encompassing contracting, product manufacturing and professional services, generated around £370 billion in 2016, adding £138 billion in value to the UK economy – 9% of the total (HM Government, 2018). The construction products sector exported over £6 billion in 2016 (HM Government, 2018). Construction contracting businesses accounted for £822 million in exports to the European Union and £965 million in exports to the rest of the world in 2016; the Office for National Statistics also estimates that in 2016, the UK had a positive trade balance of £469 million for architectural services alone (HM Government, 2018). The data shows that architecture and the wider construction industry are vital to the UK economy.

The RIBA claims that UK architecture “embodies standards for excellence around the world” and is “a global hub for the profession” (RIBA, 2017a, p. 39). In recent years, the UK has maintained its position at or near the top of soft power indexes, indicating a strongly positive global reputation (McClory, 2019). It goes on to say that “British architecture employs over 80,000 people and contributes over £4.8bn a year to the UK economy, including over £500 million from exports (Statista, 2017). Of this, “capital costs are trivial [...], so most of the value added by the sector comes from labour. Most of this labour cost is in employing architects [...]” (RIBA, 2017a, p. 39). The significance of architecture is not limited to its economic contribution and soft power but is also due to its vital role as an employer.

British architects earn more from international work than other European countries. Unlike other service sector exporters, most of the sector’s international revenue comes from outside the European Union. In 2018, the sector’s most significant markets were Asia (27% of international revenue), the EU (23%), the Middle East (20%) and North

America (14%) (RIBA, 2018b, p. 1). Exports outside the EU drive the UK's pre-eminent position as a global hub for architecture. Figures 3 and 4 below show UK architecture exports by destination. The largest destination is 'Other Asia,' including Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Malaysia. This reflects the findings of the RIBA's latest Business Benchmarking data, demonstrating that 38% of international revenue of the RIBA Chartered Practice comes from projects in the Middle East, with 17% from Asia and only 17% from the EU. These findings reveal that British architects are major exporters of services and are strongly connected to the global market.

Creative Industries Group	Exports (£m)					
	Europe	America	Asia	Australia	Africa	Industry total
Architecture	71.0	81.5	261.5	5.6	26.7	446.2

(Estimates by Continent)

Figure 4 Extract from Table 2: Exports of services for UK creative industries by continent and creative industries group, 2014 (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2016, p. 10)

Creative Industries Group	Exports (£m)							
	USA	Germany	France	Japan	China	UAE	India	Industry total
Architecture	64.9	3.3	6.3	0.2	58.5	19.5	4.6	446.2

Notes: 1. Data are in current prices and, therefore, have not been adjusted for inflation. 2. Some data has been suppressed due to disclosure restrictions.

Figure 5 Extract from Table 3: Exports of services for UK creative industries by country and creative industries group, 2014 (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2016, p. 12)

The CIOB (2015) claims that "Professional services in the built environment are a UK success story in the international market" (CIOB, 2015, p. 19). They assert that professional bodies in the UK play three roles in global markets: establishing standards, codes, and practices, having international membership, and serving as a focal point for trade missions or other activities. These roles help their members and the industry understand and participate in international activities (CIOB, 2015, p. 19). The CIOB (2015) notes that as emerging economies drive growth in the global construction market, professionals in developed countries have more opportunities to provide services and knowledge. As markets become more global, the UK's international soft power and opportunities for UK businesses are increased. They also influence how business is conducted in their field (CIOB, 2015, p. 20). British architects rely on their professional status for access to international markets, demonstrating the value of their institutions and standards.

2.4 Modern Slavery

2.4.1 Prevalence of Modern Slavery

Modern slavery is described as “the great human rights issue of our time” (May, 2016). It has been suggested that it is an issue that is all around us, but often just out of sight (Crates, 2018a, p. 67). It is claimed that modern slavery affects an estimated 40 million people worldwide across many industries (Anti-Slavery International, 2021). Due to its very nature, however, data on the extent of modern slavery is often unreliable. The Building Research Establishment (BRE) (2017) note that despite reports of potentially thousands of people at risk of modern slavery in the UK, only a fraction are reported and investigated. Even fewer are brought to prosecution (The Crown Prosecution Service, 2020). Home Office official statistics confirm that the number of potential workers who are exploited that are referred through the Government’s National Referral Mechanism (NRM) or the Duty to Notify (DtN) process is increasing and is at its highest level since the NRM began in 2009 (Home Office, 2022). However, taken in isolation, this data could be interpreted either as indicating a potential increase in the prevalence of modern slavery or an increase in the reporting of such incidents. In 2022, the International Labour Organization (ILO) claims that figures have risen significantly in the last five years, estimating that more than 50 million people are in modern slavery globally, with 28 million in forced labour. Modern slavery occurs in almost every country worldwide, cutting across ethnic, cultural and religious lines. Most cases of forced labour (86 per cent) are found in the private sector. Almost one in eight individuals in forced labour are children (3.3 million). Migrants are more than three times more likely to be in forced labour than non-migrant adults. Women and children remain disproportionately vulnerable (International Labour Organisation (ILO), 2022). It is estimated that in Europe, nearly three people in every thousand are workers who are exploited, and in the UK, the National Crime Agency (NCA) is significantly increasing its previous estimates (Crates, 2018a, p. 8). It has been reported that slavery has been found in every region of the UK, and in 2018, more than 600 policing operations on modern slavery took place in major cities and rural areas (Crates, 2018a, p. 8). Modern slavery, although difficult to identify and measure, is a significant problem which is likely to be underestimated.

2.4.2 Root Causes of Modern Slavery

Modern slavery is an ancient phenomenon. Craig et al. (2019) note that every major empire in history, including the Egyptian, Greek, Roman, British, Ottoman, Russian, and Chinese empires, was constructed with the labour of enslaved people, which was generally the result of military and religious conquest. Until recently, the common understanding of slavery was based on its historical representations. It is only in the past several years that the renaming of severe forms of exploitation as slavery has begun, and it still prevails practically everywhere globally (Craig *et al.*, 2019, p. 1).

In considering how slavery persists despite many laws prohibiting it, exploring the notion of political economy is helpful. Political economy is the rules, regulations, and practices human societies use to manage trade, employment, income, and wealth. Rather than being banned, slavery is accommodated, purposefully or unwittingly, by numerous

laws, or ignored by those with the authority to eliminate it (Craig et al., 2019, p. 29). The causes of modern slavery are systemic characteristics of our global political economy, which cannot be addressed until these dynamics change (LeBaron *et al.*, 2018, p. 62). These factors can be divided into conditions related to the industry context and those within the broader institutional context, involving regulative, normative, and cultural cognitive systems (Scott, 2014). This institutional context encapsulates socioeconomic, geographic, cultural, and regulatory factors (Crane, 2013, p. 54). Some argue that the persistence of slavery is a political problem, that “It is a failure of governments’ most fundamental responsibility: establishing the rule of law” (Craig et al., 2019, p. 32). It is driven by the demand for cheap labour and or reduced costs, which exploits individual vulnerability and social exclusion (see Figure 6). Modern slavery is, therefore, profoundly embedded in our political economy, and its remedy requires a change in the systems and institutions of society that shape it.

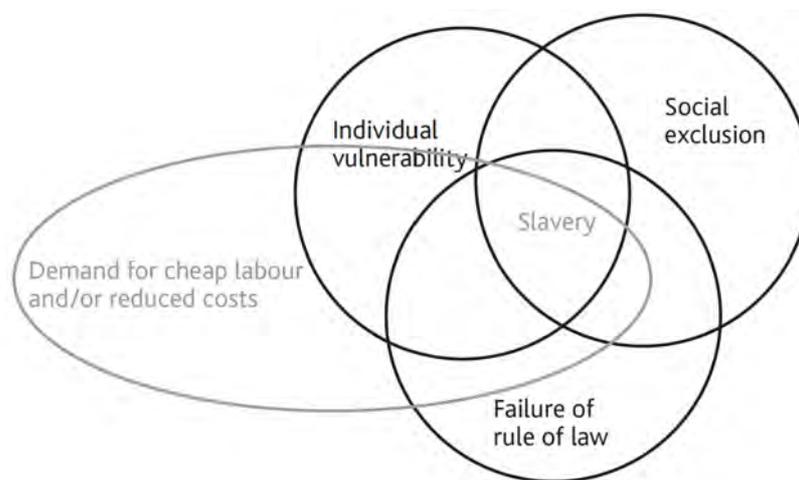


Figure 6 The underlying causes of slavery (Craig et al., 2019, p. 31)

The factors that drive modern slavery in supply chains are wide-ranging. These include supply-side factors such as poverty, discrimination, and labour protection, while demand-side factors include corporate power concentration, outsourcing, and governance loopholes (LeBaron et al., 2018, p. 61). Debt poses a significant risk to both documented and undocumented migrants, with state immigration laws and labour networks contributing to their vulnerability (Davidson, 2013, p. 188). Whilst low-skilled migrant labourers are regarded as the social group most at risk, people of any nationality, educational background, or income level can be subject to slavery or human trafficking. Many workers who are exploited have the legal right to work in the UK, and many are British citizens (Crates, 2018a, p. 8). Research captures the general causes of modern slavery in supply chains, which can apply to many members of society, but targets the most vulnerable.

A global infrastructure of trade and commerce supports modern slavery. The 'proletarianisation' of the world workforce is a characteristic of the capitalist world economy, with the creation of a class of workers who sell their labour power as a commodity (Tonkiss, 2006, p. 23). Facilitated by elite-led neoliberalism, the modern global economy provides both a “supply” of vulnerable employees and a “demand” for their labour. Under these

conditions, employers have increased authority to force unsafe, risky, and exploitative labour (LeBaron et al., 2018, p. 62). Risk is elevated in stages of the supply chain where margins are narrow, and value is captured downstream by larger, more powerful interests (Crane, 2013, p. 54). Criminals view modern slavery and human trafficking as entrepreneurial endeavours, constantly adjusting their operations to avoid detection and infiltrating legitimate businesses (Crates, 2018a, p. 8). Corporate social responsibility and crime control are crucial in combating modern slavery, but more needs to be done to tackle its root causes (Chuang, 2015, p. 148). The global community might best address the problem collectively, including non-traditional supply chain actors such as third-party agencies, governments, and prominent community members (Stevenson, 2021, p. 2). Data indicates that democratically elected governments operating in politically stable societies with accountability, control of corruption, and a stricter rule of law are more aware of and responsive to modern slavery risks (Moussa *et al.*, 2022, p. 2230). The research suggests that modern slavery is facilitated by the structures of global trade that rely on the vulnerabilities of individuals and communities. However, it has also been observed that slavery is not perpetuated by individual deviants who promote it, but by the passivity of those who could collectively stop it (Grint, 2005, p. 383). In architectural practice, this must begin by increasing awareness and understanding of the issue, which is a primary aim of this research.

2.4.3 Modern Slavery Risk in Construction Supply Chains

Construction is an industry that is particularly prone to modern slavery. The incidence of forced labour and exploitation in the industry defines it as "high risk" (Crates, 2018b). It is ranked second only to the sex industry as the sector most prone to exploitation in the European Union and has been identified as a priority for action (Crates, 2018a, p. 8). Unanticipated challenges in construction projects can lead to toxicity, highlighting inconsistencies in perceptions (March and Olsen, 1976). These events can destabilise relationships and cause actors to employ various tactics to defend their interests for survival (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 6). Such cultures include corruption, harmful working practices, unfair contracts, bullying, intimidation, and discrimination (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 4). Despite decades of evidence, there is limited literature on toxic cultures in the construction industry (Çerić 2016; Lim and Loosemore, 2017) (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 5). That which is available demonstrates how these cultures affect human resource management, corporate social responsibility, and sustainability performance (Azmat, 2020) (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 3). Chris Blythe, Chief Executive of the Chartered Institute of Building (CIOB), warns that industry business models normalize hardship, fostering exploitation and crime, leading to the displacement of ethical players (Crates, 2018a, p. 3). The data reveals that the construction industry is especially vulnerable to modern slavery, and therefore architects are exposed to higher risks in the supply chains they engage with.

Architects practise within challenging corporate environments over which they have limited control. The construction sector is exposed to modern slavery due to industry fragmentation, poor supply chain integration, procurement weighted toward lowest-cost tenders, and international practitioners conducting business in commercial environments inconsistent with the UK. Operational processes used in construction projects are systemic and embedded, and supply contracts and subcontracts are often complex and hidden, making them prone

to abuse (Crates, 2018b, p. 9). Research (Muller et al., 2013, 2014, 2016) defines the issues faced by project management professionals in construction projects as transparency, relationships, and optimisation. In particular, transparency is known to contribute significantly to the concealment of modern slavery (Alzoubi *et al.*, 2023, p. 11). The BRE suggest the causes are generally acknowledged as the commonplace of global supply chains, which lack transparency and traceability (BRE Group, 2017) and are difficult to combat because it is interconnected with criminality and hidden in fragmented supply chains (Crates, 2018a, p. 10). Studies note (2022, p. 140) that because focal companies often demand fast lead times and reduced prices, they pressure suppliers or subcontractors to save costs (Barrientos, 2013; Crane, 2013). Common business practices such as project discounting, retentions, and late or non-payment drive the race to the bottom in labour standards. SMEs often carry larger companies' financial and legal risks and experience a higher bankruptcy rate than in other sectors (Crates, 2018a, p. 9). Architects face many systemic barriers if they are to comply with their Code of Professional Conduct.

Published research has outlined the nature of some of the unethical practices found on construction sites and in their supply chains. It has been demonstrated that UK construction businesses prioritise cost factors when selecting materials and products, making the penetration of materials from low-cost overseas markets risky and potentially unethical (Katenbayeva, Glass, *et al.*, 2016, p. 13). Hyland, the UK independent Anti-slavery Commissioner in 2018, acknowledged the high risk of modern slavery in the construction sector, and the need to consider the risk not only within the labour force but also in the supply chains for raw materials and products (Crates, 2018a, p. 2). The construction industry should not be viewed in isolation but rather in the context of other exploitative practices such as “health and safety breaches, banning of unions, blacklisting, illegal wage deductions, excessive working hours, withholding of passports, bullying, intimidation and squalid accommodation” (Crates, 2018a, p. 9). In particular, producing raw materials such as brick and coal has a significant risk of forced labour (von Elgg, 2016). Research tells of how farmers in Cambodia, unable to make a livelihood from agriculture owing to climate change, are forced into bonded labour in the manufacturing of what are known as “blood bricks”, emphasising the link between modern slavery and climate change (Brickell *et al.*, 2018, p. 6). The extended supply chains and nature of materials and labour in construction projects allow unscrupulous employers to capitalise on weaknesses hidden in the complexity of construction contracts.

Evidence suggests that the construction industry would benefit from increased awareness and action in addressing modern slavery. The construction industry's response to the MSA shows a degree of complacency and denial of modern slavery issues, and lags in the disclosure, quality and promptness of TISC statements (Crates, 2018b, p. 9). Research indicates that companies default to box-ticking exercises for fear of mentioning risk (Crates, 2018a, p. 3), and reporting often focuses on policies and risk assessment rather than action, with multinationals limiting their scope to the UK, missing opportunities to assess global risk areas (Crates, 2018b, p. 42). Major corporations have defaulted to compliance activities, transferring legal responsibility to less well-equipped suppliers with the threat of contract termination (Crates, 2018a, p. 10). Many initiatives for training and risk management concerning modern slavery are available; however, the evidence suggests that the uptake of these is limited.

Research data suggests a lack of understanding of modern slavery in the construction industry. One survey found that despite 84% agreeing that the UK should take the lead on the issue, over half of construction businesses lack

knowledge on action for modern slavery (Supply Chain School, 2016). It has been reported that there is a knowledge gap in individual actors or agents of change in construction projects (Rickaby *et al.*, 2020, p. 1). A CIPS survey found 58% of construction procurement managers believed modern slavery was not present in their supply chains, despite being highly unlikely (Crates, 2018a, p. 10): “Superficially, this might look like a good result. In reality, it is more likely to be an indicator of overconfidence, or lack of understanding” (Crates, 2018a, p. 48). This may not be surprising, as construction organisations have little visibility below their supply chains' first and second tiers (Crates, 2018a, p. 9). Whilst the prevalence of modern slavery in the construction industry is worrying, it might be argued that considering the current state of inaction, there is significant potential for real change if the sector can be engaged in making it a priority.

Despite the perception by some that modern slavery is an issue that does not affect the UK, the research demonstrates otherwise. Risk factors for UK construction supply chains naturally vary from project to project. However, these can be generally categorised as follows (Crates, 2018b):

- Pressure on costs and schedules
- Variability in labour demand
- A high concentration of migrant labour
- A large proportion of work at the minimum wage level
- Widespread use of agency and subcontracted labour
- Industry reliance on self-regulation
- A fragmented inspection system

The pressures of these risks can result in detrimental conditions for individuals throughout the construction supply chain. The consequences can be significant and manifest in many ways, as defined in Figure 7, the CIOB's Exploitation Spectrum (Crates, 2018b, p. 19). Chris Blythe, the CIOB's Chief Executive, states that the UK construction sector is rife with human rights abuses, such as bonded labour, delayed wages, abysmal working and living conditions, withholding of passports and restriction of movement. Business models such as outsourcing and cut-price contracting make it easy for main contractors to duck out of their responsibilities, leading to the plight of the most vulnerable getting lost in the long and complex supply chains. “It's too convenient to blame the subcontractor or poor local legislation” (Crates, 2015, p. 4). Research indicates that “[a] number of systemic factors put construction workers at risk of exploitation, including business models based on outsourcing (99% of the industry is made up of SMEs); reliance on labour agencies; a high percentage of migrant workers (one in eight of the workforce was born outside of the UK); very low margins (some of the UK's top ten contractors are making less than 1% profit); a large proportion of the workforce close to minimum wage; lack of labour standards enforcement in the sector” (Crates, 2018a, p. 9). The prevailing labour model used in UK construction projects exposes some individuals to the worst forms of exploitation.



Figure 7 CIOB exploitation spectrum (Crates, 2018b, p. 19)

Construction in the UK harbours practices of modern slavery, and is increasingly likely to suffer from such risk in the future. The UK has the highest percentage of agency employees in the EU, leading to poor self-employment arrangements in the construction industry and compromising their rights, working conditions, and payment (Crates, 2018a, p. 9). Concerns that the increasing use of migrant labour to replace a shrinking domestic workforce could lead to geopolitical shifts that affect trade and border security, which could disproportionately impact the construction industry (Farmer, 2016, p. 47). In addition, sharply rising material and labour costs lead to clients forcing discounts and weakening due diligence processes. Following Brexit, an escalating labour and skills crisis could lead to contractors ignoring irregularities when procuring labour, particularly with increased human trafficking across Europe (Crates, 2018a, p. 9). There is no indication that the seriousness of modern slavery is declining. The evidence suggests the opposite: increasing market pressures lead to a greater demand for cheap labour on UK construction sites.

2.5 Drivers of Change: Revealing the Dark Side of Construction

"I have nothing to do with the workers", said Zaha Hadid, the architect of Qatar's Al Janoub stadium for the 2022 World Cup. Defending her involvement in the "shocking number of migrant-worker deaths in the Gulf state", she continued, "I think that's an issue the government – if there's a problem – should pick up. Hopefully, these things

will be resolved" (Riach, 2014). Hadid correctly identified the absence of fatalities in ZHA projects, but this sparked a major debate over the hundreds of migrants from Nepal, India, and other countries who died while working on other building projects (Roberts, 2019, p. 13). However, rather than being evidence of the architect's moral shortcomings, Hadid's stance was congruent with the "new agenda" of architecture already articulated by her practice colleague, Patrik Schumacher – that architects are not required to reflect on or criticise social, political, or governmental matters (Spencer, 2016, p. 107). "If we didn't design it, someone else would" epitomises some leading practitioners' position on ethical responsibility (McNeill, 2006, p. 57). Such comments indicate a psychological distancing and a sense of resignation from the problem of modern slavery in construction.

The research indicates that modern slavery is not only limited to large-scale projects. Evidence suggests that "Modern slavery is a persistent human tragedy and a growing organisational risk" (Moussa et al., 2022, p. 2230). Practices identified on construction sites include forced labour, flawed recruitment, late payment of wages, dangerous working and living conditions, and limited access to effective dispute resolution (Wells, 2018). High-profile media attention has recently highlighted the risk that modern slavery practices are endemic in international trade. Securing reliable evidence on the subject is inherently problematic. However, studies suggest significant failures in protecting employment rights across the globe. These range from a specific focus on international construction projects delivered by British architects in Qatar (Pattison, 2013) and the construction of infrastructure for the 2022 FIFA World Cup (Millward 2017, Christ et al. 2019, Locatelli et al. 2022) (Alzoubi *et al.*, 2023, p. 1), to government strategies such as the UK Government's (2021) Trade Bill (Crown, 2021), aimed at pressing the UK to take a tougher stance on human rights abuses (BBC News, 2021). Literature has increasingly discussed the "dark side" of construction (Crates, 2015), with a focus on corruption (Locatelli *et al.*, 2017), uncovering slavery, criminal organizations, and other uncomfortable topics (Locatelli *et al.*, 2022), and contract violation (Chen *et al.*, 2021, p. 3). Modern slavery's exposure in the media and civil society has caused some industry actors to express concern about it, although voluntary actions have had little effect (Barrientos *et al.*, 2013, p. 1041). Whilst recent media attention has focused on socially significant projects, modern slavery is found across a range of project types, both in the UK and globally.

In addition to increased media scrutiny, the contractual separations that limit responsibility in supply chains are now in the spotlight. Corporations that fail to maintain responsible labour standards in their entire value chain risk their reputation. Promoting responsible standards via industry self-regulation is a promising development (Lin-Hi and Blumberg, 2017, p. 800). New laws are being introduced to combat human trafficking and exploitation, and prosecutions for modern slavery are rising in the UK (Crates, 2018a, p. 10). No civil suit has been filed against a British company for failing to prevent modern slavery in its international supply chains, but this could change as lawyers investigate how strategic litigation can be used to hold parent companies accountable for their subsidiaries' actions (Crates, 2018a, p. 74). James Sinclair, an international lawyer and modern slavery researcher, suggests that businesses can protect themselves by taking meaningful steps to lower risk of litigation, even if full and immediate compliance is unrealistic (Crates, 2018a, p. 75). Corporations' conduct is influenced by consumer's buying behaviour (Donaghey *et al.*, 2014; von Mises, 1944), which can motivate corporations to improve labour standards (Lin-Hi and Blumberg, 2017, p. 801). "Globalisation enables manufacturers to shift their production sites to avoid militant workers, but they cannot so easily avoid militant consumers" (Bonacich and Appelbaum, 2000, p. 297). Disasters

like the collapse of the Rana Plaza factory collapse in 2013, killing 1,134 and injuring 2,500 people (Hoskins, 2015), frequently serve as a reminder of the harsh conditions based on dehumanised "social" standards of market efficiency, competition, and outsourcing, that characterise modern society (Aseeva, 2021, p. 63). The research thus indicates that despite the limitations of contracts in transnational production or global supply chains, public awareness is initiating more socially conscious consumer behaviour.

2.6 Industry Response

There is a growing movement in the construction industry to recognise and implement responsible procurement. The Construction Protocol by the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority (GLAA) is a joint agreement within the UK construction industry to eradicate modern slavery and has international partners (Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority, 2021). To provide a professional approach to the responsible and ethical sourcing of materials, the Building Research Establishment (BRE) partnered with Loughborough University to publish the Action Programme on Responsible and Ethical Sourcing (APRES) Eight Pathways Model (APRES, 2017). The Construction Sector Transparency Initiative (CoST) Guidance, Note 6: Designing a Disclosure Process, outlines three stages for a disclosure framework: Proactive disclosure; Interaction with stakeholders and Reactive disclosure (CoST, 2013, p. 1). Progress has been made to reform social and environmental standards through what is known as radical transparency. Formal disclosure processes now include BS 8900:2013 (BSI Group, 2013), which defines responsible sourcing as "the management of sustainable development in the provision or procurement of a product", ISO 26000:2010 (International Organization for Standardization, 2010), BES 6001 (BRE Group, 2014), Equality Act 2010 (Crown, 2010), CDM Regulations 2015 (Crown, 2015b), United Nations Global Compact (United Nations, 2000) and of course the New Urban Agenda (United Nations, 2016). Some industries have witnessed a rise in procedural transparency to improve the traceability and provenance of products: the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC, 1993), Fairtrade (Fairtrade Foundation, 1992), the Soil Association ("Soil Association Certification", 1946), and the Kimberley Process (Kimberley Process, 2000). Strategies are available to those who wish to show commitment to these causes. However, in the corporate environment, this depends on the support of all stakeholders.

Despite these efforts, some academics are sceptical of their approach. ISO 9001 is widely accepted as best practice for quality management in construction, yet research indicates that such initiatives may not always yield desired outcomes or increase quality on-site (Brooks et al., 2021, p. 989). With management research offering abstract models, understanding practical applications in construction management remains limited (Kokkonen and Alin, 2015, p. 513). Further, adopting a standardised system of procedures and structures in an organization impacts individuals' control by limiting their agency and freedom (Brunsson and Jacobsson, 2000) (Brooks *et al.*, 2021, p. 990). Research has observed a paradox in construction projects that the consequences of failures must reach an extreme before change can be implemented. Local agents learn from experiences, but their knowledge is diluted due to dismissal, relocation, or job changes (Koch and Schultz, 2019, p. 509). Some claim that rather than use our imagination to deal with the issue more productively, the standard response to ethical challenges in architecture is to focus on technical fixes, which might magnify the problem rather than address it (Till, 2020 (15:03)). Such contrasting positions highlight that much needs to be done to align and coordinate an adequate response.

The literature describes the potential for change in the construction industry. Organisations are adhering to more human-centred ideals as people's expectations of businesses are changing (Brown and Katz, 2009, p. 97). Research suggests that construction clients and owners can challenge established business practices. Public sector clients are among the largest building owners and clients, so using public expenditure as a steering mechanism would have a more significant market impact than legislative or regulatory means (Aho, 2013, p. 114). Some have observed that change-oriented behaviours are “constructive efforts by individuals to identify and implement changes to work methods, policies, and procedures to improve the situation and performance” (Choi, 2007, p. 469). Others (2020, p. 14) emphasise that values are critical in guiding change (Crant, 2000), in particular for sustainability (Doppelt, 2017). It has been found that regulatory corporate governance practice is shaped by three drivers: the severity of regulatory penalties, the certainty of these penalties, and cost-benefit analysis (Nakpodia *et al.*, 2023, p. 82). However, because the construction industry uses traditional working methods, change might be seen as a slow process (Porwal and Hewage, 2013). The research supports the feasibility and transformative potential of behaviour change that can be implemented to improve professional standards.

Despite the widely held view that the construction industry is slow or incapable of change, it has had some successes. A Build Back Better (BBB) (a global initiative created by the UN and OECD for the development of infrastructure and sustainability issues such as climate change, equality, diversity, and social responsibility) debate concluded that “[t]he general consensus was that change was inevitable” (RIBA, 2022, p. 35). Recognising this challenge, Hyland points to past successes, particularly health and safety, with fatalities reaching their lowest number on record in 2017 after much effort within the industry. Noting how the UK government has made the eradication of forced labour a priority, “[i]t is time for UK construction to step up and meet its challenges, becoming a first-class example of how slavery can, and must, be ended” (Crates, 2018a, p. 2). The construction industry thus has the capacity to play its part in the eradication of modern slavery.

2.7 Institutional Response

Recently, the RIBA has communicated the growing importance of modern slavery through the revision of the Code and associated initiatives. They reflect on the common perception of modern slavery from the standpoint of the British architect, noting that whilst this is “something that might be found in certain overseas markets, the reality is that it is happening here in the UK” (RIBA, 2017b). On domestic projects, risks increase when importing materials and labour from overseas (BRE Group, 2017). For those practitioners delivering projects internationally, these risks are compounded. According to Walk Free’s Global Slavery Index (Walk Free, 2018), a significant proportion of British architects’ global business is with countries where there is known to be a “high risk” of modern slavery. The RIBA acknowledges these issues, identifying “an increasing awareness of modern slavery on construction sites and growing and ever more complex global supply chains” (RIBA, 2020a). In response, they outline their plan of “more deeply embedding the SDGs within its operations and initiatives” (RIBA, 2020a). However, the SDGs are not entirely above criticism, as some argue they are rebranding earlier failed agreements. The ILO Forced Labour Convention of 1930 has 178 signatories, but has not abolished slavery from supply networks (Russell *et al.*, 2018, p. 12). Modern slavery is becoming a more prominent issue within the RIBA.

Social responsibility is an enduring subject of architectural practice. In 1974, Malcolm MacEwen, conservationist, communist activist and editor of *RIBA Journal*, controversially called for reform of the profession with his 'Crisis in Architecture' manifesto in response to the perception of the architect's response to market demands over social needs. He claimed that architects were "caught up in a social system that rewarded their most selfish and destructive impulses while repelling their most generous and creative ones" (MacEwen, 1974). This appeal for an environmental revolution anticipated what we now term sustainability. With professional practices frequently at the forefront of social and ethical progress, research highlights the importance of education, training, and professional codes in enhancing clients' CSR positions and the intangible value of technical consultancy (Smyth, 2011, p. 225). The recent moral emphasis on corporate responsibility provides an opportunity to reappraise the social impacts of construction and clearly state the RIBA's unique value as a professional institution. Is modern slavery our new crisis in architecture?

2.8 Institutional Change

Institutional theory is an important consideration in changing individual behaviour. Professional associations are often seen as agents of reproduction rather than change, encoding existing conventions and values through licensing, training, and discipline (Greenwood *et al.*, 2002, p. 73). However, commentators note that despite a crisis of trust due to society's new culture of accountability, there is potential for British professional institutions to serve as an example for international practice. This model requires a clear set of values, a vision for the future, a strong sense of social responsibility, enlightened leadership, high standards of professionalism, common sense and self-confidence (Hill *et al.*, 2013, p. 13). Equally, professional associations can play an essential role in theorising institutional change, endorsing local innovations and shaping their diffusion (Greenwood *et al.*, 2002, p. 58). Research highlights the value of joint, as well as individual, responsibility in combating modern slavery (Simic and Blitz, 2019, p. 14); that "networked threats require a networked response" (Slaughter, 2004). Further, change highlights discrepancies in current relationships, which necessitates the presence of agents of change, without which they will become extinct (Broadbent *et al.*, 2016, p. 2). Change in an institutional framework is driven by individual entrepreneurs, often resulting in incremental adjustments to rules, norms, and enforcement (North, 1990, p. 47). The institutional context of the RIBA is central in providing the conditions for behaviours towards modern slavery to effect change.

Architects are uniquely placed in the market to initiate change. Some organisations and individuals are strategically positioned within society, enabling them to act purposefully and shape actions across distances and locations (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 179). However, Tronto (2015) reminds us that "[w]e need to stop trusting that 'the market' will somehow magically meet all caring needs. We need to demand that caring responsibilities be reallocated in a way that is consistent with our other values, such as equality, justice, and freedom" (Tronto, 2015, p. 38). Interestingly, Tronto suggests that those seeking change may find the market as an unlikely ally, as markets produce new goods to meet new demands (Tronto, 2015, p. 39). The business case for such reform is clear, as demand for cost-effectiveness will coexist with demands for ecologically and socially responsible practice, resulting in new operating models (World Economic Forum and Boston Consulting Group, 2015). For a sustainable future, new paradigms are

required (Trogal *et al.*, 2019, p. 16). Fitz and Krasny (2019) note that as architecture and urbanism are always concerned with the future, we require a long-term commitment to the planet through an ethic of care rather than developer-driven and capital-centric approaches (Fitz and Krasny, 2019, p. 12). They ask: how might we “turn our power towards caring for our broken world? Architects and urban planners will surely provide a critical part of the answer to this question, if they care enough to try” (Fitz and Krasny, 2019, p. 32).

2.9 Behaviour Change

Understanding how institutional change might be achieved in response to the requirements of the Code requires an appreciation of the theories leading this space. Despite being challenging, uncertain, and dangerous to implement, some have claimed that behavioural change is the “holy grail” for sustainable development policy (Hargreaves, 2011, p. 80). Environmental psychologists have developed models over the past 40 years to understand human behaviour, focusing on beliefs, attitudes, and values as predictors. They suggest that behaviour is a linear, rational process of decision-making by rational individuals (Harrison and Davies, 1998:2). The theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991) posits that behavioural intention results from interactions between an individual's attitude, the subjective norm and perceived control. However, as more variables are added, the predictive capacity diminishes, and complexity makes the model less practical (Hargreaves, 2011, p. 81). Simon (1947) contested the notion that we are fully rational decision-makers as a result of our cognitive limitations, naming this phenomenon “bounded rationality” (Simon, 1947). The context of decision-making, therefore, is a critical component in understanding the drivers and limitations in shaping practice.

Construction enterprises are motivated by external institutional environmental and internal organisational factors to obtain and maintain their legitimacy according to social norms (Pham *et al.*, 2021, p. 580). As the state maintains unsustainable institutions, conventions, and ways of life, social theory has expanded to find alternatives (Shove, 2014, p. 427). Research (MacKay and Chia, 2013) suggests that understanding organisational change from within can provide insights into practitioners' “logic of practice” that drives transformation that can be perceived from outside (Cidik *et al.*, 2017, p. 8). Such change will be challenging in the construction sector, and new ideas and techniques will be required (Russell *et al.*, 2018, p. 1). Dorothy Leonard's (1995) observation that most innovation occurs at the margins of disciplines or specialisations indicates that working across boundaries is an important component of competitive advantage (Carlile, 2004, p. 555). Existing research demonstrates the feasibility of institutional change, which might only be achieved through practice.

2.10 Social Practice Theory

Practice theory offers an alternative approach to the dominant forms of governance in performing institutional change. In claiming that all social relations are constituted and reproduced through practices, this power can make a positive difference in the world (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 169). Social practice theory has been shown to respond to

complex challenges such as climate change and inequality. Understanding the emergence, persistence, and disappearance of social practices is crucial for promoting sustainable ways of living. Therefore, policy initiatives should be rooted in understanding the elements of these practices and the connective tissue that holds them together (Shove *et al.*, 2012, p. 2). Central to this is the concept of agency, which Ortner (1989) defines as the capability or power to be the source and originator of acts (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014, p. 28). Once this potential in social practices has been recognised, change can be made through social learning, engaging in new practices and acquiring practical knowledge through cognition and practice (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014, p. 30). Evaluating learning opportunities within a practice is crucial, including the public debate of unspoken norms, and demonstrating alternatives for everyday practices (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014, p. 37). This practice-based perspective can be used to understand large-scale phenomena by exploring how the global manifests itself in local ordinary practices (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 108). This allows practitioners to discuss their practice, understand complex situations, and explore new territories (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 113). Social practice theory reinforces the importance of routine practices in driving change, whilst offering a strategy for subverting the hierarchies used to maintain exploitation by empowering the individual.

The social practice approach works from the ground up. It sees behaviour such as sustainable consumption as embedded within social practices rather than as the result of individuals' attitudes, values and beliefs (Hargreaves, 2011, p. 82). Therefore, policy interventions should be reframed from a practice perspective (Spurling *et al.*, 2013, p. 14). This requires transforming practices to make them more sustainable, rather than educating or persuading individuals to make alternative decisions (Hargreaves, 2011, p. 84), or through intervention, which has limited effects (Spurling *et al.*, 2013, p. 8). Transitioning to new practices is a social process, and collaborative teams lend legitimacy to challenging practices. Personal contact, trust, motivation, peer pressure, accountability, and cross-fertilisation of ideas help participants push social boundaries and resist the power of existing habits (Scott *et al.*, 2012, p. 286). As the 'trajectories of practice' constantly evolve, we might consider ways to guide them towards sustainability (Spurling *et al.*, 2013, p. 14). The scale of a practice, including its territory, people, institutions, and organisations, is not limited to one administrative region or nation-state. As multiple actors shape its trajectory, we must consider the capabilities of policy on those actors in re-crafting practice (Spurling *et al.*, 2013, p. 52). Bureaucratic organisations, a socially legitimated collective, resemble the "agentic actor" model (Meyer and Jepperson 2000), contributing to change through explicit agendas and strategies, and integrating through complex internal divisions of labour (Welch and Yates, 2018, p. 15). We must, therefore, determine the nature and impact of specific practices to prioritise in complex environments (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014, p. 39). People use events over which they have some control in everyday life to create opportunities for them to assert themselves, however modestly. "Once we start to think of place in this kind of way we also start to take notice of all kinds of things which previously were hidden from us." (Thrift, 2003, p. 103). Social practice theory offers a compelling response to the complex social challenges such as modern slavery. Importantly, for practitioners, this behaviour is grounded in practice, and may be established within the limits of their agency.

Conclusion

In Chapter 2, I provided the contemporary context and defined the research problem. I began by arguing that there is a crisis of care in the construction industry. At the same time, the business case for demonstrating the value(s) of British architects has never been greater. I identified modern slavery as a significant issue to which the Construction industry is particularly prone, with increasing media scrutiny of its dark side. I pointed to the growing movement towards responsible procurement in response, and the significance of modern slavery to the RIBA through the revision of the Code. How this might be achieved in practice is the subject of this critical research.

Chapter 3 – Context: Ethics in Practice

Introduction

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, I provide further context to the project and establish the domain knowledge. In this chapter, I begin with an overview of the project's central theme of ethics, which then moves deeper into its professional aspect, exploring the pragmatics of applied ethics and the tensions and complexities that result from wicked problems such as modern slavery.

3.1 Ethics

Architecture practitioners are constantly confronted with complex dilemmas. The question of whether architectural practice can be caring draws into focus the broader context of projects that disengage with care. This encompasses the capitalist economy, the challenges of constructing, financing, and sustaining projects and their underlying power dynamics (Cohen and Fenster, 2021, p. 281). Every design communicates the values of those involved in its production, and as a result, every design decision has ethical implications (Fisher, 2000, p. 24). Faced with environmental and social impacts, architects may find ethics a valuable tool for determining suitable answers to these challenges (Fisher, 2000, p. 23; Hayes, 2017, p. 13). The postmodern recognition of diversity, contingency, and multiple perspectives requires practitioners to deal with uncertainty and build futures in an inclusive, imaginative, and responsible way (Farmer and Radford, 2010, p. 365). Ethics provides a broad framework to guide architects when faced with difficult choices.

Ethics establishes a variety of traditional and novel approaches to decision-making. Traditional ethics models, such as Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, define moral goodness as coming from habit, from which it derived its name (*ethos*: "habit" or "character", Greek). It also suggests that moral virtues are not embedded in us by nature, since "nothing that nature creates can be taught by habit to change the direction of its development" (Aristotle *et al.*, 2004). According to western culture's Newtonian viewpoint, reality's complexity can be explained by its smallest components. As Newtonian science changed technology, communication, and medicine, the idea that the same rules regulated the universe flourished. Human behaviour was included, with no fundamental value ascribed to ethics. Social justice concepts were replaced by notions of discrete individuals who could be observed, measured, and ultimately controlled (Walton, 2021, p. 512). Some have defined ethics as a systematic effort to make sense of our individual and collective moral experiences to determine the rules that should govern human behaviour (De George, 1990). Others claim that "ethics concerns the moral behavior of individuals based on an established and expressed standard of the group" (Bishop, 2013, p. 636). However, being ethical involves more than understanding the guidelines for creating and upholding an ethical frame of mind. It also requires a conscious effort to perceive, evaluate, and reconcile conflicting conceptions with our sense that we are ultimately accountable for our actions and decisions (Eldeen, 2004, p. 3). The literature on architectural ethics focuses on interpersonal ethics, deontological ethics, virtue ethics, and utilitarianism, addressing topics such as employment, contracts, and a duty

of care to protect and promote physical and psychological well-being, and environmental ethics (Farmer and Radford, 2010, p. 365). Ethics are evolving and fluid and may be applied selectively to an individual situation.

[The RIBA Ethical Practice Knowledge Schedule](#) refers to particular ethical approaches: virtue, social contract, duty, and utilitarianism.

- Virtue ethics, notably linked with Aristotle, emphasises the character of the actor rather than the nature or effects of a given action (Farmer and Radford, 2010, p. 364). A professional requires particular virtues, such as being fair, prudent, temperate, courageous, honest, empathetic, and empathic (Fisher, 2000, p. 25).
- Social contract ethics suggests that a person's moral obligations depend upon an agreement with the society in which they live. Seminal works, such as Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651), observe how people unite to relinquish some of their rights in exchange for others ceding theirs (Farmer and Radford, 2010, p. 364). Licensure is a social contract granting professionals market monopoly in exchange for a commitment to the public good, extending beyond client interests to wider society (Fisher, 2000, pp. 25–26).
- Duty ethics is an approach to Western philosophy that assesses the morality of an action based on its conformity to a norm or rules. Kant argued that the motivations of the individual who carried out the deed determine whether an action is right or wrong (Farmer and Radford, 2010, p. 364). Architects have an ethical responsibility to consider the needs of those affected by their decisions, even when there is no legal obligation or social expectation, such as those involved in their construction (Fisher, 2000, p. 26). Teleological ethics, in contrast, evaluates the morality of a course of action based on its results. A morally justified action, according to consequentialists, results in a favourable outcome or consequence (Farmer and Radford, 2010, p. 364).
- Utilitarian ethics, notably linked to Bentham and Mill, is related to teleological ethics but emphasises "the greatest good for the greatest number" (Farmer and Radford, 2010, p. 364). The architect's commitment extends beyond fulfilling a client's brief. By definition, the broad categories of health, safety, and welfare include architects in the utilitarian ethic of attempting to accomplish the greatest benefit for the greatest number (Fisher, 2000, p. 26).

3.2 Professional Ethics

Professional ethics are those applied in a professional context. Recently, the increasing emphasis on environmental, economic, political and social change has foregrounded the ethical aspects of professionalism (Brindley, 2021, p. 177). While ethics is generally concerned with human behaviour, some have divided ethical concerns in the construction industry into personal and professional ethics (Ray *et al.*, 1999). Research (London and Everingham, 2006, p. 11) distinguishes between personal ethics, a moral system for judging human actions, and professional ethics, a rule of conduct for specific activities governed by distinct principles and attitudes (Vee and Skitmore, 2003). Professional ethics relates to practical conceptions and public expectations such as competence and accountability (Fan *et al.*, 2001) and entails evaluating each practice choice not only in terms of individual moral concerns, but also

in terms of professional standards (London and Everingham, 2006, p. 11). There are four levels of ethical behaviour: theoretical, practical, currently attainable, and basic. The theoretical level is the optimum level, symbolising the utmost potential to which society should aspire. The practical level depicts the behaviour that can be attained through diligence, and the currently achievable standard represents typical individual behaviour. This basic level is permissible because it follows the letter of the law, but requires no effort to understand and observe its spirit (Raiborn and Payne, 1990, p. 884). Professional ethics establishes the general behaviour of those within the professional institution beyond the remit of personal ethics.

The professional institution defines professional ethics. It has been suggested that the key pillars of professional ethics are transparency, good management, misconduct prevention, compliance, monitoring, accountability and control (Frederickson, 1999). To understand the various approaches to professional ethics, Marcuse, in “Professional Ethics and Beyond”, suggests six distinct methods from the available literature, namely; 1. Subjective approaches; 2. Pluralist approaches; 3. Objective approaches; 4. Egalitarian approaches; 5. Process approaches; 6. Structural approaches (Marcuse, 1976, p. 271). It has been claimed that professional ethics exists to maintain the system rather than to restrict it. As a result, codes of professional ethics and self-policing mechanisms do not demand or allow a challenge to these structures (Sadri, 2015, pp. 88–89). Marcuse (1976, pp. 272–273) asserts that professional ethics could go beyond its current client-serving role to examine the social, economic, and political systems in which ethical problems occur. Furthermore, professional ethics can and should support systemic change and movements toward new power relationships (Sadri, 2015, pp. 88–89). Academics (Roberts, 2019, p. 15; 2009a, p. 6) refer to philosopher Zygmunt Bauman’s definition of ethics as the responsibility for the “other”, a definition much broader than the client, which requires the acknowledgement of architecture’s “outside”. In conclusion, ethics, like architecture, is a practical discipline whose exercise is in debate, which is essential to the profession’s ongoing need to evolve and refine its ethical stance (Roberts, 2019, p. 2). The research suggests that the primary functions of professional ethics can be problematic: with particular reference to the RIBA, its emphasis has been contested.

The academic critique of professional ethics in architecture is long established. In *The Ethical Architect: The Dilemma of Contemporary Practice*, Spector (2001) argues that in 1970s America, the morality of modernist architecture was challenged by Jane Jacobs’ and Robert Venturi’s claims that principles of social responsibility were in decline. Social scientists questioned the legitimacy of professional morality, contributing to the moral crisis in architectural practice (Spector, 2001, p. VIII–IX). The architect’s duties extend well beyond the efficient production of commodities. Architecture’s poetic and critical power to confront the concerns that genuinely matter for humanity in culturally specific terms is where its ethical practice is found. As they emerge, values are best perpetuated via institutions and embodiment in the physical structures that enable them (Pérez-Gómez, 2006, p. 205). These arguments raise valid points about the value of professional ethics and suggest inherent limitations of the systems that produce them.

3.3 Business Ethics

In addition to personal and professional, business ethics is another form of ethics that is applied to architectural practitioners. Considered a relatively new niche discipline (Serenko and Bontis, 2009, p. 391), business ethics has been defined as “rules, standards, codes, or principles which provide guidelines for morally right behavior and truthfulness in specific situations” (Lewis, 1985, p. 383). Business ethics involves legal behaviour and moral standards shared within the business community and among society (Ray *et al.*, 1999, p. 2). It consists of developing abstract behavioural standards and applying them to business conduct, with two academic approaches: normative and positive. The first focuses on creating models of expected behaviour and seeks examples for validity, while the latter describes so-called “real-world” practice (London and Everingham, 2006, p. 11). Multiple approaches to ethics may likely add complexity and confusion in decision-making due to the diffusion of guiding values.

The language of business ethics is developed and is prominent in practice through contracts and guidance. Johnson defines the syntax of ethics, stating that “ought” and “should” are duties involving human judgement. At their most emphatic, “musts” are moral standards that effectively exclude choice. “Should” and “ought to” have meaning derived from “obligation,” but “must,” “will,” and “shall” have meaning derived from a “resolution” to bring about some condition or position and are often accompanied by the ability to implement it. In contrast to “will” or “must,” which are usually accompanied by “bylaw,” “ought” carries an imperative, a plea to act in the best interests of anyone or whatever is necessary (Johnson, 1994). These concepts are linked to legal definitions and liability, so they are prioritised when evaluating risk in architectural practice.

3.4 Professional Value(s)

The principles that guide ethical practice are termed “professional values”. However, research indicates that as professionals are drawn into market competition, profitability displaces the values that have historically shaped them. The emphasis on financial performance over the quality of care often frustrates professionals, as it contradicts the long-held public service role. As the institutional structure that once shielded them from competition crumbles, professionals increasingly struggle for competitive advantage (Adler and Kwon, 2013, p. 24). As an essential factor in driving market conditions, it is crucial to define these values.

The literature explains that value in the singular refers to the costs of an architectural project and the compensation for the architect's services. The architect's client is often concerned with project costs and depends on the architect to protect their budget. The ethical principles that guide architects in performing their professional obligations are called values, in the plural. Various authors have outlined the criteria architects “should” adhere to, principles that predate the profession. Vitruvius claimed that architects should construct structures with design values of *firmitas*, *utilitas*, and *venustas* (Cortes, 2018, p. 5). Values may take different forms and meanings due to cultural factors such as religion, education, or social status. Therefore, values do not dictate absolute behaviour but depend on the context in which it is defined (Royal College of Art (RCA), 2021c). Some have defined values as motivational systems

shaped by ideas circulating in the social milieu and used to select and justify actions and evaluate people and events (Devine-Wright *et al.*, 2003, p. 48). Others have claimed that values are not idiosyncratic but are an integrated structure of motivational goals (Devos *et al.*, 2002). A complex definition of values encompasses criteria for selecting and justifying actions and evaluating people; these include concepts or beliefs that pertain to desirable end states or behaviours; that transcend specific situations; that guide selection or evaluation of behaviour and events, and that are ordered by relative importance (Schwartz, 1992). Honesty and integrity are key professional values that overlap in architectural practice (Cortes, 2018, p. 5).

Research suggests a potential mechanism for change. Academics advocate that construction organisations should set the benchmark, not the baseline, for individual and collective accountability for ecological and social challenges (Roberts, 2019, p. 30). Businesses should then be assisted in discerning between different and wrong behaviours based on three rules for ethical conduct: respect for fundamental human values, respect for local customs, and consideration of context (Donaldson, 1996, p. 5). Finally, these individual values can shape institutions and form industry standards, impacting the actions and goals of design professionals in the construction industry (Devine-Wright *et al.*, 2003, p. 48). It is, therefore, possible that through the advancement of individual values, these are reflected by our institutions, thus initiating wider change.

3.5 Ethics in Tension

In the keynote speech “The Role of the Professional; Professionalism and the Environment” at the Edge Commission on Future Professionalism, Keith Clarke captures a perspective from practice.

“You cannot apply Western values to other cultures and expect the government to play the same. That is not the same as saying that they should have a different way of behaving, but if you expect the decision-making to be the same around the world as it is in London, then you absolutely don’t understand the world. There is a role if you want to influence people where you engage. [...] The question is how you do it ethically and treat people decently. Asking for the government to give you a better rule is a cop-out for professionals” (The Edge, 2014a, p. 3).

Further to these comments, Stephen Hodder, former President of the RIBA, speaks to the responsibility of professionals beyond compliance.

“In the face of market-led short-termism and deregulation, who is responsible for doing the right thing? [...] Can we rely on government to set clear and consistent policy and regulation? The RIBA has been effective in influencing policy and regulation to support better outcomes. But in practice we know that the regulatory environment often lags behind best practice. [...] As professionals, we are more than technicians, and must go beyond compliance with regulation and policy. If we take responsibility for understanding what we are doing within a broader context, we can become trusted experts” (The Edge, 2014b, pp. 2–4).

As argued previously, ethics are evolving and fluid and may be applied selectively to an individual situation. “When we leave home and cross our nation’s boundaries, moral clarity often blurs. Without a backdrop of shared attitudes, and without familiar laws and judicial procedures that define standards of ethical conduct, certainty is elusive” (Donaldson, 1996, p. 1). Architects must consider their preconceptions of practice in other countries, as what works in their native country may not function in a country with different ethical standards. Cultural relativism holds that no culture’s ethics are superior to others, so there are no international rights and wrongs (Donaldson, 1996, p. 1). However, there are fundamental values that cross cultures, and companies must endeavour to uphold them (Donaldson, 1996, p. 2). Ethical imperialism is the opposite of cultural relativism, in which individuals conduct themselves everywhere as they do at home. This intuitively appealing approach, however, is insufficient (Donaldson, 1996, p. 3). Situations of diasporic practice bring into focus the assumptions of our profession and challenge the wider frameworks in which they are generated. Beyond the apparent tensions of the geographically recentred practitioner working on transnational projects, construction’s global supply chains are burdened with such moments of individual conflict.

3.6 Pragmatic Ethics

Professional ethics in theory, are not professional ethics in practice. By investigating the relationship between individual values, professional consulting ethics and consulting behaviour, research found that consultants may retain strong personal and professional values, but these disintegrate when faced with ethical dilemmas (Allen and Davis, 1993, p. 456). Studies have shown that architects cope with moral dilemmas regularly. Universalistic standards are inadequate as they depend on which principles to follow (Collier, 2006, p. 312). Investigation also suggests that most practitioners are driven to do the right thing, eager to make the world a better place and to design the best buildings according to the broadest meaning of “good”. They have significantly greater behaviour requirements than those in the ARB, RIBA, and American Institute of Architects (AIA) Codes of Conduct. Yet, architectural practice, despite its potential for excellence, risks criticism due to its lack of motivational and discipline-specific terms (Ray, 2005, p. 124). Research raises fundamental questions about the efficacy of professional ethics, yet also indicates that personal ethics, as a “fall-back” position, might provide a more consistent, and possibly more rigorous, ethical approach.

The behaviour of architects, regulated by their professional ethics, must be considered part of the wider socio-technical and commercial environment. Within global systems of production, many components of practice bypass national borders. There is, therefore, a limit to what national policy makers can do to encourage or prevent the transnational distribution of materials, meanings, and standards of competence (Shove *et al.*, 2012, p. 148). Some claim that there is a risk of scapegoating architects to punish them for their role in masking the reality of capitalism. Whilst noting the “invisible political economy of architectural production” (Harvey, 1994, p. 426), the architect’s position may be overstated (McNeill, 2006, p. 57). Whatever the architect’s objectives, they are ultimately defined not by their rhetoric but by the motivations of the wealthy and powerful, who hire architects and aspire to control the world (Sudjic, 2005, p. 327). Architectural practice is driven and structured by powerful forces that have little to do with design aesthetics (McNeill, 2008), and ethics and social responsibility are compromised

by the commercial client and the conditions of architectural production (McNeill, 2006, p. 56). As Friedman (1956) famously noted, “the business of business is business” (Friedman, 1956). However, as will be attested by the findings of this research, “the average person is not grossly immoral but often tempted, and sometimes confused, by what appears to be a virtuous path” (Gilman, 2005, p. 8). The practising architect navigates a complex and conflicting policy and regulation network, a point often lost in academia and practice.

As required by the market and their institutions, architectural practitioners have limited options for non-conformity. In considering architecture as a profession, its financial viability must be accounted for. Ignoring the architect’s need to be paid for services risks returning architecture to its status as a noble pastime of the privileged (Bryant *et al.*, 2018, p. 13). Eisenman (2014) states that “[t]o build means you have to have clients [...]. But not all buildings can sustain theoretical ideas. Many projects are done because we have to keep the office going, and we build buildings for the same reason” (Holland, 2014, p. 163). Others have suggested that people are not the primary focus of most architects, as architects understand that their work is utilitarian and a building cannot be constructed without the support of a sponsor (Gutman *et al.*, 2010, p. 96). Data shows that during a recession, capital investment in construction projects either ceases or is reduced, with construction-related professional services firms feeling the effects immediately (Smyth, 2011, p. 104). The sense of vulnerability pervades the profession, partly because the demand for architectural services is exceptionally variable compared to the demand for medical or legal services (Gutman *et al.*, 2010, p. 52). Architects are highly regulated individuals and operate within the frameworks that enable their work. These frameworks need to change if the shape of practice is to evolve.

To achieve change in practice, an innovative strategy for implementation is necessary. Such approaches should be established within the broad conceptual frameworks of established practice and deployed through routine methods. Research shows that there has been increasing interest in pragmatic philosophy and its application to urban development among theorists and practitioners from many disciplines (Bridge, 2005; Moore, 2014; Ockman, 2000). “A pragmatist approach to architecture will shift architectural theory from its complacency and its ‘strong’ programme that takes society and architecture as givens; clear, framed and secure. It moves to a radical programme and highlights the ‘weak’ and indecisive sense of architectural processes, but opens it up to the ‘happening of things’” (Yaneva, 2012, p. 43). One of the significant principles of pragmatism is that ideas should be assessed, at least in part, by their practical consequences for the individuals who may eventually come to accept them (James, 1907; Peirce, 1878). Pragmatism emphasises the links between cognition and behaviour and academic and practical knowledge (Kraatz and Block, 2008, p. 46). The emphasis that pragmatism places on practice, its embrace of contextual plurality, the centrality of experience in all types of knowing and valuing, and its high regard for the political worth of the community are the salient features that make it particularly relevant to sustainable architecture (Farmer and Guy, 2010, p. 369). Pragmatic ethics appears to address the criticisms of the abstract nature of academic theory whilst retaining its conceptual values.

Researchers of ethics in practice raise the question of interpretation and compliance. The assemblage of design project teams is a hybrid of organisational forms that expose professionals to new practices, processes and forms of expertise, requiring them to adapt by acquiring new competencies and transforming skill sets and mentalities (Imrie and Street, 2009c, p. 2559). Analysis highlights how the laws that guide organisations are typically broad and

ambiguous. Rather than prescribing specific organisational behaviour, laws generally express broad principles or ideals (Edelman, 2007, p. 68). Legal ambiguity in organisations allows flexibility in determining compliance, with courts defining it and practitioners' efforts shaping it, resulting in law becoming managerialised and rational (Edelman, 2007, p. 69). Lawyers and management consultants support this by constructing the degree to which legislation threatens traditional privileges, the risk of litigation and liability, and what actions or structures constitute reasonable means of compliance in the corporate environment (Edelman, 2007, p. 70). Policy interpretation is highly dependent on the context and mode of translation, and the objectives of those responsible.

3.7 Ethical Decision Making

Despite our individual “freedom of choice”, evidence suggests that our decisions are influenced by our context and the rules of the organisations to which we belong. It is recognised that emotions and unconscious inclinations impact how individuals process information and make choices (Arthur, 1994; Keeney *et al.*, 1993; Stacey, 2007; Sterman, 2009; Tversky and Kahneman, 1974; Walters, 2007). However, “[t]he opportunities and constraints individuals face in any particular situation, the information they obtain, the benefits they obtain or are excluded from, and how they reason about the situation are all affected by the rules or absence of rules that structure the situation” (Ostrom, 2009, p. 20). Psychological and social processes combine to form an exchange system in which power dynamics, personal motives, conflict, collaboration, and coordination impact decision-making (Boschetti *et al.*, 2012; Jones *et al.*, 1997). Individual actors play various roles and are the governance system's smallest “acting unit” (Ostrom, 2009). Their behaviour in these many positions is impacted by formal and informal regulations and individual characteristics such as information processing ability, worldview, preference or motive, and skills (Arthur, 1994; North, 1990; Ostrom, 2009; Scharpf, 2018). Individuals may function as an organised body of individuals with a specific purpose and are governed by a set of rules that shape their interactions to accomplish organisational objectives (Argyris and Schön, 1997, p. 28; North, 1990). This affirms the importance of institutions and their codes of conduct in shaping the behaviour of individuals.

Architects operate in compromised environments and respond to the situation's dynamics. Some have observed the inherent requirement for compromise in architectural practice, suggesting that “[t]here is no design that works equally well for builders, engineers, clients, and users” (Gutman *et al.*, 2010, p. 180). Others (Cidik *et al.*, 2017, p. 7) observe that the basis of practitioners' experience or performance at the practice level is not a static, clear, or complete picture of an organisation, but instead based on everyday encounters in which their words and behaviours change in response to changing organisational circumstances (Lanzara and Ciborra, 1990). Dominant pro-market policy agendas are built on a reductive and deterministic epistemology, or “reductive determinism”, which presupposes a causal link between action and effect and offers a synopsis of how architects operate within these constrained variables (Coucill, 2013, p. 19). The “dynamic complexity” that a profession attempting to contribute to sustainable development faces, emphasises the necessity to make trade-offs between the three components of sustainable development: society, economy, and environment (Coucill, 2013, p. 12). That is, they should be regarded as shifting and unpredictable environments, providing a plethora of often immeasurable variables for architects to

resolve in their work (Coucill, 2013, p. 26). The practitioner does not decide “whether” ethical compromise should be made in their projects, but “which”.

Perhaps in acknowledgement of their predicament, practitioners are beginning to change direction. Commentators describe how socially progressive architects are now moving away from the functions of expert technical problem-solvers or artistic form-givers and are engaging in spatial projects that prioritise social and economic objectives (Lorne, 2017). Some propose that the architect is redefined as someone whose agency is not primarily responsible for “putting more stuff to the world”. Beyond managing the impact of matter on the environment or the business of matter, they investigate how designers might utilise their intelligence and creativity to change ingrained patterns of behaviour and consumption (Till and Schneider, 2012). Architects must resist the urge to take on any and all projects. A desire to please, the challenge of the situation, and a need for employment frequently stand in the way of sound judgement (Foxell, 2021, p. 110). Spatial Agency provides examples of how this might be accomplished at a time when many observers point out that alternative approaches to architectural practice are necessary (Awan et al., 2011). Perhaps the architectural profession can create compelling stories about social needs to envision a new set of ideal clients, not the generic masses of modernism (Crawford, 1991). These innovations offer hope that new ways of thinking are emerging, reinstating ethics at the centre of architectural practice.

3.8 Social Complexity and Wicked Problems

Moral dilemmas such as modern slavery are termed “wicked problems” (Rittel and Webber, 1973), due to their nature as “complex social issues” (Conklin, 2003). Seemingly intractable, they emerge from social complexity at a global scale. Some have described them as “large-scale social challenges caught in causal webs of interlinking variables spanning national boundaries that complicate both their diagnosis and prognosis” (Reinecke and Ansari, 2016, p. 3). Others refer to sustainable construction problems as “messes, ” and it is important to recognise that technological solutions will not resolve them. It is possible to separate an issue from the larger mess and subject it to scientific study, but the answer then becomes part of the problem, as this will raise questions about why this specific abstraction was chosen over alternatives (Green, 2018, p. 198). Architects must be aware of the complex nature of modern slavery to identify it in their projects and develop strategies for negotiation.

Research on global production systems emphasises complex supply chains and power dynamics. However, the role of human agency and the social and institutional frameworks are key influences in implementing change in such production processes (Barrientos and Smith, 2007, p. 717). Some (Cicmil and Marshall, 2005, p. 6) suggest that understanding conflicts and tensions simultaneously at the micro and macro levels of activity is essential for comprehending the attribution of success or failure and project performance criteria (Boddy and Paton, 2004; Bresnen and Marshall, 2000; Holt and Rowe, 2000). Others observe that complication is a basic problem-solving tool, and societies respond to problems by developing more complex technologies and institutions. All that is needed for the growth of complexity is a problem that requires it (Allen *et al.*, 2003; Tainter, 1988; Tainter and Taylor, 2014, p. 169). Further, in hierarchical human societies, the benefits of complexity accumulate at the top,

while the costs are borne at the bottom. As the benefits and costs do not interact, the cost of complexity cannot prevent its growth (Tainter and Taylor, 2014, p. 170). Effective strategies for wicked problems must balance the risk of over-simplification with that of adding to their complexity.

Conclusion

In Chapter 3, I provided context with an overview of the project's central theme of ethics, moving then into the professional and pragmatic aspects of ethics in practice. I considered the notion of ethical decision-making and the tensions and complexities that result from wicked problems such as modern slavery.

Chapter 4 – Context: Construction, A Broken Industry?

Introduction

In this Chapter, I provide industry context by responding to the established narrative that construction is “slow to change and underperforms”. I ask, is construction a broken industry? I present the evidence from academic and industry sources as well as the high-profile government reports that have impacted the sector, and consider the nature of construction in a complex, globalised world.

4.1 Construction: A Broken Industry?

The construction industry has been the subject of intense criticism, and there have been calls for its reform from a high level. Some argue that there is a developing consensus within the UK construction sector that traditional industry methods are no longer appropriate and must be reformed. They point to several significant reports, financed and backed by the government, most notably by Latham (1994) and Egan (1998), that have fuelled this consensus (Devine-Wright *et al.*, 2003, pp. 46–47). Others claim that these influential reports that defined business agendas heavily emphasised improving economic performance and efficiency over broader ethical values. CSR was ignored in the Egan Report and removed from the language of industry advancement (Glass and Dainty, 2011, p. 9). The Farmer Review (2016), with its strapline “Modernise or Die” and the Egan Report, “Rethinking Construction” (1998), have played an important role in legitimising the construction sector’s prevailing labour model. Further, it has been claimed that Egan’s faith in “modern” management techniques undermined long-established notions of professionalism in favour of narrowly defined managerialism and a naïve reliance on instrumental toolkits (Green, 2018, p. 197). The government recently announced an independent review of Building Regulations and Fire Safety, led by Dame Judith Hackitt in July 2017, following the Grenfell Tower tragedy. “Building a Safer Future” (Hackitt, 2018) examined building and fire safety regulations and related compliance and enforcement to the focus on multi-occupancy high-rise residential buildings. The review promotes the need for architects to understand their role within a design team and know how to manage risk on a building project. Some have asked, “Why is Construction so Backward?” (Woudhuysen and Abley, 2004). Despite repeated reviews and policy initiatives, the construction industry has failed to meet productivity, quality, and competitiveness targets. Knowledge management is being used to improve innovation and performance, but its efficiency depends on appropriate techniques and an awareness of practical constraints (Addis, 2016, p. 1245). As an industry that is considered “dirty, dangerous, and old fashioned” (Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), 2002), construction faces a significant public relations issue (Jones *et al.*, 2006, p. 5). Some have challenged the long-held view that the construction industry is slow to change and consistently underperforms (Green, 2018, p. 196). Others note that identifying best practice is heavily influenced by what can be measured. However, there is little recognition of what cannot be measured within the contemporary reform movement and an overemphasis on easily measurable and quantifiable aspects of performance (Ferne *et al.*, 2006, p. 96). These findings indicate that the construction industry has structural challenges that existing approaches may not resolve.

4.2 Capitalism and Construction

The work of architects demands their involvement in the global political economy. Architects are those who have the power and capability to build (Weisman, 1994, p. 2), and because this is so expensive, construction and architecture must operate for and within the financial system (Deamer, 2014, p. 1). It has been suggested that architecture is a supreme form of human power. When architects communicate ideas, they require large amounts of material and significant human resources. Architecture has demonstrated this power historically and culturally (Fitz and Krasny, 2019, p. 26). The demand for investors to shelter their excess wealth drives the boom in international development (Deamer, 2020, p. iix), and capitalism has rewarded architects who have mirrored its values in their designs: “displays of great wealth, paeans to consumption, more efficient factories, and, in the neoliberal era, urban designs that attract the right sorts of people” (Fitz and Krasny, 2019, p. 27). Architects are routinely exposed to and are rewarded by industrial capitalism.

Industrial capitalism was part of a shift from a mercantile economy to one of industrialisation. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith established the terms and concepts of industrial capitalism by exposing the nature and source of a nation's success. This included his well-known assertion that the labourer is “led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was not part of his intention” (Smith, 1776). Industrial capitalism had arrived in England by the 1830s. The competitive labour market was characterised by capital investment in machines, labour division, job routinisation, and the replacement of merchants by industrialists. In *Principles of Political Economy* (Mill, 1848), Mill asserts that capital is not tied to the physical item produced, but rather to the purpose to which labour is committed, arbitrarily rewarding expertise over unskilled labour. In Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* (Marx, 1867), which was translated into English in 1887, the arbitrariness of salary was explored as a degrading characteristic of capitalism rather than simply a result of it (Deamer, 2014, pp. 5–6). The division of labour, measurement of value and method of reward that was established during this period are the foundations on which modern slavery depends.

The deindustrialisation of the economy and the industrialisation of construction established the globalisation of construction supply chains. The British Empire's decline brought about the deindustrialisation of its economy (Wearing, 2018). Before 1914, international economic integration was shallow, characterised by arm's-length trade in goods and services between independent businesses and international exchanges of portfolio capital and direct investments (Lee and Smith, 2004, pp. 39–40). The immense amount of building materials produced by the Industrial Revolution and the need for more homes in Europe as a consequence of World Wars I and II led to the transition from labour-intensive technologies to modern ones, known as the industrialisation of construction (Ngowi *et al.*, 2005, p. 137). After World War II, post-colonial capitalism in the Global North relegated the Global South to the periphery of capitalist production, and corporations began to outsource less value-intensive manufacturing stages to these areas due to lower labour and collateral costs (Aseeva, 2021, p. 62). These networks provide the infrastructure of the construction industry today.

In the 1960s, British banks established overseas subsidiaries to prevent the pound's depreciation due to capital flight as companies relocated to lower-cost geographical contexts. These regional centres, mainly former colonial hubs

functioning under British authority or protection, were frequently characterised by a light-touch approach to regulation. These entities are known as secrecy jurisdictions (Schjelderup, 2015) since they acquired regulated and unregulated worldwide capital and served as financial conduits to the City of London, with no obvious connection to Britain or its regulatory rules. These offshore areas also offered a market for exporting new types of financial and industrial services, which facilitated the financialisation of the British economy and the emergence of global speculation in the 1980s. The infrastructure of this financial empire is still in place today. The City of London has long been recognised as a premier international finance centre (IFC) and the largest exporter of financial services to other countries, exporting £70 billion in services annually (City of London, 2023).

Western corporate and contract law is designed to limit corporate liability for their investments involving transboundary production. Neoliberalism has become a central policy ideology since the 1970s (Peck, 2010, p. 29), and capitalism has expanded from covering around 20% of the global population in the 1970s to over 90% in the 1990s (Hamelink, 1999). The UK's shift from Keynesian crisis management to Thatcherism was a key factor in the emergence of neoliberalism (Peck, 2010, p. 17), which ascended from the fringes to the mainstream, not guided by a formula or plan, but rather by improvisation facilitated by crises (Peck, 2010, p. 19). Neoliberal markets are now dominated by powerful actors who are globalised, interconnected, and dependent on governments to create new, 'freed' markets. This has enabled large transnational corporations to engage in unprecedented levels of manoeuvring, despite labour and environmental exploitation (Hakim *et al.*, 2020, p. 16). Efforts to include labour rights clauses in free trade agreements (FTAs) remain contentious, a process known as 'linkage' (Kolben, 2007, p. 203). However, ordering companies avoid liability due to their "economically dependent - legally independent" relationships with subcontractors (Aseeva, 2021, p. 104). The legally independent nature of companies in global production prevents any recourse through contracts.

The neoliberalist policies of capitalist globalism are sustained through global connections, such as UK Export Finance (Great Britain and Export Credits Guarantee Department, 2019, p. 33), a government-backed mechanism for investment in jurisdictions with elevated high-risk profiles, designated "frontier markets" and "emerging economies". However, such "development" recipients will be familiar with this investment model. Since the 1970s, the globalisation of supply chains has been predicated on so-called "developing countries" as the source for raw material extraction, materials manufacture, and labour. This has led to fierce competition for contracts between the Global South elites, initiating the emergence of local capitalism (Aseeva, 2021, p. 62). This supports what has been referred to as the modern project's twin pillars of progress and growth (Till, 2020 (12:31)). Research (LeBaron *et al.*, 2018, p. 16) describes the shift to global production practices, which led to the coordination of international division of labour across subcontracted suppliers in the Global South (Bonacich and Appelbaum, 2000; Dauvergne, 2010; Lichtenstein, 2009; Mosley, 2008, pp. 674–714; Russell and Taylor, 2016, p. 11) and consequently, become 'rule-takers rather than rule-makers' (Braithwaite *et al.*, 2000, pp. 3–4). In examining the regulations that govern global trade, aid, and investment, it has been claimed that the World Bank Group, IMF, and World Trade Organization (WTO) may have a bigger impact on global human rights protection than conventional international human rights mechanisms (Kennett, 2008, p. 129). Appreciating the magnitude of these frameworks puts the challenge of the architect in practice into perspective.

The architectural project has been hijacked by capitalism. Koolhaas defines architecture ‘before and after its annexation by capital’, focusing on the change in public regard for buildings, from before the 1970s as ‘public expenditure’ to after the 1970s as a ‘means of revenue’. Once they have been discovered as a form of capital, buildings have no choice but to operate according to the logic of capital, and, therefore, downward pressure is put on construction budgets (Graaf, 2015). The construction industry has been increasingly driven to reduce risks and produce faster, lower-cost buildings, leading to the commodification of architecture and speculation (Latham Report (1994), Egan Report (1998), Wolstenholme Report (2014)). Commercial privately funded architecture has become the norm, with public funding of projects dropping from 60% in the 1970s to just 25% in the 1980s. The unprecedented amounts of private financing in the construction industry required more reassurance of returns for investors, and the measurement of the performance of the building as a product. Architects have been undervalued, their scope reduced, and discontinuity in the design and construction process has resulted (Chief Executive of the City of Edinburgh Council, 2017). Architects are a minor part of architectural and spatial production, with money having the most significant impact on projects, despite being repressed in architectural discourse (Till, 2018, p. 15). Research has concluded that their focus on risk mitigation is a distinct characteristic of procuring buildings as financial devices. Trust and collaboration have been replaced by legislation and new organisational and procurement structures and auditing, leading to the fragmentation and specialisation of the industry with an emphasis on efficiency, compliance, and exchange value (Awan *et al.*, 2011). The architectural project is a product of systems that are antithetical to the values of the profession, an observation that must be acknowledged if alternative outcomes are to be found.

4.3 Globalisation and Construction

Architects in the UK today practise very differently from their predecessors (Davis, 2008, p. 280). Early professionals constructed without a general contract and on an ad-hoc basis over a long period, using local resources and evolving working methods to their conditions (Turnbull, 1993). Globalisation has significantly impacted the business practices of the construction sector. In an increasingly competitive economy, the global sourcing of services, materials, components, and labour has become critical for maintaining a competitive advantage (Jewell and Flanagan, 2012, p. 345). Trans-national Corporations (TNCs) are capitalist businesses that naturally seek ways to reduce spending, boost sales, and improve profitability (Lee and Smith, 2004, pp. 39–40). However, globalisation raises the question of the geographical scope of the moral obligation to care for others, which is often assumed to be extremely localised (Proctor and Smith, 1999, p. 277). The interplay between local practices and their distant connections across human, material, and discursive intermediaries can provide a practical understanding of large-scale phenomena (Hui *et al.*, 2016, pp. 107–8). Globalised supply chains present risks beyond the logistical inefficiencies caused by inadequate communication, transportation, and infrastructure; they also limit the visibility of executives' potential production issues or policy violations (Chen and Lee, 2021, p. 146). Based on mapping stakeholders in large-scale urban development projects, findings indicate the difficulty in coordinating stakeholders distributed across geographical locations (Karrbom Gustavsson *et al.*, 2023, p. 2). When the supply chain involves many entities, it becomes vulnerable to the so-called ‘bullwhip effect’ (Lee *et al.*, 1997). The distortion of information and reduced visibility of operations' social and environmental performance characterises this effect. Weak law enforcement,

corruption, and a lack of cross-cultural knowledge can contribute to such challenges (Chen and Lee, 2021, p. 146). Whilst it might be argued that globalisation has brought some positive contributions to society, its adverse effects are acute and widespread.

It is claimed that the global economy creates both positive and negative impacts: it provides employment, revenue, and access to resources, but also creates poverty, resource depletion, contamination of the environment, and cultural harm. These impacts are unevenly distributed on a social and geographic scale (Lee and Smith, 2004, p. 40). It has been suggested that multinational production may improve labour standards if so-called “developing-country” enterprises wishing to serve global markets “trade up” (Malesky and Mosley, 2018, p. 726). Simultaneously, economic globalisation is to blame for employment precarity in the global supply chain. However, the influence of multinational production on labour rights is determined by how a country, its organisations, and its population engage in the global economy. Production directly owned by MNCs should result in advances in employment rights, while production in the subcontracting relationship framework is likely to deteriorate these rights (Mosley, 2010, p. 19). Some have claimed that globalisation is a syndrome of processes and outcomes that manifest unevenly in time and space. It is neither an inevitable, all-pervasive, homogenising end-state nor unidirectional and irreversible (Lee and Smith, 2004, pp. 38–39). These perspectives provide an alternative to the traditional academic narrative of globalisation as an impenetrable force and indicate possible points of intervention.

Globalisation is an intrinsic part of architectural practice and the wider construction industry. Research (Hauffer, 2018, p. 115) suggests that the globalisation of production is driven by the growth of multinational firms and the emergence of global supply networks, which create a “global factory” where production is dispersed across many jurisdictions (Baldwin, 2013; Buckley and Strange, 2015). Construction supply chains are global and span the design stage to construction and raw material extraction. Dekier notes that the materials and labour visible on site are the tip of a larger supply and demand system (Dekier, 2012, p. 47). Globalisation has created a platform for construction companies to exploit. They enter the international construction market through various routes, such as economic booms, bilateral and multilateral agreements, participation in large international projects, and conducting work for MNCs (Ngowi et al., 2005, p. 138). Understanding the causes of globalisation is clouded by rapid technological change, soaring cross-border economic activity, and initiatives to liberalise foreign economic policies (Garrett, 2000, p. 975). The significant criticism of globalisation is that the advantages are not distributed equitably across nations and socioeconomic groups (Stallings, 2010, p. 127). Considering globalisation's broad and entangled nature in architectural practice, the question remains: beyond the obvious calls for change, how might alternative conditions emerge?

First, our future needs to be defined. “In the legal context, substantive duties dealing with the time-space compression generated by globalisation would lead to conceptual and pragmatic incompatibilities with the existing rules of the game, both domestic and international, which cannot be changed in the short term, if at all” (Wen, 2016, p. 7). Globalisation's footloose capital and disembedded corporations have become virtually ungovernable, as they evade the cognitive understanding, let alone the regulatory reach of individual or collective actors (Tonkiss, 2006, p. 53). Despite the growth of civil society organizations, there is no fully global civil society, but rather a subset of a larger socio-cultural matrix of behaviours, laws and traditions (Lee and Smith, 2004, p. 49). In that context,

researches have asked whether architects should bring their standards, a distinctive part of their culture, with them or leave behind these operating methods (Owen, 2009, p. 123). Reflecting on the hierarchical world of empire, the core represented civilisation and the periphery otherwise: thus, exporting the imperial centre's standards was once seen as a positive act (Owen, 2009, p. 122). Therefore, globalisation provides few, if any, new ethical situations for the architectural profession. Architects have always grappled with such challenges and established solutions for most of them in their codes of ethics, with conventional morality providing a backstop. "The main new problem, if it is new at all, is one of scale: establishing a worldwide architectural profession to match the global practice of architects" (Owen, 2009, p. 131). The diversity of opinion demonstrates the nature of the problem, and we currently lack an equitable alternative grounded in practice.

4.4 Extraterritorial Practice

Architects go wherever there is work. Research shows that architects' mobility patterns clearly describe a situation in which decisions are made to follow the work based on economic, cultural, linguistic, and historical considerations. The regulatory regime is, therefore, not a barrier (Architects' Council of Europe (ACE), 2016, p. 3). Despite disparities in licensing laws across countries, progressive trade liberalisation of architectural services has meant the architecture profession has remained inherently mobile (Haenlein and Patel, 2017, pp. 54–55). The global integration of property markets has been due to deregulation, pension fund investing, securitisation, lower foreign investment barriers, and improved property information databases (Olds, 1995, p. 1716). The growth of extraterritorial practice has been driven by deregulation, globalisation and international investment.

Many architectural practices are dependent on the global economy. Data indicates that to achieve significant home growth, architectural practices must look elsewhere. Large US firms like SOM and HOK established offices in London in the 1980s to serve the needs of US customers (Haenlein and Patel, 2017, p. 49). Many architectural and engineering companies have gone global in the pursuit of market expansion (Aoun and Teller, 2016, p. 254). A RIBA (2015) survey found that large practices earned 36% of their fees from overseas projects. Global professional service firms (GPSFs) seek to develop international business models independent of national regimes, driven by the globalisation of professional service consumers (Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2012, p. 143). Overseas expansion is usually demand-led, and many architects follow the globalisation strategies of their clients. Architectural practices monitor potential growth markets and focus on offering what the market demands (McNeill, 2008, p. 15). Many large architectural practices have sought the revenue of the global market to support their domestic studios and, in doing so, become dependent on those markets to maintain their global operations.

With the growth of global practice and the global supply chain, industry is forced to move into untapped territory to secure contracts. Research (Smyth, 2011, p. 61) suggests that architecture is becoming a global business, which poses particular challenges for practices as they work internationally (Winch, 2008). The rise of global architecture firms with offices in multiple countries, specialising in transnational clients, transformed the physical city fabric with international peripheralised labour (Rimmer, 1991). This geographic diversification of large practices and mergers and acquisitions is said to be a major trend. Cash reserves are pooled during the boom to increase market

penetration and geographical spread. A new wave of takeovers occurs near the bottom of a recession, resulting in large multidisciplinary practices (Smyth, 2011, p. 23). As markets become more competitive, global corporations expand into previously untapped markets without state controls, cheap land, and inadequate infrastructure. It is unlikely that ethical concerns will constrain this expansion (Haenlein and Patel, 2017, p. 49). The globalisation of architectural practice establishes the invasive infrastructure of the global economy into so-called “emerging” economies, on which they become dependent.

Commercial transactions do not only exchange capital. It has been observed that architectural practices facilitate cross-border policy transfer, translating policies into urban forms. Knowledge mobility studies describe socio-spatial, power-laden processes where policies alter and struggle as they are moved (Aoun and Teller, 2016, p. 255). Global financial trading instantly crosses borders, but global companies, even service companies, must touch down somewhere. Every global project has a context, site, climate, infrastructure, and state controls, requiring materials, transportation, energy, water, labour, and the project team's skills (Haenlein and Patel, 2017, p. 49). The international construction project is unique in its capacity to establish a conduit for global capitalism in diverse political economies.

These interventions receive special protection to prevent local resistance to their integration. Data shows how professional services are financed and structured differently in globalising markets, with new competitive dynamics, venture capitalists, private equity funds, and transnational governance regimes (also Faulconbridge and Muzio 2012; Ramirez 2010) (Noordegraaf, 2015, p. 196). The rights of corporations protected in international agreements intended for reducing restrictions on investment have led to what Gill calls the “new constitutionalism” (Gill, 1995). Mutual Recognition Agreements (MRAs), which are often attached to Free Trade Agreements (FTAs), facilitate the mobility of architectural services across geopolitical borders, allowing for the sharing of professional monopolies (Linsell, 2017, pp. 54–55). Development agreements limit the authority of national and local powers over investors while providing them with new rights that are above those of the state, creating a complex set of obligations and accountability gaps (Newell and Wheeler, 2006, p. 11). It has been recognised that as state protectionism develops, architects working across borders must be increasingly informed on the economic, legal, and ethical risks of attempting to export their services. Understanding the developing regulatory requirements of international trade is becoming more crucial (Linsell, 2017, p. 58). The growing awareness of modern slavery and other negative impacts of globalisation are partly the result of the increased risk of corporate liability. It might be argued, therefore, that the development of the Code represents an institutional attempt at risk mitigation rather than a statement of virtue. Equally, despite its impetus, the value of the Code is in its impact on the institution.

4.5 Complexity in the Construction Industry

The construction industry is complex, fluid and co-dependent. Research shows that the exact definition of the construction industry is open to many interpretations of its boundaries (Lorenz and Marosszeky, 2007, p. 23), which includes various distinct sub-industries rather than a single industry (Ive and Gruneberg, 2000). The construction

sector comprises layer upon layer of separate projects, each with its own set of companies, and each company has several project relationships across different projects (O'Brien *et al.*, 2008, p. 289). This has been described as a “nexus of internal and external contracts” (Reve, 1990). As a result, professional practices in the built environment are expanding as projects become more complex (Smyth, 2011, p. 28). Research claims that it is not unusual to find “an Australian lawyer working in the Brussels office of a New York law firm on a contract for a Japanese client with a German counterpart, which is governed by English common law but in which disputes are to be referred to the International Chamber of Commerce's International Court of Arbitration in Paris” (Etherington and Lee, 2007, pp. 97–98; Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2012, p. 147). Architectural practice must be capable of operating effectively across diverse cultures and value systems.

The construction industry is project-oriented, with many factors affecting the bespoke nature of a project. It requires the integration of many complex supply chains to add product value, linking supply and demand due to discontinuous client demand and various product technologies (Pryke, 2009, p. 26). This has created a dynamic system with complex information flows across disciplines, such as architecture, structural engineering, mechanical engineering, and project management (Binsarra and Boussabaine, 2015, p. 7). Perhaps more than any other industry, the construction sector is distinguished by the hundreds of thousands of small businesses, many of which are single proprietorships, making it incredibly challenging to communicate the CSR message (Reuvid, 2012, p. 385). Research shows that although construction projects have always been complex, they have become increasingly so due to the differentiation and interdependency of multiple organisational, technological, and informational parts. This has led to difficulties in managing this complexity, which requires coordination, communication and control (Baccarini, 1996, pp. 201–203). “Unlike the artist, who creates beauty and inspires emotion, and unlike the scientist, who discovers and explains, the architect also has to do good. It is not easy to ‘do good’ in a complex world” (Pressman, 2006, p. 36). Construction projects are complex, and their success requires the management of the differentiation between organisations, disciplines, technology, standards and information.

4.6 Organisational Dynamics and the Temporary Multi-Organisation

The formation of every construction project is unique. Cherns and Bryant (1984) were the first to observe that a construction project is an engagement between several organisations, including consultants, contractors, subcontractors and suppliers, operating over some time with a client system that is itself organisationally complex (Cherns and Bryant, 1984, p. 5). Construction is unique because all supply chain elements converge at the construction site, creating a single product (Gaur and Vazquez-Brust, 2019, p. 142). The value in this definition is the observation that what may be called a 'project team' is a temporary multi-organisation (TMO) that, when the building is finished, will disperse, and its members will return to their organisations or move on to some new project (Cherns and Bryant, 1984, p. 181). The formation of the TMO (see Figure 8) introduces complexity due to the differentiation between organisations. This differentiation can be broadly split into two dimensions: horizontal differentiation between organisations and vertical differentiation between structural levels (Baccarini, 1996).

However, it has been observed that trust and learning are eroded when groups form for short periods and then disband (Samuel, 2018, pp. 38–39). The temporary nature and differentiation of the TMO shape the division of labour in construction projects.

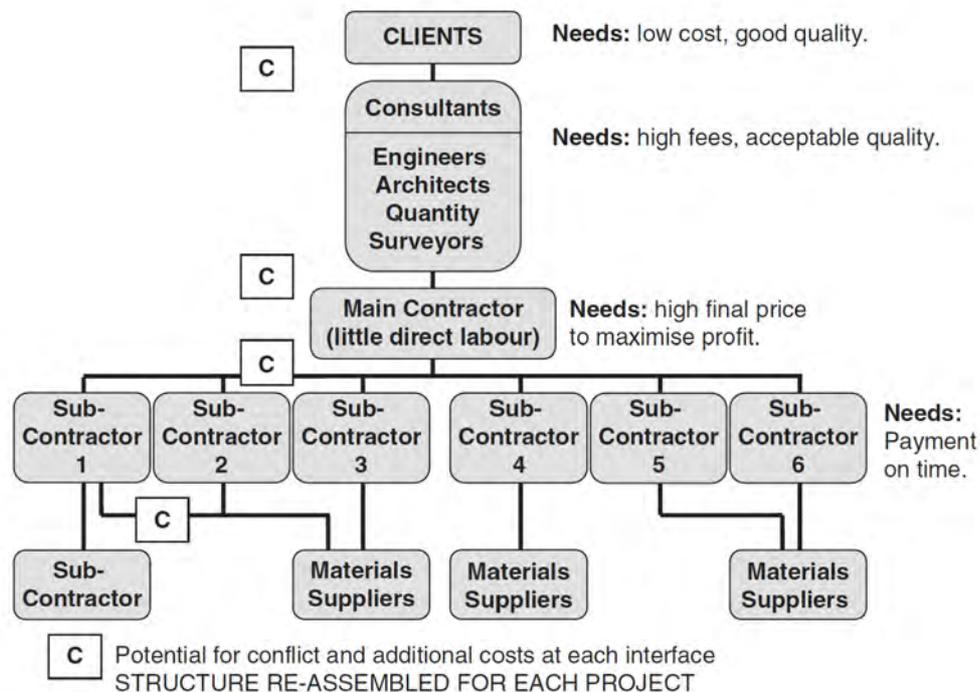


Figure 8 Existing industry structure (Cox and Townsend, 1998, p. 33)

The division of labour in construction projects shapes architectural practice and all the agents involved. Commentators argue that large-scale architectural projects demonstrate major shifts in the character of architectural practice. They note that signature design firms are often engaged to provide design intent, while local architectural firms deliver construction documentation. The emphasis shifts from building design to project design, with the division of labour now socially spread among diverse project team members (Ahuja et al., 2017, p. 9). Such complexity arises from the interdependence of operations across organisational boundaries, which is a significant factor in governing construction projects (Haenlein and Patel, 2017, p. 9). The subject of some investigation has been how project structure and context might deal with the interplay between structure and agency (Biesenthal et al., 2018, p. 11; Sydow et al., 2004). Architectural practitioners must, therefore, navigate the organisational dynamics of construction projects and structural complexity, fragmentation, differentiation and interdependence.

Fragmentation is a widely recognised characteristic of the construction industry. Experts argue that the primary barrier to effective sustainability policy is the fragmentation of the construction industry's institutions. They claim that coordination is motivated solely by effectiveness and efficiency, the practices of which are deeply ingrained in a variety of formal and informal institutions (van Bueren and de Jong, 2007, p. 551). The fragmentation of service delivery is motivated by multiple goals, such as tailoring a professional team to the client's requirements, cost-effectiveness, and mitigating legal risk (Cuff, 1999, p. 80). As a result, the UK construction industry is becoming

increasingly distrustful, self-interested, and adversarial due to fragmented procedures and non-legitimate risk transfer, leading to increased costs and decreased efficiency (Pryke, 2009, p. 25). Fragmentation in the built environment is at least partly a result of the differing and often contradictory agendas of the various institutions in the industry (Davis, 2006, p. 129). This is because “[g]enerally, professionals have a duty of care, whereas the commercial enterprises have a duty of result” (Pollington, 1999, p. 2). Fragmentation results from the heterogeneous values of those actors involved in construction supply chains.

The construction industry has also been described as a loosely coupled system (Dubois and Gadde, 2002). There are two forms of loose coupling. The first is the project's geographical distance, as construction is inherently site-specific, and the second is the social distance between management in the main office and on-site (Addyman and Smyth, 2023, p. 106). Such decentralised authority enables local adaptation to complex and unpredictable environments (Brooks *et al.*, 2021, p. 990). However, as the laws that guide organisations are typically ambiguous (Edelman, 2007, p. 68) to allow flexibility in determining compliance (Edelman, 2007, p. 69), differing interpretations can destabilise relationships and lead to a culture of toxicity (March and Olsen, 1976). Project managers dominate problem-solving practices in construction projects, and "economy" and "progression" are dominant structures. Quality and responsibility become lower priorities, impacting individual and project values (Koch and Schultz, 2019, p. 509).

4.7 Construction Procurement

Construction procurement is a central process in delivering a project which the architect must interface with and respond to. This process has been defined as financing, organising, administering, and making decisions in a building project. As such, procurement engages the commercial procedures of organising, negotiating, registering, and enforcing business transactions, which requires establishing, administering, and fulfilling contracts and consulting across supply chain networks (Green, 2018, p. 211). It has been recognised that in most countries, construction companies are selected by price competition. Unlike manufacturing, construction projects are not priced and advertised for sale but are uniquely priced after negotiation or bidding. Since the mid-1990s, joint government and construction industry initiatives in the UK have encouraged construction clients to adopt strategies to procure work at the lowest cost (Pryke, 2009, pp. 26–27). Construction procurement is not a process the architect primarily controls, but one for which they might offer advice and input as defined by their contract.

Despite their significance, global markets and supply chains are not priority concerns for architectural practitioners. This is primarily for two reasons. First, other than the recent emphasis on environmental sustainability schemes for materials such as FSC, the selection process for most materials and components in an architectural project involves a limited palette of certified products. It is not that the standards specified by practitioners are insufficiently robust in preventing modern slavery in their projects, but that there is no standard for specifying against modern slavery. This specification gap prevents the architect from being able to define social responsibility standards in the format required of practice. Secondly, as the architectural design is typically produced before procurement, decisions about who is employed and how materials and labour will be brought together in situ may not have been made. The

drawings and specifications that leave the architect's office are a "design intent": this intent is interpreted by a main contractor and their subcontractors. Split into packages; these are then procured using the global value chain by a separate party under a separate contract. This results in a procurement gap between the architect's intent and what is constructed on site.

Construction procurement is a process that is driven by construction economics. Critics have observed the clear tension between architecture and economics in costing buildings. In the UK, quantity surveyors have simplified the complexity of spatial production to a spreadsheet over which they have complete control. This takes the project out of the hands of one profession and places it under the supervision of another. In a procedure typical of neoliberal economics, the project is effectively outsourced, as the spreadsheet is divided into smaller components and distributed to an atomised market of subcontractors. "This financialised system of spatial production enforces a single view of value, reducing buildings to commodities in a chain of exchange" (Till, 2018, p. 16). The values of construction economics are not the same as those of architectural design, yet all commercial projects are required to undergo this transformation.

The values of construction economics, as defined by the free market, have shaped construction procurement practices and companies. As noted by Hillebrandt (2000), the originator of construction economics, the maximisation of money profits forms the basis of much of the theory of the construction business (Hillebrandt, 2000, p. 92). Researchers also observe that construction companies value structural flexibility, or the capacity to grow and shrink, in response to changes in demand. This strategy partly explains the industry's reliance on subcontracting and self-employment, why individuals are reluctant to spend money on education and why the apprentice system failed (Lorenz and Marosszeky, 2007, p. 26). Whilst main contractors have the greatest influence over ethical or sustainable procurement due to their position at the centre of the construction process (Nicholson *et al.*, 2011; Russell, 2020, p. 23), most of the products, services, and labour required for large-scale projects purchased by main contractors are from sources outside their company, which amounts to about 75% of their total revenue (Russell, 2020, p. 44). Construction procurement practices and construction company objectives are achieved by maximising the values of construction economics.

The structure and organisation of the construction project are designed to achieve the objectives of construction economics. Hillebrandt (1984) explains that construction projects are split into subcontracts that are let by project managers (Hillebrandt, 1984, p. 120). Research reveals how subcontractor work is increasingly organised through an extended vertical subcontracting chain, with up to five levels of subcontracting on large construction sites. The main contractor's obligations for employment conditions are gradually passed down the contract chain to smaller firms, reducing the impact of industrial action (Green, 2011, p. 64). Subcontracting is a common practice in construction to lessen the dependency of main contractors on directly engaged personnel, often completing the entire project in this way (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 303). The cause of this has been linked to the introduction of the Selective Employment Tax (SET) by the UK government in 1966, leading to contracting firms seeking alternatives to directly employed labour to reduce their liability (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 304). Outsourcing has advantages, such as lowering overheads and boosting profitability, but also disadvantages, such as low levels of worker engagement, job stability and continuity and skills training (Green, 2018, p. 195). The UK Department for Business, Innovation and

Skills (BIS) identifies multiple tiers of subcontractors on typical construction projects. A main contractor subcontracts various project components to a variety of specialist subcontractors, who in turn subcontract to other subcontractors in a downward subcontractual cascade. Procurement is a complicated, disaggregated, and multi-layered network of contracts (Green, 2018, p. 215). The architect is a component of the construction project, a component of the construction industry and its wider networks of economics, labour, extraction, manufacturing, logistics, trade, and politics.

Procurement practices have significant consequences for sustainability, as they can run counter to principles of sustainable development. Unskilled labour is often informal, untrained, and drawn from an international labour pool. Intermediaries, wholesalers and distributors contribute to the positive cash flow of contractors by receiving payment after supplies are incorporated into the work. Bribery and corruption are common and are disproportionately present in the construction sector for structural reasons (Green, 2018, p. 219). Construction's project-based delivery model has resulted in vertical, horizontal, and longitudinal fragmentation, with firms delivering different phases, products and services, which disrupts team continuity (Jones *et al.*, 2022, p. 919). Crates (2018) noted that in 2018, only 25% of construction companies surveyed had introduced procurement policies complying with the MSA (Crates, 2018a, p. 52), 22% had conducted minimum wage and immigration checks (Crates, 2018a, p. 52), and 16% had undertaken site inspections (Crates, 2018a, p. 53). Critics argue that few in the construction sector believe global supply chains are structured in a way that helps clients or the supply chain. There is no alignment of interests, and the lack of a feedback loop increases the likelihood of completed assets performing as intended and learning from past mistakes (Morrell, 2015, p. 8). The contrasting structures and values of sustainability and construction are foundational in adverse effects such as modern slavery, and require mutuality if a change is to be achieved.

4.8 Global Value Chains in Construction

The construction project's supply chain in an increasingly globalised economy is a factor in its complexity. As a result, the industry has faced criticism for being fragmented, inefficient, and uncoordinated. To improve productivity, companies are seeking supply chain integration strategies, but little attention is given to material supplier integration despite their significant role (Ben Mahmoud *et al.*, 2023, p. 1). Beyond the immediate regulatory requirements of a building's site, deep global supply chains extend into material extraction and manufacturing labour. Research suggests that since the early 2000s, the ideas of the global value chain (GVC) and global production network (GPN) have become prominent tools for analysing the worldwide growth and geographical fragmentation of modern supply (Gereffi, 2014, p. 10). The supply chain has been defined as "[t]he management of upstream and downstream relationships with suppliers and customers to deliver superior customer value at less cost to the supply chain as a whole" (Christopher *et al.*, 2011, p. 3). However, the word "chain" should be replaced with "network" to reflect the reality of numerous suppliers and suppliers to consumers, as well as various customers and customers' customers (Christopher, 2005, p. 5). The GVC is a prime example of free market economics and global trade in action, driven by supply and demand.

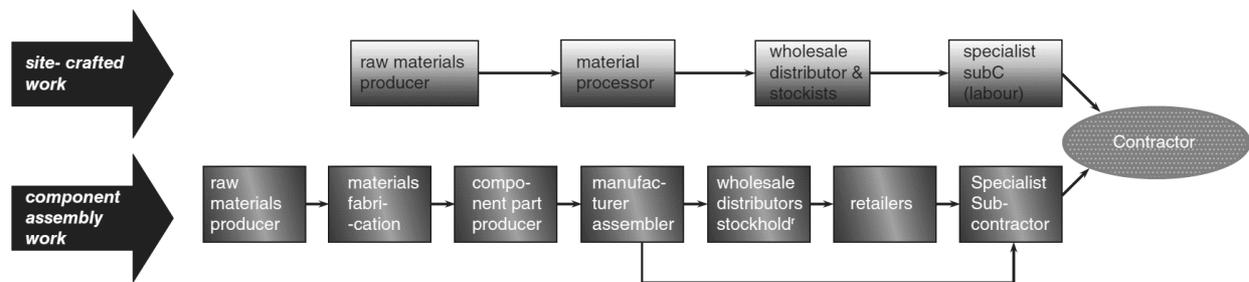


Figure 9 An inter-business construction project supply chain (adapted from Harland (1996: s67) (Pryke, 2009, p. 4))

A conceptual diagram of a construction project supply chain is shown in Figure 9. However, GVCs work at a macro scale and can range in structure and complexity. Global production is geographically dispersed, spanning various legal, cultural, and social contexts. As the value chain widens, the primary business's ability to monitor and enforce its code of conduct deteriorates, increasing vulnerability to modern slavery (Caspersz *et al.*, 2021, p. 183). The multi-tiered construction sector supply chain has three general tiers: Tier 1 designers, contractors, and suppliers have direct contracts with the client; Tier 2 contractors have subcontracted with Tier 1 contractors and do not interface with the client, and Tier 3 contractors have specialised subcontractors, businesses that provide equipment and labour (Gaur and Vazquez-Brust, 2019, p. 142). A conceptual diagram of this arrangement is shown in Figure 10.

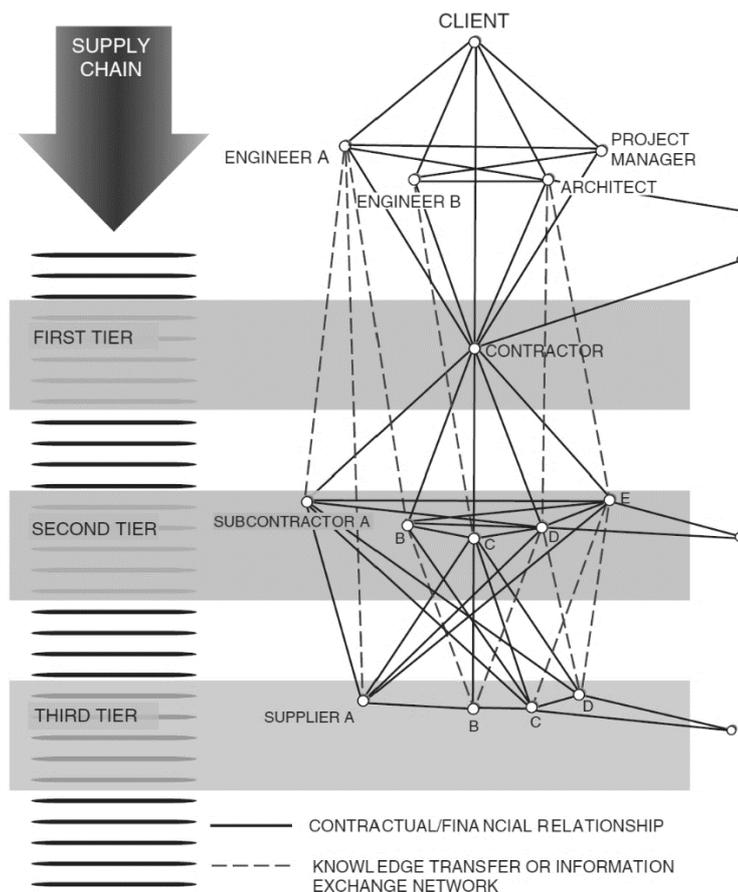


Figure 10 Supply chains and networks (Pryke, 2009, p. 2)

Mentzer *et al.* (2001) define three distinct kinds of supply chains depending on the degree and number of organisations involved, referred to as direct (Figure 11), extended (Figure 12), and ultimate supply chains (Figure 13).

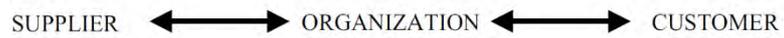


Figure 11 Direct supply chain (Mentzer et al., 2001, p. 5)



Figure 12 Extended supply chain (Mentzer et al., 2001, p. 5)

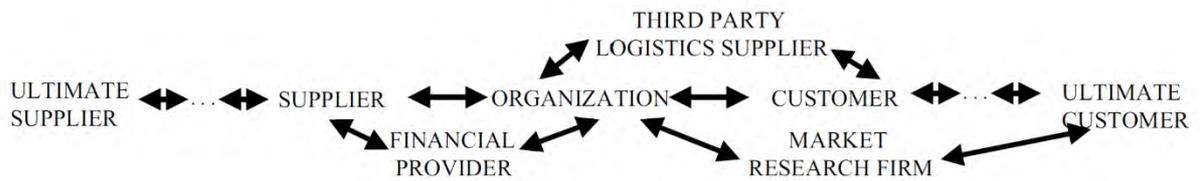


Figure 13 Ultimate supply chain (Mentzer et al., 2001, p. 5)

Of course, construction projects are not isolated entities but interconnected components of a wider network of projects, as illustrated in Figure 14.

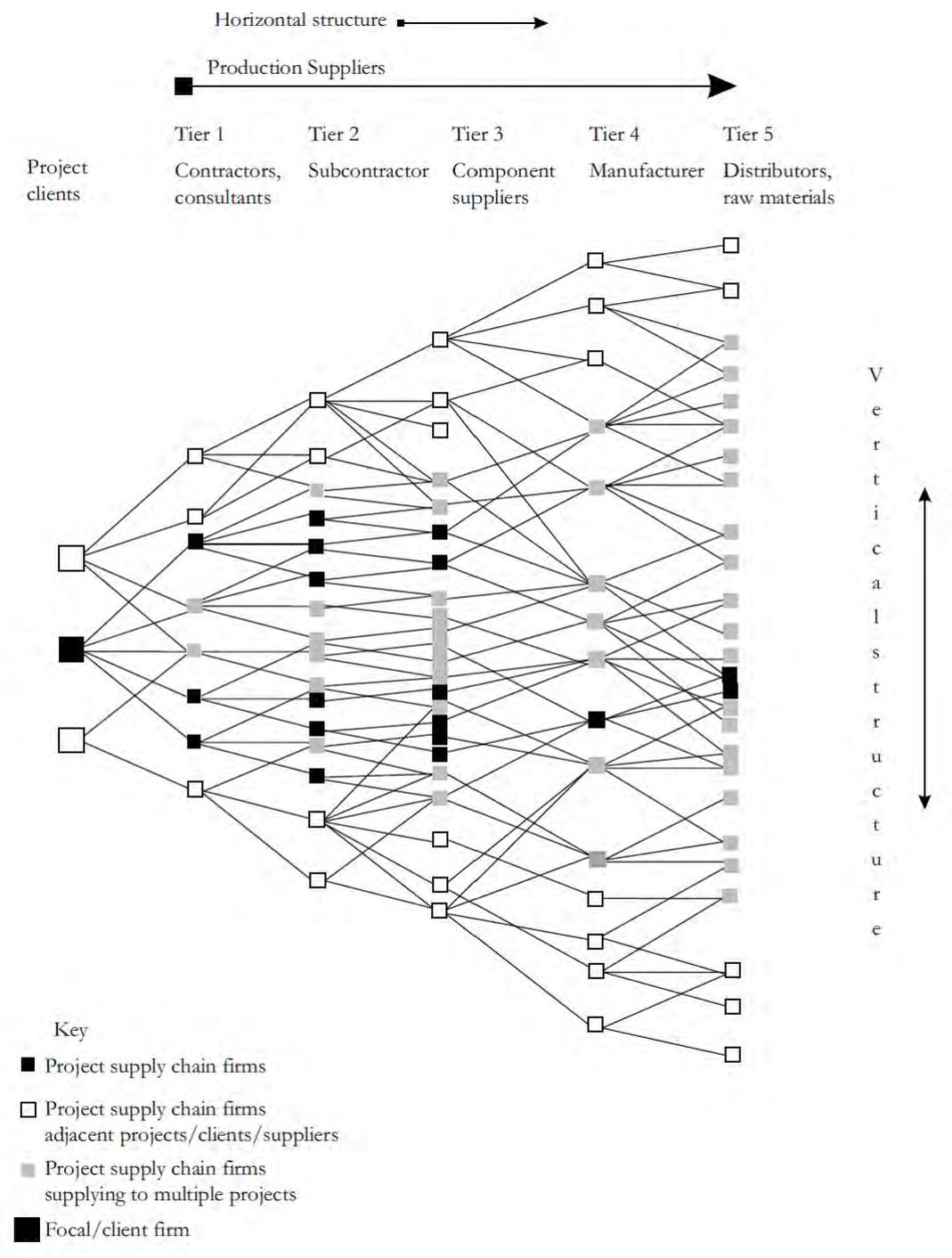


Figure 14 Complex construction supply chain organizational structure - multiple projects (O'Brien et al., 2008, p. 299)

4.9 Labour in Construction

Architectural practitioners appear to see themselves as outsiders to the labour and political aspects of construction. The construction industry's unique division of labour, which includes designers, contractors, and material suppliers, has been identified as a fundamental theme and a priority for change (see Higgin and Jessop, 1965; Cherns and Bryant, 1984; and Bresnen, 1997, for example) (Pryke, 2009, p. 8). Some claim that architects do not consider themselves workers. Architects create, builders build; we do art, and they do work (Deamer, 2020, p. 22). This mindset has not come about accidentally. It is in capitalism's best interests to eliminate labour from architectural consciousness. Despite being responsible for most of the built environment, architects believe that design exists outside the messy worlds of labour and political economy (Deamer, 2020, p. 53). Newman and Berg (1963) explain that no business operates in a vacuum. Administrative labour involves assembling resources, planning, organising, directing, and controlling, which requires a conducive political, social, and economic environment (Newman and Berg, 1963, p. 81). Others note that the construction industry is vulnerable to exploitation due to its mobile production location, temporary duration, and fixed-term labour contracts (Craven, 2016, p. 26; Cremers, 2006). The division of labour in construction projects has removed architectural practitioners from the sites of labour production throughout the supply chain, both contractually and geographically.

The division of labour has severed the link between producers and consumers. This is primarily caused by the mass production of industrialisation, which forces manufacturers to sell through intermediaries and specialised purchasing departments (Sheth and Parvatiyar, 1995, p. 398). Similarly, it has been suggested that construction contractors' extensive subcontracting has fractured the relationship between the individuals at the bottom of the supply chain and the clients and contractors commissioning the work (Wells, 2018, p. 6). This dislocation between the producer and the employer creates an obstacle to addressing modern slavery in global value chains, as national labour laws are the primary tool for safeguarding employees. Therefore, global buyers are excluded from employer-based protection under national frameworks (Barrientos, 2013, p. 16). This lack of protection means that labour in construction project value chains is vulnerable to the risk of exploitation.

Construction projects require significant manual labour in their production. Construction sites are geographically dispersed, resulting in a large pool of skilled and semi-skilled labour. Different types of projects demand different skill sets, and the pattern of required skill combinations varies by project (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 304). Research (Craven, 2016, p. 25) has found that because manual labour is so predominant in the construction sector, it is frequently conducted by unskilled migrant labourers on a temporary basis according to the market (Balch and Scott, 2011), and the situation establishes the conditions for the abuse of human rights (Allain *et al.*, 2013). The construction industry has long relied on subcontracting and outsourcing arrangements to maintain workforce flexibility (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2012, p. 508). Labour contracting originated in the nineteenth century and produced 'gangs' of seasonal labour in agriculture and the 'sweating' system in clothing production. Throughout the twentieth century, the labour movement fought against this system to improve labour legislation for more stable and direct employment relations (Barrientos, 2013, p. 4). As a result of the nature of construction labour, the industry offers significant opportunities for those wishing to exploit its weaknesses.

The globalisation of supply chains has extended the reach of capitalism into increasingly vulnerable areas. The global labour market has created a vast army of people who lack state protection and cannot avoid exploitation (Ferguson and McNally, 2015). It has been argued that migrants have an important role in capitalism, acting as a reserve of labour and a means of generating profit. Thus, migrants provide global job stability and are a driving force in its growth (Rab, 2017, p. 70). Globalisation has caused many individuals to be dispossessed and forced to the bottom of supply chains, exposing them to predatory business practices from powerful companies that seek to lower production costs (Gereffi, 2014; Milberg and Winkler, 2013). Case studies demonstrate that labour contractors increasingly use migrant labour, often vulnerable to abuse. They usually demand high fees for transportation, instruction, the supply of 'papers', and interest on loans. Undocumented migrants lack access to legal processes, and if they complain, they risk losing their jobs and being deported (Barrientos, 2013, p. 7). Non-nationals have historically had minimal legal protection outside of their own country, but establishing an international human rights framework has brought forth new types of protection (Grugel, 2007, p. 31). Global supply chains provide the infrastructure for modern slavery in construction and a mechanism for its concealment.

The forms of employment that have evolved in construction projects are designed to favour the employer, and research is generally critical of the sector's management of people. Employment practices and industrial relations are often depicted as informal, casualised and even cavalier (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2012, p. 507). Data indicates that the construction industry has seen a surge in labour-only subcontracting. Nearly 40% of all UK individuals working in construction were classified as self-employed in 2016, up from 23% in 1980 (ONS 2016). Self-employment is seen as exploitative and a way to shift responsibility and risk onto the individual worker, leading to a growing dependence on migrant labour in the construction industry, a situation that started before the Industrial Revolution (Green, 2018, p. 215). The report of the TUC Commission on Vulnerable Workers (2008), which estimates that there are currently two million such individuals in the United Kingdom, highlighted the worsening plight of vulnerable individuals in the UK economy (Green, 2011, p. 360). Project-based work driven by economic and contractual factors has made employer-employee relationships more fluid, transient, and opaque (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2012, p. 507). Some have found that individuals can be employed by many companies with limited regulation and oversight, even within the same construction site. This can result in slow employee payments, and remedy for delayed or non-payment of wages or injury is virtually non-existent (Wells, 2018, p. vi). Others (Liu *et al.*, 2022, p. 141) claim that although codes of conduct are available, they provide little assistance to vulnerable employees subjected to labour abuse (Crane, 2013; Jiang, 2009; LeBaron and Rühmkorf, 2017; Lund-Thomsen and Lindgreen, 2014). Over the past 30 years, the global deregulation of construction labour markets has led to a rise in informal employees, with outsourcing and subcontracting allowing unskilled workers to work without formal contracts or social protection (Tutt and Pink, 2019, p. 479). Because of their limited knowledge and regular exposure to such abuse, these employees often lack an understanding and awareness of their rights (Lund-Thomsen and Lindgreen, 2014). Employment regulation fails to protect the most vulnerable individuals in construction projects.

The structural conditions of the construction project are significant and deliberate. Specifically, the separation of responsibility for design from responsibility for construction has been a crucial component in the evolution of the architect's role (Hughes and Hillebrandt, 2003, p. 20). Some have considered how we might bridge this perceived split between the discipline of architecture and the global systems that shape the day-to-day conditions of the

construction site (Cayer *et al.*, 2016, p. 21). Research shows that companies limit contracts and levy penalties for late deliveries or poor quality. They also demand exceptionally low-profit margins at the bottom, causing disproportionate profits to float to the top of value chains (Kaplinsky, 2005). 'Atypical' employment forms such as fixed-term labour and self-employment are widely established. Such complexities impact human resource and employment relations such as pay and reward, training, career development, and employee representation, resulting in fragmented HR policies (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2012, p. 508). WBYA? suggests improving the working conditions of those who construct large-scale projects by creating pressure on the networks coordinating individuals and resources. However, architects cannot do it alone, and effort from all participants within these networks is required (WBYA?, 2017, pp. 4–5).

Conclusion

In Chapter 4, I investigated the complex nature of the modern construction industry and the global forces that have shaped it. I began with an appraisal of the established narrative that construction is slow to change and underperforms. I then considered the effects of capitalism, which led to commodification and the building as a means of revenue. I outlined the globalisation of the industry and the emergence of extraterritorial practice, and discussed the central subject of procurement, as well as the resulting structure, fragmentation, and complexity of the market. I outlined the organisational dynamics of construction projects as Temporary Multi-Organisations (TMOs) and concluded with a focus on how these structures facilitate modern slavery in Members' project supply chains.

Chapter 5 – Context. Codes of Professional Conduct, A Social Contract

Introduction

In this Chapter, I provide context to codes of professional conduct by establishing the broader social and institutional frameworks in which they are established. I provide a general critique of their successes and failures in achieving their intended outcomes in practice, and conclude with an analysis of the RIBA Code of Professional Conduct and its related initiatives.

5.1 The ARB

The Architects Registration Board (ARB) is the statutory body for registering architects in the United Kingdom. The primary purpose of the ARB is to safeguard consumers' interests by regulating persons who may use the term "architect" in the United Kingdom (Noordegraaf, 2015, p. 196). The Architects Act (Crown, 1997) allows the ARB to prosecute in the case of misuse of the title by non-registered persons (Gough, 2000). The ARB's Architects Code: Standards of Professional Conduct and Practice (ARB, 2017) contains 12 standards an architect must adhere to. Breaches of the ARB Code can lead to disciplinary sanctions, which do not necessarily expose an architect to prosecution. Perhaps most relevant to this research is "Standard 5: Consider the wider impact of your work". The following guidance is provided: "5.1 Where appropriate, you should advise your client how best to conserve and enhance the quality of the environment and its natural resources". The social aspect of this impact is not mentioned. The ARB prescribes architectural qualifications, maintains the Register of Architects, issues a code of professional conduct and competence and imposes sanctions if a finding of unacceptable professional conduct or serious professional incompetence is made against an architect.

An indication of institutional change came in 2022 when the ARB published its findings on its Consultation on the Investigations and Professional Conduct Committee Rules, Standard of Acceptance, and Sanctions Guidance. The ARB proposed changes to address the unduly complex and inconsistent language, modernise its approach, and improve the accessibility and transparency of the process (ARB, 2022). Commentators emphasise the conflict encountered in utilising professional registration to enhance construction standards, stating that sustaining registration eligibility requirements must be balanced with assuring an adequate supply of registered professionals (RIBA, 2003, p. 52). It has been observed that further tension arises when legislation encroaches on professional territory. In the United Kingdom, legislative procedures have displaced professional institutions as standard-bearers (Hughes et al., 2015). The ARB's recognition of complexity and inconsistency in the language of their governing policy demonstrates an increasing awareness of these issues for practitioners and an indication of change.

5.2 The RIBA

The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) is a professional body for architects in the United Kingdom and internationally. The Institute of Architects was established in 1834 to "advance the knowledge of architects". The first RIBA Professional Practice Committee of 1845 set the Scale of Professional Charges, Form of Building Contract, Declaration, Bye-laws and the Code of Professional Practice (Gotch, 1934, p. 117). Although the RIBA does not have a statutory role, as a professional organisation, it commits to advancing the cause of good architecture and promoting architectural education and best practices (Hilburn and Hughes, 2005, p. 2), and that RIBA-qualified architects will act professionally and competently (Noordegraaf, 2015, p. 196). The RIBA is an institution with over 44,000 Members, including 8,000 International Members (RIBA, 2018). In the UK, the status of many professions was formalised in the first half of the 19th century via the grant of royal charters to self-regulating institutes (Hilburn and Hughes, 2005, p. 2). Research reveals (Samuel, 2018, p. 34) that the RIBA was always imagined as a global institution, and via its international contacts, it built a system of reciprocal hospitality for architects worldwide (Gotch, 1934, p. 51). "The power of the RIBA brand should not be underestimated. Britain's colonial and Commonwealth past has played its part, with lower trade barriers, a common business language and a shared legal system together with British standards and working practices in many parts of the world. But the real strength of the RIBA derives from a commitment to high standards and the professionalism, integrity and creativity of its members" (Oborn, 2015, p. 37). The RIBA presents itself as espousing specific values that reflect those of its Members.

However, the RIBA has received growing public criticism of its values in recent years in the industry press. Reports have focused on its alleged lack of diversity (Ing, 2022a); institutional racism (Topping, 2018); non-representation of women (Matrix Feminist Design Co-operative, 2022, p. 19); its "outrageous lack of transparency" and "exclusionary tactics" (Ing, 2022b); lack of openness (Waite, 2020), and secrecy (Waite, 2021a); that it is "out of touch" with the wider profession, with "empty slogans and self-serving initiatives" (Jessel, 2022) and London-centric (Lazell, 2008); criticism has been made of its alleged conflicts of interest, institutional bullying, trustee interference in RIBA election rules changes, and a data breach (Ing, 2022c), and its deep, systemic disengagement from the membership: "the institution's structure isn't there to deliver in line with their mission. In fact, the whole RIBA machine is geared against change. Unless we rewrite the 'code' at an institutional, structural level, nothing will happen" (Johar, 2021). This public commentary is significant, not only in what it may reveal, but also for the increasing focus on the values and integrity of the institution, and consequently its Members, and how these are represented to society.

The criticism of a more general and gradual shift in the values of the RIBA is acknowledged by the RIBA. Some claim that RIBA's shift in its objective from "demonstrating public benefit" to "serving members and society" has led to an erosion of its social purpose (Johar, 2018). The RIBA (2018) describes how three important documents (RIBA Charter of 1837, Charitable Objectives and RIBA Strategic Plan 2016-2020) defining its purpose have undergone reinterpretation over time, unwittingly leading to a progressive loss of focus. This purpose shifts from "demonstrating public benefit" to "serving members and society" and from "promoting excellence in the

profession” to “driving excellence in architecture”. It is important to note that, in conclusion, the RIBA Ethics and Sustainable Development Commission assert that “by making an unequivocal commitment to work for public benefit and place the UN's 2030 Sustainable Development Goals at the heart of its activities this will help to ensure relevance, achieve greater impact and restore clarity of purpose” (RIBA, 2018a, p. 8). The RIBA is going through a period of change. In relation to this project, it is essential to note that whilst the support of the RIBA was incredibly valuable in its distribution of the survey and results, the challenges of initiating change within large and bureaucratic organisations are clear.

5.3 Professionalisation and Professional Institutions

Beginning with a technical definition, the ILO’s International Standard of Classifications of Occupations (ISCO88) lists ten employment groups according to skill level. Professionals, such as architects and engineers, are classified at level 4, the highest level, because they demand complex problem-solving, decision-making, and creative skills based on a substantial body of theoretical and empirical knowledge in a specialised field. The ISCO88 defines a professional in terms of competence and job description, both recognised in the United Kingdom. Those in the building sector who fit these descriptions can thus be considered professionals. The ISCO88 does not mention values or standards, which are especially relevant in the construction business and significantly impact society’s safety, health, and well-being (International Labour Organisation (ILO), 1988). In the UK, a professional institution is recognised as a community of experts which;

- sets its own educational standards
- has a means of dealing with conflict
- has a means of dealing with disciplinary matters
- operates a code of conduct
- has a broader knowledge of the world in which its members operate
- has a commitment to professional development
- and a commitment to developing the knowledge of the discipline (Clarke, 2014, pp. 1–2)

The historical role of professionalisation has served to secure a social agreement between individuals of a profession and the society in which they work. Professional privileges range from social prestige to limits on admission, competition, and monetary gains (Marcuse, 1976, p. 272). The term “professional” has been described as “a group of persons formed to service a corpus of specific knowledge in the interests of society” (Ray *et al.*, 1999). Some suggest that professional institutions were established by professionals, for professionals (Hilburn and Hughes, 2005, p. 1). Others (Schott *et al.*, 2016, p. 586) argue that professionalism has traditionally been defined as the collective control of specialised theoretical knowledge applied to specific cases based on institutionalised procedures and methods of working, as well as socialised professional norms and values (Abbott, 1988; Elliott, 1972; Freidson, 2001). “If the pillars of professionalism are ethics, knowledge and professional judgement, Chartered Architect status needs to represent a pinnacle in all three” (Samuel, 2018, p. 208). Professionals represent an important component of society, and assume significant responsibility in exchange for privilege.

The professions are central in the regulation of principal social functions. Larson (1977) argues that professions are social structures that control the balance of power and protect a non-competitive territory from market forces. There are four major stages in the evolution of a discipline into a profession: unionisation, identifying and securing a knowledge field, determining practice norms, and gaining public acceptance for their restrictive policies (Larson, 1977). Clarke (1988), a British civil engineer and academic, sought to understand how professionals working across the built environment and their institutions might maintain relevance and value in society (Clarke, 2014, p. 1). Research indicates that the roles of professions in the construction industry differ depending on the socio-political, cultural, and historical contexts in which they are situated. Professional service firms adapt their roles to gain legitimacy and survive in the market by drawing on institutional logic in their specific societal contexts (Jia *et al.*, 2017, p. 482). Others argue that the transnational sociology of the professions highlights the dialogue between national and supra-national actors, leading to multi-scalar, conflicting influences and sources of power and legitimacy (Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2012, p. 147). Professionalism has also been characterised as combining technical knowledge with a practice ethic. It is both specialised and wide enough to enable the professional to select between multiple courses of action, which requires a high level of skill (Spector, 2001, p. XXI). The professions are powerful mechanisms in structuring and regulating the market and society.

5.4 Self-Regulation

An essential part of the professional's standing is the social contract. Hill explains how the state provides legal protection and a potential monopoly to a profession in exchange for the safe management of an area of "dangerous knowledge" (Hill, 2003b, p. 132). Research (Haines and Sutton, 2003, p. 5) claims that for centuries, governments have granted professional guilds and associations monopoly over certain domains of activity, providing that they set and maintain standards (Elliott, 1972; Halmos, 1973; Johnson, 1972). The accumulation of power by professional institutions with social, political, economic, and cultural factors generates the need for ethical frameworks to limit and guide this power (Sadri, 2015, p. 89). In addition to controlling admittance into the profession, the principal method of self-regulation for architects has been the publication of codes of professional conduct. This has been to protect against charlatans working for a lower fee or tarnishing the profession. Construction technologies are inherently dangerous, so practitioners created self-regulation frameworks based on the medical profession (Hilburn and Hughes, 2005, p. 1). Codes of conduct, therefore, define the standards of the profession in lieu of a legal framework regulating these complex, risky and specialist functions.

The social contract allows governments to devolve governance to professionals. Marcuse (1976) observes that the social contract is made entirely within society's existing structures, strengthening and improving performance (Marcuse, 1976, p. 272). Governance has been described as an institutional framework within which transactions are decided (Williamson, 1979, pp. 233–261). Research on institutional theory through the regulative lens claims that control is exerted through rules and regulations (Scott, 2014), and governance mechanisms are alternative methods of influencing organisations in establishing control and coordination (Eriksson, 2006, pp. 30–49). Self-regulation allows businesses to adopt best practices but can lead to complacency if not challenged by external

pressure. Government regulation provides more stringency, but can lead to rigidity due to a “one size fits all” approach (Jackson et al., 2020, p. 1). Self-regulation must, therefore, respond to the demands of society to maintain legitimacy and thus protect its market position.

Professional architects in the UK have been the subject of significant regulatory changes over the past 40 years. The UK government has been observed to take an ad hoc approach to professional regulation, compared to many European countries where the code is more systematic. This has resulted in the UK's political system remaining essentially unchanged since 1688, despite significant social and electoral reforms (Hilburn and Hughes, 2005, p. 2). Mandatory fee scales provided architects with a guarantee of their rates for professional services. However, these were made unlawful in 1982, and the RIBA discontinued its fee scales in 1992; these were eventually abolished in 2003 by Article 81 of the European Union (EU) Competitions Directive (Council of Europe, 1999) on the grounds of anti-competition (Jones et al., 2019, p. 196). Some suggest that the Office of Fair Trading (OFT) has adopted a consumer-centred agenda for deregulating the professions, evident in the dual mandate of the Architects Registration Board (ARB), a statutory body set up in 1997: “Protecting the consumer and safeguarding the reputation of architects” (ARB, 2017, p. 2). Similarly, they claim that the regular adaptation of the RIBA Code since 1981 has responded to accommodate the profession's deregulation, such as in 2005, by substituting mandatory rules with professional judgment (Hilburn and Hughes, 2005, p. 10). It is a paradox of the architectural profession in the UK that while the title “architect” is now protected under UK law by the Architects Registration Board (ARB) and “chartered architect” by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), there is no restriction on carrying out the functions of an architect. Thus, architects who have been trained and registered are subject to professional regulation. In contrast, unqualified practitioners may practice architecture subject only to general law, as long as they do not call themselves architects (Hilburn and Hughes, 2005, p. 2). Through its deregulation, the profession of architecture has seen fundamental shifts in its boundaries, and its practitioners are governed by judgement rather than mandate.

The regulation of architectural professionals is intended to distinguish architects from those who are not. The Architects Council of Europe (ACE) provide three reasons for regulating professional services, namely the asymmetry of information, externalities, and the concept of public good (Architects' Council of Europe (ACE), 2016, p. 1). Worldwide licensing acts further demonstrate the regulation of knowledge. Professional architectural services are typically regulated *ex ante*, which regulates access to the profession, or *ex post*, which regulates the function. While registration is not the only way to regulate professional services, it is the most widely used (Architects' Council of Europe (ACE), 2016, p. 2). Adherence to an ethics code and a duty to serve the public interest sets professionals apart from those who are not (Morrell, 2015, p. 7). Expertise, experience, and efficiency are the three main benefits clients look for in every professional service (Maister, 2014, p. 55), and clients are protected by validated qualifications, professional experience, knowledge, skill, competence, a code of conduct, and a complaints process (Architects' Council of Europe (ACE), 2016, p. 2). It is argued that architects' values establish the value of architects.

5.5 Defining Ethical Codes

The terms “code” and “law” are distinct in the context of this project. It is generally accepted that the term “code” can have multiple meanings due to its application in various circumstances. Laws are collections of specific prohibitions, while ethics codes or codes of conduct are broader ideas intended to guide laws or government policies (Gilman, 2005, p. 4). Research claims that a code of conduct is designed to establish standards of integrity, competency, and respect for the environment and society. Codes do not repeat general law obligations and do not deal with criminal or civil offences. However, serious criminal convictions can result in disciplinary action by a professional body or regulator, including expulsion, as this violates professional values and is detrimental to the profession's reputation (Brindley, 2021, p. 179). Public trust in codes in defining professional behaviour is therefore vital in maintaining professional legitimacy and preventing intervention by the government through legislation, thus de-scoping activity from the professional's social contract.

Codes are part of a broader framework for steering professional ethics. When the temptation to act unethically is greatest, codes of conduct must give unambiguous guidance on ethical action (Donaldson, 1996, p. 9). It has been suggested that codes of conduct are a normative approach to ethical practice, that do not always work in practice. Despite their best intentions, they remain an ideal, with little embeddedness in industry procedure (London and Everingham, 2006, p. 15). To be effective, codes of conduct must be specific, but they must also allow an individual to use discretion in instances requiring cultural sensitivity (Donaldson, 1996, p. 10). The debate about the effectiveness of corporate ethics codes for influencing individual behaviour persists. However, research has shown they can improve ethical behaviour when successfully communicated and incorporated into an organisation's culture. In the case of the Hong Kong construction sector, codes were ineffectual unless specific conditions were met. These include: (1) good and effective communication within the organisation, (2) a clear understanding of the contents of the code and its meaning, and (3) embeddedness in the corporate culture (Ho, 2010, p. 424). Some claim that codes are just one method of conveying an ethical culture to individuals. It is not the codes themselves that are significant, but how the organisation's management responds to ethical choices. Focusing on how codes of ethics are communicated, enforced and utilised is central to developing an organisation's culture (Cleek and Leonard, 1998, p. 627). Codes must be aligned with professional behaviour or risk being undermined in the eyes of the public in cases of misconduct.

5.6 Growth of the Corporate Ethics Code

Codes of conduct are a recent phenomenon. Free trade and flexible labour were championed as the paths to growth and development during the 1980s. Research shows that corporate labour codes have become increasingly common since the early 1990s, playing a significant role in economic liberalisation and globalisation. In the Global South, a structural change occurred through labour market deregulation, private sector expansion, and a shift towards exports (Barrientos and Smith, 2007, p. 715). However, the effectiveness of anti-sweatshop activism in linking companies to exploitation, poverty-level wages, and environmental destruction caused concern in corporate

boardrooms, particularly as such brands sought to associate their products with ideals of freedom, liberation, and accomplishment (Klein, 2000). Businesses began to understand their moral and legal obligations due to this external pressure and an internal sense of responsibility (Raiborn and Payne, 1990, p. 881). Multinational corporations adopted codes of conduct to defuse escalating consumer attention (Taylor, 2011, p. 448), with companies like Nike and Levi's leading factory disclosure after initial opposition (Doorey, 2011). In a 2016 survey of major brands, 97 per cent of senior executives stated that protecting corporate reputation was the most crucial driver of supply chain improvements, clearly defining the impetus behind this change (Crates, 2018a, p. 57). The drivers of codes are directly linked to commercial risk and are an industrial response to an industrial problem.

Codes respond to structural problems by apportioning responsibility to individuals. The emergence of ethical trade sought to hold businesses accountable for failing to protect employees' rights. The term "ethical trade" was developed to refer to large firms' accountability for upholding labour standards throughout their supply chains (Barrientos and Smith, 2007, p. 715). Organisations are becoming more aware of the ethical implications of their actions, and professional standards are being revised to include counsel on sensitive issues (Collier, 2006, p. 307). These codes apply a language of care to institutions and corporate entities to present distinctly human characteristics of ethics and morality to the market. Due to the nature of construction contracts, however, the responsibility of enacting these codes is assigned to the individual, who may only act within the framework of their own institution or corporate entity.

5.7 Codes of Conduct in Practice

Codes must be evaluated not by their declaration, but by their application. In 1955, Cummings, a practising architect and Fellow of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), noted that our ethical codes are reaffirmed in the public interest because of growing interdependence. As a result, we are morally more accountable to society (Cummings, 1955, p. 5). Research (Hartman et al., 2005; Mamic, 2005; Sethi, 2003) has been conducted on implementing codes of conduct in practice. Some suggest that such codes and auditable standards are the leading mechanisms for corporate citizenship (McIntosh *et al.*, 2003). Others argue that in contrast to moral philosophy's flexible, individual ethical choice, they are too rigid and present codified moral claims without the benefit of supporting reasoning (Fisher, 2000, pp. 172–173). Ethical codes define acceptable behaviour. However, it is important to note that disparities exist between legal systems and cultural norms (Pryke, 2009, p. 57). Codes have many values, but must be implemented if their potential is to be realised.

Recent studies have indicated that codes of conduct in the construction industry have serious shortcomings. After reviewing many codes adopted across the construction sector, the Edge Commission Report on the Future of Professionalism (2015) argued for a standardised national code of conduct throughout the built environment professions. According to the Commission's investigation, industry codes are not discipline-specific, are often modified copies of previously published codes, and are full of gaps: only a few outline the positive activities that should be taken (The Edge, 2019, p. 3). In conclusion, the Commission proposed a sample text for a shared industry code of conduct (The Edge, 2019, p. 4). Two sections in this code are relevant to this research: "Supply Chain: To

avoid acts which, directly or indirectly, are likely to result in the unfair treatment of other people or deprive them of a fair reward for their work, and Modern Day Slavery: To proactively counteract and report abusive labour practices in connection with any projects undertaken” (The Edge, 2019, p. 11). This analysis suggests that simplifying and standardising codes might improve implementation and present a unified ethical approach to the market. Notably, the proposed clause on modern slavery provides a robust alternative to the RIBA Code that, whilst offering flexibility in approach, asserts a specific obligation to counteract and report abusive practices.

5.8 Successful Ethics Codes

Several characteristics and conditions might improve the success of ethics codes. According to some, effective ethics codes are not only a text but also living examples of an organisation's core beliefs and ideas. These may contain more formal rules or prohibitions and might also include values. However, the essential element of a code is its clear articulation of principles based on values (Gilman, 2005, p. 10). Using Bentham (Bentham and Bennett, 2017) to clarify this distinction, a principle is “a general law or rule that guides behaviour or decisions.” In contrast, values articulate “an aspiration of an ideal moral state.” To summarise, values are general moral obligations, while principles are the ethical conditions or behaviours we expect (Gilman, 2005, p. 10). Statutory and regulatory provisions may give a code more “weight”; however, this has more to do with implementation than the law. Institutions should interpret and enforce their codes based on a clear, concise, and enforceable legal foundation (Gilman, 2005, pp. 23–24). Effective professional codes must include both guidance on morality (to serve the public interest) and ethics (to maintain professional standards), but there must be clarity between them (Foxell, 2018, p. 167). Codes are highly dependent on their language, association and context.

The success of codes should be measured by their ability to guide practitioners under practice conditions. It has been argued that architecture is defined by the ethics embedded in the procedures of its practitioners, rather than as an absolute duty (Eldeen, 2004, pp. 3–4). Consequently, it is the institution's responsibility to align its policy with the ethical standing of its membership. However, academics suggest these overarching principles are only the starting point for ethical practice. We must analyse how effectively these standards work in practice to gain the ability to make moral judgments via self-evaluation and lived experiences, as “it is through the specific that ethical judgments come to be made” (Roberts, 2019, p. 2). Codes are better understood as a mediating factor in conflicts between overlapping and frequently incompatible interests, rather than just as technical instruments (Taylor, 2011, p. 446). Codes are, therefore, a negotiation tool: as such, they must seamlessly integrate into the logic and language of practitioners at times of consideration.

When successful, codes are effective long-term components of institutions. Research (Gilman, 2005, pp. 8–9) provides a framework to understand how codes of conduct may positively affect individuals behaviour. This occurs by emphasising activities and consequences, embedding behaviour over time, supplying a compelling reason for actions whilst allowing deviations from higher ethical values, and serving as an official declaration of an organisation's moral standards. These have cognitive and emotive value (Wilson, 1993) and provide individuals with

a predefined system to motivate participation in a profession or community (Gilman, 2005, pp. 8–9). The value of codes is multiple, offering advantages for those within and outside an institution.

5.9 Critiques of Codes of Ethical Conduct

Professional codes are a topic of significant interest in industry. Commentators have noted that codes of ethical conduct have recently become the subject of detailed analysis and criticism (Foxell, 2018, p. 165). Some have highlighted that “Behaving according to professional ‘ethics’ is not the same as behaving ethically” (Till, 2009b, p. 181). Due to the increase in research on codes, questions of their effectiveness are increasingly being raised in general (Allen and Davis, 1993), as well as in the construction industry (Ho *et al.*, 2004; Ray *et al.*, 1999). Such codes declare professional commitment to responsible behaviour and attempt to maintain the profession's market. However, when carefully examined, they appear superficial (Spector and Ray (Ed.), 2005, pp. 101–112). Research claims that the UK's architectural institutions' failure to empower individual responsibility on ethical issues has drawn criticism from emerging professionals. Established practitioners have recently publicly criticised the ARB and RIBA for neglecting to define and address the ethical challenges architectural practice presents (Roberts, 2019, p. 8). Further, “[t]he institutions seem unwilling to engage with the political and ethical dimensions robustly, as this appears to them to be somehow beyond the remit of their essentially technocratic skills and purpose” (Foxell, 2018, pp. 165–166). The increased scrutiny of professional codes can only be a positive development, and the debate's intensity reveals their significance to professionals and the public.

Codes have received criticism for a broad range of reasons. The main observation is that they are too abstract, which makes them difficult to enforce (Gilman, 2005, p. 15). Lawyers approach issues through a particular paradigm, or lens. In a legal context, such a viewpoint can be helpful; however, we require more than legalistic definitions. Ethics codes require a strong legal base, but to be effective, they should also integrate law, institutions, organisational culture, and socialisation (Gilman, 2005, pp. 23–24). Codes of conduct typically emphasise negative duties rather than positive ones (Gilman, 2005, p. 16), and usually only cover basic ethical requirements (Gilman, 2005, p. 19). Corporate codes help raise employment standards, but do not challenge existing practices or social relations that sustain poor standards (Barrientos and Smith, 2007, p. 713). Research (Taylor, 2011, p. 446) refers to an unevenness observed in the implementation and effectiveness of codes across sectors, countries, and industries (e.g. (Barrientos and Smith, 2007; Caraway, 2006; Esbenshade, 2004; O’Laughlin, 2008; O’Rourke and Brown, 2003; Sum and Pun, 2005; Wells, 2007)). Studies reveal the state of corporate ethics management in industry through the lack of implementation strategy at a project level (Ho *et al.*, 2004). Such mechanisms are ineffective unless ethical codes are regularly reinforced with a substantial incentive and sanction system and thoroughly incorporated into the organisational culture (Allen and Davis, 1993, p. 456). Further, professionals have been found to focus on meeting key performance indicators (KPIs) rather than providing what is truly required (Smyth, 2011, p. 23). In more extreme cases, evidence suggests that many smaller lower-tier firms have evolved elaborate schemes of falsifying code of conduct reports (Taylor, 2011, p. 458). These observations suggest the variation in criticism of codes, ranging from their fundamental basis to their specific detail.

Codes of conduct have been criticised for their inefficiency in achieving their objectives. Professional codes for architects generally focus on the personal responsibilities and professional interests of architects, but “they ignore the risks that arise on a larger scale caused by the accumulation of power and authority” (Sadri, 2015, pp. 86–87). Some have claimed that codes of conduct not only reflect an uneven division of labour but actively shape it (Taylor, 2011, p. 445). They serve more to preserve the practices of our profession's elites than to convey what we would consider our aspirations or beliefs (Ray, 2005, p. 120). In practice, such code assists the profession in policing its boundaries more than policing its members (Ray, 2005, p. 123). Research conducted to trace whether changes in the content of the Code over time were responses to commercial or to regulatory pressures, raising the question of whether its focus was on the public good, or on institutional survival (Hilburn and Hughes, 2005, p. 353). This concluded that the RIBA had responded to government demands for deregulating the profession by ‘striking out’ content (Hilburn and Hughes, 2005, p. 361). Others (Allen and Davis, 1993, p. 456) found that despite the development of corporate ethics codes, there has been no substantial change in business ethics. These codes provide a textual framework, but cannot produce ethical integrity and only serve as a reminder of the principles individuals should follow (London and Everingham, 2006, p. 16). When the ethics of practice reflect nothing more than what is expected of any business, the profession becomes open to rejecting its ethical basis (Ray, 2005, p. 123). The architecture profession has unique values but is reluctant to state them. The blandness of our ethical codes perhaps reflects a wish not to offend various factions within the profession (Ray, 2005, p. 130). Codes must balance many factors, including flexibility, precision, ambition, and implementation. However, British architectural practice appears well-placed to achieve this.

5.10 The Professional Standards of the RIBA

The RIBA naturally places much value on its professional standards. The RIBA encourages individuals to “become leaders within the architectural profession, driving ethics, professionalism and sustainability in an increasingly international context” (RIBA, 2018a). To achieve this, the RIBA states three principles as the foundation of professional conduct: “Honesty, integrity and competency, as well as concern for others and for the environment” (RIBA, 2019c). This commitment is underlined as a signatory to the UN Global Compact and the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and adaptation of SDG Goal 11 to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. The RIBA is part of the Global Alliance for Urban Crises, the Gangmasters and the Labour Abuse Authority's Construction Protocol, a joint agreement to eradicate slavery and labour exploitation in the building industry. An example of standards harmonisation is the co-signing of the International Ethics Standards (IES) by the RIBA. This scheme claims to serve as a framework for transparency and stability, providing conditions that will encourage investment and growth (“International Ethics Standards (IES)”, 2021). In doing so, the RIBA has made a strong public commitment to tackling modern slavery.

The RIBA has carried out several initiatives focusing on professional ethics and sustainability. In 2018, the RIBA published the findings of the Ethics and Sustainable Development Commission (ESDC). Endorsed by the RIBA Council, it asserted “[t]he Institute’s unequivocal commitment to placing public interest, social purpose, ethics and

sustainable development at the heart of its activities" (RIBA, 2018a) and see Appendix. In 2021, Ethical Practice was featured in the RIBA's Core Continuing Professional Development (CPD) provision alongside the announcement of a Mandatory Competency in Ethical Practice as part of the Education and Professional Development Framework. These initiatives follow up on the findings of the ESDC and the RIBA's second Ethics and Sustainability Survey, presented in the Decade of Action report in 2021. However, a narrow interpretation of the four pillars of the SDGs is offered, with a focus on environmental responsibility but limited in implementing the RIBA's social objectives. The RIBA acknowledges this gap in its drive to embed the 17 SDGs, characterised as human rights, labour, the environment, anti-bribery and corruption, as "a picture of much achieved, but much more left to do" (RIBA, 2020a). Therefore, this work responds to the RIBA's "call to arms, a call for a step-change in practice...for people, prosperity and planet" (RIBA, 2020a). Some weaknesses are revealed in some of the RIBA's strategies, but it remains committed to addressing these.

The RIBA measures competency in their professional standards in general and specific terms. The RIBA describes general competence as "a combination of an architect's knowledge, skills and experience" (Jones, 2021, p. 7). Under the Education and Professional Development Framework, the RIBA sets out in their report, *The Way Ahead*, that "the core competency for architects must encompass a fundamental level of awareness and understanding of priority subjects in order for them to be competent to practise and to provide public assurance" (Jones, 2021, p. 7). In 2021, the RIBA proposed the Mandatory Competencies required of Members, the third Mandatory Competency being Ethics and Social Purpose, which also references international activity (Jones, 2021, p. 7). The RIBA announced that it would test its Members every five years from 2022 on these competencies, which are claimed to "go beyond" ARB guidance and cover safety, ethical and environmental aspects (Waite, 2021b). However, it is currently unclear how exactly this strategy will be implemented.

5.11 The RIBA Code of Professional Conduct

The RIBA describes its Members as "the gold standard of the architecture profession – the best of the best – and the codes that members and practices abide by exist to ensure and protect the highest level of professionalism" (RIBA, 2019d). The Code sets out and explains the standards of professional conduct and practice that the RIBA requires of all its Members, by its stated purpose for "[...] the advancement of Architecture and the promotion of the acquirement of the knowledge of the Arts and Sciences connected therewith" (RIBA, 2019b). The Code was established in 1981 and has undergone 16 revisions in its current form (see Appendix for details). The Code covers similar issues to the ARB's Architects Code. However, it has a different format based on integrity, competence and relationships. For its Chartered Practices, the RIBA also has a Code of Practice. The Code of Practice follows the same three-principle format as the RIBA's Members Code. This includes additional ethical issues relating to running a business and providing architectural services, in addition to the obligations of the Code for individual Members.

In 2019, the RIBA introduced a specific reference to modern slavery in the Code (RIBA, 2019b), defining the first formal requirement for RIBA's Members. Other significant changes to the latest version include the new disciplinary

procedures and a change in the standard of proof from “beyond reasonable doubt” to “a balance of probabilities”, bringing it in line with requirements set by many other professional and regulatory bodies, including the ARB (RIBA, 2019e). Introduction Note 7 states that Members may (or may be required to) be registered with other professional and regulatory bodies in the jurisdiction where they practise. If this is the case, the Institute recognises that a Member’s first obligation will be to comply with the rules of conduct of the local professional or regulatory body. Members must also seek to comply with the Code. If there is a conflict between the local body’s rules of conduct and the Code, the local body’s rules prevail, but the Member must notify the RIBA Professional Standards team as soon as possible. Introduction Note 8. The Code applies to all individual RIBA Members, nationally and internationally (RIBA, 2019c).

The RIBA Code of Professional Conduct (2019) Section 5 states the following;

5.1 Members shall comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery.

Guidance Note 5.1: Members should be familiar with the provisions of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 in the UK, and any subsequent updates. Members should be aware of any similar legislation in the jurisdictions in which they practise.

5.2 Members should seek to raise awareness of the issues of Modern Slavery in construction.

5.3 Members shall exercise reasonable skill and care to use supply chains which are free from Modern Slavery.

Guidance Note 5.3: ‘Supply chains’ include both materials and people. Members should be aware of the labour used in the extraction, manufacture and production of materials they use or specify, as well as the direct labour involved in their projects.

5.4 Members shall treat their own supply chains fairly.

5.5 Members shall report abusive labour practices to proper and recognised authorities when they become aware of them in connection with any projects undertaken.

Guidance Note 5.5: The proper and recognised authorities will depend on the specific circumstances, but may include: the police, a regulator, a professional body or the Modern Slavery Helpline – <https://www.modernslaveryhelpline.org/report>

Breaches of the RIBA Code can lead to disciplinary sanctions, which do not necessarily expose an architect to prosecution. These are defined as follows:

Any Member who contravenes the Code shall, in accordance with Byelaw 4 of the Institute’s Charter and Byelaws, be liable to private caution, public reprimand, suspension or expulsion.

The power to impose a sanction on a Member (public reprimand, suspension, expulsion) is exercised by the RIBA’s Professional Conduct Panel on behalf of the Institute’s Council, by a delegation of authority. (RIBA, 2019c)

Byelaws of The Royal Institute of British Architects

dated 1 January 2003 (as amended on 29 June 2004, 14 February 2006, 7 February 2007, 26 November 2009 and 25 July 2016)

4. Discipline

4.1 Any Chartered, Associate or Student Member who:

- (a) contravenes their election declaration; or
- (b) in a professional capacity, behaves in a manner considered to be unacceptable in a professional person; or
- (c) contravenes the Royal Institute's Code of Professional Conduct shall be liable to reprimand, suspension or expulsion. (RIBA, 2017c, p. 18)

5.12 RIBA Education and Initiatives

Resources and initiatives relating to modern slavery that the RIBA has provided have been reviewed, and those relevant to this research are listed below in the form of a timeline.

- 2015: RIBA signed up to the UN Global Compact to support the 17 Sustainable Development Goals
- 2017: United Nations Sustainable Development Goals in Practice (Toolkit Part 1), (RIBA and United Nations, 2017a)
- 2017: Ethics in Architectural Practice (Toolkit Part 2), (RIBA and United Nations, 2017b)
- 2017: Creation of the RIBA Ethics and Sustainable Development Commission 2017
- 2018: Ethics and Sustainable Development Commission Report, (RIBA, 2018a)
- 2019: Code of Professional Conduct, (RIBA, 2019b)
- 2020: Decade of Action Report, (RIBA, 2020a)
- 2021: The Way Ahead (RIBA's new Education and Professional Development Framework), (Jones, 2021)
- 2022: The RIBA Construction Contracts and Law Report, (RIBA, 2022)

As part of the *Education and Professional Development Framework*, the RIBA determined that the core competence of RIBA Chartered Architects must include a fundamental level of awareness and understanding of priority subjects, as listed in *Knowledge Schedules*, for them to be competent to practise and to provide public assurance. Alan Jones, RIBA President at the time, noted: "In light of the growing focus on ethical practice and professionalism, this knowledge schedule aims to be a framework for the exploration of ethical thinking, reasoning and decision making within architecture and architectural practice, and collects the issues that RIBA Chartered Architects will be expected to understand under the RIBA mandatory competence in Ethical Practice" (Jones, 2021).

The *RIBA Ethical Practice Knowledge Schedule* (RIBA, 2021) is underpinned by six duties of care, namely the Duty to Oneself, the Duty to the Profession, the Duty to those in the Workplace, the Duty to those Commissioning Services, the Duty to Society and the End User and the Duty to the Wider World. Of direct relevance to modern slavery are sections on The Codes of Conduct and Practice, Whistleblowing, Employment Law, Modern Slavery, Supply Chains, Social Value and Social Responsibility. A section on Ethics precedes the duties in Practice with subsections listed as Recognising an Ethical Issue, Virtue Ethics/Social Contract Ethics/Duty Ethics/Utilitarian Ethics, Defining Behaviours - Codes, Regulations, Sanctions and Best Practice. The schedule concludes with a section entitled Resolving Ethical

Issues, which lists subsections such as core values, Decision-making, lifelong learning, independence, advocacy, and resources and toolkits.

The RIBA's 2019 collaborative piece with the UNGC, the *United Nations Sustainable Development Goals in Practice* seeks to engage with its membership by advising on how to incorporate the Sustainable Development Goals and UN Global Compact principles into architectural practice, promote discussion about ethical concerns, and facilitate the exchange of knowledge and ideas within the construction industry (RIBA and United Nations, 2017a, p. 3). The RIBA suggest that architects may affect the sustainability of project outcomes by combining conventional creative and technical skills with a contemporary understanding of environmental, social, and economic implications from the Strategic Definition and Briefing Stages onward (RIBA and United Nations, 2017a, p. 7). Architects are well-positioned to increase awareness of these concerns and influence clients and other construction industry professionals. However, to be prepared, they must be informed of the "various more ethical" options available to their clients (RIBA and United Nations, 2017a, p. 7).

Conclusion

In Chapter 5, I offered a deeper understanding of the RIBA Code by revealing its institutional context and exploring the nature of architectural professional practice. This began by considering the ARB and RIBA as central organisations, then a definition of professionalism and professional institutions. To support these concepts, I discussed the notion of self-regulation and the social contract. I then presented ethical codes and their increasing application in industry, followed by an overview of codes of conduct in practice and the fundamentals for their success. Finally, I reviewed the professional standards of the RIBA and the initiatives it supports that are relevant to modern slavery in construction.

Chapter 6 - Primary Data: Defining Due Diligence

Introduction

In this Chapter, I respond to Research Sub-Question A: Is the Code fit for purpose? I begin by providing an overview of governance, regulation, and due diligence. Moving into professional services, I use contract theory to explain the roles and responsibilities of the architect in practice, followed by the management of risk. I then consider the duty of care and negligence in English common law, employment rights and the notion of due diligence. Finally, in an attempt at regulatory compliance, I conduct due diligence of the Code's requirements for its Membership. I present the findings of this primary research, which identifies their applicable global, regional, and domestic laws on modern slavery.

6.1 Governance

Good governance relies on fundamental principles; however, modern slavery legislation has some unique characteristics that distinguish it from other forms. Eight principles have been identified that underpin every governance system: transparency, the rule of law, participation, responsiveness, equity, efficiency and effectiveness, sustainability, and accountability (Aras and Crowther, 2009, p. 3). In practice, it is claimed that there are four principles of good corporate governance: transparency, accountability, responsibility, and fairness (Aras and Crowther, 2009, p. 15). However, academics note that in numerous respects, the prohibition against slavery in international law is unique. First, the International Court of Justice has recognised it as a *jus cogens* norm with *erga omnes* obligations. That is, it is a standard of international law that all governments must follow and from which no deviation is permitted. Second, it is the first global endeavour incorporated into international law to influence every state's domestic laws on a normative issue. Third, it is often regarded as the first global human rights movement and the foundation of international human rights legislation. It focuses on individual human dignity within the historically statist frameworks of international law (Schwarz and Allain, 2020a, p. 159). Modern slavery legislation holds a special status in a domestic and international context.

Modern slavery law has been subject to significant efforts to harmonise its varied forms and content. Professor John Ruggie was designated Special Representative to the Secretary-General (SRSG) to identify and clarify human rights and transnational corporation standards and practices. Ruggie discovered that three distinct systems of governance – civil, legal, and corporate – impact company behaviour. In 2011, the UNGPs were formed in response to bringing together this governance in a polycentric system to produce a single platform of action and an authoritative framework in which stakeholders can converge (Hampton, 2019, p. 243). However, mapping domestic implementation of states' international antislavery commitments reveals a gap between principle and practice (Schwarz and Allain, 2020a, p. 166). Also, as some have already argued (Reinerth *et al.*, 2019, p. 242), various institutions lead to different expectations of corporate governance (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), and these

expectations differ by country (Dobbin, 1994; Kostova and Roth, 2002). Despite the so-called “Ruggie Framework”, modern slavery law still has inconsistencies and gaps.

6.2 Regulation

There is an apparent tension between the notions of creativity and rules. Most commentators observe how architects often see rules hindering their creativity or professional licence (Fischer and Guy, 2009, p. 2578). However, some suggest that as the scope and potential of practice are defined by regulation, research should focus on understanding architectural practice within the regulatory framework as part of the broader context in which architecture unfolds (Imrie and Street, 2009a, p. 2509). There is a clear advantage in architectural practitioners being involved in shaping regulation, as they can bring direct experience of the risks in practice and implementation requirements.

Laws are produced under the conditions of broader global systems. Global capitalism’s regulatory character has grown from issuing government bonds in the eighteenth century, which initiated global securitisation and corporatisation, along with increasing contractualisation (Braithwaite *et al.*, 2000, p. 30). Deleuze and Hand (1988) describe law as a structure of illegalisms that are distinguished through their formalisation. Law administers illegalisms in various ways: some are permitted, made possible, or invented as a privilege of the ruling class; others are tolerated as recompense for the dominated classes, and others are forcibly prohibited, isolated, or used as the ruling class’s tools of dominance (Deleuze and Hand, 1988, p. 29). To establish a homogeneous representation of jurisdiction, the West has elevated the entire concept of law to the level of an assumed principle of authority. This “juridical model” has since become the paradigm for all strategies (Deleuze and Hand, 1988, p. 30). The UK has pioneered regulatory innovation, resulting in favourable results for companies, consumers, and the economy (Etienne *et al.*, 2018, p. 3). Such “regulation is ‘coproduced’ through the context of a series of relational networks or socio-institutional and political interdependencies” (Imrie and Street, 2009a, p. 2508). As the dominant systems that produce laws are also responsible for steering and maintaining them, questions might be raised about those particular ideologies and the capacity for change.

The law requires effective methods and a conducive environment for its successful implementation. It has been argued (Scholz, 1984b, p. 386) that when laws are employed for objectives other than preventing well-defined actions, it becomes more challenging to design clear, unambiguous rules that will have the intended impact in all foreseeable situations (Carter, 1979). Further, there comes a point when rules and laws cannot match the complexity of the world they are intended to control without becoming too complex to enforce (Scholz, 1984b, p. 394). Some have observed a paradox of regulation: if perpetrators fear detection, the level of abuse carried out may increase (Crates, 2018a, p. 9). Others note that “[s]lavery has no frontiers, but state-centred legal systems do.” If one body corporate within a multinational group commits an offence, the domestic nature of corporate laws and the separate legal personality orthodoxy effectively shield other group members from being sued or liable (Wen, 2016, p. 7). States do not typically have the authority to penalise multinational corporations, but transnational

corporate regulation is more effective when backed up by credible domestic legislation (Toffel *et al.*, 2014, p. 8). Whilst there may be many interpretations for the reasoning, the laws that are designed to protect the most vulnerable are not deployed in the situations of the most vulnerable.

There is a shift from command-and-control to self-regulation. It has been suggested that policymakers have struggled to grasp construction innovation because activity is scattered across global production and usage networks (Whyte and Sexton, 2011, p. 21). One of the difficulties of command-and-control regulation when combating modern slavery in global supply chains is that state-based legal systems struggle to adapt to transnational corporations' expanding reach (Wen, 2016, pp. 7–8). Also, traditional prescriptive regulation stresses uniformity, while system-based and performance-based regulatory regimes rely on professional responsibility to promote flexibility and innovation (May, 2007, p. 23). To deal with diverse, rapidly changing sectors that do not respond well to prescriptive legislation, regulators experiment with regulatory frameworks that allow organisations to customise rules and hold them accountable for their internal control systems (Gilad, 2010, p. 485). These have been referred to as enforced self-regulation, management-based regulation, principles-based regulation, and metaregulation (Gilad, 2010, p. 486). Some (James *et al.*, 2015, p. 2) observe an increased reliance on these voluntaristic, persuasive strategies to improve corporate behaviour (Ayres and Braithwaite, 1992; Gunningham and Johnstone, 1999; Tombs and Whyte, 2013). Others found a higher adherence to global labour standards among supplier companies that service purchasers in wealthy and socially conscious nations (Toffel *et al.*, 2014, p. 2). The argument for self-regulation in construction supply chains appears circular and will likely make the problem more complex. Global supply chains are too complex for centralised regulation, so industry is permitted to self-regulate: self-regulation creates more complexity, which makes it harder to regulate.

6.3 Contract Theory

Contract theory establishes the framework for the architectural practitioner's terms of appointment. The foundations of modern contract theory originated with Hobbes and were expanded by Rousseau, who mainly addressed the concept of the political state, laws, and methods of governance; they were most recently revitalised by John Rawls (Wasserman *et al.*, 2000, p. 62). To understand the modern construction industry, we must review the timeline of contract structures and how they have changed. The Joint Construction Tribunal (JCT) has been responsible for creating most of the construction contracts in the UK since 1931, and the first JCT standard form of building contract was published that year. Most construction projects during this time were procured using traditional methods, with the architect at the centre of the process (Green, 2018, p. 268). Professional Services Contracts (PSCs) are a requirement of The ARB Code of Conduct and establish the architect's role and responsibilities.

Contracts define the rights of contracted parties in what are typically complex relationships. MNCs operate with impunity due to their independent legal identity and territorial nature of law, making it challenging to transform moral responsibility into legal culpability (Theron, 2019, p. 188). Typical contractual networks in construction

projects are increasingly more complicated (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 102 Figure 7.1), which some argue is a deliberate tactic for total project control by breaking down suppliers into the smallest elements possible (Green, 2018, p. 269) and creating a chain of contracts (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 320 Figure 19.1). This fragmentation significantly limits contractual liability. Academics explain that according to the doctrine of contract privity, the rights and obligations contained in a contract apply only to those who are parties to it. According to the Contracts (Rights of Third Parties) Act 1999, the main contract affects only the employer and the main contractor. The subcontract involves only the main contractor and the subcontractor, and so on. Other forms of legal action, such as tort, may occur in limited situations between non-contracting parties; however, no claim may be made based on the contracts themselves (Hughes *et al.*, 2015, p. 306). The nature of contracts under English law is that whilst contracted parties are afforded rights, action by third parties must take an alternative legal route.

It appears that these alternative legal routes are beginning to be tested. Multinational corporations rely on two main arguments to avoid responsibility in their international operations. The “corporate veil” is the rule of English law that one company and its board of directors cannot be held liable for the wrongdoing of another company or individual. Second, the laws of the United Kingdom should not apply to wrongdoing committed overseas (Crates, 2018a, p. 74). Organisational structures are, therefore, deployed at scale in order to access markets, yet limit liability between the contracted structure and individuals performing under it. We cannot expect that the structures that used to distance individuals from the responsibilities of the corporation to be effective in protecting individuals acting under such structures further downstream. Perhaps reestablishing responsibility through this connection on the demand side might enable a symmetric connection between organisations and individuals on the supply side. Certainly, it has been observed that a growing focus on transnational private governance and regulation could encourage lawyers, legislators, and adjudicators to develop an international business and human rights framework (Aseeva, 2021, p. 153). National legislation and litigation aimed at improving head companies' duties of care have expanded considerably over the last decade, with varying degrees of success. One focus area is developing both a statutory and a common law duty of care through the tort of negligence. This requires shifting away from blackletter contract and corporate law concepts, such as privity and separate corporate personality, and toward more applicable tort law principles (Aseeva, 2021, p. 105). These developments suggest that it is only a matter of time before corporate lawyers can establish a duty of care through the global supply chain. This would have massive implications for industry, but in the meantime, we can be sure that some will vehemently resist such change.

6.4 Risk Management

An architectural practice, like any other corporate entity, must understand the specific nature of its legal environment and the performance of the professional services contract. Practitioners must navigate and manage risk according to the standards required by the appropriate regulators and develop procedures appropriate to discharge obligations. Risk management is an aspect of practice that occurs in the informal decisions of practitioners and through formal procedures that one might typically associate with the term. Risk management “is concerned with the awareness and potential control of risks within a company’s scope (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, *et al.*, 2015, p.

16). Risk management, whether for the public, the client or the architect, requires an understanding of what may go wrong and numerous responses to inherent design problems (Wasserman *et al.*, 2000, p. 151). Despite the ability of an organisation to understand and manage its social risk in the supply chain as fundamental to its competitiveness (Carter and Rogers, 2008), research on this topic is minimal (Zorzini, Hendry, Huq, et al., 2015, p. 17). The RIBA Construction Contracts and Law Report (2022) found that some of the legal issues members had found challenging during the previous 12 months included 'rules governing insurance and liability for risks' (25%), 'Regulatory compliance (10%), and 'rules governing procurement' (8%) (RIBA, 2022, p. 20). Risk management, or the practitioner's response to perceived risks, shapes every aspect of their commercial operations.

Risks come in many forms, and are dynamic and cumulative. In addition to being held to a high public review level as a professional, the architect must identify areas of professional and social interest that may result in risk (Wasserman *et al.*, 2000, p. 149). Commentators claim that architects, engineers, and planners can be caught off guard by fast-changing laws and, therefore, must become more conscious of the consequences of human rights on their work. They suggest several steps: education, action research, demonstration projects, monitoring, and advocacy (Bristol, 2011, p. 11). Others claim that effective risk management is the foundation of good project management, and identifying, recording, and managing risk should be applied to all projects, no matter how small (Brindley, 2021, p. 82). Architects operate in a world of risk and are familiar with navigating and mitigating it for their businesses to survive. If that is the case, the shape of existing architectural practice defines acceptable risk limits. For practice to change, therefore, it is risk that must drive it.

Architectural practices use many tools in shaping their work to avoid liability. A proliferation of rules, procedures, and practices relating to the coordination and management of design and construction risks range from legal contracts to the specification of different actors' obligations and responsibilities (Imrie and Street, 2009c, p. 2563). Such risks are introduced by the diverse set of stakeholders and creative, technical, and practical issues (Brindley, 2021, p. 89). Many practitioners believe they live in a risk-proliferation culture, in which everything is seen as a potential risk that requires a strategy for mitigation (Imrie and Street, 2009c, p. 2563). This has led to function reorganisation, new responsibilities, and the possible widening of roles in practice (Bentley, 1999; Habraken, 2005; Imrie, 2007; RIBA, 2005). Architects adopt defensive and risk-averse behaviour as they become increasingly prone to lawsuits (Harmon, 2003). This has been described as legalistically constructed practice, in which compliance mechanisms play a more significant role (Imrie and Street, 2009c, p. 2561). The global and interdependent nature of risk regulation and management provides a clue as to the nature of these risks. They do not appear to be local, isolated, random acts, but a symptom of a distributed and organised process, but also – perhaps most worryingly – expected.

As a risk-averse organisation, the architectural practice sits within a broader framework to protect itself against risk. Researchers (Reinerth *et al.*, 2019, p. 242) observe frameworks for supply chain risk management, which typically consists of four steps: risk identification, risk assessment concerning likelihood and influence, risk handling, and risk monitoring (Hallikas *et al.*, 2004; Kaufmann *et al.*, 2016). Risk regulation in the design process is not typically based on law but is mostly informal (Morgan and Engwall, 2018), comprising related kinds of regulation and governance (Margali Sarfalti Larson, 1993). Architects work as part of a complex project management and command chain

subject to checks, constraints, and regulation (Habracken, 2005; Imrie and Street, 2009c, p. 2559). Helen Carter, senior consultant at Action Sustainability and the Supply Chain Sustainability School, notes, “Risk assessment has become a bit of a buzzword. People assume it’s all they need to do, rather than take action” (Crates, 2018a, p. 51). Practices must establish mechanisms to demonstrate their value as “good organisations” by identifying and mitigating what they term “risky objects”. The language of risk and its control become part of how architects describe their work and shape their practice (Imrie and Street, 2009c, p. 2570). Architectural practices are becoming ever more complex to respond to the increasingly complex nature of the regulatory environment.

There are many strategies for managing modern slavery risk. As we move from the more visible forms of risk, procurement organisations must re-tool and develop new competencies (Spekman and Davis, 2004). Management literature strategies for identifying social risks include supplier auditing, supply chain mapping and third-party standards and certifications (Liu *et al.*, 2022, p. 141). Businesses investigate and identify risks in their operations or supply chains and prioritise them for due diligence, such as desk-based research and supplier self-assessment (Esoimeme, 2020, p. 316). Enhanced due diligence is required for suppliers of greater risk due to their commercial activity, ownership structure, those in “higher-risk” nations or at greater risk by regulation (Esoimeme, 2020, p. 316). Following risk categorisation during due diligence, organisations should explore the supply chain where the most critical human rights risks exist (Esoimeme, 2020, p. 317). Despite the abundance of approaches, no mechanism is suggested by the RIBA; similarly, no clear method has emerged in academia.

6.5 The Duty of Care

The Member’s duty of care is defined by the RIBA and under English common law. Clause 3.1 of the RIBA Professional Services Contract (2020) describes the duty of care thus: “[i]n the performance of the Services and discharging all the obligations under the Contract, the Architect/Consultant will exercise the reasonable skill, care and diligence to be expected of an Architect/Consultant experienced in the provision of such services for projects of a similar size, nature and complexity to the Project” (RIBA, 2020b). This obligation may be extended to others through third-party rights or collateral warranties in the contract (Brindley, 2021, p. 71). A professional's duty of care requires prioritising the public interest with integrity, impartiality, and independence. Professional ethics requires that all professional work be undertaken competently and with relevant knowledge, awareness, reflection, scrutiny, evaluation, and imagination (Brindley, 2021, p. 177). Further, “There is a complex interplay between a professional's duty to themselves, their profession, their work colleagues, their clients, the users of their services and wider society and the environment” (Brindley, 2021, p. 177). This public interest responsibility stems from English common law, or tort. Three legal forms establish a duty of care for professionals:

- contract law (contract)
- common law (tort)
- criminal law (legislation) (Brindley, 2021, p. 71)

“In *Caparo Industries v Dickman* (*Caparo Industries PLC v Dickman*, 1990), the court identified a three-stage test to decide the presence of a duty of care:

- Was it reasonably foreseeable that the defendant’s conduct would cause damage to the claimant?
- Was there a sufficient relationship of ‘proximity’ between the claimant and the defendant, so the defendant should have considered the claimant when carrying out its actions?
- Overall, was the situation one in which the court considers it fair, just and reasonable that the law should impose a duty of a given scope on one party for the benefit of the other?” (Wevill, 2018, p. 36)

A professional architect's legal duty is to use “reasonable skill and care” in performing their work. An architect can make mistakes without committing negligence, but if they can demonstrate that a responsible body of members of their profession would have done the same thing, they will not be considered to have breached their duty (Wevill, 2018, p. 37).

6.6 Negligence

The term “negligent” might be described as a state in which risk management is designed to avoid in practice. Negligence is a breach of the state's duty of care and is sanctioned by the state under criminal law (Brindley, 2021, p. 71). Experts acknowledge that an architect is not expected to be a lawyer, but according to the decision of *BL Holdings v Wood* (*B.L. Holdings Ltd v Robert J. Wood & Partners*, 1978, p. 70), they must have a sufficient understanding of the essential legal concepts to “protect their client from damage and loss”. This includes understanding their limitations and recognising the need for expert advice (Wevill, 2018, p. 4). In practice, the tort of negligence is the most significant for the architect. A negligent act or omission (failure to act) violates a legal duty of care and causes harm to a claimant. For there to be negligence, there must be:

- A legal duty of care on the part of the defendant not to cause damage to the claimant
- A breach of that duty, and
- Damage suffered by the claimant due to the defendant’s breach of duty (Wevill, 2018, p. 33).

To be negligent in the duty of care can result in very high commercial and professional costs. Consequential damages may result from negligent performance or a breach of contract, which might accumulate so quickly that they exceed most professional liability insurance limits (Hayes, 2017, p. 1024). Fear and greed (Jansen and Nikiforov, 2016) are primary motivators for corporate boards in the direction of their chosen services and territories. Applying the doctrine of utilitarianism (Bentham, 1789), corporations assess the anticipated cost of damages claims relative to the cost of risk mitigation (Danley, 2005). Fear and greed are essential for survival, but too much of either can be harmful (Jansen and Nikiforov, 2016). In financial markets, greed for profits and fear of losses drive investors to make value assessments carefully, contributing to market efficiency (LeBaron *et al.*, 2017). Thus, the definition of negligence demarcates the boundaries of legally acceptable practice.

6.7 Employment Rights

The duty of care to which architects will be held legally accountable is based, at present, on the legal and contractual rights of individuals working on their projects. The MSA, referred to in the Code, is the law covering modern slavery in the UK. However, local laws governing the architect's duty of care and the interpretation of professional appointments outside the UK may vary from those within. Some laws, such as those imposing strict liability, are especially onerous (Wevill, 2018, p. 49). Practitioners may also be held accountable to global labour rights or private regulatory requirements under their contracts. Research has found that firms might be compelled to adhere to the International Labour Organization (ILO) treaties and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, being included in most CSR guidelines, such as the UN Global Compact and the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (Egels-Zandén, 2017, p. 516). These define global labour rights and working conditions, such as agreements on collective bargaining and freedom of association, equal employment opportunities, minimum wages, or safe and sanitary working conditions (Bartley and Egels-Zandén, 2015, p. 25). Purchasing companies should strive to preserve these standards across the value chain (Egels-Zandén, 2017, p. 516). Labour standards can be investigated using the *de jure* index. This is based on collective labour rights and deducts points for proven labour abuses, the inadequate rule of law, and limitations on associational or organisational rights (Stallings, 2010, p. 135). Several private regulatory systems also aim to address worker rights, like SA8000, the Business Social Compliance Initiative (BSCI), Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International, and the Fair Wear Foundation (Egels-Zandén, 2017, p. 516).

6.8 Due Diligence

In recent years, there has been a growing worldwide recognition that existing tools with a more voluntary nature are insufficient to encourage responsible business behaviour, leading to mandatory Human Rights Due Diligence legislation (mHRDD). At the start of this legislative wave, mandatory disclosure measures focusing on disclosure were implemented, such as the California Transparency in Supply Chain Act of 2010, the MSA of 2015, and the Non-financial Reporting Directive of 2014. However, the French Corporate Duty of Vigilance Law of 2017 was a watershed moment: it instituted legal ramifications for corporations that fail to satisfy their commitments (Lafarre and Rombouts, 2022, p. 3). The French Corporate Duty of Vigilance Law has been found to have a beneficial effect in motivating laggards to adopt a more sustainable business model that protects employees' and other human rights (Lafarre and Rombouts, 2022, p. 21).

The United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights set the key criteria for evaluating corporate accountability for human rights abuses based on due diligence. This states that companies must protect human rights beyond their actions, including the effects of their business relationships on their operations, products, or services. This requires enterprises to expand beyond the boundaries of the conventionally defined organisation and establish human rights due diligence as a vehicle for operationalising their responsibility (Nolan and Bott, 2018, p. 51). However, two distinct concepts of due diligence are 1, managing business risks and 2, the standard of conduct necessary to discharge an obligation. This ambiguity raises questions about the scope of companies' obligations to

uphold human rights and how they connect to their corresponding obligations to offer remedies when they violate them (Bonnitcha and McCorquodale, 2017, p. 899). These definitions are outlined below.

1. Due Diligence as a Business Process

Due diligence is a process of investigation conducted by a business to identify and manage commercial risks. The primary purpose is to confirm facts, data and representations in a commercial transaction to determine the value, price and risk of such transactions, including the risk of litigation (Bonnitcha and McCorquodale, 2017, p. 901). Practitioners have a range of options to conduct due diligence in practice. Figure 15 illustrates an example of procurement guidance for combatting modern slavery. Alternatively, human rights impact assessments (HRIAs) analyse present or anticipated human rights risks related to a company's commercial operations and supply chain (Smit *et al.*, 2020, p. 951). Questionnaires, database searches, and other types of desktop research are used by businesses to learn more about a supplier's possible human rights impacts. They also include human rights in tender documents, requiring tenderers to demonstrate how to implement HRDD. This screening can be escalated into more detailed investigations if a supplier, country, region, or sector presents serious human rights concerns (Smit *et al.*, 2020, p. 952). HRDD practices include responsible contractual provisions, supplier codes and training, social auditing, proactive MSIs, audits, investigations, training and grievance mechanisms, and supply chain mapping (Smit *et al.*, 2020, p. 968). Due diligence must always be specific to a particular project and may require different techniques or a combination based on the risks presented.

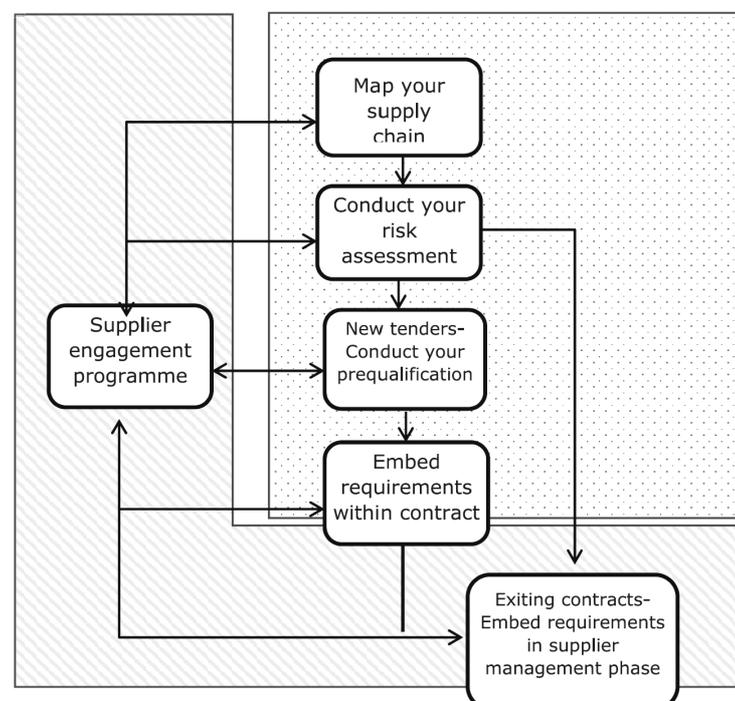


Figure 15 Procurement guidance for combatting modern slavery, adapted from Supply Chain Sustainability School (2016) (Trautrimis *et al.*, 2020, p. 286)

Note: The dotted area covers the procurement due diligence process; the lined area covers supplier management, which requires continued cooperation with suppliers.

2. Due Diligence as a Standard of Conduct

The concept of due diligence is rooted in Roman law, which held that a person was liable for accidental harm caused to others if they failed to meet the standard of conduct expected of a *diligens* (or bonus) *paterfamilias*. This standard was objective and fact-specific, which Justinian expanded in the 6th century AD to assert that an individual may be liable for harm where “what should have been foreseen by a diligent man was not foreseen” (Bonnitcha and McCorquodale, 2017, p. 902). The standard of *diligens paterfamilias* influenced the development of the tort of negligence in many legal systems. It was incorporated into Roman-Dutch tort law as the relevant standard of conduct and became the basis for the “reasonable man” test in the English law of negligence. Due diligence is understood as a standard of conduct, and negligence is closely related, the opposite of negligence being diligence (Bonnitcha and McCorquodale, 2017, p. 903).

6.9 Defining Due Diligence

In this section, I present primary data in response to Research Sub-Question A: Is the Code fit for purpose?

The RIBA Code of Professional Conduct 5.1 requires that “Members shall comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery”. I will conduct due diligence of this requirement to identify the global, regional, and domestic laws applicable to its Membership.

Social practice theory suggests that practices, such as those of RIBA Members, are critical to working toward a shared purpose in spatially and temporally distributed locations and belonging to and maintaining the group identity (Hui *et al.*, 2016, p. 176). A practice theory perspective emphasises the importance of examining common practices as these offer multiple learning opportunities (Reich *et al.*, 2015, pp. 19–20). This approach provides a theoretical frame for ‘Defining Due Diligence’ using a normative practice of the architectural practitioner. The findings of this part of the research led to the shift in methods, from compliance to care.

6.9.1 Defining Due Diligence; A Diagram of the Code’s Mandated Responsibilities in Modern Slavery Policy for RIBA Members

In conducting due diligence of the Code’s mandated responsibilities, my instinct to make sense of such complexity was to create a diagram. A diagram of due diligence would enable me to explore and define the requirements of the Code for further analysis. Using publicly available data on the geographical location of RIBA Members, I could define the domestic legal jurisdictions of Membership and, thus, their applicable legislation. Using the country of residence of Members who consented to reveal this information in the online directory [RIBA Membership](#), 15,604 from approximately 28,000 current RIBA Members’ legal codes were plotted. It was hoped that situating these Members’ legal jurisdictions, extending across 120 countries would provide a framework for determining the standard of care necessary for compliance.

What this diagram showed was that Members are subject to a complex and dynamic regulatory environment ranging from hard to soft, global to local, involving human rights, labour rights, and social and economic policy. It revealed that policy gaps and divergence across and within jurisdictions are the norm throughout the global value chain. The data indicated that International Members are situated in states that are party to various international obligations, legislative provisions and regional courts. Furthermore, states also use multiple legal systems (Civil, Religious, Mixed, and Common), presenting challenges to legal territory and legitimacy. While the diagram captured forms of governance across some jurisdictions and protected some, it failed to account for the most vulnerable. Despite being amongst us, “the workers who are exploited” exist between the gaps in law and beyond the limits of contracts. This is due to the spatialised, obscure, entangled lawscape that flows across jurisdiction and territory throughout the global value chain.

Creating the diagram of due diligence was intended to make the complexity of a seemingly straightforward obligation visible. During this process, I realised that not only would an approach of compliance fail to satisfy the Code’s intent, but it might be applied as a tool to perpetuate the problem I was hoping to address (see [Chapter 1.6](#) and [Chapter 3.8](#)). The diagram was, therefore, abandoned, and the lens of compliance was set aside. At this moment in the project, it was decided that a new approach would be required (see [Chapter 6.9.3](#)), which also signified a shift in the project’s mode of submission from “by practice” to “by thesis”. The findings of this exercise formed the basis for responding to Research Sub-Question A, and in doing so, initiated a shift in the framing of the project, from compliance to care.

The analysis and presentation of the diagram of due diligence was developed in collaboration with Richard Priest, an architectural software engineer, as illustrated in Figure 16. An illustration depicting the extent and complexity of this database can be found below, which can be explored interactively, in part, online here [Ethicum - Research](#). It is important to note my decision to limit the data presented of this research to prevent its use for any other purpose than it was intended.

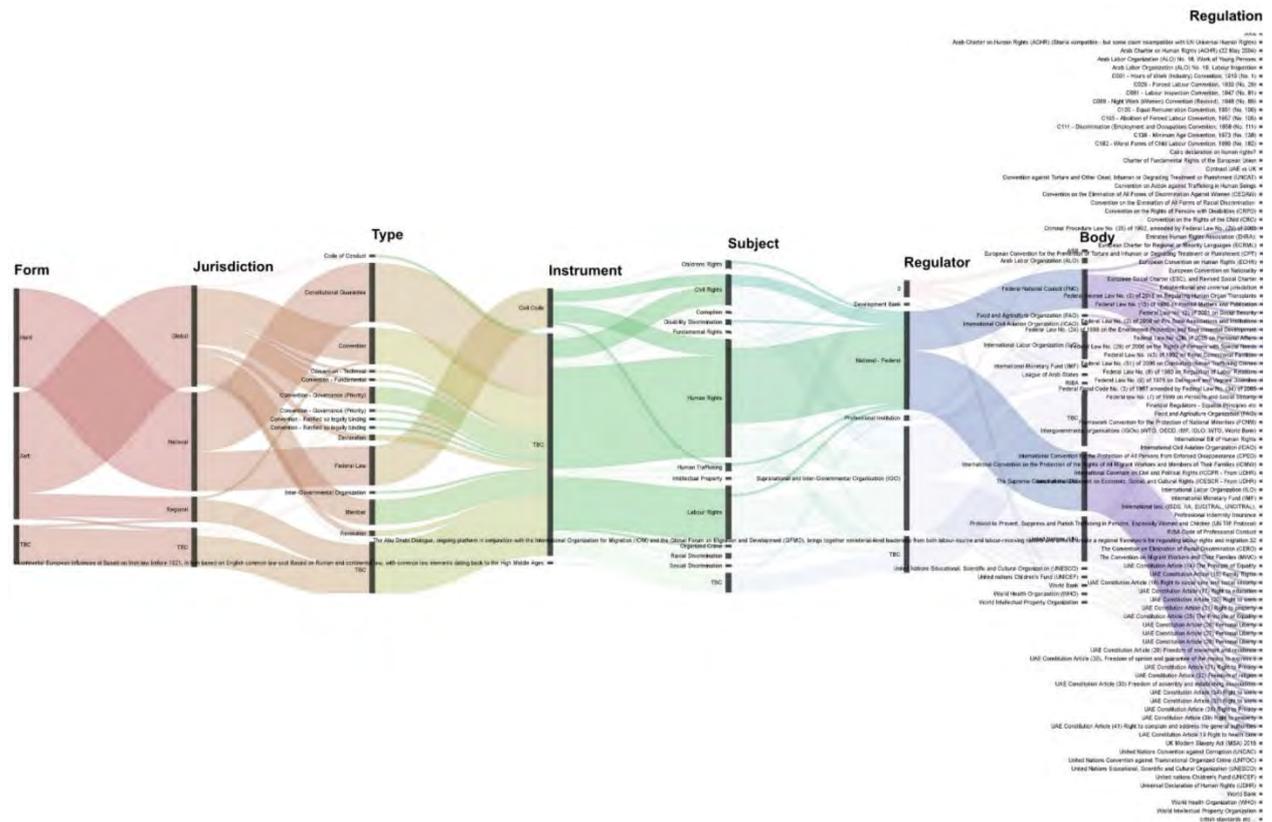


Figure 16 Diagram of due diligence in modern slavery policy for RIBA Members (Author and Richard Priest)

6.9.2 Analysis: Is the Code Fit for Purpose?

The RIBA Code of Professional Conduct 5.1 requires that “Members shall comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery”. To respond to this, I have used the primary data from my diagram of due diligence (6.9.1) as a base to understand their mandated responsibilities. In addition to its value in revealing the extent and complexity of this regulation, this data was used to identify areas for further analysis, which is summarised in Boxes 1 to 6.

In conclusion, I argue that the requirement to “[...] comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery” is:

a. Inadequate. The majority of RIBA Chartered Practices are not required to publish a Slavery and Human Trafficking Statement under the MSA; of those that do, only two comply with their minimum requirements (See Box 1). Further, the majority of Members are situated in States without criminal law provisions for all practices of human exploitation (See Box 2).

Box 1.

Of 3,330 RIBA Chartered Practices, only 12 (0.003%) are required to publish a Slavery and Human Trafficking Statement under the MSA. Of these 12 RIBA Chartered Practices, only 2 (16.66%) comply with their minimum requirements. Section 54 of the MSA requires commercial organisations with a turnover above £36 million to publish a yearly Transparency In Supply Chains (TISC) statement. This TISC statement discloses activities undertaken to eliminate modern slavery in the enterprise's supply chains.

Source: Research was conducted using financial data collected from the AJ100 [AJ100 \(architectsjournal.co.uk\)](http://architectsjournal.co.uk) to ascertain turnover (2019 data) and the Modern Slavery Registry website <https://www.modernslaveryregistry.org/> to determine compliance (2020 data).

Box 2.

In reviewing the adequacy of domestic legal provisions to prevent modern slavery, I found that the overwhelming majority of RIBA Members are situated in states without criminal law provisions for all practices of human exploitation.

- 99.63% of RIBA Members are situated in states without criminal law provisions for all five practices of human exploitation (15,547/15,604 Members; practices include slavery, servitude, practices similar to slavery, forced labour, human trafficking)
- 20.5% of International Members are situated in states where Forced or Compulsory Labour is not illegal (799/15,604 Members)
- 15.1% of International Members are situated in states where Slavery and the Slave Trade is not illegal (589/15,604 Members)

Source: Research conducted using data published in the RIBA Membership <https://members.architecture.com/directory/default.asp?dir=3> website to ascertain domestic jurisdiction and the Antislavery in Domestic Legislation Database <https://antislaverylaw.ac.uk/> to determine domestic legal provisions in preventing modern slavery.

b. Extensive. It was found that the domestic jurisdictions of all Members establish a framework of 417 individual legal codes (See Box 3).

Box 3.

To quantify the extent of the requirements imposed by the Code, I found that the domestic jurisdictions of all RIBA Members establish a framework of 417 individual legal codes.

Source: Research conducted using data published in the RIBA Membership <https://members.architecture.com/directory/default.asp?dir=3> website to ascertain domestic jurisdiction and the Antislavery in Domestic Legislation Database <https://antislaverylaw.ac.uk/> to determine domestic legal provisions in preventing modern slavery.

c. **Complex.** As a result of their domestic jurisdiction, approximately 25% of Members are directly subject to non-UK legislation. This does not include practitioners working internationally, which accounts for 17% of all Chartered Practice revenue (See Box 4).

Box 4.

To define “all applicable legislation” required by the Code, it was first necessary to identify the domestic jurisdictions of RIBA Members. Due to their domestic jurisdiction, I found that approximately 25% of RIBA Members are directly subject to non-UK legislation. This does not include practitioners working internationally, which accounts for 17% of all Chartered Practice revenue. A total of 15,604 Members who have provided consent to disclose their details on the RIBA online directory, with the country of residence anonymously extracted to create a profile of the Member demographic. In situating these legal jurisdictions, a profile of the regulatory environment enabled further analysis.

UK based	11,710 Members	75.05%
Non-UK based	3,894 Members	24.95%

Figure 17 Summary of RIBA Membership country of residence (domestic jurisdiction)

d. **Inconsistent.** Issues of policy coherence are produced as States are party to various international obligations, subject to various legislative provisions and regional courts (See Box 5).

Box 5.

Through their domestic jurisdictions, Members are subject to various international obligations, legislative provisions and regional courts. In addition, states use multiple legal systems (Civil, Religious, Mixed, and Common), presenting challenges to territory and legitimacy.

e. **Lacking protection for the most vulnerable.** The primary export destinations (highest revenue) for British architectural services are regions with the weakest legislative provisions and commitments to international obligations in modern slavery (See Box 6).

Box 6.

In measuring the adequacy of legislation to protect the most vulnerable, my findings demonstrate that the primary export destinations for British architectural services are regions with the weakest legislative provisions and commitments to international obligations regarding modern slavery. Further, the primary export destinations for British architectural services are countries most vulnerable to modern slavery. Conversely, the least vulnerable countries represent the lowest export revenue. The RIBA states that 38% of Chartered Practice international revenue comes from projects in the Middle East, 17% from Asia, and 17% from the EU (RIBA, 2017a, p. 27).

Creative Industries Group	Exports (£m)							
	USA	Germany	France	Japan	China	UAE	India	Industry total
Architecture	64.9	3.3	6.3	0.2	58.5	19.5	4.6	446.2

Notes: 1. Data are in current prices and therefore have not been adjusted for inflation. 2. Some data has been suppressed due to disclosure restrictions.

Figure 18 Extract from Table 3: Exports of Services for UK Creative Industries by country and Creative Industries Group, 2014 (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2016, p. 12)

Vulnerability to Modern Slavery	115.88	10.44	15.25	13.81	50.65	26.80	55.49	
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Note: The Global Slavery Index was designed to shed light on the extent of modern slavery and level of vulnerability to modern slavery for 160 countries, as well as the actions taken by 176 governments to address these crimes and human rights violations. The methodology for this data can be found here [Methodology | Walk Free](#).

Figure 19 Global Slavery Index vulnerability to modern slavery (Walk Free, 2018)

f. **Does not address issues of cultural relativism.** The legalist approach to governance does not allow for cultural variation, raising questions of legitimacy for members within non-Eurocentric jurisdictions.

g. **Ineffective.** Reliance on legislation is insufficient to prevent modern slavery, as is the status quo.

h. **Unverifiable.** Demonstrating compliance with “all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery” for all projects and supply chains is unfeasible.

i. **Obfuscates the roles of law and ethics.** The objective of governing practice through a quasi-legal code may cause confusion in practice.

j. **Lacks precision.** Governance through legislative compliance requires precision and practical guidance to ensure the meaning is not lost through abstraction.

It is, therefore, rendered ineffective in tackling modern slavery in Members' project supply chains.

6.9.3 Compliance: The Need for An Alternative Frame

In attending to the rights of the individual, I endeavoured to capture laws at an increasing scale within my diagram of due diligence (6.9.1). This extended from the UK-based practitioner's normative position across the global jurisdictions where RIBA Members are situated. However, during this process, this work took on another dimension. It became evident that some laws could not be captured using my existing methods. What was revealed was a significant shift in the ethical landscape, from horizontal to vertical structures of morality (Goodenough, 2001), non-foundational to foundational beliefs, secular to religious texts, and from principles of rights to those of duty. However, perhaps the most significant is the contrasting jurisdictions in which these laws are manifest, one intrinsically tied to the land and the other to the self.

Conclusion

In Chapter 6, I provided an overview of governance, regulation, and due diligence. Moving into professional services, I used contract theory to explain the roles and responsibilities of the architect in practice, followed by the management of risk. I then considered the duty of care and negligence in English common law, employment rights and due diligence to establish a rigorous approach to defining due diligence.

To conduct due diligence of the Code's mandated responsibilities, my instinct to make sense of such complexity was to create a diagram. It was hoped that this would enable me to explore and define the complex requirements of the Code. In conclusion, I found that compliance with the Code significantly challenges the normative procedures of British domestic practice. Further, Members are especially vulnerable to risk in jurisdictions outside the UK, either in extraterritorial practice or by using global value chains in their projects. This investigation exposed the limitations of the Code and, more generally, of compliance.

Upon realising its shortcomings, I reflected on my practice and sought to understand whether an alternative approach might go further in achieving the Code's intent. This critical reflection was a form of autoethnographic research, the conclusions of which were a number of observations central to the project's development. I summarise these observations below.

1. The Code is not fit for purpose (see [Chapter 6.9.2](#)).
2. My normative approach of compliance would be ineffective in achieving the Code's intent.
3. An alternative frame would be required to tackle complex social issues such as modern slavery in professional practice (see [Chapter 6.9.3](#)).

Chapter 7 - Primary Data: Measuring Skill and Care

Introduction

In this Chapter, I present the primary data gathered through the RIBA Member Survey and Member Interviews in response to Research Sub-Questions B, C and D. Each section begins by outlining the method used and offers the analysis and findings in response to these. In doing so, I hope to identify the prevalence of modern slavery risk in Member's project supply chains, their standard of skill and care, preparedness, and how such risks might be managed effectively.

7.1 Member Survey

7.1.1 Survey Method

Conducting email surveys as a method for academic research has long been established (Schaefer and Dillman, 1998; Sheehan and Hoy, 2006; Weible and Wallace, 1998). Researchers suggest self-administered surveys are a good way to explore sensitive topics as respondents do not need to admit socially undesirable or negatively valued behaviours directly to an interviewer (Fowler, 2014, p. 78). This survey was designed to gather evidence in response to Research Sub-Question B: What is the standard of skill and care of the average Member in complying with the Code? The survey has been designed to align with the specific requirements of the Code and its cited legislation. The structure of the survey is based on Principle 3, Component 5.1, "Members shall comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery", and 5.3, that they "[s]hall exercise reasonable skill and care to use supply chains which are free from Modern Slavery), and includes the reporting requirements of [the MSA and its guidance](#). To increase the reliability of answers, the German Federal Foreign Office Questionnaire ([Fragebogen zum Monitoring des Nationalen Aktionsplans Wirtschaft und Menschenrechte 2016-2020](#)) for monitoring the National Action Plan for Business and Human Rights 2016-2020 (QMNAPBHP) was used as a precedent for the survey structure, consistency in reporting and analysis. Research suggests that self-administered questionnaires should generally be closed, allowing easy response and maximizing returns through comparability, clarity and consistency (Fowler, 2014, p. 76). Therefore, the survey consisted of 30 questions and used the Likert scale of agreement, importance, and quality to measure attitudes.

7.1.2 Survey Data Analysis Method

The methodology for the statistical analysis of the survey results is descriptive analysis supported with bar charts to visualise results (see [Appendix 1c](#) for supporting data). The analysis includes frequency distribution, mean, median, minimum, and maximum value range and standard deviation. The Survey Questions are listed in full in [Appendix 1a](#), and the survey data was structured in a way that responds to the Research Questions as set out in [Appendix 1b](#). A

cross-tabulation analysis was conducted for all responses to the Survey Questions, which were compared with the findings of the interrogable questions (Survey Questions 23 to 33). Where the data indicated a significant variation in response across a particular variable, these have been noted in [Appendix 1d](#). As a self-selecting survey, consideration has been made to potential bias in interpreting results, and it is naturally subject to limitations, as described in [Chapter 0.8.1.3](#).

Survey Sample and Response Rate

A survey of RIBA Members was conducted in 2021 to measure the standard of skill and care of their modern slavery requirements under their Code of Professional Conduct. A total of 1,153 Members responded to the survey, representing 4% of approximately 28,000 current RIBA Chartered Members. Of the 1,153 responses, 327 were eliminated due to incomplete submission. Therefore, a sample of 826 complete and partially complete responses was retained for analysis, giving a rate of complete or partially complete survey responses of 71.6%. The survey was conducted in two tranches. Tranche 1 – Director and Practice Principal, 244 complete or partially complete. 332 respondents to 3,615 sent emails – 88 incomplete; Tranche 2 – Individual Members, 582 complete or partially complete. 821 respondents from 18,317 delivered emails (19,023 – 338 opted out – 368 bounced – 239 incomplete). The Director/ Non-Director split was as follows: 221 of these Individual Members also identified as Director and Practice Principal (Salaried Partner/Director 56 + Partner/Director/Sole Principal 165); Tranche 2 Directors 221 + Tranche 1 Directors 244 = 465 Directors, 465 Directors / 826 Total = 56.3% Respondents identified as Director and Practice Principal.

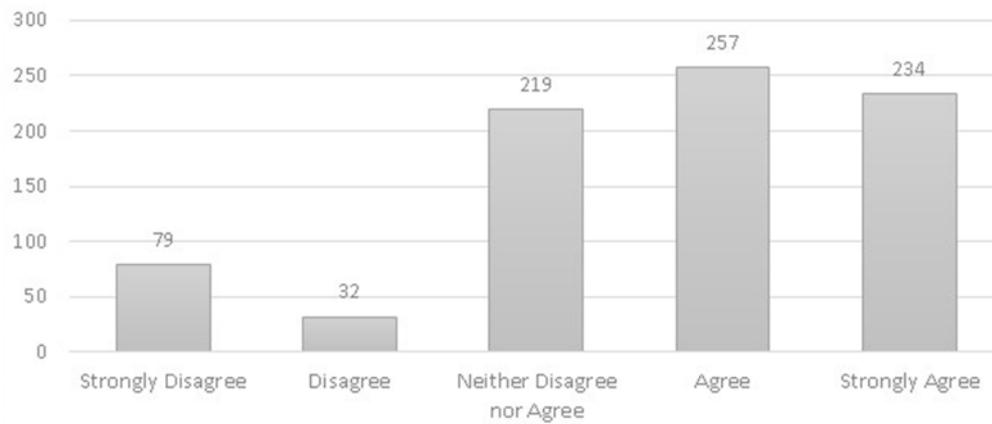
7.1.3 Validation of Survey Results

In gauging the reliability of this data, a response rate of 4% might be considered low in some research contexts. However, a response rate alone is not a reliable indicator of sample quality (Holtom *et al.*, 2022). According to measurement theory, the validity of such results is not a dichotomous variable; data is not valid or invalid, but to what degree is it valid or invalid (Aguinis *et al.*, 2001). There are considerable factors that affect the response rate of such surveys, for example, the subject of the survey and its relevance, the nature of the target demographic, and incentives for completing a survey. It is recognised that e-mailed or web based surveys have a lower response rate than hard copy surveys (Fan *et al.*, 2001). Data from Mailchimp, the survey provider, claims an average 22.51% open rate in their email marketing statistics and benchmarks for architecture and the construction industry. The click rate, or the percentage of recipients that opened messages, is 2.51% (“Mailchimp Email Marketing Statistics and Benchmarks”, 2024). Of this figure, a percentage will decide not to complete the survey or submit an incomplete response. On this basis, 4% is a higher-than-average response. Alternatively, we might measure the response rate against comparable RIBA Member surveys, which the Head of Economic Research and Analysis noted at the RIBA as particularly high. The sample size obtained in this research surpasses that regularly used by the RIBA, particularly the documents central to this research, as discussed in [Chapter 5.10](#). The [RIBA Decade of Action Report](#) was based on 613 responses to its Member survey (RIBA, 2020a). The [RIBA Ethics and Sustainable Development Commission Report](#) was based on a sample of 335 responses, a figure which it noted was “similar to a recent survey undertaken

by the ICE (with circa 90,000 members))”(RIBA, 2018a). Whilst generalisations of the wider Membership should not be overstated, these results provide a strong ethnographic dataset in a challenging area of practice, and establishes a baseline for future research.

7.1.4 Survey Data Analysis

Survey Question 2. Modern Slavery is important to my company and the work I do.



Mean = 3.65

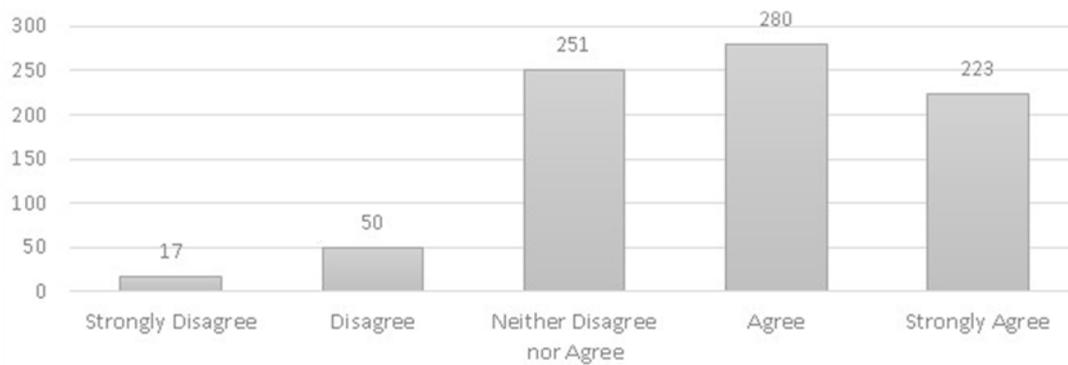
Median = 4

Minimum = 1

Maximum = 5

Standard Deviation = 1.210

The frequency distribution (59.4% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value ($M=3.65$) indicate that respondents are of the view that modern slavery is important to their company and the work they do. 40.6% of respondents either strongly disagree (9.6%), disagree (3.9%), neither agree nor disagree (26.5%).

Survey Question 3. I am confident that the procedures in my projects are effective in preventing modern slavery

Mean = 3.78

Median = 4

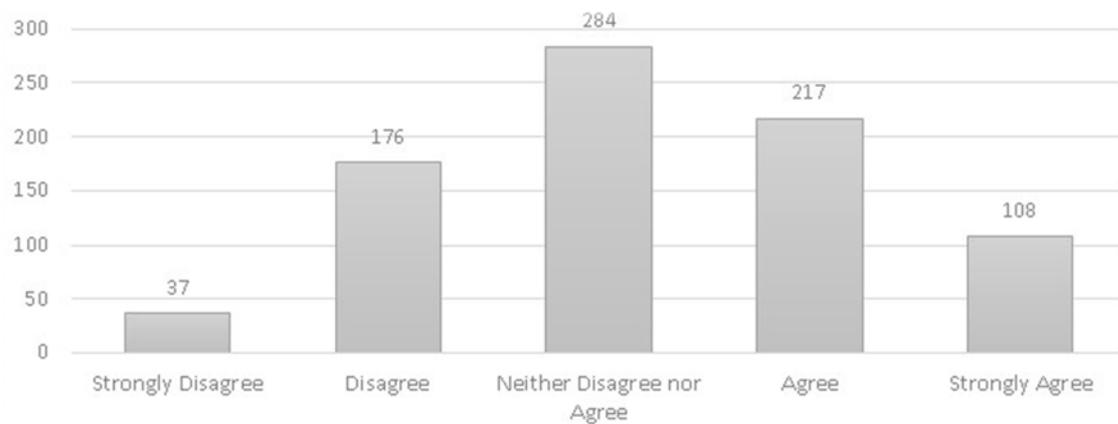
Minimum = 1

Maximum = 5

Standard Deviation = 0.98

The frequency distribution (64.3% agree, strongly agree) and mean value (M=3.78) indicate that respondents are confident that the procedures in their projects effectively prevent modern slavery.

Survey Question 4. I am confident in my abilities to ensure modern slavery does not exist in my project supply chains.



Mean = 3.22

Median = 3

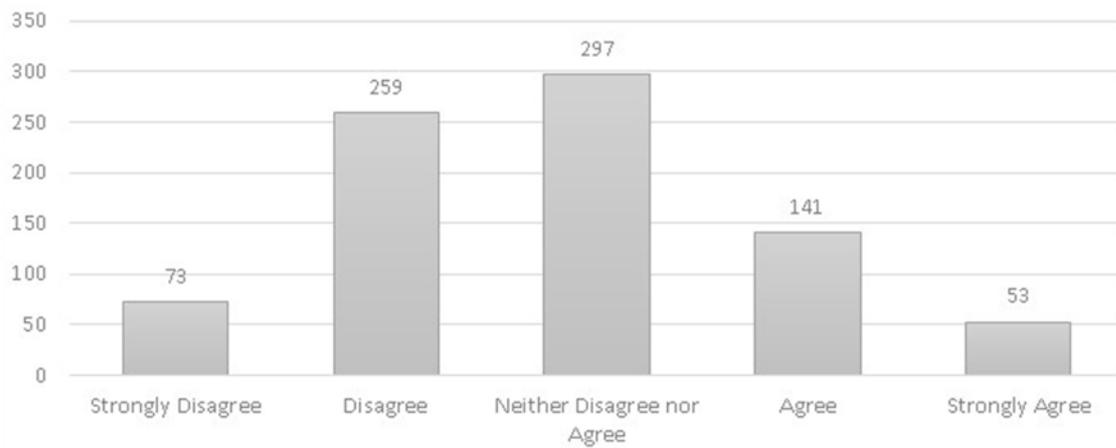
Minimum = 1

Maximum = 5

Standard Deviation = 1.07

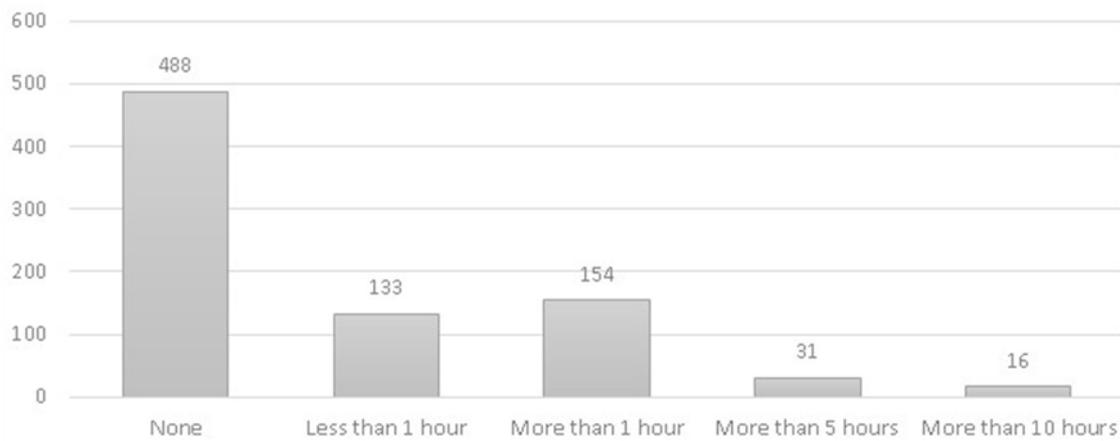
The frequency distribution (39.4% agree, strongly agree) and mean value (M=3.33) indicate that respondents are confident in their abilities to ensure modern slavery does not exist in their project supply chains.

Survey Question 5. I am happy with the amount of training I have received in the implementation of modern slavery diligence.



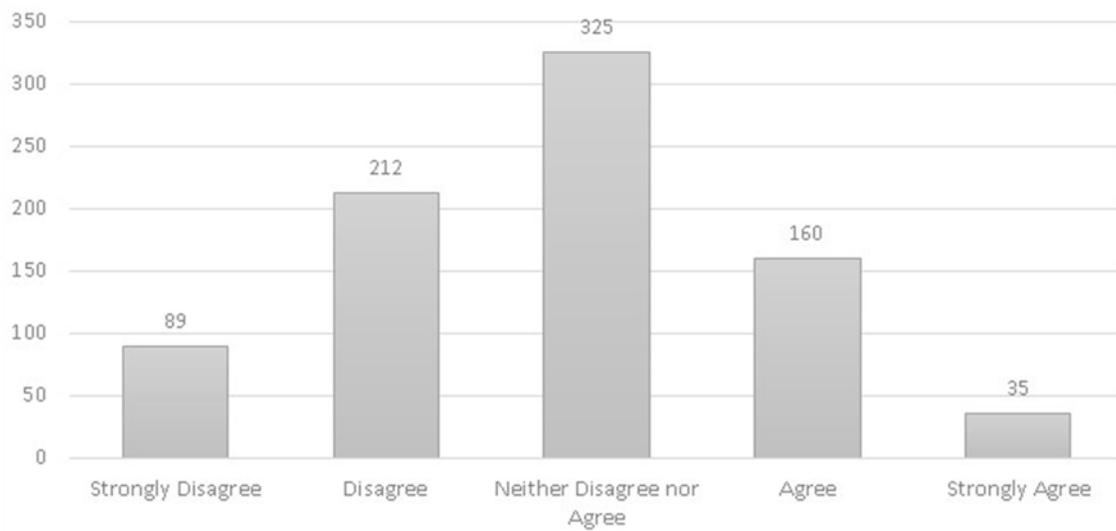
Mean = 2.81
Median = 3
Minimum = 1
Maximum = 5
Standard Deviation = 1.0

The frequency distribution (23.5% agree, strongly agree) and mean value (M=2.81) indicate dissatisfaction with the training received in implementing modern slavery diligence.

Survey Question 6. How much training have you received in the implementation of modern slavery diligence?

Mean = 1.73
Median = 1
Minimum = 1
Maximum = 5
Standard Deviation = 1.02

The frequency distribution (59.1%) indicates that most respondents have received no training in implementing modern slavery diligence, and the mean value (M=1.73) indicates the respondent's average training to be less than 1 hour.

Survey Question 7. I have sought to raise awareness of the issues of modern slavery in construction.

Mean=2.8

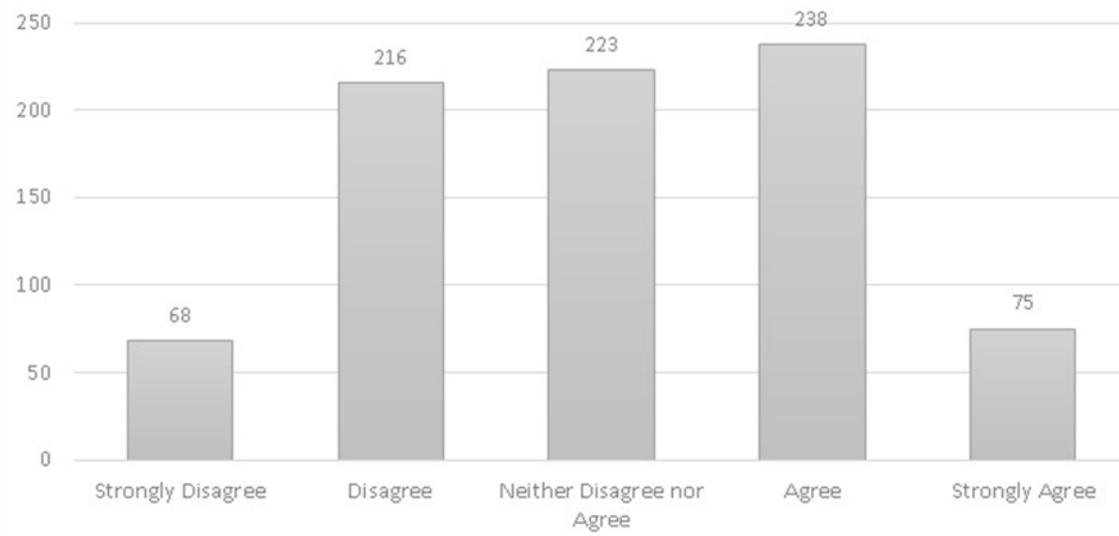
Median=3

Minimum=1

Maximum=5

Standard Deviation=1.01

The frequency distribution (36.5% disagree, strongly disagree) and the mean value (M=2.8) indicate that respondents have not sought to raise awareness of the issues of Modern Slavery in construction.

Survey Question 8. I feel prepared to tackle the eradication of modern slavery in construction supply chains.

Mean = 3.04

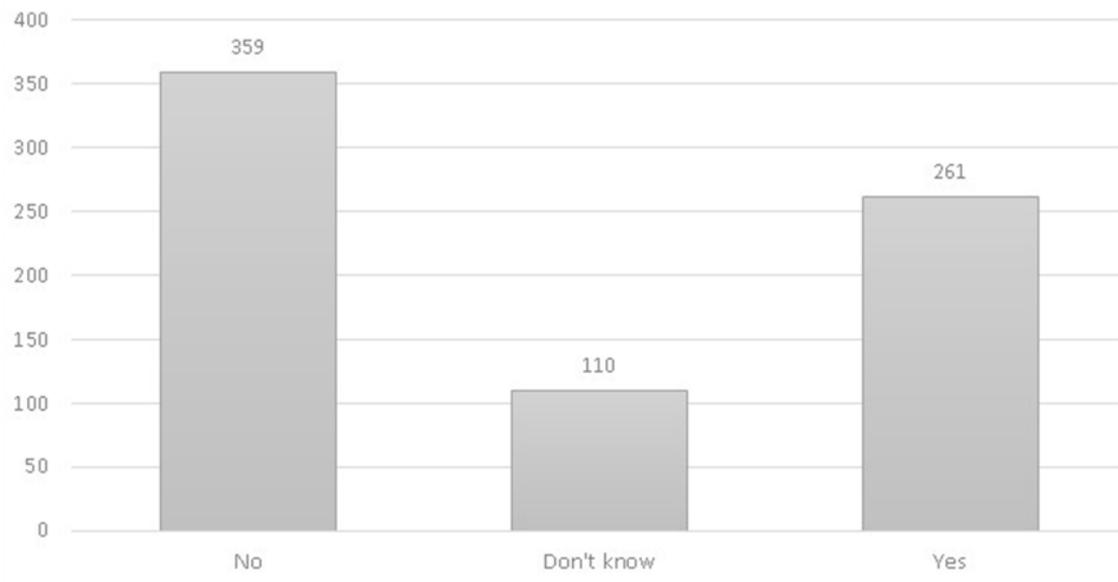
Median = 3

Minimum = 1

Maximum = 5

Standard Deviation = 1.12

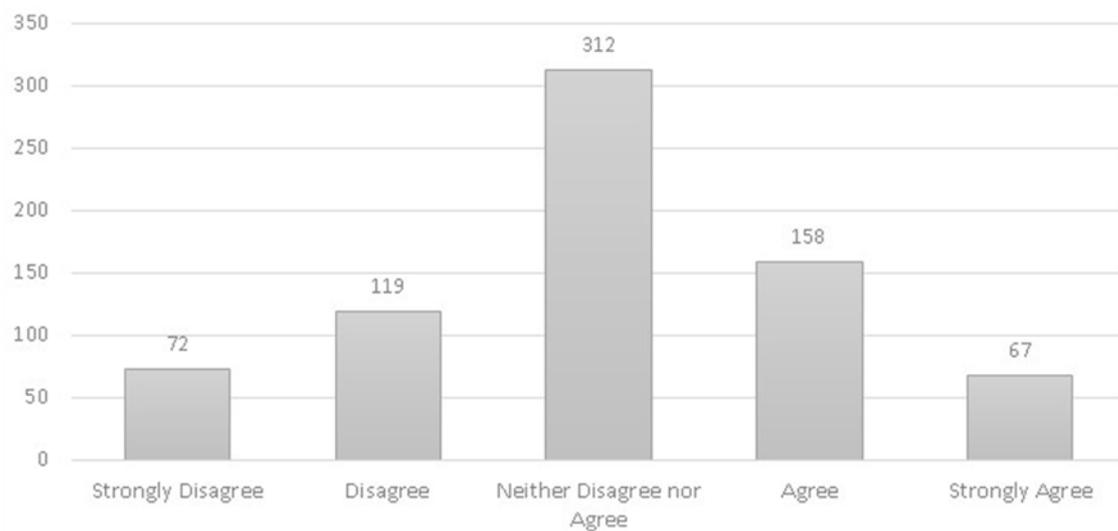
The frequency distribution (37.9% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value ($M=3.04$) indicate that respondents do not indicate strongly whether they feel prepared to tackle eradicating modern slavery in construction supply chains.

Survey Question 9. My company has a Modern Slavery policy statement.

Standard Deviation = 0.91

The frequency distribution (64.2% no, don't know) indicates the majority of respondents state that their company has no modern slavery policy statement or do not know if one is available.

Survey Question 10. I have a good understanding of my company's Modern Slavery policy statement and its requirements in relation to my projects.



Mean = 3.04

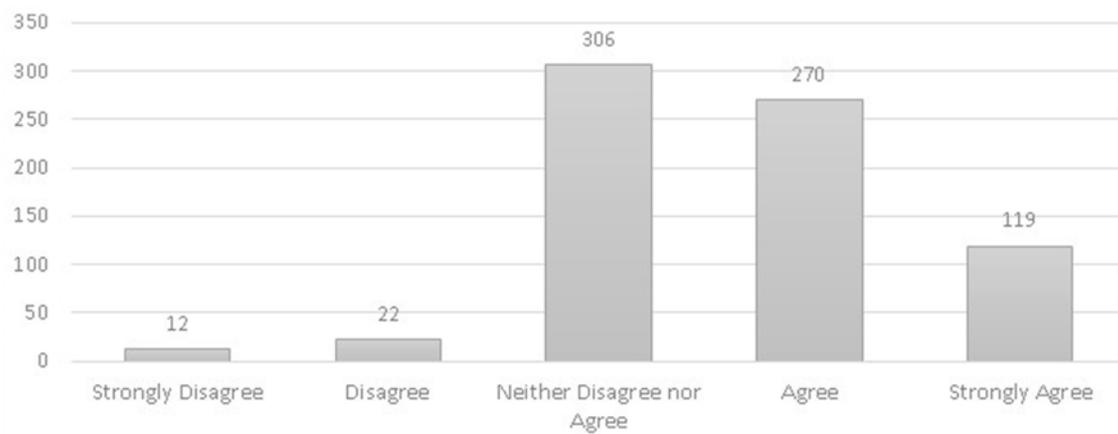
Median = 3

Minimum = 1

Maximum = 5

Standard Deviation = 1.07

The frequency distribution (27.2% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value (M=3.04) indicate that respondents do not indicate strongly whether they have a good understanding of their company's Modern Slavery policy statement and its requirements in relation to their projects.

Survey Question 11. I comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery.

Mean = 3.63

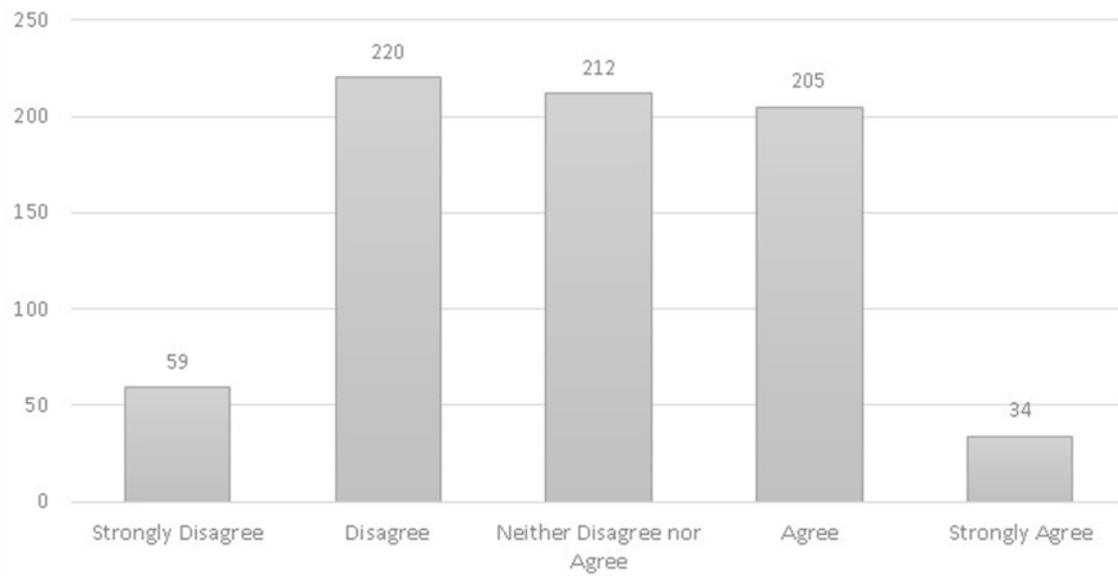
Median = 4

Minimum = 1

Maximum = 5

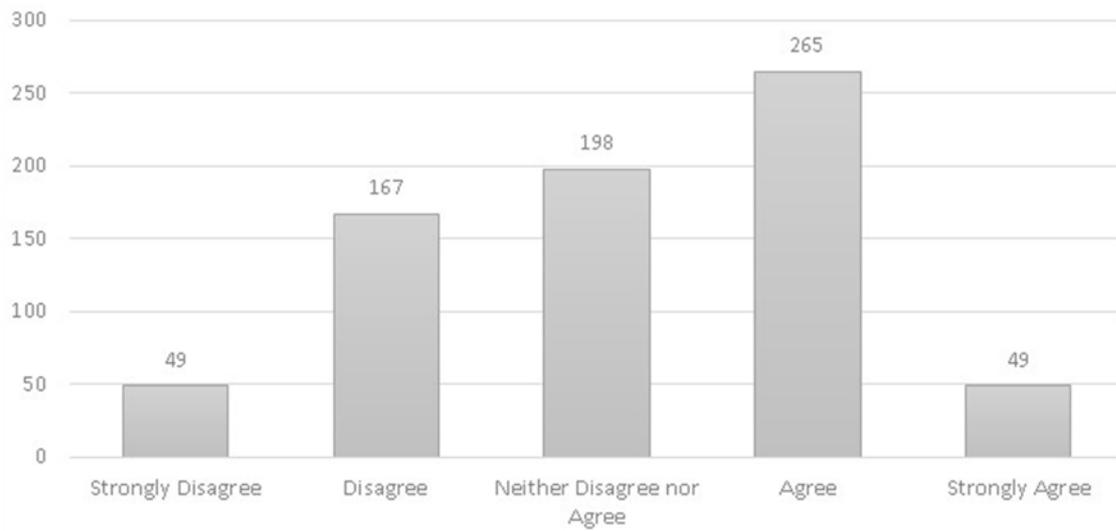
Standard Deviation = 0.85

The frequency distribution (46.8% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value (M=3.63) indicate that respondents believe they comply with all applicable legislation concerning modern slavery.

Survey Question 12. I am familiar with the provisions of the MSA.

Mean = 2.91
Median = 3
Minimum = 1
Maximum = 5
Standard Deviation = 1.04

The frequency distribution (28.9% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value ($M=2.91$) indicate that respondents do not indicate strongly whether they are familiar with the provisions of the MSA.

Survey Question 13. I am aware of the modern slavery legislation in the countries in which I practise.

Mean = 3.13

Median = 3

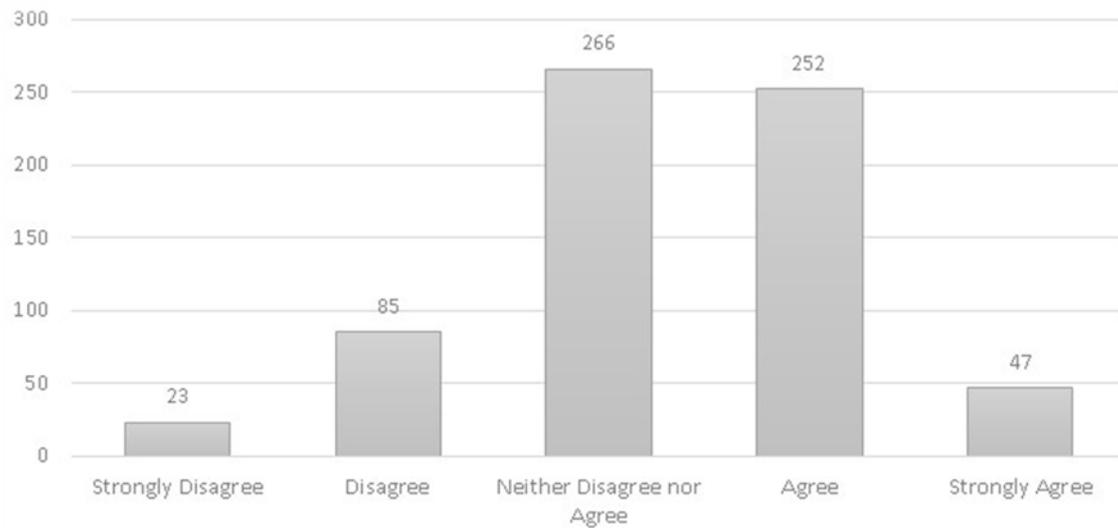
Minimum = 1

Maximum = 5

Standard Deviation = 1.06

The frequency distribution (38.0% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value (M=3.13) indicate that respondents believe that they are aware of the modern slavery legislation in the countries in which they practise.

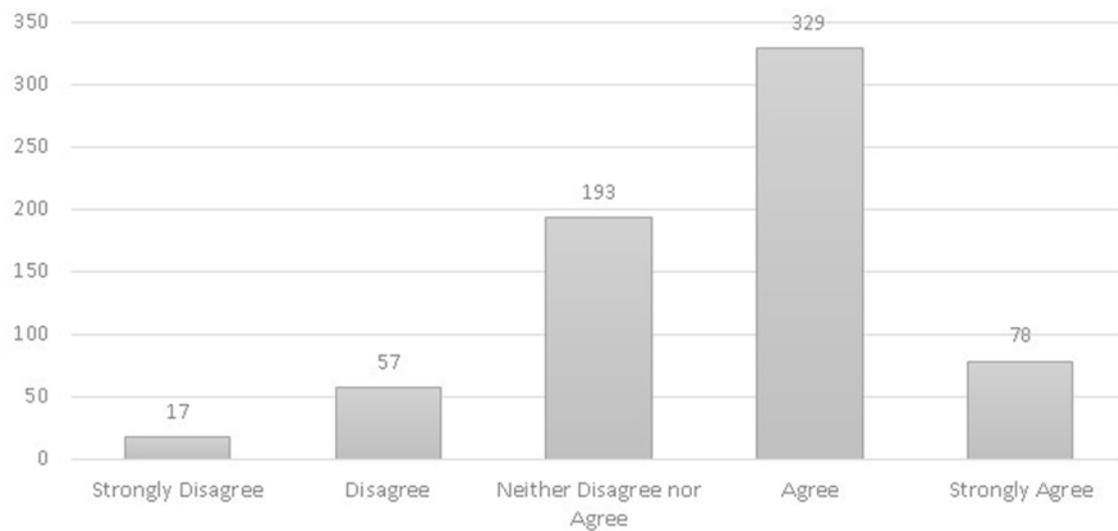
Survey Question 14. I exercise reasonable skill and care to use materials that are free from modern slavery in my projects, including the labour used in their extraction, manufacture and production.



Mean = 3.32
Median = 3
Minimum = 1
Maximum = 5
Standard Deviation = 0.90

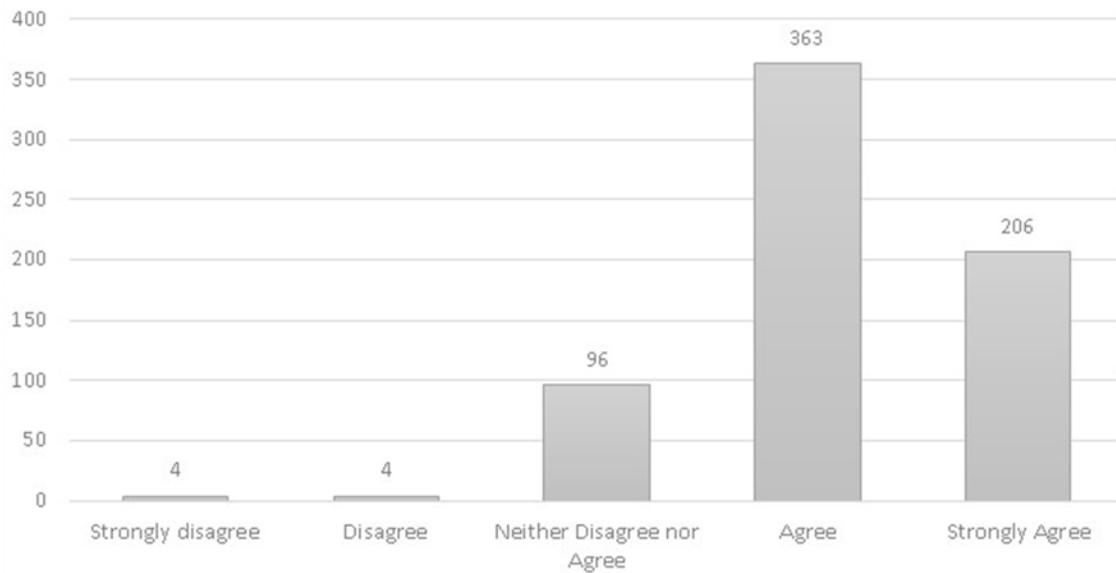
The frequency distribution (36.2% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value (M=3.32) indicate that respondents believe that they exercise reasonable skill and care to use materials that are free from modern slavery in their projects, including the labour used in their extraction, manufacture and production.

Survey Question 15. I exercise reasonable skill and care to ensure that the labour used in my projects is free from modern slavery.



Mean = 3.58
Median = 4
Minimum = 1
Maximum = 5
Standard Deviation = 0.89

The frequency distribution (49.2% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value (M=3.58) indicate that respondents believe that they exercise reasonable skill and care to ensure that the labour used in their projects is free from modern slavery.

Survey Question 16. I treat my own supply chains fairly

Mean = 4.13

Median = 4

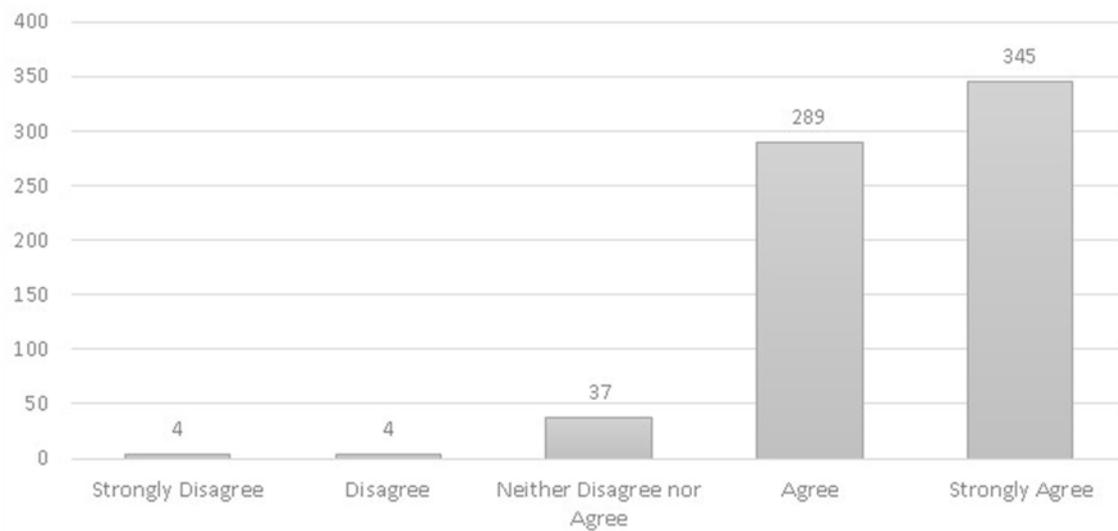
Minimum = 1

Maximum = 5

Standard Deviation = 0.713

The frequency distribution (68.8% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value (M=4.13) indicate that respondents believe they treat their supply chains fairly.

Survey Question 17. I would report abusive labour practices to proper and recognized authorities if I became aware of them in connection with my projects.



Mean = 4.42

Median = 5

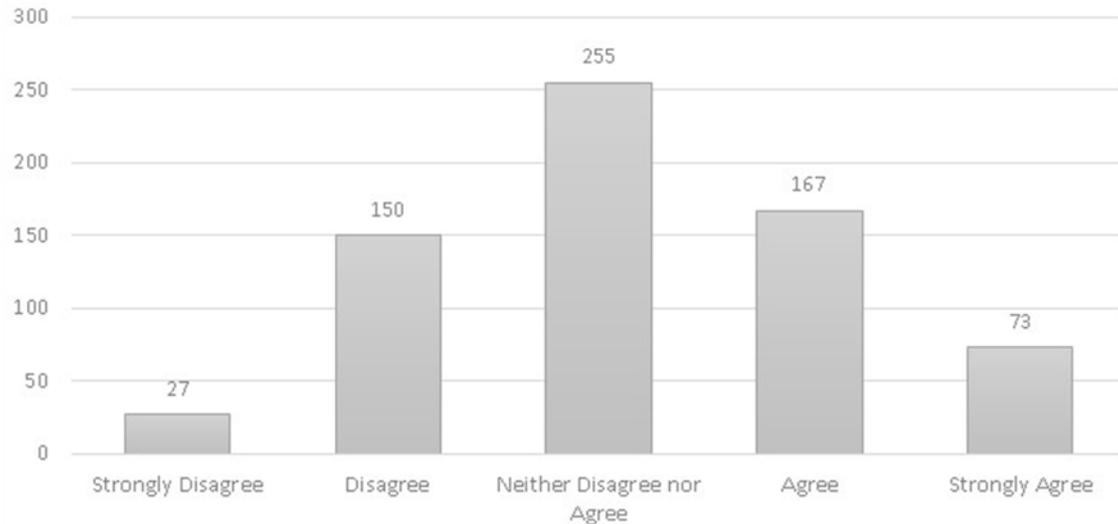
Minimum = 1

Maximum = 5

Standard Deviation = 0.68

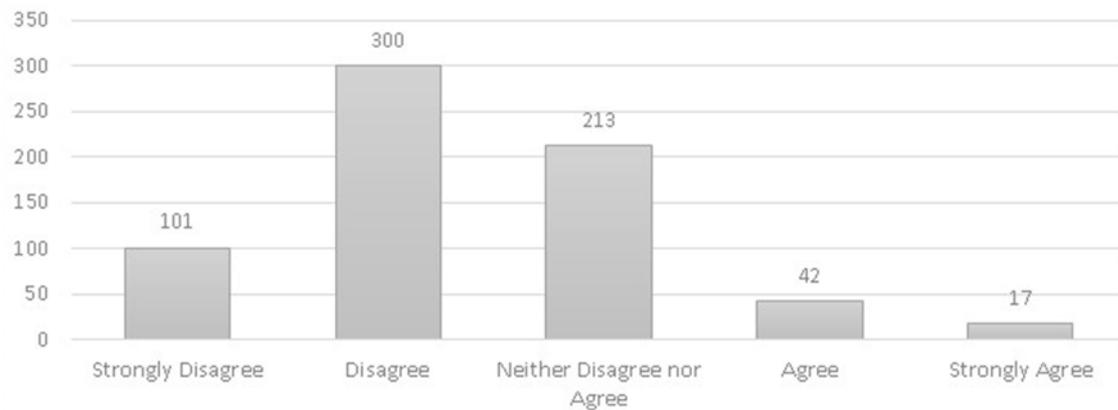
The frequency distribution (97.37% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value ($M=4.42$) indicate that respondents would report abusive labour practices to proper and recognized authorities if they became aware of them in connection with their projects.

Survey Question 18. I have access to a complaint mechanism to report abusive labour practices in connection with my projects.



Mean = 3.16
Median = 3
Minimum = 1
Maximum = 5
Standard Deviation = 1.02

The frequency distribution (29.0% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value (M=3.20) indicate that respondents do not indicate strongly whether they have access to a complaint mechanism to report abusive labour practices in connection with their projects.

Survey Question 19. A record of modern slavery due diligence is maintained for all my projects

Mean = 2.37

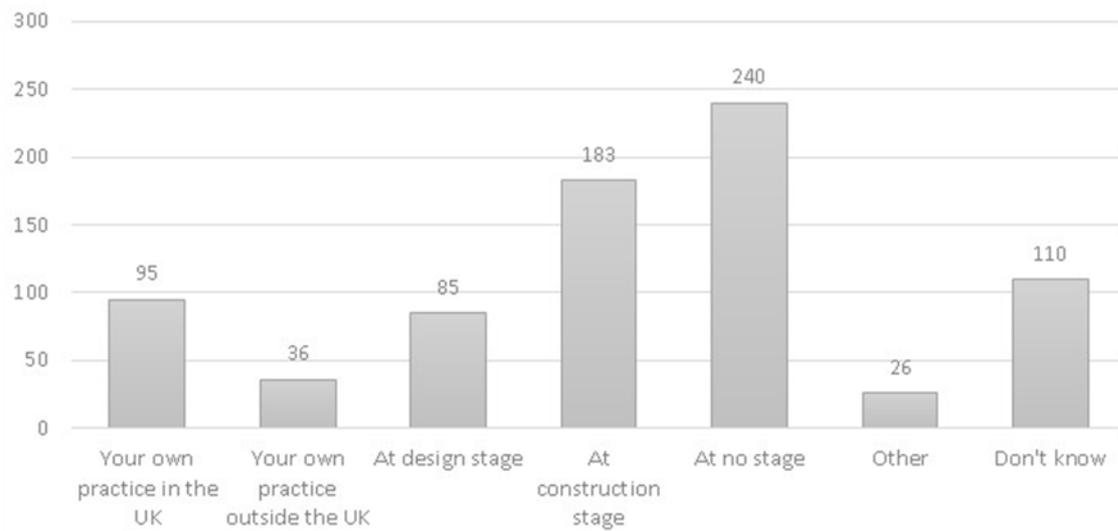
Median = 2

Minimum = 1

Maximum = 5

Standard Deviation = 0.900

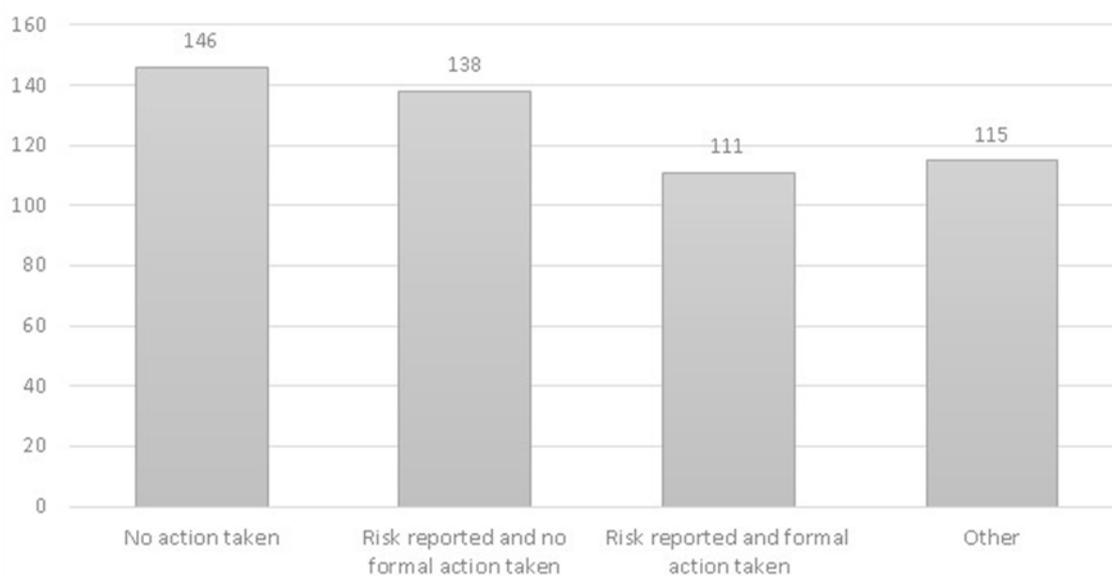
The frequency distribution (48.5% disagree, strongly disagree) and the mean value ($M=2.37$) indicate that respondents do not maintain a record of modern slavery due diligence for all their projects.

Survey Question 20. At which stages of the supply chain have you identified human rights risks?

Of the 628 respondents, 95 (12.3%) stated their own practice in the UK, 36 (4.6%) their own practice outside the UK, 85 (11.0%) at design stage, 183 (23.6%) at construction stage, 240 (31.0%) at no stage, 26 (3.4%) other and 110 (14.2%) stated that they don't know.

Survey Question 21. What human rights risks have you identified in your projects?

Of the 626 respondents, 238 (16.5%) stated health and safety at work, 228 (11.5%) employment and working conditions, 207 (10.4%) discrimination, 201 (10.1%) environmental protection and health, 181 (9.1%) stated none, 155 (7.8%) corruption and bribery, 136 (6.8%) data protection and privacy, 96 (4.8%) modern slavery, 92 (4.6%) Consumer protection and product responsibility, 207 (10.4%) conflicts and security, 85 (4.3%) land use and property rights, 63 (3.2%) child labour and youth employment, 50 (2.5%) stated that they don't know, 42 (2.1%) education, 35 (1.8%) freedom of association, and 7 (0.4%) stated other.

Survey Question 22. How were these risks managed?

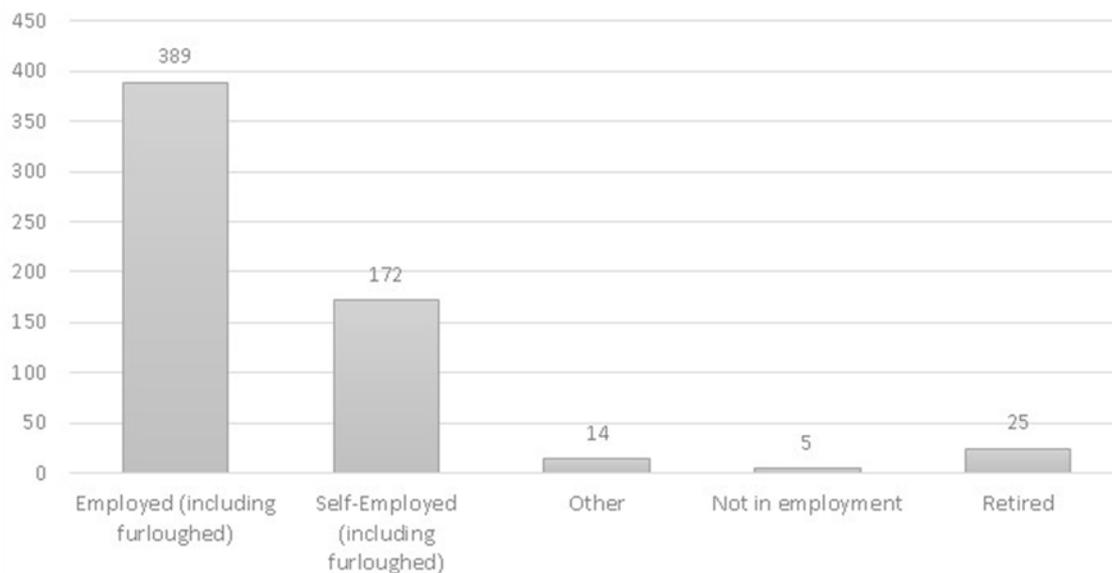
Of 826 respondents, 620 (75.1%) responded to this question, whilst 206 (24.6%) did not respond. Of the 620 respondents, 146 (22.2%) stated that no action was taken, 138 (21.0%) that risk was reported and no formal action taken, 111 (16.9%) that risk was reported and formal action taken, 115 (17.5%) stated other and 147 (22.4%) stated that they don't know.

Survey Question 23. In what country do you currently reside?

Of the 598 respondents, 526 (63.7%) reside in the United Kingdom, followed by 8 (1.0%) in the United States of America and 5 (0.6%) respondents for each of the following countries: Australia, China, Ireland, and the United Arab Emirates.

Survey Question 24. How would you describe your current employment status?

Of the 605 respondents, 389 (47.1%) stated Employed (including furloughed), followed by 172 (20.8%) Self-Employed (including furloughed), 25 (3.0%) retired, 5 (0.6%) not employed and 14 (1.7%) stated other.

**Survey Question 25. In what country is the company that employs you based?**

Of the 586 respondents, 515 (62.3%) stated the United Kingdom, 9 (1.1%) stated the United States of America, and 5 (0.6%) respondents for each of the following countries: Australia, China, and Ireland.

Survey Question 26. In what country is the company headquartered?

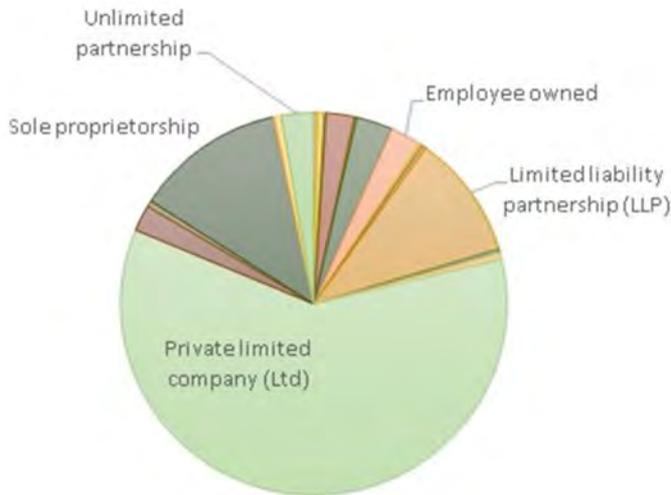
Of the 583 respondents, 504 (61.0%) stated the United Kingdom, 17 (2.1%) the United States of America and 7 (0.8%) respondents for each of the following countries: Australia, Canada, and China.

Survey Question 27. In what countries does the company provide professional services?

Of the 826 respondents, 195 countries were identified by Members; the quantum of these countries is defined below. The top ten most frequent countries account for over half of the countries identified, and in descending order are the United Kingdom, United States of America, Ireland, United Arab Emirates, China, France, Australia, Italy, Saudi Arabia, and Canada.

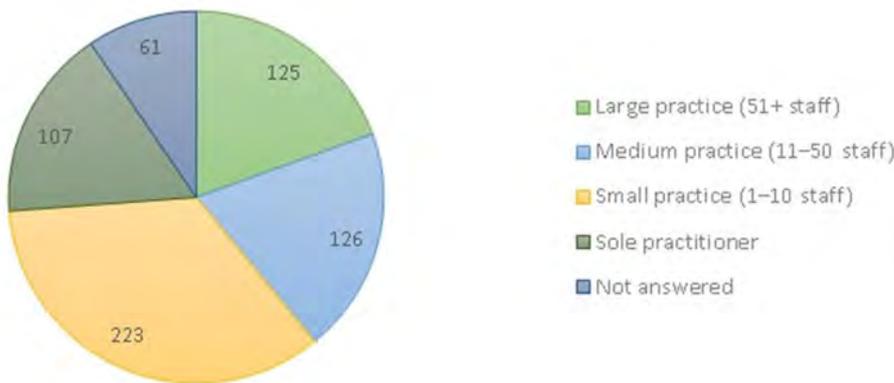
Survey Question 28. What is the legal form of the company?

Of the 589 respondents, the top five most frequent structures account for over half of legal forms, and in descending order are 354 (42.9%) Private Limited Company (Ltd), 74 (9.0%) Sole Proprietorship, 62 (7.5%) Limited Liability Partnership (LLP), 16 (1.9%) Unlimited Partnership, and 15 (1.8%) stated Employee Owned.



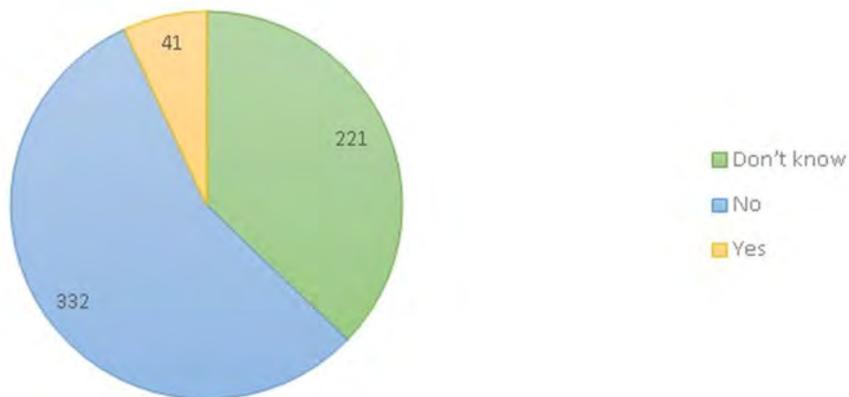
Survey Question 29. What is the size of the company?

Of the 183 respondents, 223 (27.0%) respondents stated the company is a small practice (1-10 staff), 126 (15.3%) medium practice (11-50 staff), 125 (15.1%) large practice (51+ staff) and 107 (13.0%) stated sole practitioner.

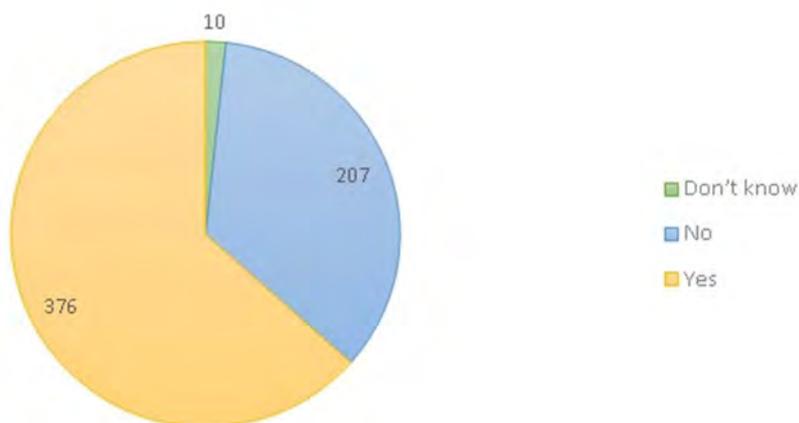


Survey Question 30. Is the company legally required to publish an annual slavery and human trafficking statement under the MSA?

Of the 594 respondents, 332 (40.2%) stated that the company was not legally required to publish an annual slavery and human trafficking statement under the MSA, 221 (26.8%) stated that they did not know, and 41 (5.0%) stated that they were required.

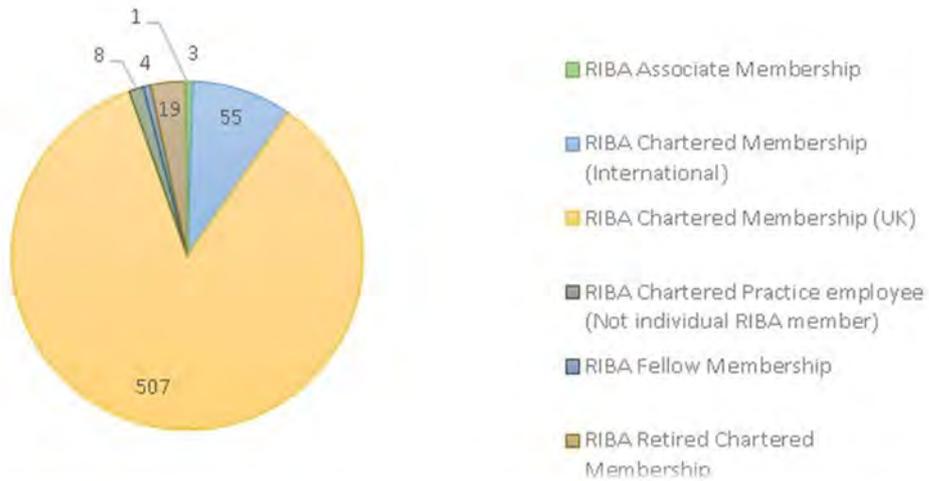
**Survey Question 31. Is the company a RIBA Chartered Practice?**

Of the 593 respondents, 376 (45.5%) stated the company is a RIBA Chartered Practice, 207 (25.1%) not a RIBA Chartered Practice, and 10 (1.2%) stated that they don't know.



Survey Question 32. What is your RIBA membership type?

Of the 597 respondents, 507 (61.4%) stated RIBA Chartered Membership (UK), followed by 55 (6.7% RIBA Chartered Membership (international), 19 (2.3%) RIBA Retired Chartered Membership, 8 (1.0%) RIBA Chartered Practice Employee (Not individual RIBA Member), 4 (0.5%) RIBA Fellow Membership, 3 (0.4%) RIBA Associate Membership and only 1 (0.1%) stated RIBA Student Membership.



7.1.5 Survey Findings; Responding to Research Questions

7.1.5.1 Research Sub-Question B: What Is the Standard of Skill and Care of the Average Member in Complying With the Code?

7.1.5.1.1 Measuring Skill

The standard of skill of the average Member is insufficient to use supply chains which are free from Modern Slavery and comply with the requirements of their Code of Professional Conduct.

Summary:

The research, as outlined below, indicates that in response to Principle 3, item 5.3 of the RIBA Code of Professional Conduct (*Members shall exercise reasonable skill and care to use supply chains which are free from Modern Slavery*), the standard of skill of the average Member is insufficient. This statement is supported by the findings of “*Survey Question 8: I feel prepared to tackle the eradication of Modern Slavery in construction supply chains*”, which indicates that respondents do not indicate strongly whether they feel prepared to tackle the eradication of modern slavery in construction supply chains.

The data reveals that over 70% of Members have identified human rights risks in their projects, with Modern Slavery representing over 15% of the risks identified (Survey Question 21).

Despite Members’ confidence in their skills, both in the procedures deployed in their projects (Survey Question 3) and their ability to ensure modern slavery does not exist in their project supply chains (Survey Question 4), contradictions in the standard of skill of the average RIBA Member are evident.

Members’ skill appears to fall below the standard necessary for compliance, with respondents indicating a lack of preparedness to tackle the eradication of modern slavery in construction supply chains (Survey Question 8). The majority of Members state that they have received no training in implementing modern slavery diligence (Survey Question 6) and are dissatisfied with the amount of training they have received (Survey Question 5).

Members’ awareness of legal and regulatory requirements for modern slavery is somewhat contradictory. Despite Members’ assertion that they are aware of the modern slavery legislation in the countries in which they practise (Question 13), there is no strong indication of familiarity with the provisions of the MSA (Question 12). This contradiction is further reinforced by the majority of Members, who either state that their company has no Modern Slavery policy statement or that they do not know whether one is available (Question 9). Further, responses to assess whether Members understand their company’s Modern Slavery policy statement and its requirements concerning their projects (Question 10) were unclear. The issue of awareness is highlighted again in Question 7, as respondents state they have not sought to raise awareness of the issues of Modern Slavery in construction.

In practice, due diligence record-keeping is the most effective method for demonstrating the care afforded to comply with relevant legal and regulatory requirements. Therefore, the most significant data in establishing the standard of Members' skill and care in modern slavery can be found in Question 19, which concerns the record of due diligence. The data, however, indicates that Members do not typically maintain a record of modern slavery due diligence for all their projects.

In assessing the nature of these procedures in practice, Members indicate that despite their commitment to reporting abusive labour practices to proper and recognised authorities (Survey Question 17), only 35.8% of Members have access to a complaint mechanism (Question 18). Further, of the human rights risks identified in their projects (Question 21), only 16.9% state that these were managed by the risk being reported and formal action being taken (Question 22).

7.1.5.1.2 Measuring Care

The standard of care of the average Member is insufficient to use supply chains which are free from Modern Slavery and comply with the requirements of their Code of Professional Conduct.

Summary:

The research, as outlined below, indicates that in response to Principle 3, item 5.3 of the RIBA Code of Professional Conduct (*Members shall exercise reasonable skill and care to use supply chains which are free from Modern Slavery*), the standard of care of the average Member is insufficient. This statement is supported by the findings of "Survey Question 8: *I feel prepared to tackle the eradication of Modern Slavery in construction supply chains*": respondents do not indicate strongly whether they feel prepared to tackle the eradication of modern slavery in construction supply chains.

Members generally make a strong statement of care in their efforts to tackle modern slavery. Respondents assert the importance of modern slavery to their company and their work (Survey Question 2) and claim that they comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery (Survey Question 11). Respondents believe that they treat their supply chains fairly (Question 16) and that they exercise reasonable skill and care to use materials that are free from modern slavery in their projects, including the labour used in their extraction, manufacture and production (Survey Question 14), and ensure that the labour used in their projects is free from modern slavery (Question 15).

Despite respondents stating strongly that they would report abusive labour practices to proper and recognized authorities if they became aware of them in connection with their projects (Question 17), such reporting mechanisms are inadequate (Survey Question 18).

Finally, a skills deficit, exemplified by insufficient record-keeping of due diligence conducted in practice (Survey Question 19), means that demonstrating the standard of care, sufficient or otherwise, is an especially challenging requirement.

7.1.5.1.3 Institutional Response

In addition to the data gathered through the Member survey, reflecting on the process of engaging with the RIBA to collaborate on this project to gauge its preparedness for change as an institution is valuable. Despite being gratefully supported by the RIBA at the highest level, the institutional procedures require patience and determination to navigate. However, it must be recognised that much of the research was conducted during COVID-19 and at a time of organisational and regulatory change.

7.1.5.1.4 Individual Response

In addition to the data presented in response to the questions posed, I feel it is useful to present some of the feedback to the project by RIBA Members. As would be expected, those taking part in the interviews generally expressed an interest in the subject of modern slavery and were supportive of the project. Some examples of these comments are as follows: “When I received the survey, I remember thinking: finally, something is happening. Something must be done about that. So, I'm really, really glad to participate in this” (RIBA Member, 2022a); “I find it really shocking that everybody knows about this, but everybody feels comfortable about it. It's just something that's there, it's happening, and there's nothing we can do about it” (RIBA Member, 2022a); and “For me, [the issue of modern slavery] is as important as the environmental aspect, because they come around to one and the same in the end” (RIBA Member, 2022b).

However, not all feedback was positive. A surprising number of RIBA Members responded negatively to the survey request email, indicating strong feelings on the subject and the planned project. Some examples of these comments are as follows: “Dear Paul, do please stop wasting your time and do some architecture/built environment!”; “What nonsense. No thank you”; “You have to be joking”; “You should not use the RIBA as a source to do your personal research”; “This survey is pointless. I am surprised that you are carrying out such an idiotic, misleading, and shallow form of gathering information”. Despite the high response rate to the research project, it is clear that the sentiments of a small minority of Members reveal the challenge of tackling modern slavery. These comments indicate the view that the issue is not a concern of, nor a priority for, some architects in practice. Despite the negative implications of these comments, they provide valuable insight into the reality of the situation.

7.2 Member Interviews

7.2.1 Interview Method

Building on the findings of the Code's fitness for purpose (see [Chapter 6](#)) and Member's skill and care (see [Chapter 7.1.4](#)), the Member interviews seek to develop an understanding of their feeling of preparedness to comply with their Code (Research Sub-Question C) and their effective management of the risk of modern slavery in their project supply chains (Research Sub-Question D).

Ethnography involves social exploration, which can be facilitated by key informants providing specialist knowledge about subjects. Interviews with key informants can reveal situations, behaviours, and attitudes that researchers may not understand otherwise (Edwards and Holland, 2023, p. 31). Interviews are a widely used qualitative data collection method in social sciences, allowing individuals to express their understanding and interpretation of the world (Knott *et al.*, 2022). The qualitative interviewing process involves members of the social group who are the subject of the research being considered co-constructors and validators of knowledge claims (Edwards and Holland, 2023, p. 20). As "conversations with a purpose" (Burgess, 2002), these qualitative interviews followed Turner's General Interview Guide (Turner, 2010) typology. This method was selected "[...]to ensure that the same general areas of information are collected from each interviewee; this provides more focus than the conversational approach, but still allows a degree of freedom and adaptability in getting information from the interviewee" (McNamara, 2005). Interviews were recorded and automatically transcribed using [Otter.ai](#) and reviewed manually for accuracy. The transcription process, its theoretical assumptions, method and means to ensure quality will reference supporting literature (Duranti, 2006; Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999; Ochs, 1979; Oliver *et al.*, 2005; Tilley, 2003).

Following up with those participants who provided informed consent during the general Member survey, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 participants over 12 hours and transcribed into 65,000 words. Of the 17 participants, eight stated that they had direct experience of modern slavery, and one self-identified as a worker who was exploited. Participants had the experience of practice in Europe and the Asia-Pacific (APAC) and Middle East regions, having resided in Italy, Germany, China, Yemen, Qatar, Malaysia, Australia, and Japan in addition to their countries of residence at the time of conducting the interview. Nine participants resided in England, one in Scotland, the Channel Islands, France, Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Taiwan.

7.2.2 Interview Data Analysis Method

An interview of RIBA Members was conducted in 2021 to measure their preparedness concerning modern slavery under their Code of Professional Conduct. The interviews were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith and Osborn, 2012) to provide an understanding of personal lived experience. Qualitative interview data analysis involves sorting, local and inclusive integration, and coding for generalisation (Weiss, 1995, p. 213).

This process required the data to be transcribed and uploaded into NVivo, read, re-read, and coded. Once the data coding was completed, themes were analysed, which included quoted responses of participants for each research question respectively. The analysis follows the Braun and Clarke (2006) model, with data visually represented through project maps and tree maps. The aggregate dimensions, open codes and themes of each research question are listed under the respective research question. Excerpts from interviews have been presented to provide evidence for assertions, examples of respondents' words, identification with respondents, understanding of their perspectives, and specific forms of general phenomena (Weiss, 1995, p. 222). In this section, one sample sentence has been provided for each code, and the full dataset can be found in [Appendix 2](#).

7.2.3 Validation of Interview Results

Qualitative researchers argue that concepts of reliability and validity are overly positivist and are being replaced with terms like credibility and trustworthiness. Validation is a continuous process that involves the researcher's craftsmanship throughout an investigation, focusing on checking, questioning, and theoretically interpreting findings. It is not a separate stage but permeates the entire research process (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018, p. 72). I, therefore, claim the validity of the data through a rigorous approach to crafting the research methods (see [Chapter 7.1.1](#) and [Chapter 7.1.2](#) for the survey, see [Chapter 7.2.1](#) and [Chapter 7.2.2](#) for the interview), which have been checked and interpreted through my grounded theory approach.

A central consideration in any study of this nature is the generalisability of its findings. While the quantitative format of the survey offers an analytical analysis of the data, verifying the interview findings requires additional support. Therefore, I use analytical generalisation to build on the Braun and Clarke model (2006) (see [Chapter 7.2.2](#)). This approach uses a reasoned judgment as a tool for validation, which can be researcher-based or reader-based (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018, p. 74). As the researcher, I argue that the following conclusions are applicable to RIBA Members based not only on their analysis using the established Braun and Clarke model, but also on my experience of practice and communicative validation during the interview process (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018, p. 75).

7.2.4 Interview Data Analysis

7.2.4.1 Interview Question 1

Do you remember when you were first aware of the idea of 'modern slavery' in architecture?

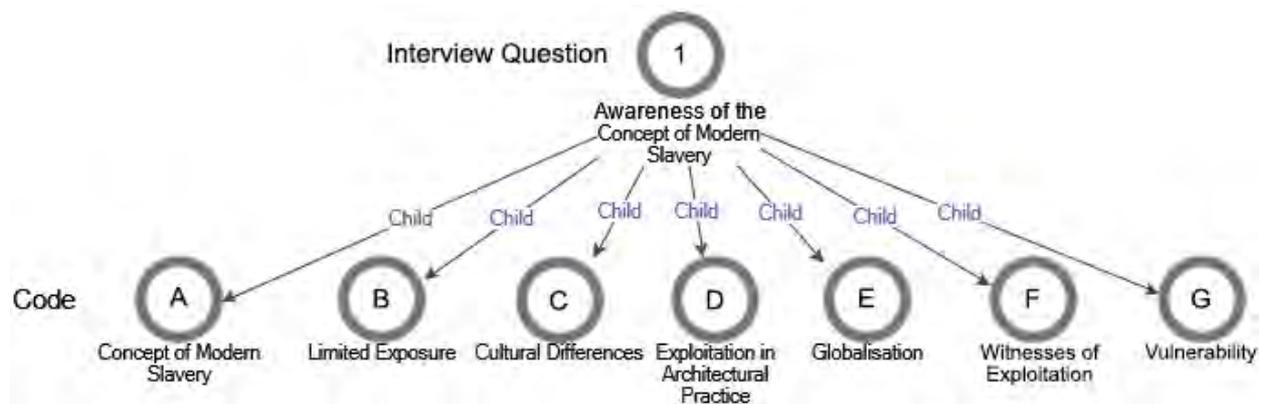


Figure 20 Interview Analysis - Codes extracted from Interview Question 1, (Author)

Code A: Awareness of the Concept of Modern Slavery

Most participants stated that they are aware of the concept of modern slavery in architecture, while very few stated that they have no clear understanding of the concept.

- “You’re aware of modern slavery generally, and also some of the practices that go on [...] you’d hear stories [that] people turn up with gangs of men, weapons on site, enforcers and all that sort of stuff.”

Code B: Limited Exposure

- “We deal with small builders and bricklayers and chippies and carpenters who are running their own businesses. [...] So no, it's not something I think we come across.”

Code C: Cultural Difference

- “[W]e need to understand the context of this, but that doesn't mean to say anything is acceptable.”

Code D: Direct Experience of Exploitation (Architectural Practice)

- “[M]y experience of slavery was direct, as an employee being locked in a building and not being able to get out.”

Code E: Globalisation

- “[B]uilding in the past was so much simpler. You used far fewer building materials. There was also a localism, [...] you didn't ship [building materials] vast distances.”

Code F: Witnesses of Exploitation

- “I’ve seen slavery on building sites in China, when people are locked into containers and made to stay on their building site. Or the worst case in Dubai, where they get shipped to building sites from desert containers. That just breaks my heart. They have their passports taken off them. I don’t know if that’s modern slavery, but that’s what my experience of the international construction industry is.”

Code G: Vulnerability

- “You’ll find that people who are in a situation where they desperately need the work will do whatever it takes to get that job. So, their rights are automatically [compromised].”

7.2.4.2 Interview Question 2

Modern slavery has been described as the biggest human rights issue of our time. It affects individuals throughout the construction supply chain across the globe, from extraction to completion. In this context, who do you think should be responsible for protecting the rights of the individual? Organisations or individuals? Governments or practices?



Figure 21 Interview Analysis - Codes extracted from Interview Question 2, (Author)

Code A: Shared Responsibility

Most participants stated that the protection of rights is a shared responsibility.

- “I think it has to come from every direction it can. Individuals, governments, practices, everyone. It’s a lot like the environmental thing; [...] it’s so huge, it’s got to come from everyone.”

Code B: Government

- “It’s got to be government-led. You certainly can’t put the onus on individuals. To put the onus on small organisations is unwieldy and won’t work. Perhaps large organisations [...], but I think it’s got to be top-down.”

Code C: Individuals

- “[W]e are all in an incredibly privileged situation because we're professionals [...]. [W]e need to use that privilege to make sure that we're not exploiting others.”

Code D: Organisations

- “My first reaction is that this is a United Nations issue, they've got [the capacity] to deal with all this.”

Code E: Practices

- “[Y]ou hear architects claiming that because employing workers is the task of the main contractor, architects are not really responsible [...], but if all practices joined together and said, ‘No, we're not participating in this’, things will change. [...] We can't just simply say, ‘We're working on it, but we were not responsible’.”

Code F: Contextual

- “It depends on the work you do and where you do it, really. We work with a relatively small supply chain of contractors; you actually physically know who these people are, you know, they are sometimes your neighbours. So that's different to working in a large city [...] or with a large multinational contractor.”

7.2.4.3 Interview Question 3

Imagine a scenario where the responsibility to protect the human rights of all individuals involved in your projects rested entirely with you. How would you feel?

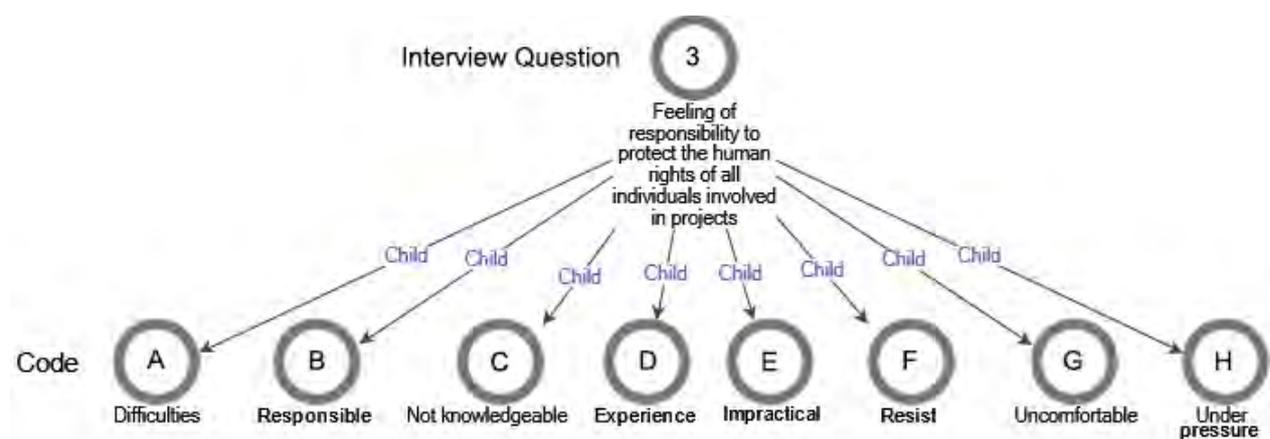


Figure 22 Interview Analysis - Codes extracted from Interview Question 3, (Author)

Code A: Difficulties

- “I'd feel it was probably quite difficult to trace [social responsibility in project supply chains, as] once you get to construction products, it all begins it all gets a lot more murky. [...] And it becomes even more difficult because [...] if a detail is not tested, you can't use it.”

Code B: Responsible

- “I have worked on [projects with instances of modern slavery], and I do feel responsible for that. I feel hypocritical as well. It’s one thing to hear about it, but another when you are there. [...]. In fact, that led me to leave the practice. But it seemed that the only way for the practice to get jobs was through the Middle East through that kind of practice. So, I didn't want to be part of that.”

Code C: Knowledge

- “Wow. I would feel that I'm not knowledgeable enough. [...] I would need to study, I need to understand, I need to take an exam, and I need to prove that I do understand the requirements before taking on board that responsibility.”

Code D: Experience

- “I have no problem taking that responsibility, as long as you are sufficiently experienced. And this kind of experience we cannot learn in school and academia.”

Code E: Impractical

- “I would resign from the RIBA. [...] You can't be responsible for every single individual on an entire project from to quote the phrase 'extraction to completion'. [...] It is completely impractical.”

Code F: Resist

- “[W]e don't have direct influence over things like the contractor’s workforce. We have an influence over our own practices and our employees. [...] So I would personally resist that, I mean, I don't think the slavery act is intended to be empowered by individuals. It’s not designed for that.”

Code G: Uncomfortable

- “Very uncomfortable. How can you be sure that people aren’t behaving disgracefully? I have no control over that, I don't employ anybody.”

Code H: Under Pressure

- “Under a lot of pressure. Well, I'll give you an example, [when I was] working in Qatar [... our construction workers] didn't get paid for three months. They went on strike, and it turned into a riot. It turned out okay in the end, [but what] if I had been responsible for them from a liability perspective? I can try to push everybody in the right direction, but that’s too much responsibility.”

7.2.4.1 Interview Question 4

Where do you see opportunities to respond to human rights risks in your projects?

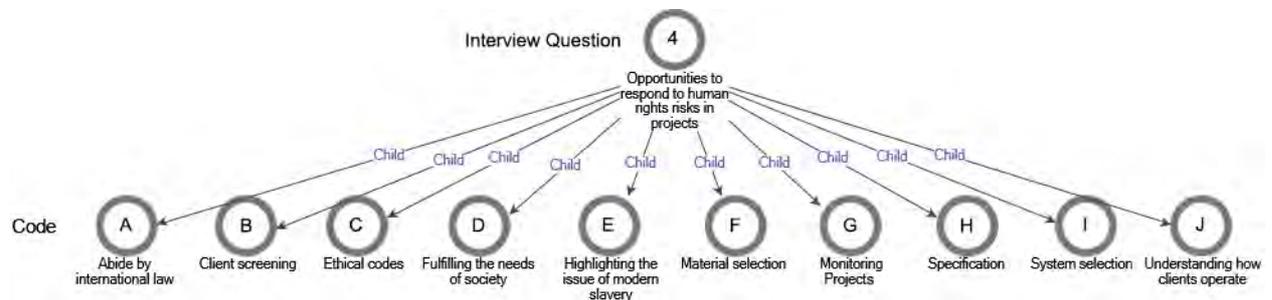


Figure 23 Interview Analysis - Codes extracted from Interview Question 4 (Author)

Code A: Abide by International Law

- “[I]t’s very easy for a country to sign up to international code, and then that filters down as well. But it shouldn’t take away that personal responsibility.”

Code B: Client Screening

- “[C]lient screening policies in place in practice would be really effective.”

Code C: Ethical Codes

- “[I]f you want to engage a construction firm, you’d look [...] for compliance [of ethical codes]. I think it’s about due diligence.”

Code D: Fulfilling the Needs of Society

- “An architect [...] has to think how best can he entertain the requirements not only of the client, but of society.”

Code E: Highlighting the Issue of Modern Slavery

- “[W]here we have the most influence is with the consultants we are working with, to raise awareness of things to consider.”

Code F: Material Selection

- “The big one is materials- where we really have an impact.”

Code G: Monitoring Projects

- “[K]eeping a watchful eye out on site. Because in reality in the construction industry, that’s where it’s going to come from.”

Code H: Specification

- “The specification is something we don't do so much as we used to. It's more or less for the contractor to come up with their own ways of doing things, which is not the way I would like to proceed. For costs, we tend to cut out the specification from our work, unfortunately.”

Code I. System Selection

- “It's probably system selection. [C]hoose what you're going to do in terms of piling, the structure of the building, how are you going to clad it. Or prefabrication, where you can build bits the building in a factory where it's nice and warm and you can control the conditions.”

Code J. Understanding How Clients Operate

- “[D]ue diligence and understanding how the potential client operates and how their supply chain will work under the contract. [...]. But they might say yes to you to tick the box, but then in the background do something different.”

7.2.4.2 Interview Question 5

What processes do you consider most effective to ensure you ‘comply with all applicable legislation concerning modern slavery?’

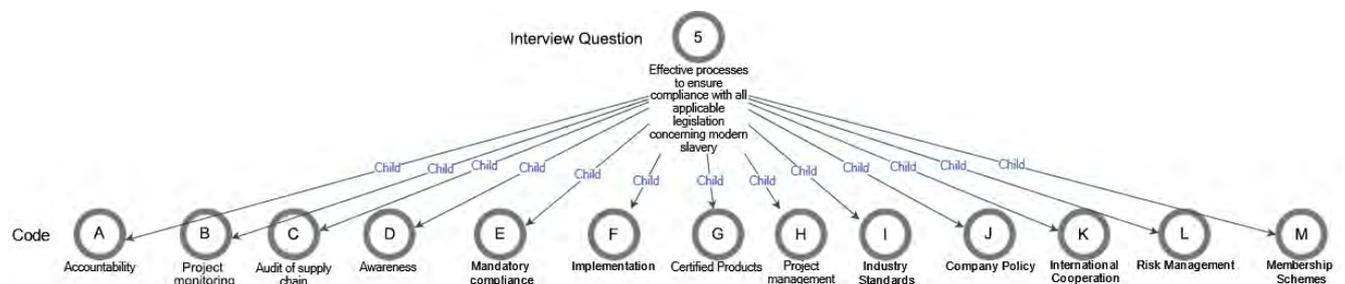


Figure 24 Interview Analysis - Codes extracted from Interview Question 5, (Author)

Code A: Accountability

- “It comes back to accountability. [If you accept] work, have you got the resources in place in terms of staff to actually do this?”

Code B: Project Monitoring

- “You can have all of these processes and agreements in place between parties, but it's about monitoring and really checking what is happening.”

Code C: Audit of Supply Chain

- “I would say some sort of an audit of the supply chain would be very useful.”

Code D: Awareness

- “[I]ndividuals have a choice, but they need to be made aware of the risks that are associated with [working in countries with a high risk of modern slavery].”

Code E: Mandatory Compliance

- “I think the most effective [process would be] legislation that would make mandatory compliance to ethical standards. I think that is fundamental. During the tendering process when the main contractor sources materials, or it could be a planning requirement for manufacturers to prove their ethical standards.”

Code F: Implementation

- “All the rules, all the processes are there, it’s about implementing them. To implement is to conduct site visits without arrangement, walk in and see for yourself. [...] The next thing is to understand the labour law. There’s no point in having all these rules and regulations if you don’t study them yourself, because if you don’t study it, you don’t know how to apply it.”

Code G: Certified Products

- “If there was some sort of certification process, then you could get it to work. But that only works if the whole supply chain wants to take it on board. What will happen is that individually industries will say, ‘I’m not doing that, sorry. Do you want to buy this or not?’”

Code H: Project Management

- “I would say project management [...] from my experience. I think it’s more on the management side, they need to be aware of these things.”

Code I: Industry Standards

- “I think accreditation systems would be really, really useful, I can see that being the only way that you could have suppliers signed up to best practice.”

Code J: Company Policy

- “[Y]ou need a social responsibility document, just as everyone has their sustainability document and their QA QC document.”

Code K: International Cooperation

- “Governments need to come together. They need some internationally agreed monitoring system for governments not to benefit from slavery.”

Code L: Risk Management

- “Risk management is very important. It's not just saying that people should have the relevant licences and permits to building sites, let's take that further, so that's off-site and in factories, and so on.”

Code M: Membership Schemes

- “Most larger contractors are a member of contracting organizations, so they probably already have guidance and schemes. Primarily because they're worried about risk.”

7.2.4.3 Interview Question 6

What are the key weaknesses in the efficacy of these processes?

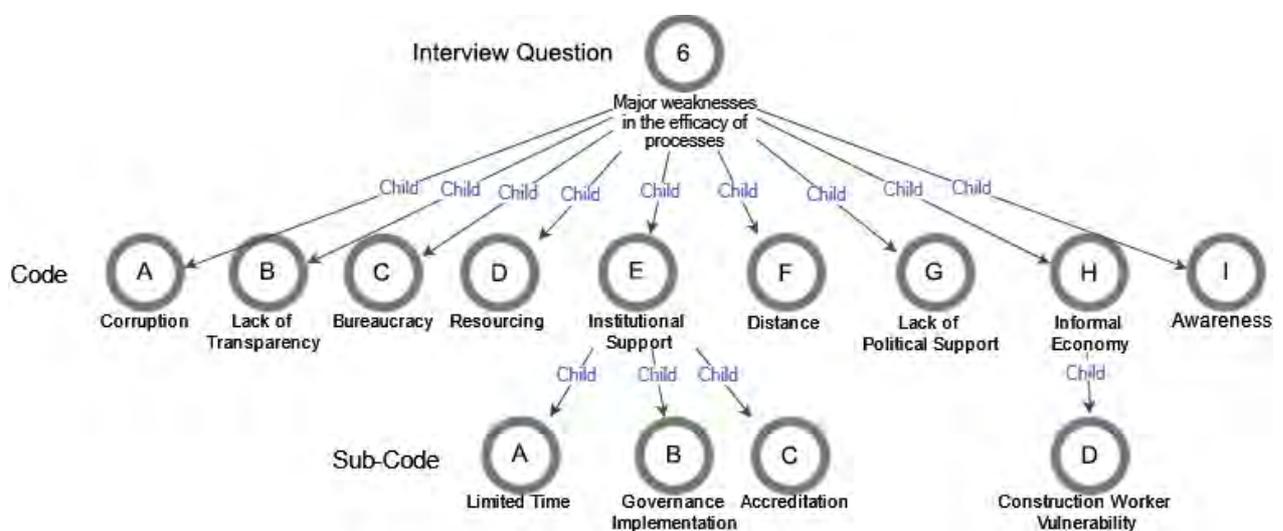


Figure 25 Interview Analysis - Codes extracted from Interview Question 6, (Author)

Code A: Corruption

- “The Grenfell inquiry has highlighted the kind of corruption in the construction industry. The legislation isn't strong enough, private enterprise is left to its own devices, laissez-faire, unchecked.”

Code B: Lack of Transparency

- “I think transparency and accountability within supply chains is really a minimum requirement, until you have that it's very difficult to make any progress.”

Code C: Bureaucracy

- “[I]n the 80s we didn't have all this paperwork until the ISO came into place [...] that makes it impossible for an architect to implement. But nevertheless, there are some very good documents and checklists that you can follow.”

Code D: Resourcing

- “I think a lot of it is underestimation at the beginning of the time work and cost involved and the professional services that are required.”

Code E: Institutional Support

- “I do think our institute rather than just saying, ‘You must do this’, should actually be helping us. Help us understand what we should be doing, be a bit more proactive.”

Code E Sub-Code A: Limited Time

- “It's unworkable from an individual member's point of view simply because there's no way to track everything back [...] to make sure that everyone in that supply chain hasn't been forced to do any work. You can't do it, because you can't get that information. And frankly, if you didn't get information, it would take you a week for each nut and bolt in the building [...].”

Code E Sub-Code B: Governance Implementation

- “[The RIBA are claiming], ‘Look at us, we're telling our Members to do this, aren't we fantastic?’ I could write a policy tomorrow that says every building site we go on, we're going to check out modern slavery. But what's the point? It's meaningless. That's passing the buck and giving us something to do that can't be done, and then we're going to get told off about it.”

Code E Sub-Code C: Accreditation

- “I became a project manager as well, [...] [via the] Association of Project Management exams to prove what I already knew, that I could do the job. But of course, I had to prove that to clients. Architects are very good at diminishing their own responsibility, and they've only got themselves to blame.”

Code F: Distance

- “The trouble is, the further you get away from [problems], the more difficult it is to, one appreciate, and [two], influence. Because when you're procuring stuff, [your agency is] diminishing all the time.”

Code G: Lack of Political Support

- “I think one of the weaknesses for me is the political initiative, I think it's having the power of law, and to have the power of law behind you.”

Code H: Informal Economy

- “People have to stop using the black economy. Unfortunately, I don't think anybody is innocent of the temptation of saving a bit of money by paying somebody cash. Until then, I don't know how you eliminate [the risk of modern slavery].”

Sub-Code D: Construction Worker Vulnerability

- “[As an immigrant you are vulnerable. When I was working in Europe] I didn't have paperwork, so I couldn't get any access to health care. [...] The poor, the vulnerable are completely [susceptible to exploitation].”

Code I: Awareness

- “One of the weaknesses is publicising that this is actually going on in this country. It's like the evils of the Industrial Revolution. People are being exploited, in particular London and big cities. They're going under the radar.”

7.2.4.4 Interview Question 7

How might these processes be improved?

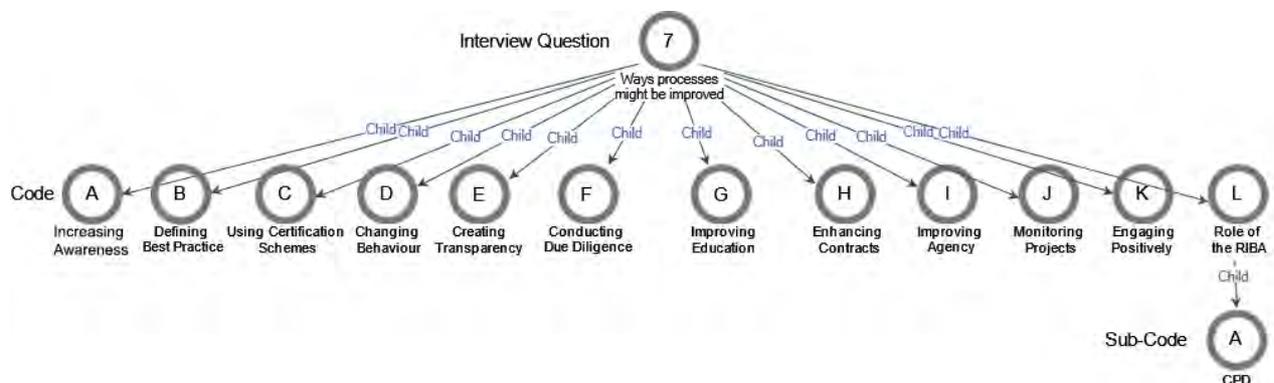


Figure 26 Interview Analysis - Codes extracted from Interview Question 7, (Author)

Code A: Increasing Awareness

- “You’ve got to make people aware. Like with the timber industry where timber is certified that it comes from a sustainable source. Give the people the information, and it's up to them to make an informed decision.”

Code B: Defining Best Practice

- “You start off by saying, ‘This is best practice. This is the way we're going to do it and we'll give you time to test it’. Then, as it gets used more widely, it becomes the standard practice, [...] but it doesn't change overnight”.

Code C: Using Certification Schemes

- “If you look at the specification materials, sustainability schemes are a kind of auditing scheme. [...] I don't know if there's a recognised scheme [for social sustainability] that people can sign up to. If there was, maybe that would be something that we would look for.”

Code D: Changing Behaviour

- “Now we need to consider [modern slavery risks] in the design and construction of a building project as you go through each step. [To ask], ‘How can this affect the individual?’, or ‘Are their rights protected?’”

Code E: Improving Transparency

- “I think it's more transparency, and transparency can only come from people who have power. So, the question here is, is that coming from the client? Is that coming from the government? Or is that coming from contractors? Because they're the three parties who generally hold the power in the construction industry.”

Code F: Conducting Due Diligence

- “[D]ue diligence and understanding how the potential client operates is important. [...] [T]hat's fine when you're dealing with the UK, but when you're working with different cultures and countries, it's more complicated.”

Code G: Improving Education

- “If we are given the knowledge, we can make it work. [A]rchitects are very flexible, they are intelligent and have the imagination to apply things, but I think it's dangerous to put blanket responsibility on somebody when they don't know what their responsibility is.”

Code H: Enhancing Contracts

- “We've got policy [on modern slavery] because of the nature of our clients. It would be something that [the client] would immediately go to, in the same way that they want us to make sure we've got the right level of insurance.”

Code I: Improving Agency

- “To improve agency. I think we're in a privileged position in a way because we have an increased level of influence in the [Middle East] region, which is helpful.”

Code J: Monitoring Projects

- “Monitoring is always good. You can have all these processes and agreements in place but it's about really checking what is happening, rather than just ticking the box and saying, ‘Okay, I'm done’.”

Code K: Engaging Positively

- “Bring positivity rather than negativity. Someone will do the work, so what's the point of saying ‘No’? Better to say, ‘Okay, let's try and make things better’. [Otherwise], they will carry on the same way.”

Code L: Role of the RIBA

- “it's almost like [the RIBA is] always acting as a watchdog, but they're not actually supporting.”

Code L Sub-Code A: CPD

- “When an organisation such as the RIBA require [new knowledge] as part of their CPD, it's getting people to engage in that properly, in a meaningful way.”

7.2.5 Interview Findings; Responding to Research Questions

Building on the findings of *Survey Question 8*, which indicated that respondents did not strongly indicate whether they feel prepared to tackle eradicating modern slavery in construction supply chains, data gathered from Interview Questions will be used to further inform the response to the Research Questions.

7.2.5.1 Research Sub-Question C: How Prepared To Comply With Their Code Do RIBA Members Feel?

Figure 27 below explains how I have structured the Interview Questions to attend to my Research Questions. Further, I have organised the complex array of data produced in [Chapter 7.2.3](#) by their Response Codes to identify the emerging key messages.

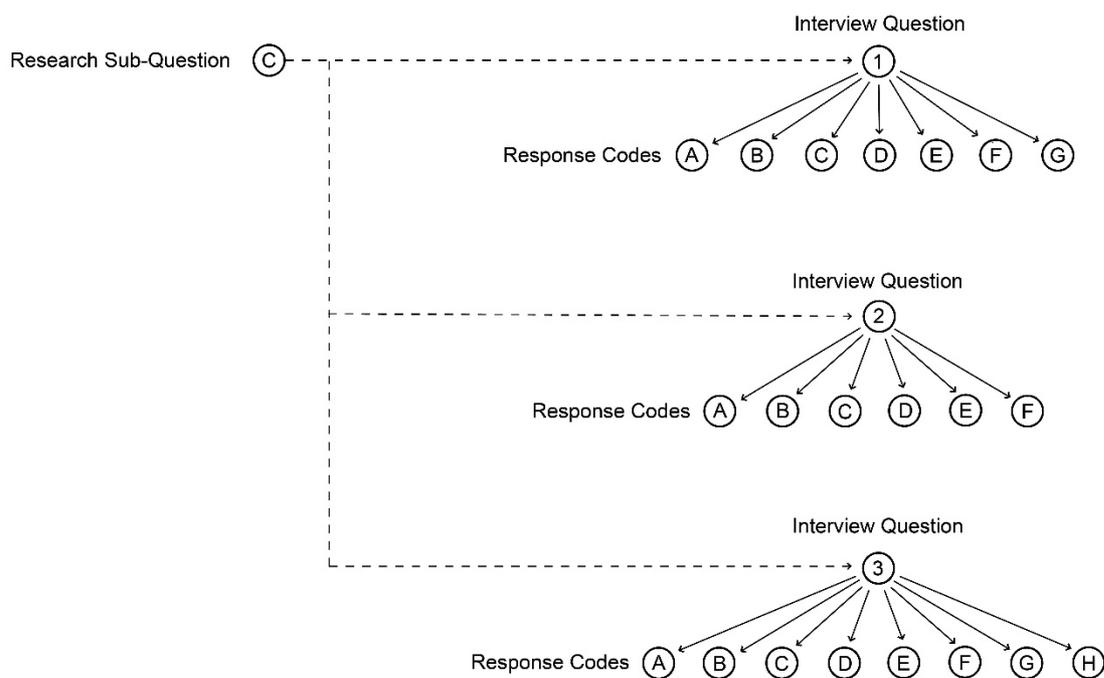


Figure 27 Use of data from Interview Questions to inform the response to Sub-Research Question C (Author)

In summary, Figure 28 below provides a simple overview of Member's feelings of preparedness to comply with their Code.

Research Question	Interview Question	Response Codes
Research Sub-Question C: How prepared do Members feel to comply with their Code of Professional Conduct?	1. Awareness of the concept of modern slavery in architecture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Concept of modern slavery B. Limited exposure C. Cultural differences D. Exploitation in architectural practice E. Globalisation F. Experience of exploitation G. Vulnerability
	2. Actors responsible for protecting the rights of the individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Contextual B. Government C. Individuals D. Organisations E. Practices F. Shared responsibility
	3. Feeling of responsibility to protect the human rights of all individuals involved in projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Difficulties B. Responsible C. Not knowledgeable D. Experience E. Impractical F. Resist G. Uncomfortable H. Under pressure

Figure 28 Member's feelings of preparedness to comply with their Code of Professional Conduct, (Author)

7.2.5.2 Research Sub-Question D: How Might Members Effectively Manage the Risk of Modern Slavery in Their Project Supply Chains?

Using the same process as the previous section, I use the data produced in [Chapter 7.2.3](#) to identify the emerging key messages, as shown in Figure 29 below.

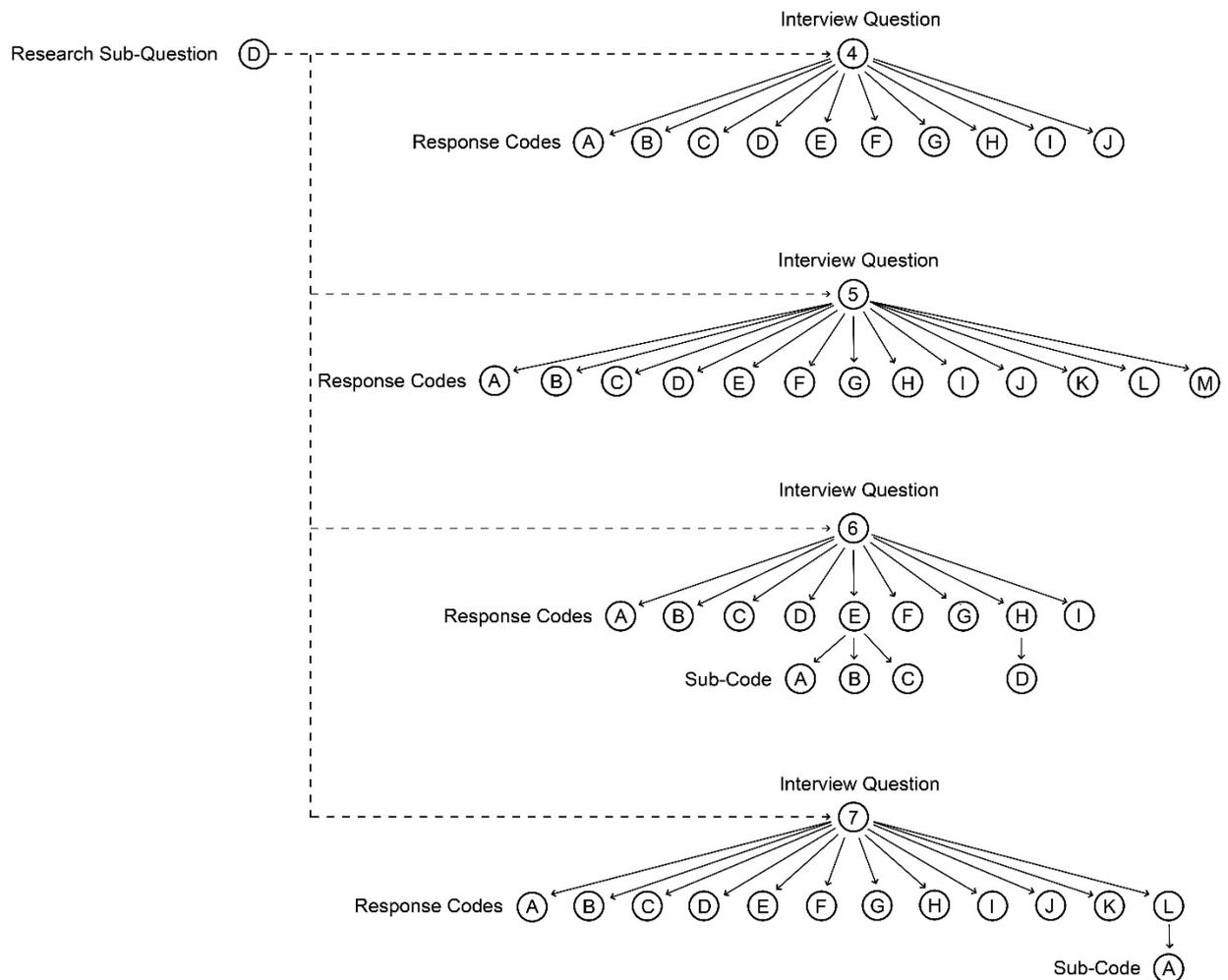


Figure 29 Use of data from Interview Questions to inform the response to Sub-Research Question D (Author)

In summary, Figure 30 below provides a simple overview of how Members might effectively manage the risk of modern slavery in their project supply chains.

Research Question	Interview Question	Response Codes
Research Sub-Question D: How might Members effectively manage the risk of modern slavery in their project supply chains?	1. Opportunities to respond to human rights risks in projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Abide by international law B. Client screening C. Ethical codes D. Fulfilling the needs of society E. Highlighting the issue of modern slavery F. Material selection G. Monitoring projects H. Specification I. System selection J. Understanding how clients operate
	2. Processes effective to ensure compliance with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Accountability B. Project Monitoring C. Audit of supply chain D. Awareness E. Mandatory compliance F. Implementation G. Certified Products H. Project management I. Industry standards J. Company policy K. International cooperation L. Risk management M. Membership schemes
	3. Weaknesses in the efficacy of processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Corruption B. Lack of transparency C. Bureaucracy D. Resourcing E. Institutional support F. Distance G. Lack of political support H. Informal economy I. Awareness
	7. Ways processes might be improved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Increasing awareness B. Defining best practice C. Using certification schemes D. Changing behaviour E. Creating transparency F. Conducting due diligence G. Improving education H. Enhancing contracts I. Improving agency J. Monitoring projects K. Engaging positively L. Role of the RIBA

Figure 30 How Members might effectively manage the risk of modern slavery in their project supply chains, (Author)

Conclusion

In Chapter 7, I presented the primary data gathered through the RIBA Member Survey and Member Interviews in response to Research Sub-Questions B, C and D. Each section began by outlining the method used for the collection of data and its analysis, followed by an analysis of the findings. This data was then structured to respond to the Research Questions.

I found that over 70% of Members have identified human rights risks in their projects, with modern slavery representing over 15% of this figure (see Survey Question 21 [Chapter 7.1.3](#)). The standard of skill and care of the average Member was found to be insufficient to use supply chains which are free from modern slavery and comply with the requirements of their Code (Research Sub-Question B, see [Chapter 7.1.4](#)). In understanding their preparedness, Members communicated a lack of knowledge and experience, and suggested compliance with the Code would be difficult and impractical (Research Sub-Question C, see [Chapter 7.2.4.1](#)).

In exploring how Members might manage the risk of modern slavery in their project supply chains (Research Sub-Question D, see [Chapter 7.2.4.2](#)), they suggested client screening, monitoring projects, abiding by international law, and material specification. Processes for compliance included project monitoring, supply chain auditing, project and risk management, and industry standards and membership schemes. Weaknesses in these processes were identified as a lack of awareness and transparency, corruption, distance, bureaucracy and resourcing, political and institutional support, and the informal economy. These might be improved by increasing awareness and education, defining best practice and conducting due diligence, creating transparency, enhancing contracts, improving agency, and monitoring projects.

Chapter 8 - Analysis: How Regulation Fails

Introduction

In this Chapter, I seek to understand the primary data presented in the previous chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7). This is in response to the findings on the Code's fitness for purpose (see [Research Sub-Question A](#)), Member's skill and care (see [Research Sub-Question B](#)), their preparedness (see [Research Sub-Question C](#)), and management of risk (see [Research Sub-Question D](#)). Further, I wish to explore why such regulatory initiatives fail to achieve their intended objectives. I approach this from a grounded perspective to make sense and provide deeper reasoning through the literature.

8.1 How Regulation Fails

The causes of regulatory failure are increasingly understood and acknowledged. Research suggests four broad contributors to policy failure: overly optimistic expectations, implementation in dispersed governance, inadequate collaborative policymaking, and the vagaries of the political cycle (Hudson *et al.*, 2019, p. 2). However, it is argued that modern slavery is caused by structural injustice rather than individual wrongdoing, resulting from potentially millions of people engaging in institutions and behaviours (Schneider and Scherer, 2012, p. 18). These normative issues have prevented the emergence of an effective system to tackle modern slavery (Simic and Blitz, 2019, p. 8). Accepting the systemic cause of some of the issues that regulation intends to resolve is a significant step in addressing these issues.

A factor in the efficacy of global regulation is its cultural translation. Some suggest that the law should be considered in terms of "legal cultures" that influence language, values, how risk is integrated into legislation, and possible remedies (Meacham and Van Straalen, 2018, pp. 450–451). Others argue that while formal regulation is clear, more subtle regulatory forces are at work. Codes morph as they migrate across space, and transnational best practices are dynamic and unstable (Faulconbridge, 2009, pp. 27–28). The mix of local and transnational regulation has a significant impact on the projects produced by global architects (Faulconbridge, 2009, p. 29), with a continued diversity of formal codes and standards geographically, ensuring that a comprehensive set of transnational construction standards can never be established (Faulconbridge, 2009, p. 30). Effectively regulating actors across cultures depends on the communication, legitimisation and implementation of those regulations.

The form of regulation depends on the political environments in which they are enacted. During its development, the UK government considered modelling the MSA on the Bribery Act, but changed course to a low-stringency hybrid response due to business and politicians' aversion to introducing extraterritorial criminal liability for modern slavery in global supply chains (LeBaron and Rühmkorf, 2017, p. 20). As might be expected, industry players have championed private, industry-led processes and worked to deflect regulatory measures (LeBaron and Rühmkorf, 2019, p. 29). As a result, selecting an ambiguous reporting obligation for a more stringent form of public governance

seems to have reduced its efficacy in “steering” corporate behaviour (LeBaron and Rühmkorf, 2017, p. 21). Therefore, the effectiveness, or otherwise, of regulatory forms is no coincidence. The challenges for practitioners in deploying regulations to tackle modern slavery result from the limitations placed upon them.

The core weaknesses in holding organisations to account stem from contractual and legal separation, which are known as governance gaps. Transnational problems such as modern slavery often exceed national and international institutions' reach, leading to a governance gap. However, “The emphasis on gaps, however, obscures how the absence of governance can be a deliberate choice” (Haufler, 2018, p. 114). Studies highlight the need for researchers and policymakers to design operative governance that effectively addresses local variation in modern slavery regulations worldwide (Crane *et al.*, 2019, p. 1). Research suggests that while the Walk Free approach may appear coherent, it may contribute to a narrative of ineffective policies and deflect attention from underlying causes (New, 2015, p. 11). Further, “Wherever there is the possibility of measuring performance, there is also the opportunity to legislate. It is difficult to legislate for qualities, but easy to define and enforce quantities” (Lawson, 2005, p. 73). Regulation is designed to limit accountability, and private systems are now legitimising this weakness.

The irony is that those who have created these intentionally fractured structures place responsibility for their consequences on their constituents. Governments and regulatory bodies pressure practitioners to meet conflicting expectations, and the profusion of laws and regulations reflects their attempt to dissociate themselves from activities the public or media find undesirable (Haines and Sutton, 2003, p. 1). Businesses increasingly face responsibilities that transcend their economic role, with industry left puzzled about how to respond to these demands (Schneider and Scherer, 2012, p. 15). As a result, organisations and individuals become overburdened by complex rules, standards, and guidelines in a process termed juridification. Its suggested remedy is a flexible, outcome-focused approach (Haines and Sutton, 2003, p. 1). It is also claimed that over-regulation can reduce compliance because of the resentment it causes (see Passas and Nelken, 1993; Vaughan, 1983; Haines, 1999) (Haines and Sutton, 2003, p. 5). Architectural practitioners are faced with a truly paradoxical situation.

8.2 A Popular Misconception

It is a popular misconception that slavery is illegal in every country globally; recent studies show that international law governing human exploitation is erratic, irregular, and incomplete (Schwarz and Allain, 2020b, p. 5). Data on the legality of slavery (Schwarz, 2020a), as well as valuable information in the Antislavery Legislation Database (Schwarz and Allain, 2020b), disprove the pervasive myth that “Slavery is illegal in every country in the world”. This is because it is not enough for countries simply to abolish laws allowing slavery; states must proactively prohibit these practices through criminal law to meet their international obligations (Schwarz, 2020b). Almost half of all legal systems across the globe fail to do so (Allain and Schwarz, 2020). These findings have a significant bearing on this project due to the Code’s reliance on “any similar [modern slavery] legislation in the jurisdictions in which [Members] practise” (Guidance Note 5.1 RIBA, 2019b, p. 18).

8.3 Policy Implementation

The efficacy of a policy is in its impact on its intended subject. Since the revision of the Code in 2019, the RIBA has imposed no sanctions upon Members on the modern slavery requirements of the Code. This should certainly not be interpreted as meaning that the Code has deterred such violations, or that modern slavery has been eliminated from Members' supply chains.

Education and Training

Members will not comply with a code if they cannot understand its rationale, or their role in the problem. Education is the first step to ensure that Members comply with complex policies. Members should be made aware of compliance methods and provided with assistance to comply, as it is unreasonable to expect compliance without guidance. Training and education are essential in effective modern slavery policy (Lund-Thomsen and Lindgreen, 2014; Stevenson and Cole, 2018) as these assist individuals in critiquing their working environment (Liu *et al.*, 2022, p. 143) and achieving compliance with social sustainability requirements (AlNassar and Othman, 2021, p. 2409). Research has found that NGO-affiliated training has enabled individuals to disclose their mistreatment via whistleblower channels (Liu *et al.*, 2022, p. 143). Whistleblowing is a valuable method for gaining supply chain knowledge, but it requires urgency, avoiding ambiguity, fostering shared responsibility, maintaining open communication, and taking immediate and consistent action (Stevenson, 2021, p. 19). The frameworks that support a policy are essential in building capacity and improving standards.

Policy Implementation

To understand the nature of the code, we must consider its method and language. Policy implementation is split into two approaches: top-down and bottom-up. Protagonists of the bottom-up model argue that viewing a policy through the eyes of the target demographic provides a more accurate understanding of implementation (Matland, 1995, p. 148). The Code is an example of a top-down policy. If we consider the ambiguity of the Code, research finds that policy ambiguity should not be seen as a weakness, as it can facilitate agreement, identify new approaches, technology, and goals, and provide diverse information (Matland, 1995, p. 171). A policy audit is suggested to measure a policy's efficacy and facilitate its improvement. The OECD, an intergovernmental organisation to stimulate economic progress and world trade, produces guidelines on policy impact assessment. An "ex ante" impact study is a part of the policy cycle's planning, while an "ex post" impact assessment is part of its evaluation and management activities (OECD, 2014). Policy auditing also provides transparency about the process, improving legitimacy.

Compliance Response

The regulatory framework requires a compliance response. The simplest regulatory framework is dualistic - the regulator responds to an entity's actions based on whether they are right or wrong. This is often used in strict liability offences in law. Moving to a compliance continuum, or spectrum, where the regulator responds to a range of compliance behaviours, improves the model's sophistication. Ayres and Braithwaite (1992) built on the earlier work of Scholz (1984a) to develop "Voluntary Compliance and Regulatory Enforcement", when the regulator's response

is linked to behaviour, represented as a compliance pyramid (Ayres and Braithwaite, 1992, p. 35). However, there is a growing recognition that policies neither succeed nor fail on their own merits. Within complex and messy systems, it is not always clear how to ensure successful policy design and implementation methods (Hudson *et al.*, 2019). The RIBA does not publish its compliance response for the Code's requirements on modern slavery, missing the opportunity to provide practitioners with an understanding of how this policy will be applied and offer guidance for best practice.

A consistent and proportionate response is required for good compliance management of the Code. The International Organization for Standardization (ISO) recommends that auditing strategies be accompanied by associated principles to inform individuals about the auditing process, its reasoning and how to improve. The ISO 19011:2018 Guidelines for Auditing Management Systems (ISO, 2018) include seven auditing principles: integrity, fair presentation, due professional care, confidentiality, independence, and evidence-based and risk-based approaches. This International Standard is based on good governance, proportionality, transparency and sustainability (ISO, 2018). Building policy around frameworks like these provides support and knowledge for those within them.

8.4 Practitioner Agency

The notion of agency is a central consideration in defining the practitioner's capacity for change. Researchers highlight a lack of data on agency and its influence mechanisms, including professional and collective identities, commitment to sustainability, narratives, and knowledge construction (Murtagh and Sergeeva, 2021). Some argue that architecture is a social practice involving moral agency, which is personal and communal. A collective moral agency may be found at a practice or professional level, and an individual moral agency at a personal level (Ray, 2005, p. 113). Architects subject to the Code, therefore, hold agency as individual practitioners and collectively as members of a practice, the RIBA, the ARB or other bodies with which they are associated.

Architects' position as agents within these structures and their interactive role is important. Critics note that architects rightly assert they are not at the negotiating table; however, they fail to consider how their disengagement affects this global crisis (Deamer, 2020, p. 33). As an intermediary, the architect is essential for creating and mediating cooperation between stakeholder requirements and regulations (Coucill, 2013, p. 72). Adopting formal compliance management systems requires mediation between corporate structures and individual agency (Parker and Gilad, 2011). Distributed managerial practices affect normative and interpretive rules and the power resources that businesses and individuals use to impose, accept, or resist change (Bresnen *et al.*, 2005b). Architects are, therefore, mediating agents, facilitating exchange between the structures and conditions of development and the client.

The agency of architects is central to establishing their capacity for change. Commentators note that contrary to most of the literature on professionalism, which contends that professionals have the privilege of directly controlling

their work's terms, conditions, goals, and content, this privilege is illusory. This is due to the limitations imposed by nationally negotiated appointment terms, statutory controls, and professional indemnity insurance (Hughes and Hughes, 2013, p. 12). The decision about what a professional can and cannot do is ultimately made by the providers of Professional Indemnity Insurance (PII). A robust insurance market allows clients who have been negligently treated to seek recourse and insurers to determine the type of work and decisions insured professionals may undertake (Hughes and Hughes, 2013, p. 8). "The true professional cannot comment on specific situations without all the evidence if he or she is not centrally involved" (Pressman, 2006, p. 56). Despite their central position, architects' agency is more limited in practice.

Architects' agency has been systematically eroded through their repositioning in the construction contract. The architect's traditional role is diminishing, confined via economy, policy, construction technology and numerous other variables (Bose, 2018, p. 24). Researchers (Ahuja *et al.*, 2020, p. 9) claim that architects' agency has been fundamentally changed due to their position in the value chain, shifting from being the client's representative, placed between the client and all other project coalition members, to reporting to a project manager (Winch and Schneider, 1993, p. 469). A shift towards decomposition and multisourcing has been observed in professional work, where tasks are broken down into constituent parts and distributed to people and systems best suited to deliver the work at the lowest cost (Susskind and Susskind, 2015, p. 122). Further, architects participate much less in decision-making in large firms than in small ones (Blau, 1986, p. 34). Some (Våland and Møller, 2018, p. 33) recognise that despite creativity being their guiding principle, architects face increasing pressure to navigate regulations, complex business models, competency development programs, and political reforms (Pinnington and Morris, 2002; Spencer, 2014; Styhre, 2009). Building Information Modelling (BIM) has divided the roles of architects and engineers into tasks that are then carried out by a wide network of specialists (Susskind and Susskind, 2015, p. 123). In addition to the structural changes in construction project procurement, technologies such as BIM have reduced the architect to a minor component of an increasingly powerful order.

Any assumption of an individual's complicity in this shift must be balanced with the effect architectural practice has on practitioners. A more nuanced understanding of professional lived experiences that lead to anxiety, cynicism, and burnout is required (Ahuja *et al.*, 2020, p. 9). Studies show that many construction professionals suffer from ongoing anxiety (Haynes and Love, 2004; Lingard, 2003). One study discovered that nearly 70% of construction professionals suffer from stress, anxiety, or depression, with "conflicting demands" identified as one of the main causes (Campbell, 2006). Architecture faces economic fluctuations due to a lack of monopolistic control over construction and capitalist market imperatives requiring a commercial focus in their operations (Blau, 1986, p. 12). Young people are concerned about balancing family life whilst maintaining a basic standard of living (Samuel, 2019, p. 3), exacerbated by the financial cost and duration of architects' training (Susskind and Susskind, 2015, p. 94). The evidence suggests that the model that produces modern slavery in its lower tiers also exerts pressure throughout the supply chain. Perhaps the recognition of this commonality might bring these distant situations into focus.

8.5 Design Over Distance

Practising architects today design over distance. In the past, professionals like lawyers, doctors, and others had a strong local presence. However, regulatory changes and globalisation have encouraged professionals to practise in various geographic contexts (Susskind and Susskind, 2015, p. 136). The actions of medieval architects were intimately linked to building activity, whilst those of modern architects are separate from it (Davis, 2008, p. 280). It has been noted how industrialisation caused the dissolution of traditional communities and the decline of trust in people. Professional institutions assumed the role of local and human oversight over professional activity, and the relationships between employers and employees shifted from the guild system to a management-labour system. Modern building culture is based on bureaucratic management methods, with positions outlined in job descriptions, quality specified in performance requirements or specifications, and the threat of litigation governing every decision (Davis, 2006, p. 100). Modernity assumes that our lives are increasingly affected by relations independent of physical distance (Maciocco, 2011, p. 2). However, “the compression of distance and the dissolution of borders that drives globalization has proved far more efficient at producing global markets than global justice” (Slaughter, 1999). As Fran Tonkiss argues, “[t]here are very different degrees of security and insecurity here for different bodies, at different times, in different spaces” (Tonkiss, 2003, p. 308). Design over distance is an entrenched characteristic of architectural practice in a globalised world and is used to maintain the efficiency of the global market.

Design over distance limits is not only a concern for international projects: this distance is experienced in the division of labour through construction contracts. Despite objections from the RIBA, the separation of architects from “the nature of construction”, or the various contexts of building practice, is claimed to be partly due to the role of professional institutes in enforcing boundaries (Imrie and Street, 2014, p. 14). The degree to which design and construction are separated, and the problems this creates have been heavily criticised (Pryke, 2009, p. 26). Evidence suggests that the more remote the point of control, the more specific the documents of control, which has led to the construction industry’s litigious climate. Removing individual judgment has created an abstract and fragmented environment (Davis, 2006, p. 200). Remote design has given rise to the mobile architect, who continuously travels between project locations and clients (Falconbridge, 2009, p. 9). These architects work everywhere but are only present in a few select locations (Falconbridge, 2009, p. 11), as “[s]patial divisions of labour are determined by geographies of expertise not proximity to the site” (Falconbridge, 2009, p. 15). This absence of a local practitioner raises questions about the awareness of the cultural, economic, political and social context of the place where a building is to be constructed (Falconbridge, 2009, pp. 15–16). As well as geographical distance, architects become more involved in intricate, multidisciplinary teams of professionals to negotiate design outputs, decentring their actions (Imrie and Street, 2009a, p. 2508). The distance created between the architect and their project site also extends into the global supply chain, leaving individuals disengaged from the result of their actions.

8.6 Moral Disengagement

Regulation faces challenges in engaging with its intended regulatees. Research (Bandura, 1999) defines eight mechanisms of moral disengagement, including moral justification, euphemistic labelling, and advantageous comparison, which are used to remove or minimise a moral dilemma (Johnson and Buckley, 2015, p. 2). Language shapes the mental processes that underpin behaviour and can be used to reduce personal responsibility and normalise harmful conduct (Bandura, 1999, p. 195). Euphemisms are injurious weapons that diminish responsibility for actions (Diener *et al.*, 1975). Awareness of such concepts assists policymakers in designing effective regulations.

Moral disengagement is a symptom of the spatial divisions of labour in the construction process. Individuals adopt moral standards during socialisation, which serve as a foundation for self-sanctions and guidance, and continuously control their behaviour through self-influence (Bandura, 1999, p. 194). Moral responsibility has been defined as “accountability for one’s chosen actions that advance or retard moral purpose” (Jones and Ryan, 1997, p. 664). Moral control is most effective when people acknowledge that they cause harm and accept responsibility for their actions (Bandura, 1999, p. 197). However, research suggests that the division of labour can diffuse and diminish the sense of responsibility, weakening moral control. When activities become routinised, individuals can shift their attention from the morality of what they are doing to the operational details of their job (Bandura, 1999, p. 198). Resilient World founder Chris McCann believes business leaders may experience cognitive dissonance with modern slavery. On the one hand, they are very concerned, but it is difficult for them to see how they might do things differently (Crates, 2018a, p. 63). It is suggested that the most significant risks to human welfare are primarily caused by intentional acts of principle rather than uncontrolled impulses (Bandura, 1999, p. 207). The erosion of responsibility and accountability is an effect of the complexity and distance of modern construction projects.

In addition to the structural organisation of construction projects, the discipline of architecture has incorporated an abstract approach to design. An important aspect of how architects are socialised is the abstract sense of place that humans rarely populate. Instead, euphemisms like “the user” or “the occupier” describe the social sense of space. This is influenced by the characteristics of the capitalist real estate market and its propensity for speculative construction (Imrie and Street, 2014, p. 17). Bristol (2011) quotes James Wolfensohn, former president of the World Bank, on the language of development, “[...] to some of our shareholders the very mention of the words human rights is inflammatory language. [...] We decided just to go around it and we talk the language of economics and social development” (Wolfensohn, 2005, p. 21). As Wolfensohn suggests, many working in development view their work as objective, scientific, technological, and value-neutral, avoiding the subjective, relative, and value-laden world of rights for timely and budget-friendly accomplishment (Bristol, 2011, p. 3). Architects have various tools to disregard or abstract users, most notably the image and the architect’s primary design tool, the drawing (Hill, 2003b, p. 24). Drawing’s connection with geometry in the newly discovered science of perspective gave architecture a means to associate itself with abstract thought, thereby giving it the status of intellectual rather than manual labour (Forty, 2004, p. 30) (Hill, 2003b, p. 25). However, responsibility and foresight are two sides of the same coin; they are mutually exclusive (Collier, 2006, p. 311). Responsibility is blind without foresight, but foresight without

responsibility is frightening (Jonas, 1985; Polak, 1957). The abstraction utilised by architects to deal with the complexity of architectural design is now applied to those involved in the labour of their production.

8.7 The Bystander Effect

Modern slavery is particularly susceptible to the “bystander effect”. “Modern slavery is not a single, one-off emergency but rather a gradual, continuous threat. This, coupled with the hidden and complex nature of the problem, leads witnesses to conclude that modern slavery is a low-emergency scenario not requiring an urgent intervention” (Stevenson, 2021, p. 10). According to the social psychology literature, the bystander effect (Latané and Darley, 1968) states that individuals are less inclined to assist someone in need as the number of additional persons present and aware of the need for help increases, resulting in a diffusion of responsibility (Stevenson, 2021, p. 9). Due to the ambiguous nature of modern slavery, a lack of visibility and the inaction of other witnesses, a disconnect between indicators and interventions is created (Stevenson, 2021, p. 11). The perceived lack of urgency in modern slavery is an issue that must be addressed to initiate action.

8.8 Psychological Distance

Decision-makers, such as architects in practice, must make sense of the complex nature of the construction industry and its regulatory environment. The spatiality of capital and how globalisation integrates and segments space has been explained through world systems theory (Tonkiss, 2006, p. 16). Such spaces alter in relation to the position of the viewer; they overlap, intersect and come into conflict with each other, producing points of conflict and patterns of inequality (Appadurai, 1990, p. 20). Construal level theory offers a framework for dealing with such complexity in individual and organisational decision-making. Construals are used to understand situations at various levels of abstraction to evaluate strategic or operational consequences. Such processes facilitate sense-making in complex situations, yet risk distancing the practitioner from such problems. Psychological distance manifests in four ways: time, spatial distance, social distance, and hypothetical distance. As psychological distance increases, decision-making becomes more abstract, as the implications of decisions become less obvious. Decision-makers can be brought closer to the situation by construal shifts or improving knowledge. This has been successfully achieved in corporate culture through leaders adopting comprehensible and precise language, breaking problems down into smaller components, or stressing local rather than global implications (Simpson *et al.*, 2021, p. 993). Psychological distance is an important factor in implementing regulation and should be considered in regulatory strategy.

8.9 Policy Language

If we are to communicate our values to those unfamiliar with our codes, we must first be clear in our own language and logic. Policies aiming at curbing non-sustainable consumption often focus on vague goals, neglecting what is

meaningful in social life and engaging with relevant practices (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014, p. 31). Ambiguous language around modern slavery is being interpreted and integrated into supply chain legislation by management professionals in a "chain of translation". Therefore, governments must provide more guidance on interpreting and implementing the law (Sarfaty, 2020, p. 22). The legal concepts of modern slavery in international law are primarily defined as an interpersonal relationship, which typically requires specific conduct by a specific agent connected to a specific instance of modern slavery (Mende and Drubel, 2020, p. 317). However, it is also necessary to consider the structures and institutions that support and legitimise slavery (Dottridge 2005; Miers 2000, 715) (Mende and Drubel, 2020, p. 318), yet broadening this definition leads to generalisation and ambiguity, limiting effectiveness. Therefore, relational and structural perspectives must be taken together (Mende and Drubel, 2020, p. 330). The challenges of creating coherent policy within Western concepts of law highlight the challenges faced outside it.

Some claim that language has simply "rebranded" the problem of modern slavery; it persists everywhere, but under other names (Craig et al., 2019, p. 29). An example of this in practice is "bonded labour", a distinct and widespread form of forced labour in India that does not entirely conform to the International Labour Organization's (ILO) definition. As a result, the socio-political reality, as well as the close link between bonded labour and the Indian caste system, allows the exploitation and mistreatment of the minority Dalit and Moolnivasi indigenous populations (Prasad, 2015, p. 163). The first systematic scholarly attempt to link migrant domestic labour in the Middle East to modern-day slavery (Jureidini and Moukarbel, 2004) claimed that the status of Sri Lankan domestic employees in Lebanon resembled modern-day "contract slavery" and "debt bondage", defined not by ownership but by control (Bales, 1999). Contract slavery is expressed as a situation in which people freely enter an employment contract, but the contract is essentially a pretext to conceal and sanction an employer's unrestricted power over employees (Brace and O'Connell Davidson, 2018, p. 183). "Migrant worker" is defined under Article 2 of the International Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1990) (United Nations, 1990) as a "person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national". The ILO Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97) (International Labour Organisation (ILO), 1949) and the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143) (International Labour Organisation (ILO), 1975), includes similar definitions. However, Wells notes the alternative definitions - many governments use the term "temporary foreign contract labourers" or "temporary expatriate workers" (Wells, 2018, p. 6). The language of regulation is foundational in shaping practice.

The language of regulation has less obvious considerations, which are equally important in its efficacy. A linguistic examination of modern slavery statements reveals the effect of popular depictions of modern slavery as an unwanted substance requiring 'eradication'. Such descriptions imply a reactionary rather than proactive approach by shifting focus from improving working conditions to expelling vulnerable individuals from the supply chain, possibly resulting in technical compliance, but increasing those employees' susceptibility to abuse (Ras and Gregoriou, 2019, p. 117). Others suggest that using ambiguous terminology significantly limits an individual's understanding of the risk indicators. Modern slavery is a superordinate term for many forms of labour exploitation. To encourage a greater awareness of modern slavery, organisations are advised to reference "more specific features, such as: transporting, harbouring, recruiting, transferring or receiving persons by means of threat, force, coercion, abduction or fraud for labour or services (IBM, 2020)" (Simpson *et al.*, 2021, p. 994). Policymakers and

practitioners are responsible for considering and challenging their language, as this often defines the problem and potentially limits a response.

8.10 Policy Complexity

In addition to the exceptionally complex nature of the construction industry, the policy context is now considered more complicated than previously thought (Hudson *et al.*, 2019, p. 2). While practitioners within a state are subject to similar laws (Aguilera *et al.*, 2018), compliance with infinite regulations requires infinite thoughts (Taylor, 1993). Thus, increasing the number of rules in corporate governance may be counterproductive (Gadamer, 1979) (Nakpodia *et al.*, 2023, p. 82). Building on the early research into the "policy implementation gap" (Gunn, 1978), the literature now includes complex systems thinking driven by ideas of unpredictability, nonlinearity, and adaptability (Braithwaite *et al.*, 2018). Public policies invariably tackle wicked problems that are resistant to change and have multiple potential causes and solutions, making implementation complex, multifaceted, and multilevelled (Rittel and Webber, 1973). Some have found that within complex systems, successful policy implementation in one context does not necessarily deliver the same results elsewhere (Allcock *et al.*, 2015; Braithwaite *et al.*, 2018). This is true even where governance is concentrated rather than dispersed (Hudson *et al.*, 2019), which connects to the notion of "receptive" and "nonreceptive" settings for change (Pettigrew *et al.*, 1992), and highlights the "messy engagement of multiple players with diverse sources of knowledge" (Davies *et al.*, 2008, p. 1). The first challenge for architectural practitioners is to navigate the complex and dynamic regulatory environment in which they operate.

8.11 Policy Coherence and Comparative Law

Policy coherence and comparative law are essential in understanding and critiquing global governance. However, despite the relative ease of mapping domestic UK policy due to its codified form, "visualising governance at the regional or global level is particularly challenging" (Brownsword, 2004, p. 6). The issue of regulatory harmonisation is highlighted by initiatives for policy coherence and cooperation by the United Nations (UN) in their 2030 Agenda - Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to extend the principle to include all sustainable development under SDG 17. Malpas (2018) considers the dialogical approach, not by the attempt to apply any pre-existing theory to the domain in question, but rather by thinking from within that domain and in a way that is attentive to it (Malpas, 2018). Oh suggests, "The form of dialogue about human rights reflects the content of human rights. The way in which we converse about a topic affects the way in which we understand it" (Oh, 2007, p. 12). The shift from the dominant legalistic view during this research opened up the possibility of multiple truths (Wright, 1994). Removing presumptions enabled a deeper understanding and criticism of the subject, an act made possible by the reflective mode of research, and one typically hidden in the mode of architectural practice.

As argued previously, the complexity of the global value chain presents the Global North's legalist governance model with significant ideological and practical challenges. A deeper understanding of the complexities of the practitioner's

regulatory environment reveals the importance of policy coherence and comparative law. The fundamental differences across hard legal systems, their source of law, the principle of precedence, interpretation of contracts and judicial procedures mean that some of the principles and practices of legal contracts used by British architects drafted under English Common Law are unrecognised under alternative legal systems. Further, Western perspectives and language utilised in modern slavery regulation often do not account for the alternative governance mechanisms across sociocultural boundaries, as even within their native jurisdictions, these complexities and definitions are contended and require expert knowledge to demonstrate compliance.

8.12 Legal Territory

The Cambridge Dictionary defines the word “territory” as “(an area of) land [...] that is considered as belonging to or connected with a particular country or person”; or “*an area that a [...] person tries to control or thinks belongs to them*” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023f), excluding notions of ownership and control. Extraterritoriality is therefore “more” or “in addition to” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023g) these areas. According to Foucault (1991), the purpose of rule in sixteenth-century Europe shifted from retaining territory to governing the population (Foucault, 1991, pp. 8–9). Deterritorialisation is a key force in modern society, transferring labouring populations into lower-class spaces of wealthy societies (Appadurai, 1990, p. 11). To appreciate the efficacy of universalist regulatory environments, we must consider their legitimacy within and across multiple cultures to which they claim authority. Deleuze and Guattari suggest that the outside might define such multiplicities, the abstract line, the line of flight or deterritorialization, according to which they change in nature and connect with other multiplicities (Deleuze and Guattari, 1989, p. 9). For regulation tied to territory, such as those predominant in the Global North, the deterritorialisation of the other prevents their legitimacy. Regardless of their virtue, therefore, such instruments lack authority. Consequently, it is the point of connection at the edges of territory where harmonisation is required. These connections are human connections, which require the agreement of a common foundational belief.

Working in the interdisciplinary field of legal geography, Graham (Graham, 2011) provides a suitable definition for this spatialisation of law as the “lawscape”. This concept stems from the contrast between the original “intimate” formation of legal systems when land defined law, and its current form, where law defines land (Graham, 2011, pp. 54, 67). Graham's analysis of the enclosure of the English commons highlights the tension with its contemporary meaning. As such terms become abstracted from their situation, from people–place relationships that define sustainable community cultures and economies, their disconnection with the land allows them to become transposable terms of order and control. This is abstract and invasive (Graham, 2011, pp. 51–52). Enclosure, originally a noun of process describing a physical activity on land worked and enjoyed by a local community, became Acts of Parliament to establish legal ownership rights to this land previously considered common (Graham, 2011, p. 54). In tackling the global economy's structural inequalities, it is perhaps unsurprising that disclosure (transparency) might remedy the harms of enclosure (development).

8.13 Legal Legitimacy

Here, I consider legitimacy through a scenario of lived experience; as a RIBA Member practising in the United Arab Emirates, which was the starting point for this research. The RIBA's regulatory approach is naturally rooted in the UK's legal and regulatory environment, which is representative of its "secular society". The term "secular society" is used here as Taylor (2007) does, meaning not a society characterised by an absence of belief, but one in which the conditions of belief have shifted to a multiplicity (Taylor, 2007). However, the content of the concept of human rights is determined by the moral authority that gives it legitimacy (Renteln, 2013, p. 1). Some consider the legitimacy of law and the ideological challenges of the ownership, substance, and form of modernist human rights. International instruments, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which are absent of religious orientation, face particular challenges in their application to faith-based communities such as parts of the Muslim world (Sait and Lim, 2006, p. 81). The Islamic conception of rights considers rights and obligations not merely between human beings in the temporal political sphere but in a vertical relationship through which "man discharges his duties towards God" (Weeramantry, 1988, p. 116). Therefore, the issue of religious orientation is fundamental to understanding such models in the Middle East. As found in the region, pluralist societies often apply secular and religious models in their governance. Whilst these are generalisations at the scale of our discussion, this example demonstrates the challenges the architect might face in practice, not in the existence of alternative conceptions of ethics or in its language, but that these values do not share a common foundational belief. These are the standards with which the RIBA practitioner cannot "comply", even if they could be captured with the Western tools for regulatory compliance.

Such challenges are by no means new. Tension over the "ownership" of human rights might be traced back to the drafting of the UDHR, reinforced perhaps by the higher proportion of mechanisms unratified by Islamic countries. They are written without religious references and adopted by governments in the name of man, not God (Gjelten, 2018). Saudi Arabia's abstention in the final vote for the Declaration in 1948, citing inconsistency with Islamic law, attests to this. Although progress has been made regarding religious considerations, such as the Vienna Declaration in 1993, divergence remains. It is crucial to note that although systematic treatments of Islamic law are beginning to appear in English, much remains available only in languages such as Arabic and is consequently inaccessible to most English-speaking scholars (Movsesian, 2010). Whilst this is just one example, there is a world of "differences". My point here is to suggest the potential limitations of regulation and dispel assumptions of universal governance in diasporic practice.

8.14 Redefining "Modern Slavery"

As I have discovered, Members are subject to various international obligations, legislative provisions and regional courts. In addition, states use multiple legal systems (Civil, Religious, Mixed, and Common), presenting challenges to territory and legitimacy ([Chapter 6.9.2 Box 5](#)). As the literature suggests, enforcement is impossible without clear, functional definitions that translate into national legislation (David, 2015, p. 151). We have been warned of the risks

of building a global movement around a broadly-defined, made-up concept of “modern-day slavery” (Chuang, 2015). The issue has been simplistically presented as a result of individual deviant behaviour, depoliticising the issue and absolving the state from establishing and promoting the mechanisms of exploitation. Instead, governments propose moral consumer behaviour, removing structural causes from the anti-slavery agenda (Chuang, 2015, pp. 147–148). Practitioners, however, appear not to be engaged in the thorniness of such politics. “In terms of architecture’s relinquishing of the political dimension, it has led to some extent to its marginalization” (56:07 in Till, 2020). It is no overstatement to claim that from a legalist perspective, the precision of concepts and language is the foundation of an equitable justice system. Defining the terms of modern slavery is more than a linguistic exercise; it is a key reason modern slavery persists.

In focusing on demonstrating regulatory compliance, we risk overlooking the reality of modern slavery and our role in its enabling structures. Some recommend harmonising ethical standards across institutions, which, it is claimed, would not only result in the development of the standard, but also the enrichment of a shared concept of ethics through debate (Morrell, 2015, p. 44). In addition, others suggest that a more nuanced definition of modern slavery would expose the reality of our society and economy, allowing us to explore ways to target structural vulnerability. These tactics would differ from the penalisation and rescue models used in the anti-trafficking field, but are essential to ensure freedom (Chuang, 2015, p. 149). The question of the politics of architecture is not only one of the extremities of global capitalism, but the very foundation of the profession.

8.15 “The Workers Who Are Exploited”

I have attempted to act with care in attending to this research and its subject. I have extended this to my use of language in this work. Ras and Gregoriou (2019) describe a “lack of attention to workers in the supply chain, and the lack of acknowledgement of their agency and indeed humanity. *There appears to be little attention to the workers who are exploited*; they are mentioned as “workers”; they are described as contained in the supply network (as though a substance, not people); and they are acted upon, rather than described as acting” (Ras and Gregoriou, 2019, p. 117 [my emphasis]). They go on to refer to the work of Andrijasevic (2014), who states that exploited bodies are depicted as passive objects, produced through specific codes and conventions which position the state as the protector and both “victims” and “criminals” as not belonging to “our” society (Andrijasevic, 2014). Thus, regardless of the efforts to engage with these issues, the disenfranchising use of language to characterise individuals is likely to limit our influence to compel industry to embrace the responsibility, if not the liability, for making a change (Ras and Gregoriou, 2019, p. 117). I have therefore used “the workers who are exploited” as a conscious act throughout this text.

Conclusion

In Chapter 8, I provided further analysis of the findings of the previous chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7) by exploring how regulation fails. I began with a popular misconception that modern slavery law provides universal protection for all individuals in the global value chain. Further, I explained that many factors might contribute to its failure even where adequate legislation is in place. I considered the importance of policy implementation and moral disengagement, which offered some explanation for prevailing attitudes to modern slavery. Following this, I outlined the existing research on the challenges of policy language, complexity, and coherence. I presented comparative law, legal territory and the notion of deterritorialisation, and legal legitimacy relevant to global governance. I then emphasised the importance of how we define modern slavery to effectively tackle it, and concluded with a conscious act of recognising “the workers who are exploited”. This analysis will be used to support my response to the research questions (see [Chapter 9.3](#)) professional recommendations (see [Chapter 9.5](#)), and how an alternative approach may develop (see [Chapter 9.7](#)).

Chapter 9 - Conclusions

In this section, I evaluate the research conducted, its findings, limitations, and suggestions for further investigation.

9.1 Research Findings

In responding to my research questions, key themes have emerged from the literature and my primary data. I summarise these below and the arguments I have made in this thesis.

Theme 1: Complexity.

I argue that modern slavery is a wicked problem, which is enabled by the organisation of global supply chains and the limited agency of individuals. I demonstrate this by revealing the complex nature of the RIBA Members' project supply chains and discuss the responsibilities of the architect in practice.

Theme 2: Compliance.

I argue that dominant approaches of Western governance are not fit for purpose in addressing some complex social issues such as modern slavery. I demonstrate this by identifying how a compliance approach has a limited view of society and might perpetuate the status quo.

Theme 3: Care.

I argue that an alternative frame to compliance is necessary to tackle modern slavery in architectural professional practice. I propose an ethic of care as a normative approach.

I draw the following conclusions, which are expanded later in this Chapter to respond to my specific research questions (see [Chapter 9.3](#)).

Facilitated by structures of a globalised society, the practitioner's every design choice has the capacity to impact others far beyond their immediate context. These moments are embodied through their impact on individuals throughout global supply chains, across jurisdictions and cultures, long after we might consider our practice complete. Yet despite their abstraction, our relationships with distant others are as real and substantial as ever. If social change is to be achieved, extending care to "distant others" is critical for success (Lawson, 2007, p. 6).

This work identifies a paradox of care in professional practice: our ability to care for those in propinquity through a traditional performance of care can be prevented by complex socioeconomic structures that separate and distance. At the same time, I also demonstrate that viewed through the lens of compliance, our tool for managing such complexity, some of the most crucial moments in realising the architect's work are manifested outside what is visible and familiar. These are obscured from our sight and beyond our agency. To see these moments across time and space, beyond contract and law, requires an alternative frame. It requires care.

In [Chapter 6.9](#), I conducted due diligence using a compliance approach. The diagram was created to make the complexity of a seemingly straightforward obligation visible. In mapping domestic law, it failed to account for those most vulnerable, as despite being amongst us, “the workers who are exploited” exist between the gaps in law and beyond the limits of contracts. Further, in considering other forms of governance, it became evident that some laws could not be captured through my normative practice.

My realisation of the limitations of my traditional practice and the inability of regulatory compliance to satisfy “the brief”, despite my best efforts, was a profound moment. In addition to the failure in my diligence to identify the rights of all individuals, entire systems were unaccounted for. What was required was a significant shift in my view of the ethical landscape, from horizontal to vertical structures of morality (Goodenough, 2001); non-foundational to foundational beliefs; secular to religious texts, from principles of rights to those of duty. However, perhaps the most significant is the contrasting jurisdictions in which these laws are manifest, one intrinsically tied to the land and the other to the self. All societies have their own diagrams (Deleuze and Hand, 1988, p. 35), yet “[a] system of light and a system of language are not the same [...]” (Deleuze and Hand, 1988, p. 32). In both cases, it is “the ethical foundation, in terms of culture and socialization, that cannot be codified that makes law effective” (Gilman, 2005, pp. 23–24). This moment of failure, created by an attempt at moral superimposition, simultaneously established the brief for an alternative approach.

Therefore, rather than an approach of compliance, my decision to view the problem through the critical lens of care ethics made the spatial landscape of situated obligations for care apparent. This is what I term the “carescape”, and, as such, it will become the focus of my future work (see [Chapter 9.7](#)).

9.2 Theoretical Framework

In this thesis, I have argued that “care”, an essential quality of architectural practice, is being eroded and replaced by an approach of “compliance”. I suggested that this shift has been facilitated by a combination of the architect’s diminishing agency and the increasing complexity of legal and contractual structures of the global value chain. I supported the theoretical framework of my argument and analysis of the primary research through an extensive selection of literature.

I began by stating that in English common law, the duty of care requires a sufficient relationship of ‘proximity’ between a claimant and defendant and for damage to be ‘reasonably foreseeable’ (Caparo Industries PLC v Dickman, 1990) on “the information available” (Hadley & Anor v Baxendale & Ors, 1854). However, as a “complex social issue” (Conklin, 2003), moral dilemmas such as modern slavery are considered “wicked problems” (Rittel and Webber, 1973). As such, some suggest they are not actually solvable, merely negotiable (Plowright, 2014, p. 27). As social practices result from complex and emergent processes over which no single actor has control, our approach to public policy must be reconsidered (Shove *et al.*, 2012, p. 144). I have demonstrated how this legalist approach to modern slavery in our globalised world can be inadequate and attempts at ‘compliance’ counterproductive.

My research has sought to understand how we might reimagine our duty of care. A care that can overcome the challenges of proximity and complexity, “[...] to care for distant others?” (Lawson, 2007, p. 6). In response, I used Schön's approach of “reflection-in-action” to examine and critique my practice and bring new meaning (Schön, 1983, p. 61). Becoming aware of my “tacit frame” and then modifying the values of my practice (Schön, 1983, p. 310) allowed me to reframe my reality (Schön, 1983, p. 309), shifting from compliance to care. Tronto's (1993, pp. 126–136) definition of care established this framing and is used to evaluate its integrity (Tronto, 1993, p. 136).

I applied social practice theory to suggest that change is possible from an individual perspective through the forging and breaking of the links, relationships, networks and partnerships in our everyday practice (Shove *et al.*, 2012, p. 163). I argued that care is a practice (Fitz and Krasny, 2019, p. 29) and a value and, therefore, a standard for assessing and advocating for improved practices (Held, 2005, p. 15). These theories are presented in contrast to the literature on regulation and compliance, extending theories of the geographies of care to the professional (Lawson, 2007, p. 1), and the spatialisation of law, such as defined by Graham as the “lawscape” (Graham, 2011).

In evaluating my integrity in claiming that this research has been conducted using an ethic of care, I respond to Tronto's (1993) framework by citing my attentiveness, responsibility, competence and responsiveness (Tronto, 1993) in undertaking this research. This work has demanded “a proclivity to become aware of need, a willingness to respond and take care of need, the skill of providing good and successful care, and an ability to react positively to need” (Tronto, 1993, pp. 126–136). It is my intent to have responded to the Code's requirements by demonstrating an alternative approach to compliance, and I hope that this standard of care has been upheld.

9.3 Response to the Research Questions

This research project's primary research question was ‘How might RIBA Members uphold their Code of Professional Conduct: to ‘comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery?’. To answer this, I developed four sub-questions that were intended to gather empirical data through mixed methods, which were then systematically analysed. In summary of the arguments made in the main body of this thesis in addressing these questions, I offer the summary responses below.

Research Sub-Question A: Is the Code (Components 5.1 and 5.3 of the RIBA Code of Professional Conduct) fit for purpose?

Response: I present primary data gathered in response to this question in [Chapter 6](#). In conclusion, I argue that the implementation of the RIBA's Code is [ineffective](#) in tackling modern slavery in Member's project supply chains.

Research Sub-Question B: What is the standard of skill and care of the average Member in complying with the Code?

Response: I present primary data gathered in response to this question in [Chapter 7.1.3](#). In conclusion, I argue that “to use supply chains which are free from Modern Slavery”, the standard of skill and care of the average Member is insufficient to comply with the requirements of their Code.

Research Sub-Question C: How prepared to comply with their Code do RIBA Members feel?

Response: In [Chapter 7.2.1](#), I present primary data gathered through interviews to build on the findings of the survey in [Chapter 7.1.4](#) (in particular Survey Question 8, which indicated that respondents did not indicate strongly whether they feel prepared to tackle the eradication of modern slavery in construction supply chains), to argue that Members are not prepared to comply with their Code.

Research Sub-Question D: How might Members effectively manage the risk of modern slavery in their project supply chains?

Response: In [Chapter 7.2.5](#), I present an analysis of the responses provided by interview participants, the results of which form the basis for the professional recommendations in [Chapter 9.5](#). I then set out Member's suggestions to manage the risk of modern slavery in their project supply chains effectively.

However, these findings are not surprising considering the nature of the problem and the policy's aspirations. It is not that the Code's objectives are misplaced, but that Members are not yet ready to meet this requirement. But surely that is their purpose, to strive to advance professional standards? One might argue that modern slavery is an intractable problem that might never be solved, but that should not diminish the RIBA's goals. Sceptics might claim the Code absolves the RIBA of responsibility from one of globalised architectural practice's most urgent socio-political questions. Yet, at the same time, the Code provides an opportunity for Members to hold the RIBA to account. This research supports the RIBA's ambition. It does so by employing a tradition of reflection and self-criticism, activities necessary for progress. Its critique deliberately operates within the institutional framework of the RIBA but from a position of independent academic enquiry. I hope that by positioning this research within this framework, one established to support architects working across scale and territory, it might be used to bring us closer to realising the Code's intent.

9.4 Chapter Conclusions: Domain Knowledge

My literature review provides the contextualisation of the research project, its form and content being the result of my autoethnographic (see paragraph 3 [Chapter 0.1](#) and [Chapter 0.8.1.1.1](#)) and grounded theory approach (see [Chapter 0.8.1.1.2](#)). As such, the material presented is a record of what I consider its intellectual geography, conferred through the critical legitimacy that has been accorded. The categorisation and structure of this material are intended to provide a fuller account and follow a sequence that I consider logical to the narrative of the project, which is summarised here.

In Chapter 2, I provided the contemporary context and defined the research problem. I began by arguing that there is a crisis of care in the construction industry. At the same time, the business case for demonstrating the value(s) of British architects has never been greater. I identified modern slavery as a significant issue to which the Construction industry is particularly prone, with increasing media scrutiny of its dark side. I pointed to the growing movement

towards responsible procurement in response, and the significance of modern slavery to the RIBA through the revision of the Code. How this might be achieved in practice is the subject of this critical research.

In Chapter 3, I provided context with an overview of the project's central theme of ethics, moving then into the professional and pragmatic aspects of ethics in practice. I considered the notion of ethical decision-making and the tensions and complexities that result from wicked problems such as modern slavery.

In Chapter 4, I investigated the complex nature of the modern construction industry and the global forces that have shaped it. I began with an appraisal of the established narrative that construction is slow to change and underperforms. I then considered the effects of capitalism, which led to commodification and the building as a means of revenue. I outlined the globalisation of the industry and the emergence of extraterritorial practice, and discussed the central subject of procurement, as well as the resulting structure, fragmentation, and complexity of the market. I outlined the organisational dynamics of construction projects as Temporary Multi-Organisations (TMOs) and concluded with a focus on how these structures facilitate modern slavery in Members' project supply chains.

In Chapter 5, I offered a deeper understanding of the RIBA Code by revealing its institutional context and exploring the nature of architectural professional practice. This began by considering the ARB and RIBA as central organisations, then a definition of professionalism and professional institutions. To support these concepts, I discussed the notion of self-regulation and the social contract. I then presented ethical codes and their increasing application in industry, followed by an overview of codes of conduct in practice and the fundamentals for their success. Finally, I reviewed the professional standards of the RIBA and the initiatives it supports that are relevant to modern slavery in construction.

In Chapter 6, I provided an overview of governance, regulation, and due diligence. Moving into professional services, I used contract theory to explain the roles and responsibilities of the architect in practice, followed by the management of risk. I then considered the duty of care and negligence in English common law, employment rights and due diligence to establish a rigorous approach to defining due diligence.

To conduct due diligence of the Code's mandated responsibilities, my instinct to make sense of such complexity was to create a diagram. It was hoped that this would enable me to explore and define the complex requirements of the Code. In conclusion, I found that compliance with the Code significantly challenges the normative procedures of British domestic practice. Further, Members are especially vulnerable to risk in jurisdictions outside the UK, either in extraterritorial practice or by using global value chains in their projects. This investigation exposed the limitations of the Code and, more generally, of compliance.

Upon realising its shortcomings, I reflected on my practice and sought to understand whether an alternative approach might go further in achieving the Code's intent. This critical reflection was a form of autoethnographic research, the conclusions of which were a number of observations central to the project's development. I summarise these observations here.

1. The Code is not fit for purpose (see [Chapter 6.9.2](#)).
2. My normative approach of compliance would be ineffective in achieving the Code's intent.
3. An alternative frame would be required to tackle complex social issues such as modern slavery in professional practice (see [Chapter 6.9.3](#)).

In Chapter 7, I presented the primary data gathered through the RIBA Member Survey and Member Interviews in response to Research Sub-Questions B, C and D. Each section began by outlining the method used for the collection of data and its analysis, followed by an analysis of the findings. This data was then structured to respond to the Research Questions.

I found that over 70% of Members have identified human rights risks in their projects, with modern slavery representing over 15% of this figure (see Survey Question 21 [Chapter 7.1.3](#)). The standard of skill and care of the average Member was found to be insufficient to use supply chains which are free from modern slavery and comply with the requirements of their Code (Research Sub-Question B, see [Chapter 7.1.4](#)). In understanding their preparedness, Members communicated a lack of knowledge and experience, and suggested compliance with the Code would be difficult and impractical (Research Sub-Question C, see [Chapter 7.2.4.1](#)).

In exploring how Members might manage the risk of modern slavery in their project supply chains (Research Sub-Question D, see [Chapter 7.2.4.2](#)), they suggested client screening, monitoring projects, abiding by international law, and material specification. Processes for compliance included project monitoring, supply chain auditing, project and risk management, and industry standards and membership schemes. Weaknesses in these processes were identified as a lack of awareness and transparency, corruption, distance, bureaucracy and resourcing, political and institutional support, and the informal economy. These might be improved by increasing awareness and education, defining best practice and conducting due diligence, creating transparency, enhancing contracts, improving agency, and monitoring projects.

In Chapter 8, I provided further analysis of the findings of the previous chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7) by exploring how regulation fails. I began with a popular misconception that modern slavery law provides universal protection for all individuals in the global value chain. Further, I explained that many factors might contribute to its failure even where adequate legislation is in place. I considered the importance of policy implementation and moral disengagement, which offered some explanation for prevailing attitudes to modern slavery. Following this, I outlined the existing research on the challenges of policy language, complexity, and coherence. I presented comparative law, legal territory and the notion of deterritorialisation, and legal legitimacy relevant to global governance. I then emphasised the importance of how we define modern slavery to effectively tackle it, and concluded with a conscious act of recognising “the workers who are exploited”. This analysis will be used to support my response to the research questions (see [Chapter 9.3](#)) professional recommendations (see [Chapter 9.5](#)), and how an alternative approach may develop (see [Chapter 9.7](#)).

9.5 Professional Recommendations

The research hopes to assist modern slavery policy implementation and shape professional practice by suggesting a shift from compliance to care. Its findings should offer value to Members and the wider architectural community, not limited to those delivering work in so-called “high-risk” areas or specifying globally sourced materials. It is especially pertinent to those who might believe that modern slavery is an issue that only exists “elsewhere”. Based on the findings of this research, I make the following urgent recommendations.

Recommendations for Architectural Practitioners

I advocate a values-driven ethical philosophy, rather than a data-driven approach, to align social and commercial objectives and embrace the power of ordinary actions through an ethic of care. This should be supported by practices and the RIBA, as described below.

Recommendations for Architectural Practice

1. Raise Awareness

Awareness-raising must include senior management and eventually encompass all project members to establish concepts of social sustainability (Reuvid, 2012, pp. 454–455).

2. Develop a Deeper Understanding

Knowledge should be transferred to develop a level of thinking that may serve as the foundation for strategy and execution, supported by practical, work-based learning (Reuvid, 2012, p. 455).

3. Embed Best Practice

Implementation of social sustainability should include the cultivation of champions and a commitment to best practice (Reuvid, 2012, p. 456).

Recommendations for the RIBA

1. Commission a RIBA Modern Slavery Focus Group

Commission a RIBA modern slavery focus group to explore the issue of modern slavery in Members’ project supply chains and commit to achieving the highest professional standard in architectural practice. The group might be chaired by the RIBA and consist of practising Members, construction, law, supply chains and insurance experts, policymakers and other stakeholders. Its aim should be to address the policy implementation gap for Principle 3, Clause 5.1 of the RIBA Code of Professional Conduct (Members shall comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery). The work should include a risk assessment of the issue at the operational level of architectural practice from design to delivery and naturally be conducted rigorously and transparently. This modern slavery “way ahead” should include a plan to fulfil agreed statutory and mandatory objectives in response to the recommendations of the RIBA’s Decade of Action: RIBA Members and the Sustainable Development Goals.

2. Develop a Modern Slavery Policy Implementation and Monitoring Strategy

Develop an effective policy implementation and monitoring strategy for Principle 3, item 5.1 of the Code, to define the framework for the RIBA’s regulatory approach. This should be supported by guidance on Members’ duties and

safeguards to ensure an understanding of how to comply with legal and professional obligations in their projects through practical and verifiable methods. If a compliance model is to be maintained, an appropriate compliance response model ((Ayres and Braithwaite, 1992) after (Scholz, 1984b)) should be published to ensure consistent and proportionate governance within an environment of implementation support, education, and auditing.

3. Provide Modern Slavery Support and Guidance

a) Policy

1. Assert the equal standing of social responsibility with that of the environment in the definition of “sustainable development”.
2. Define best practice as a mandatory approach to modern slavery due diligence, such as that defined in the United Nations Guiding Principles for Business and Human Rights (UNGP-BHR)*
3. Encourage Early Supply Chain Involvement (ESI) and Environmental, Social, and Corporate Governance (ESG) in practice.

b) Awareness

1. Promote a practice of care over regulatory compliance in complex human rights issues.
2. Foreground the issue of modern slavery in construction project supply chains by highlighting the risks globally from material extraction to project completion.
3. Initiate discourse on modern slavery from an early education in RIBA-validated courses to amplify the voice of practitioners' lived experience of such issues.

c) Knowledge

1. Expand RIBA CPD Core Curriculum on modern slavery through benchmarking across industries and profiling exemplar projects.
2. Provide signposting and expert guidance for successfully navigating practice in high-risk areas of architectural practice.
3. Collaborate with local partners in jurisdictions where RIBA international offices are established to develop local knowledge and resources for non-Eurocentric approaches to law and human rights.

d) Procedure

1. Identify appropriate procedures for achieving regulatory compliance. Example: Due diligence record-keeping and risk management strategies with case studies, such as an audit of the practitioners' office (IT (phones, computers, etc.), domestic contracts (cleaning, maintenance, taxis, etc.))
2. Provide guidance for ensuring adequate legal protection against modern slavery liabilities. Example: A clause compatible with the RIBA Professional Services Contract to define obligations, limitations and indemnity and secure the informed consent of all parties to the design and construction contract.
3. Provide due diligence sample material for Members, such as a questionnaire for clients, consultants and suppliers and a modern slavery policy document for Chartered Practice.

*UNGP-BHR require business enterprises to have “a human rights due diligence process to identify, prevent, mitigate and account for how they address their impacts on human rights” (United Nations, 2011).

9.6 Original Contribution

In satisfying the requirements of the RCA and Examiner’s criteria for the award of PhD, I argue that the research articulated here is original in its design, knowledge synthesis, implications, and presentation (Wellington, 2010, p. 82). Further, the research contributes to the advancement of knowledge and understanding of the standards of appropriate independent research practice. This project provides a framework for discussion and for the development of future academic and industry endeavours. I argue that this has been achieved as follows.

Major Contribution: A New and Substantive Primary Dataset.

I have generated a new and substantive primary dataset on modern slavery by conducting the first baseline study of the world’s oldest professional institution for architects. Gaining access to such organisations to create ethnographic evidence of members is challenging. Securing primary data on the subject of modern slavery in professional practice makes this work unique. The resulting data can be used as a baseline for further academic study in the fields of critical practice, modern slavery, and regulation.

The dataset identifies the prevalence of modern slavery risk in Member’s project supply chains (see Survey Question 21 [Chapter 7.1.4](#)), their standard of skill and care (see [Chapter 7.1.4](#)), feelings of preparedness (see [Chapter 7.2.4.1](#)), and how they might effectively manage such risk (see [Chapter 7.2.4.2](#)). The research provides evidence of the weaknesses of compliance as a normative approach to complex social issues such as modern slavery in professional practice (see [Chapter 6.9.3](#)). The originality of this work is further reinforced by its application to industry (Wellington, 2010, p. 82) through published articles and recommendations, as well as its collaboration (see [Chapter 0.6](#)) and impact (see [Chapter 0.7](#)).

Supporting Contribution 1: Research Method and Positionality

The project uses an innovative research methodology (see [Chapter 0.8](#)), built from a distinct autoethnographic position (see paragraph 3 [Chapter 0.1](#) and [Chapter 0.8.1.1.1](#)). Further, I demonstrate independent critical ability (Wellington, 2010, p. 82) through applying critical practice. Working across arts and humanities disciplines, the project demonstrates industry crossover at its core through knowledge exchange and industrial collaboration. Studies of architectural practice (see [Chapter 1.3](#)) and modern slavery in situ (LeBaron, 2021a, p. 31) require particular attention. As practitioner research of modern slavery, the work advances an important yet underdeveloped research field. Using action research (see [Chapter 0.8.1.1.5](#)), the project has effectively engaged Members through its survey and industry report, increasing general awareness and establishing a baseline for further collaboration with industry.

The grounded theory approach has provided a unique position in the literature (see [Chapter 0.8.1.1.2](#)), enabling the identification of a gap between theory and practice in professional standards (see [Chapter 1.3](#)). Using this method, I was able to test the literature on compliance in real time using a practitioner approach. This “reflection-in-action” (Schön, 1983, p. 61) established a feedback loop that helped guide me through the literature, to find new directions and form novel interpretations. This research journey ultimately led to the innovation of care.

Supporting Contribution 2: Enhances Academic Literature on Compliance and Care and Extends the Definition of the Carescape

In seeking to respond to my research questions, my research identifies a gap in the academic fields of compliance and care. In response, I bring together theories of spatialised care with theories of compliance for an alternative approach to ethical decision-making in professional practice (see [Chapter 9.2](#)). It offers a unique case study that is built on and contributes to the theories of care, compliance, professional practice, and modern slavery. I support this using primary ethnographic data, and in doing so, I extend the definition of the carescape (see [Chapter 9.7](#)).

In measuring competence, I connect the legal definition of the duty of care and the carescape. This creates a new intersection between concepts of spatialised care and concepts of compliance. In doing so, I develop the definition of the carescape and add value to this notion. If the architect’s duty of care is defined by what can be foreseen on “the information available” (Hadley & Anor v Baxendale & Ors, 1854), the carescape provides an opportunity to extend their field of view and, therefore, practice. To see moments in which care is required beyond the limits of contracts improves the ability to shape behaviour accordingly. Therefore, practice must be viewed through an appropriate lens, as to understand its risks is to recognise its possibilities. These moments offer the potential for a better future; for practitioners to embody their values, and increase their value. Such care should be the measure of professional competency.

Supporting Contribution 3: Making “The Information Available”

English civil law establishes such principles as the duty of care (Donoghue v Stevenson, 1932), the extent to which UK-domiciled parent companies may owe a duty of care (Vedanta Resources PLC & Anor v Lungowe & Ors, 2019), the relationship of proximity and the determination of consequential damages that the breaching party could not have foreseen on “the information available” (Hadley & Anor v Baxendale & Ors, 1854). The body of knowledge on which the profession is founded, therefore, not only establishes “the information available”, it determines its liability. By making the risks of modern slavery in Members’ project supply chains “available”, their potential defence that these risks could not have been foreseen is negated. Further, despite the argued limitations of regulation, this research makes visible the standards to which practitioners will be held to account, which are important drivers in shaping the future of architectural practice.

9.7 Future Research: The Carescape

My theoretical framework of the carescape is built on the metaphorical concepts and the spatialisation of care established in the literature. These are based on Simmel's (1908) early analysis of the sociology of space, exploring the interplay between proximity and distance and the capacity for abstraction. Of particular relevance is the notion of the fourth space, where spaces are ordered in ways to understand that which is hidden from us (Simmel, 1908). In 1938, Wirth observed the paradox of care and distance as "[...] the coincidence of close physical contact and distant social relations, glaring contrasts, a complex pattern of segregation, [...]" (Wirth, 1938, p. 1). In 1990, Appadurai established the terms ethnoscapas, technoscapas, finanscapas, mediascapas, and ideoscapas to describe global flows. The suffix -scape suggests these landscapes' fluid, irregular nature (Appadurai, 1990, pp. 6–7). Massey observes the sense of responsibility to care for distant places produced through mutual constitution, not because of what we have done, but because of what we are (Massey, 2004). Milligan and Wiles use the term 'landscapes of care' to explain how care is affected by where it takes place (Milligan and Wiles, 2010). In 2012, Bowlby distinguished between 'caringscape' and 'carescape' concerning health (Bowlby, 2012). Caring at a distance is contingent on the potential to extend an ethos of care to those spatially removed.

Despite its early conceptualisation and resurgence in care ethics (see [Chapter 1.1](#)), there has been relatively little attention on spatialised care in practice. Work by Corbridge brings care and development ethics into focus (Corbridge, 1993, 1998). Smith asks, how far should we care? (Smith, 1998). In geography and media studies, Silk considers caring at a distance (Silk, 1998). Smith (2000, 2005) and McEwan and Goodman (2010) consider care and geography. Barnett et al. propose a model of moral agency in ethical consumption (Barnett *et al.*, 2005), and Popke intersects the fields of care and consumption (Popke, 2006, p. 507). Tonkiss explores notions of propinquity and indifference through work on care and the city (Tonkiss, 2003) and concepts of care and globalisation (Tonkiss, 2006, 2008). Ivanova (2016) investigates how care interacts with healthcare governance, noting, "There are multiple landscapes of care, which exist in multiple entanglements" (Ivanova *et al.*, 2016, p. 1339). However, the literature review and primary research findings indicate a gap in the definition and performance of caring responsibilities in contemporary professional practice, which will be the focus of my future work.

Some institutions, in this case, the RIBA, can exert influence and shape change far beyond their immediate context, reinforce prevailing socioeconomic structures, or alternatively shape them. Reflecting on the carescape, a paradox of the scales of power is revealed. Deleuze expresses this notion by claiming that "power is local because it is never global, but it is not local or localised because it is diffuse" (Deleuze and Hand, 1988, p. 26). This is perhaps due to the nature of power, in that it is holistic, depending on the relationship between every individual. Deleuze defines power as a social space. It is not an attribute, but a relation between forces, passing equally through the dominant and dominating (Deleuze and Hand, 1988, p. 27). Perhaps this offers hope: if power is dependent on the individual, it is the individual who holds the potential for change.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Survey Data

1a. Survey Questions

Q1. (Consent)

Q2. Modern Slavery is important to my company and the work I do.

Q3. I am confident that the procedures in my projects are effective in preventing modern slavery.

Q4. I am confident in my abilities to ensure modern slavery does not exist in my project supply chains.

Q5. I am happy with the amount of training I have received in the implementation of modern slavery diligence.

Q6. How much training have you received in the implementation of modern slavery diligence?

Q7. I have sought to raise awareness of the issues of Modern Slavery in construction (Requirement extracted from RIBA Code 5.2: *Members should seek to raise awareness of the issues of Modern Slavery in construction*).

Q8. I feel prepared to tackle the eradication of Modern Slavery in construction supply chains.

Q9. My company has a Modern Slavery policy statement (Requirement extracted from QMNAPBHP Section 1.1.1).

Q10. I have a good understanding of my company's Modern Slavery policy statement and its requirements in relation to my projects.

Q11. I comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery (Requirement extracted from RIBA Code 5.1: *Members shall comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery*).

Q12. I am familiar with the provisions of the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015 (Requirement extracted from RIBA Code GN 5.1: *Members should be familiar with the provisions of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 in the UK, and any subsequent updates*).

Q13. I am aware of the modern slavery legislation in the countries in which I practise (Requirement extracted from RIBA Code GN 5.1: *Members should be aware of any similar legislation in the jurisdictions in which they practise*).

Q14. I exercise reasonable skill and care to use materials that are free from modern slavery in my projects, including the labour used in their extraction, manufacture and production (Requirement extracted from RIBA Code 5.3: *Members shall exercise reasonable skill and care to use supply chains which are free from Modern Slavery*. and GN 5.3: *'Supply chains' include both materials and people. Members should be aware of the labour used in the extraction, manufacture and production of materials they use or specify, as well as the direct labour involved in their projects*).

Q15. I exercise reasonable skill and care to ensure that the labour used in my projects is free from modern slavery. (Requirement extracted from RIBA Code 5.3: *Members shall exercise reasonable skill and care to use supply chains which are free from Modern Slavery*. and GN 5.3: *'Supply chains' include both materials and people. Members should be aware of the labour used in the extraction, manufacture and production of materials they use or specify, as well as the direct labour involved in their projects*).

Q16. I treat my own supply chains fairly (Requirement extracted from RIBA Code 5.4: *Members shall treat their own supply chains fairly*).

Q17. I would report abusive labour practices to proper and recognised authorities if I became aware of them in connection with my projects (Requirement extracted from RIBA Code 5.5: *Members shall report abusive labour*

practices to proper and recognised authorities when they become aware of them in connection with any projects undertaken).

Q18. I have access to a complaint mechanism to report abusive labour practices in connection with my projects.

Q19. A record of modern slavery due diligence is maintained for all my projects.

Q20. At which stages of the supply chain have you identified human rights risks? (Requirement extracted from QMNAPBHP Section 2.2.1).

Q21. What human rights risks have you identified in your projects? (Requirement extracted from QMNAPBHP Section 2.3.3).

Q22. How were these risks managed?

Interrogable Questions (for deeper analysis through cross-tabulation)

Q23. In what country do you currently reside?

Q24. How would you describe your current employment status?

Q25. In what country is the company that employs you based? (Hereinafter referred to as 'the company')

Q26. In what country is the company headquartered?

Q27. In what countries does the company provide professional services?

Q28. What is the legal form of the company?

Q29. What is the size of the company?

Q30. Is the company legally required to publish an annual slavery and human trafficking statement under the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015?

Q31. Is the company a RIBA Chartered Practice?

Q32. What is your RIBA membership type?

Q33. What is your classification group?

1b. Structure of Survey Data in Response to Research Questions

Research Question B: What is the standard of skill of the average Member to comply with the Code?

- Survey Question 3. I am confident that the procedures in my projects are effective in preventing modern slavery.
- Survey Question 4. I am confident in my abilities to ensure modern slavery does not exist in my project supply chains.
- Survey Question 5. I am happy with the amount of training I have received in the implementation of modern slavery diligence.
- Survey Question 6. How much training have you received in the implementation of modern slavery diligence?
- Survey Question 7. I have sought to raise awareness of the issues of Modern Slavery in construction.
- Survey Question 8. I feel prepared to tackle the eradication of Modern Slavery in construction supply chains.

- Survey Question 9. My company has a Modern Slavery policy statement
- Survey Question 10. I have a good understanding of my company's Modern Slavery policy statement and its requirements in relation to my projects
- Survey Question 12. I am familiar with the provisions of the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015.
- Survey Question 13. I am aware of the modern slavery legislation in the countries in which I practise.
- Survey Question 18. I have access to a complaint mechanism to report abusive labour practices in connection with my projects.
- Survey Question 20. At which stages of the supply chain have you identified human rights risks?
- Survey Question 21. What human rights risks have you identified in your projects?
- Survey Question 22. How were these risks managed?
- Survey Question 30. Is the company legally required to publish an annual slavery and human trafficking statement under the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015

Research Question C: What is the standard of Care of the average Member to comply with the Code?

- Survey Question 2. Modern Slavery is important to my company and the work I do.
- Survey Question 11. I comply with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery.
- Survey Question 14. I exercise reasonable skill and care to use materials that are free from modern slavery in my projects, including the labour used in their extraction, manufacture and production.
- Survey Question 15. I exercise reasonable skill and care to ensure that the labour used in my projects is free from modern slavery.
- Survey Question 16. I treat my own supply chains fairly.
- Survey Question 17. I would report abusive labour practices to proper and recognised authorities if I became aware of them in connection with my projects.
- Survey Question 19. A record of modern slavery due diligence is maintained for all my projects

Interrogable Questions (for deeper analysis through cross-tabulation)

- Survey Question 23. In what country do you currently reside?
- Survey Question 24. How would you describe your current employment status?
- Survey Question 25. In what country is the company that employs you based?
- Survey Question 26. In what country is the company headquartered?
- Survey Question 27. In what countries does the company provide professional services?
- Survey Question 28. What is the legal form of the company?
- Survey Question 29. What is the size of the company?
- Survey Question 30. Is the company legally required to publish an annual slavery and human trafficking statement under the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015
- Survey Question 31. Is the company a RIBA Chartered Practice?
- Survey Question 32. What is your RIBA membership type?
- Survey Question 33. What is your classification group?

1c. Survey Response Data

Survey Question 2

Of 826 respondents, 821 (99.4%) responded to this question, whilst 5 (0.6%) did not respond. Of the 821 responses, the highest number of respondents, 257 (31.1%) agreed that modern slavery is important to their company and the work they do, followed by 234 (28.3%) who strongly agreed. The third-highest number of respondents, 219 (26.5%), neither disagreed nor agreed. The least number of respondents, 79 (9.6%), strongly disagreed, while only 32 (3.9%) disagreed. 5 (0.6%) respondents did not answer this question.

Survey Question 3

Of 826 respondents, 821 (99.4%) responded to this question, while 5 (0.6%) did not respond. Of the 821 respondents, the highest number of respondents, 280 (33.9%) agreed, 223 (27.0%) strongly agreed, 251 (30.4%) neither agreed nor disagreed, 50 (6.1%) disagreed, and 17 (2.1%) strongly disagreed.

Survey Question 4

Of 826 respondents, 822 (99.5%) responded to this question, while 4 (0.5%) did not respond. Of the 822 respondents, 217 (26.3%) agreed, 108 (13.1%) strongly agreed, 284 (34.4%) neither agreed nor disagreed, 176 (21.3%) disagreed, and 37 (4.5%) strongly disagreed. The highest number of respondents, 325 (39.4%) agree or strongly agree.

Survey Question 5

Of 826 respondents, 823 (99.6%) responded to this question, while 3 (0.4%) did not respond. Of the 823 respondents, the highest number of respondents, 297 (36.0%), neither agree nor disagree, followed by 259 (31.4%) respondents who disagreed and 73 (8.8%) strongly disagree. Further, 141 (17.1%) agreed, while 53 (6.4%) strongly agreed.

Survey Question 6

Of 826 respondents, 822 (99.5%) responded to this question, while 4 (0.5%) did not respond. Of the 822 respondents, 488 (59.1%) had received no training in the implementation of modern slavery diligence, 133 (16.1%) received less than 1 hour, 154 (18.6%) received more than 1 hour, 31 (3.8%) received more than 5 hours and 16 (1.9%) received more than 10 hours.

Survey Question 7

Of 826 respondents, 821 (99.4%) responded to this question, whilst 5 (0.6%) did not respond. Of the 821 responses, 89 (10.8%) strongly disagreed, 212 (25.7%) disagreed, 325 (39.3%) neither agreed nor disagreed, 160 (19.4%) agreed, and 35 (4.2%) strongly agreed that they sought to increase the awareness of the issues of Modern Slavery in construction.

Survey Question 8

Of 826 respondents, 820 (99.3%) responded to this question, while 6 (0.7%) did not respond. Of the 820 respondents, 238 (28.8%) respondents agreed that they felt prepared to tackle the eradication of modern slavery in the construction supply chain, 75 (9.1%) strongly disagreed, 223 (27.0%) neither disagreed nor agreed, 216 (26.2%) disagreed, and 68 (8.2%) strongly disagreed.

Survey Question 9

Of 826 respondents, 730 (88.4%) responded to this question, while 96 (11.6%) did not respond. Of the 730 respondents, 359 (43.5%) stated that their company does not have a modern slavery policy statement, while 261 (31.6%) stated that their company has a modern slavery policy statement. 110 (13.3%) responded that they don't know if this is the case.

Survey Question 10

Of 826 respondents, 728 (88.1%) responded to this question, while 98 (11.9%) did not respond. Of the 728 respondents, 72 (8.7%) strongly disagreed, 119 (14.4%) disagreed, 312 (37.8%) neither disagreed nor agreed, 158 (19.1%) agreed, and 67 (8.1%) agreed that they have a good understanding of their company's modern slavery policy statement and its requirement in relation to their projects.

Survey Question 11

Of 826 respondents, 729 (88.3%) responded to this question, whilst 97 (11.7%) did not respond. Of the 729 respondents, 12 (1.5%) strongly disagreed, 22 (2.7%) disagreed, 306 (37.0%) neither agreed nor disagreed, 270 (32.7%) agreed, and 119 (14.4%) strongly agreed that they comply with all legislation concerning modern slavery.

Survey Question 12

Of 826 respondents, 730 (88.4%) responded to this question, whilst 96 (11.6%) did not respond. Of the 730 respondents, 59 (7.1%) strongly disagree, 220 (26.6%) disagree, 212 (25.7%) neither agreed nor disagreed, 205 (24.8%) agree, 34 (4.1%) strongly agree that they are familiar with the provisions of the MSA.

Survey Question 13

Of 826 respondents, 728 (88.1%) responded to this question, whilst 98 (11.9%) did not respond. Of the 728 respondents, 49 (5.9%) strongly disagree, 167 (20.2%) disagree, 198 (24.0%) neither agree nor disagree, 265 (32.1%)

agree, and 49 (5.9%) strongly agree that they are aware of the modern slavery legislation in the countries in which they practice.

Survey Question 14

Of 826 respondents, 673 (81.5%) responded to this question, whilst 153 (18.5%) did not respond. Of the 673 respondents, 23 (2.8%) strongly disagreed, 85 (10.3%) disagreed, 266 (32.2%) neither agreed nor disagreed, 252 (30.5%) agreed, and 47 (5.7%) strongly agreed that they exercise reasonable skill and care to use materials that are free from modern slavery in their projects, including the labour used in their extraction, manufacture and production.

Survey Question 15

Of 826 respondents, 674 (81.6%) responded to this question, whilst 152 (18.4%) did not respond. Of the 674 respondents, 17 (2.1%) strongly disagreed, 57 (6.9%) disagreed, 193 (23.4%) neither agreed nor disagreed, 329 (39.8%) agreed, and 78 (9.4%) strongly agreed that they exercise reasonable skill and care to ensure that the labour used in their projects is free from modern slavery.

Survey Question 16

Of 826 respondents, 673 (81.5%) responded to this question, whilst 153 (18.5%) did not respond. Of the 673 respondents, 96 (11.6%) were neutral, 363 (43.9%) agreed, and 206 (24.9%) strongly agreed that they treat their own supply chains fairly.

Survey Question 17

Of 826 respondents, 674 (81.6%) responded to this question, whilst 152 (18.4%) did not respond. Of the 674 respondents, 4 (0.5%) respondents strongly disagreed, 4 (0.5%) disagreed, 367 (4.4%) neither disagreed nor agreed, 289 (42.5%) agreed, and 345 (50.8%) strongly agreed that they would report abusive labour practices to proper and recognized authorities if they became aware of them in connection with their projects.

Survey Question 18

Of 826 respondents, 672 (81.4%) responded to this question, whilst 154 (18.4%) did not respond. Of the 672 respondents, 27 (3.3%) strongly disagreed, 150 (18.2%) disagreed, 255 (30.9%) neither disagreed nor agreed, 167 (20.2%) agreed, and 73 (8.8%) strongly agreed.

Survey Question 19

Of 826 respondents, 673 (81.5%) responded to this question, whilst 153 (18.5%) did not respond. Of the 673 respondents, 101 (12.2%) respondents strongly disagreed, 300 (36.3%) disagreed, 213 (25.8%) neither disagreed nor agreed, 42 (5.1%) agreed, and 17 (2.1%) strongly agreed that a record of modern slavery due diligence is maintained for all their projects.

Survey Question 20

Of 826 respondents, 628 (76%) responded to this question, whilst 198 (24%) did not respond. This question format is multiple choice, and respondents were allowed to choose more than one option.

Survey Question 21

Of 826 respondents, 626 (75.8%) responded to this question, whilst 200 (24.2%) did not respond. This question format is multiple choice, and respondents were allowed to choose more than one option.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Health and safety at work	328	16.5
Employment and working conditions	228	11.5
Discrimination	207	10.4
Environmental protection and health	201	10.1
None	181	9.1
Corruption and bribery	155	7.8
Data protection and privacy	136	6.8
Modern slavery	96	4.8
Consumer protection and product responsibility	92	4.6
Conflicts and security	83	4.2
Land use and property rights	85	4.3
Child labour and youth employment	63	3.2
Don't know	50	2.5
Education	42	2.1
Freedom of association	35	1.8
Other	7	0.4
Total	626	100

Survey Question 23

Of 826 respondents, 598 (72.4%) responded to this question, whilst 228 (27.2%) did not respond.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
United Kingdom	526	63.7
United States of America	8	1.0
Australia	5	0.6
China	5	0.6
Ireland	5	0.6
United Arab Emirates	5	0.6
Canada	4	0.5
France	4	0.5
Saudi Arabia	4	0.5
Qatar	3	0.4
Luxembourg	2	0.2
Nigeria	2	0.2
Singapore	2	0.2
Spain	2	0.2
Thailand	2	0.2
Afghanistan	1	0.1
Barbados	1	0.1
Belgium	1	0.1
Cyprus	1	0.1
Germany	1	0.1
Greece	1	0.1
Italy	1	0.1
Japan	1	0.1
Jordan	1	0.1
Kuwait	1	0.1
Malaysia	1	0.1
Maldives	1	0.1
Philippines	1	0.1
South Africa	1	0.1
South Korea	1	0.1
Switzerland	1	0.1
Uganda	1	0.1
Uruguay	1	0.1
Zimbabwe	1	0.1
Not answered	228	0
Total	826	100

Survey Question 24

Of 826 respondents, 605 (73.2%) responded to this question, whilst 221 (26.8%) did not respond.

Survey Question 25

Of 826 respondents, 586 (70.9%) responded to this question, whilst 240 (29.1%) did not respond.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
United Kingdom	515	62.3
United States of America	9	1.1
Australia	5	0.6
China	5	0.6
Ireland	5	0.6
Canada	4	0.5
Saudi Arabia	4	0.5
United Arab Emirates	4	0.5
France	3	0.4
Jordan	2	0.2
Luxembourg	2	0.2
Nigeria	2	0.2
Qatar	2	0.2
Singapore	2	0.2
Switzerland	2	0.2
Thailand	2	0.2
Afghanistan	1	0.1
Barbados	1	0.1
Belgium	1	0.1
Cyprus	1	0.1
Denmark	1	0.1
Germany	1	0.1
Greece	1	0.1
Italy	1	0.1
Japan	1	0.1
Malaysia	1	0.1
Maldives	1	0.1
Philippines	1	0.1
South Africa	1	0.1
South Korea	1	0.1
Spain	1	0.1
Tonga	1	0.1
Uruguay	1	0.1
Zimbabwe	1	0.1
Not answered	240	29.1
Total	826	100.0

Survey Question 26

Of 826 respondents, 583 (70.6%) responded to this question, whilst 243 (29.4%) did not respond.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
United Kingdom	504	61.0
United States of America	17	2.1
Australia	7	0.8
Canada	7	0.8
China	7	0.8
France	4	0.5
Ireland	4	0.5
Singapore	3	0.4
Denmark	2	0.2
Luxembourg	2	0.2
Nigeria	2	0.2
Saudi Arabia	2	0.2
Switzerland	2	0.2
Afghanistan	1	0.1
Barbados	1	0.1
Belgium	1	0.1
Germany	1	0.1
Greece	1	0.1
Italy	1	0.1
Japan	1	0.1
Jordan	1	0.1
Malaysia	1	0.1
Maldives	1	0.1
Philippines	1	0.1
Qatar	1	0.1
South Africa	1	0.1
South Korea	1	0.1
Spain	1	0.1
Thailand	1	0.1
Uganda	1	0.1
United Arab Emirates	1	0.1
Venezuela	1	0.1
Zimbabwe	1	0.1
Not answered	243	29.4
Total	826	100.0

Survey Question 27

Of 826 respondents, 590 (71.4%) responded to this question, whilst 236 (28.6%) did not respond.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
United Kingdom	526	31.38
United States of America	47	2.80
Ireland	43	2.57
United Arab Emirates	43	2.57
China	41	2.45
France	39	2.33
Australia	38	2.27
Italy	38	2.27
Saudi Arabia	36	2.15
Canada	30	1.79
Germany	30	1.79
Qatar	30	1.79
India	26	1.55
Switzerland	26	1.55
Singapore	24	1.43
Belgium	20	1.19
Japan	20	1.19
Malaysia	20	1.19
Spain	19	1.13
South Africa	17	1.01
Egypt	16	0.95
Greece	16	0.95
Russia	16	0.95
Netherlands	15	0.89
Sweden	15	0.89
Denmark	14	0.84
Mexico	14	0.84
Poland	14	0.84
Portugal	13	0.78
Cyprus	12	0.72
Oman	12	0.72
Philippines	12	0.72
Turkey	12	0.72
Bahrain	11	0.66
Brazil	11	0.66
New Zealand	11	0.66
Nigeria	11	0.66
South Korea	11	0.66
Lebanon	10	0.60
Austria	9	0.54
Jordan	9	0.54
Thailand	9	0.54
Finland	8	0.48
Colombia	7	0.42
Ghana	7	0.42
Indonesia	7	0.42
Israel	7	0.42
Kenya	7	0.42
Kuwait	7	0.42
Norway	7	0.42
Vietnam	7	0.42

Chile	6	0.36
Iceland	6	0.36
Sri Lanka	6	0.36
Argentina	5	0.30
Cambodia	5	0.30
Croatia	5	0.30
Czechia (Czech Republic)	5	0.30
Hungary	5	0.30
Monaco	5	0.30
Morocco	5	0.30
Azerbaijan	4	0.24
Bangladesh	4	0.24
Barbados	4	0.24
Iran	4	0.24
Iraq	4	0.24
Latvia	4	0.24
Luxembourg	4	0.24
Mauritius	4	0.24
Pakistan	4	0.24
Peru	4	0.24
Romania	4	0.24
Uganda	4	0.24
Angola	3	0.18
Bahamas	3	0.18
Botswana	3	0.18
Central African Republic	3	0.18
Costa Rica	3	0.18
Jamaica	3	0.18
Kazakhstan	3	0.18
Lithuania	3	0.18
Malta	3	0.18
Myanmar (formerly Burma)	3	0.18
Panama	3	0.18
San Marino	3	0.18
Tanzania	3	0.18
Zimbabwe	3	0.18
Afghanistan	2	0.12
Belarus	2	0.12
Bolivia	2	0.12
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2	0.12
Brunei	2	0.12
Bulgaria	2	0.12
Burkina Faso	2	0.12
Côte d'Ivoire	2	0.12
Democratic Republic of Congo	2	0.12
Ecuador	2	0.12
Grenada	2	0.12
Honduras	2	0.12
Libya	2	0.12
Malawi	2	0.12
Maldives	2	0.12
Palestine State	2	0.12
Rwanda	2	0.12
Saint Kitts and Nevis	2	0.12
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	2	0.12
Slovakia	2	0.12
Trinidad and Tobago	2	0.12

Tunisia	2	0.12
Ukraine	2	0.12
Uruguay	2	0.12
Yemen	2	0.12
Algeria	1	0.06
Bhutan	1	0.06
Burundi	1	0.06
Congo (Congo-Brazzaville)	1	0.06
Cuba	1	0.06
Djibouti	1	0.06
Dominican Republic	1	0.06
El Salvador	1	0.06
Equatorial Guinea	1	0.06
Ethiopia	1	0.06
Gambia	1	0.06
Georgia	1	0.06
Guinea	1	0.06
Laos	1	0.06
Liberia	1	0.06
Moldova	1	0.06
Mongolia	1	0.06
Mozambique	1	0.06
Namibia	1	0.06
Papua New Guinea	1	0.06
Saint Lucia	1	0.06
Senegal	1	0.06
Serbia	1	0.06
Sierra Leone	1	0.06
Slovenia	1	0.06
Solomon Islands	1	0.06
Somalia	1	0.06
Sudan	1	0.06
Suriname	1	0.06
Syria	1	0.06
Tajikistan	1	0.06
Uzbekistan	1	0.06
Venezuela	1	0.06
Not answered	236	0
Total	826	100

Survey Question 28

Of 826 respondents, 589 (71.3%) responded to this question, whilst 237 (28.7%) did not respond.

Survey Question 29

Of 826 respondents, 581 (70.33%) responded to this question, whilst 235 (28.5%) did not respond.

Survey Question 30

Of 826 respondents, 594 (71.9%) responded to this question, whilst 232 (28.1%) did not respond.

Survey Question 31

Of 826 respondents, 593 (71.8%) responded to this question, whilst 233 (28.2%) did not respond.

Survey Question 32

Of 826 respondents, 597 (72.2%) responded to this question, whilst 229 (27.7%) did not respond.

1d. Survey Cross Tabulation Analysis Data

Survey Question 2.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the larger the practice, the more important modern slavery is to Member's companies and the work they do (51.4% sole practitioners agree and strongly agree, 59.6% small practice, 65.3% medium-sized practice, 68.5% large practice). Note: 29.6% missing in a categorical variable (821/578).

Survey Question 3.

Cross tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that Members who are least confident that the procedures in their projects are effective in preventing modern slavery are large practices (48.8% agree, strongly agree), the most confident being medium-sized practices (74.6% agree, strongly agree). Note: 29.4% is missing in a categorical variable (821/579).

Further, compared with Q33, confidence that the procedures in their projects are effective in preventing modern slavery increases with Members' professional seniority (Classification of Members), from 36.84% agree (Architect <5 years ARB registered), 50.81% agree, strongly agree (Architect 5+ years ARB registered), 62.51% agree, strongly agree (Associate), 60% agree, strongly agree (Salaried Partner/Director), 63.13% agree, strongly agree (Partner/Director/Sole Principal).

Survey Question 4.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q6 indicated that despite most Members asserting confidence in their abilities to ensure modern slavery does not exist in project supply chains, most (59.3% none) have received no training in the implementation of modern slavery diligence.

Further, compared with Q33, confidence in their abilities to ensure modern slavery does not exist in project supply chains increases with Members professional seniority (Classification of Members), from 31.58% agree, strongly agree (Architect <5 years ARB registered), 29.03% agree, strongly agree (Architect 5+ years ARB registered), 37.51% agree, strongly agree (Associate), 33.33% agree, strongly agree (Salaried Partner/Director), 43.82% agree, strongly agree (Partner/Director/Sole Principal).

Survey Question 5.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the larger the practice, the happier Members are with the amount of training they have received in the implementation of modern slavery diligence (21.4% sole practitioners agree and strongly agree, 22.4% small practice, 26.2% medium practice, 30.4% large practice). Note: 29.4% missing in a categorical variable (823/581).

Further, compared with Q33, the data indicates the more junior the Member, the more there is dissatisfaction with the amount of training received in the implementation of modern slavery diligence (Architect (<5 years ARB registered) strongly disagree, disagree 73.69%, Architect (5+ years ARB registered) strongly disagree, disagree 48.39%, Associate strongly disagree, disagree 43.75%, Salaried Partner/Director strongly disagree, disagree 49.09%, Partner/Director/Sole Principal strongly disagree, disagree 30.86%), despite no significant variation in the amount of training received (Survey Question 6).

Survey Question 6.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the larger the practice, the more training Members have received in the implementation of modern slavery diligence. Despite this, 63% of Members at sole practitioners, 57% small practice, 50% medium practice, and 56% large practice have received no training. Note: 29.4% missing in a categorical variable (823/581).

Survey Question 7.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 8.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the larger the practice, the less prepared Members feel about tackling the eradication of Modern Slavery in construction supply chains (40.2% disagree, strongly disagree sole practitioner, 40.8% small practice, 37.3% medium practice, 48.8% large practice). Note: 29.5% is missing in a categorical variable (824/581).

Further, compared with Q33, the feeling of preparedness to tackle the eradication of Modern Slavery in construction supply chains increases with Members professional seniority (Classification of Members), from 15.79% agree, strongly agree (Architect <5 years ARB registered), 40% agree, strongly agree (Architect 5+ years ARB registered), 32.25% agree, strongly agree (Associate), 41.81% agree, strongly agree (Salaried Partner/Director), 43.82% agree, strongly agree (Partner/Director/Sole Principal).

Survey Question 9.

Cross tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the larger the practice, the more likely the Member's company has a Modern Slavery policy statement (8.33% sole practitioner, 28.38% small practice, 57.94% medium-sized practice, 55.2% large practice).

Further, compared with Q28, Members whose company is most likely to have a Modern Slavery policy statement are from Limited Companies (42.66% yes), with Limited Liability Partnerships (41.94% yes) followed by Sole Proprietorships (4% yes).

Survey Question 10.

Cross tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the larger the practice, the more Members assert a good understanding of their company's Modern Slavery policy statement and its requirements in relation to their projects, from sole practitioner (14.28% agree, strongly agree), small practice (30.18% agree, strongly agree), medium practice (45.24% agree, strongly agree), large practice (39.2% agree, strongly agree).

Survey Question 11.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q28 and Q29 indicated that the type or size of practice does not significantly affect Member's response in their compliance with all applicable legislation concerning Modern Slavery.

Survey Question 12.

Cross tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that Members that are most familiar with the provisions of the MSA are from medium practice (41.27% strongly agree, agree), small practice (35.13% strongly agree, agree), large practice (31.2% strongly agree, agree), sole practitioner (29.63% strongly agree, agree),

Further, compared with Q28, Members who are most familiar with the provisions of the MSA are from Limited Companies (38.7% agree, strongly agree), Limited Liability Partnerships (37.09% agree), Sole Proprietorships (25.33% agree, strongly agree).

Compared with Q30, 37.25% of Members stated that they "Don't know" whether their company is legally required to publish an annual slavery and human trafficking statement under the MSA.

Compared with Q33, familiarity with the provisions of the MSA increases with Members professional seniority (Classification of Members), from 21.05% agree (Architect <5 years ARB registered), 28% agree, strongly agree (Architect 5+ years ARB registered), 25% agree, strongly agree (Associate), 29.63% agree, strongly agree (Salaried Partner/Director), 57.41% agree, strongly agree (Partner/Director/Sole Principal).

Survey Question 13.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q9 indicated that most Members (64.2% no, don't know) state that their company has no Modern Slavery policy statement, or do not know if one is available.

Further, compared with Q10, the frequency distribution (27.2% agree, strongly agree) and the mean value (M=3.04) indicate respondents do not indicate strongly whether they have a good understanding of their company Modern Slavery policy statement and its requirements in relation to their projects.

Compared with Q28, Members that are most aware of the modern slavery legislation in the countries in which they practise are from Limited Companies (48.59% agree, strongly agree), Limited Liability Partnerships (38.72% agree, strongly agree), Sole Proprietorships (32% agree, strongly agree).

Compared with Q33, awareness of the modern slavery legislation in the countries in which they practise increases with Members professional seniority (Classification of Members), from 31.58% agree (Architect <5 years ARB registered), 36% agree, strongly agree (Architect 5+ years ARB registered), 37.51% agree, strongly agree (Associate), 41.82% agree, strongly agree (Salaried Partner/Director), 47.24% agree, strongly agree (Partner/Director/Sole Principal).

Survey Question 14.

Cross tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the smaller the practice, the more Members exercise reasonable skill and care to use materials that are free from modern slavery in their projects, including the labour used in their extraction, manufacture and production, from a sole practitioner (52.34% agree, strongly agree), small practice (44.6% agree, strongly agree), medium practice (42.06% agree, strongly agree), large practice (40.8% agree, strongly agree).

Survey Question 15.

Cross tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the smaller the practice, the more Members exercise reasonable skill and care to ensure that the labour used in their projects is free from modern slavery, from sole practitioner (62.62% agree, strongly agree), small practice (66.36% agree, strongly agree), medium-sized practice (65.87% agree, strongly agree), large practice (47.20% agree, strongly agree).

Survey Question 16.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 17.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q18 indicated that despite Member's assertion that they would report abusive labour practices to proper and recognised authorities if they became aware of them in connection with their projects, only

35.8.0% (agree, strongly agree) have access to a complaint mechanism to report abusive labour practices in connection with their projects.

Survey Question 18.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the larger the practice, the more Members have access to a complaint mechanism to report abusive labour practices in connection with their projects, from sole practitioner (21.91% agree, strongly agree), small practice (32.28% agree, strongly agree), medium practice (36.51% agree, strongly agree), large practice (49.6% agree, strongly agree).

Survey Question 19.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 20.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 21.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the size of practice does not significantly affect the Member's total incidence of human rights risks in their projects. However, certain risks are higher in larger practices than in smaller operations. Specifically, the larger the practice, the more Members have identified modern slavery risks in their projects (From 6.54% sole practitioner, 14.41% small practice, 14.29% medium practice, 26.61% large practice).

Further, compared with Q27, the countries in which the company provides professional services influence the type of human rights risk in projects. Notwithstanding an assumed UK demographic response bias, companies with the highest risk of Modern Slavery in their projects provide professional services in the following countries.

United Kingdom 17.60% weighted average ($82/382 * 21.47\%$)

Italy 0.51% weighted average ($14/382 * 3.66\%$)

United States of America 0.44% weighted average ($13/382 * 3.40\%$)

=4 China 0.38% weighted average ($12/382 * 3.14\%$)

=4 United Arab Emirates 0.38% weighted average ($12/382 * 3.14\%$)

=5 Saudi Arabia 0.32% weighted average ($11/382 * 2.88\%$)

=5 Australia 0.32% weighted average ($11/382 * 2.88\%$)

6 Qatar 0.21% weighted average ($9/382 * 2.36\%$)

=7 Singapore 0.17% weighted average ($8/382 * 2.09\%$)

=7 Canada 0.17% 0.17% weighted average ($8/382 * 2.09\%$)

=7 France 0.17% 0.17% weighted average ($8/382 * 2.09\%$)

Survey Question 22.

Cross-tabulation analysis with Q29 indicated that the larger the practice, the more likely risks are managed with formal action, from sole practitioner (11.21%), small practice (14.61%), medium practice (23.39%), large practice (24.29%).

Survey Question 23.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 24.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 25.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 26.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 27.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 28.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 29.

Cross tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 30.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 31.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Survey Question 32.

Cross-tabulation analysis found no significant observations from categorical variables for this question.

Appendix 2: Interview Data

2a. Interview Code Data

Interview quotes in full that were used to generate codes.

Interview Question 1

Code A: Awareness of the Concept of Modern Slavery

Most participants stated that they are aware of the concept of modern slavery in architecture, while very few stated that they have no clear understanding of the concept.

- “You’re aware of modern slavery generally, and also some of the practices that go on [...] you’d hear stories [that] people turn up with gangs of men, weapons on site, enforcers and all that sort of stuff.”
- “With the World Cup going to Qatar, Human Rights became a very big issue. All of a sudden, health and safety on site was top priority. Everything was checked.”
- “[The authorities] unexpectedly turned up in force with the police and completely enclosed the building site and checked the papers of everyone”.

Code B: Limited Exposure

- “Most architects will have no exposure to any of that whatsoever, unless they're motivated from experience.”
- “We deal with small builders and bricklayers and chippies and carpenters who are running their own businesses. [...] So no, it's not something I think we come across.”

Code C: Cultural Difference

- “We have policies which are driving us into slavery [and we must] be to be educated in this whole business of how the world works. [...] we have got to understand that there are different cultures, different socio-economic situations that that should frame our argument.”
- “[W]e need to understand the context of this, but that doesn't mean to say anything is acceptable.”

Code D: Direct Experience of Exploitation (Architectural Practice)

- “[M]y experience of slavery was direct, as an employee being locked in a building and not being able to get out.”
- “Architects are often exploited because they like doing their work. And so people make them draw lovely pictures to then exploit their lovely pictures, and then don't pay them the value of the work they've put in.”
- “[N]ow you have things like internships where people aren't paid, [...] and that has always been a route in.”
- “Working in practice, I've seen glimpses of overworked people. [Such as] the pressure of having to deliver and work at weekends, when the client demands. We feel that if you don't do your job and work extra hours, [practices will] get someone else in. So, I wouldn't call it slavery as such, but you kind of feel threatened indirectly.”

Code E: Globalisation

- “[B]uilding in the past was so much simpler. You used far fewer building materials. There was also a localism, [...] you didn't ship [building materials] vast distances.”

Code F: Witnesses of Exploitation

- “I've seen slavery on building sites in China, when people are locked into containers and made to stay on their building site. Or the worst case in Dubai, where they get shipped to building sites from desert containers. That just breaks my heart. They have their passports taken off them. I don't know if that's modern slavery, but that's what my experience of the international construction industry is.”
- “[A] lot of elements that I witnessed of modern slavery were in Qatar.”
- “[T]he taking away of passports has now stopped [in the UAE], so you can see progress happening. I'm aware that in some other countries this still [occurs], Kuwait, Qatar, and the Kingdom [of Saudi Arabia].”
- “[I]n the UAE, [...] we had a situation on-site recently where the labour camps were not of the condition that you'd expect. They weren't of a habitable condition.”

Code G: Vulnerability

- “You'll find that people who are in a situation where they desperately need the work, will do whatever it takes to get that job. So, their rights are automatically [compromised].”
- “When you're down the chain, you have no protection. You have to work for the money you can get. [...] [Some people are incapable of] unionising or protecting their interests in any way whatsoever, which is really upsetting.”

Interview Question 2

Code A: Shared Responsibility

Most participants stated that the protection of rights is a shared responsibility.

- “I think it has to come from every direction it can. Individuals, governments, practices, everyone. It's a lot like the environmental thing; [...] it's so huge, it's got to come from everyone.”
- “[I]t really is a team effort both horizontally and vertically.”
- “It has to be a shared responsibility. You can't pin it on any one individual.”
- “Everyone across the board. [...] for me it's a responsibility for everyone.”
- “I come back to the idea of shared responsibility [...]. You're not in control of everything that's going on.”

Code B: Government

- “It's got to be government-led. You certainly can't put the onus on individuals. To put the onus on small organisations is unwieldy and won't work. Perhaps large organisations [...], but I think it's got to be top-down.”
- “Definitely governments. I think that the biggest entity should take action.”
- “Each country has to set standards for employment.”

- “Government can introduce identity cards, nobody else can. Government can control its borders, nobody else can [...]. Personally, I believe in unions, I believe in the power of an organisation, collective bargaining and stuff. But you’re still only bargaining, you’re not actually making the rules, whereas the government does.”
- “There’s no point ringing up the RIBA and there’s no point ringing up Building Control. You find the right [government] agency.”

Code C: Individuals

- “[W]e are all in an incredibly privileged situation because we’re professionals [...]. [W]e need to use that privilege to make sure that we’re not exploiting others.”
- “An architect has to be three different people. He’s got to get the jobs, [...] do the design, [...] and implement. They’re totally different people. Who is responsible?”

Code D: Organisations

- “My first reaction is that this is a United Nations issue, they’ve got [the capacity] to deal with all this.”
- “Certainly, a large organisation will have responsibility to the workforce, [it is] harder for individuals because you’re not necessarily in a position to know about somebody’s circumstances.”
- “In the construction industry, it’s the large contractors who tend to have more of the power now and are probably best placed to tackle [modern slavery]. They’re also best placed to tackle that from a consultant’s point of view.”
- “[I]t’s very difficult for me running a small office, [...]. I see it that suppliers have got to get their supply chain accredited. And then once they’ve done that, as specifiers [we can] to try to incorporate that into our specification and work.”
- “[R]esponsibility starts with the employer. An employer should be responsible down the chain. [...] It’s a very simple means of implementation, [...] because they are the ones paying for it.”

Code E: Practices

- “[Y]ou hear architects claiming that because employing workers is the task of the main contractor, architects are not really responsible [...], but if all practices joined together and said, ‘No, we’re not participating in this’, things will change. [...] We can’t just simply say, ‘We’re working on it, but we were not responsible’.”
- “It would be lovely to have a choice of projects, but I’m not sure we’ve ever turned work down.”

Code F: Contextual

- “It depends on the work you do and where you do it, really. We work with a relatively small supply chain of contractors, you actually physically know who these people are, you know, they are sometimes your neighbours. So that’s different to working in a large city [...] or with a large multinational contractor.”

Interview Question 3

Code A: Difficulties

- “I'd feel it was probably quite difficult to trace [social responsibility in project supply chains, as] once you get to construction products, it all begins it all gets a lot more murky. [...] And it becomes even more difficult because [...] if a detail is not tested, you can't use it.”
- “You'd have to check all the way through the supply chain which would be pretty impossible for a small-scale architect to do. [...] Large practices [...] should be doing it. If you can make that much money, then you can do a proper job.”

Code B: Responsible

- “First of all, I don't want to be sued.”
- “I have worked on [projects with instances of modern slavery], and I do feel responsible for that. I feel hypocritical as well. It's one thing to hear about it, but another when you are there. [...]. In fact, that led me to leave the practice. But it seemed that the only way for the practice to get jobs was through the Middle East through that kind of practice. So, I didn't want to be part of that.”
- “I wouldn't feel great, [due to the] huge responsibilities. If you don't investigate what people's backgrounds are, under what circumstances they're working, [you may] be liable for something you don't really know anything about.”

Code C: Knowledge

- “Wow. I would feel that I'm not knowledgeable enough. [...] I would need to study, I need to understand, I need to take an exam, and I need to prove that I do understand the requirements before taking on board that responsibility.”

Code D: Experience

- “I have no problem taking that responsibility, as long as you are sufficiently experienced. And this kind of experience we cannot learn in school and academia.”

Code E: Impractical

- “I would resign from the RIBA. [...] You can't be responsible for every single individual on an entire project from to quote the phrase 'extraction to completion'. [...] It is completely impractical.”
- “[To] make us responsible for our contractor's workforce is not only impossible, but I don't think we'd be covered under PI [Professional Indemnity] insurance. [...]. [I]t would put on a terrible burden onto individuals and practices.”
- “[E]ven if there was a way that could be presented to me as a possible way forward, I would instantly think that this is actually not helping, that I am too far away from [workers who are exploited] that even if I am ticking a box, it really means nothing.”

Code F: Resist

- “I would resist completely”

- “[W]e don't have direct influence over things like the contractor's workforce. We have an influence over our own practices and our employees. [...] So I would personally resist that, I mean, I don't think the slavery act is intended to be empowered by individuals. It's not designed for that.”

Code G: Uncomfortable

- “Very uncomfortable. How can you be sure that people aren't behaving disgracefully? I have no control over that, I don't employ anybody.”
- “My fear would be that if I could do it, it would just end up as a box-ticking exercise, as of course, a lot of these issues become, whether it's some sort of equality legislation or whatever. So, I would feel uncomfortable with that.”
- “Completely shafted. [...] [P]resumably it would happen to all our competitors at the same time, and you'd have to have a learning curve of what that really meant in practice, and everyone will be looking just to figure out how to get through it.”

Code H: Under Pressure

- “Under a lot of pressure. Well, I'll give you an example, [when I was] working in Qatar [... our construction workers] didn't get paid for three months. They went on strike, and it turned into a riot. It turned out okay in the end, [but what] if I had been responsible for them from a liability perspective? I can try to push everybody in the right direction, but that's too much responsibility.”

Interview Question 4

Code A: Abide by International Law

- “[I]t's very easy for a country to sign up to international code, and then that filters down as well. But it shouldn't take away that personal responsibility.”

Code B: Client Screening

- “[C]lient screening policies in place in practice would be really effective.”

Code C: Ethical Codes

- “[I]f you want to engage a construction firm, you'd look [...] for compliance [of ethical codes]. I think it's about due diligence.”
- “Many practices now are turning to employee ownership trusts, [so] employees have more of a voice. In our case, we had conversations [...] about ethical standards [...] and put in the directives for the direction of the company, which is a fundamental step.”

Code D: Fulfilling the Needs of Society

- “An architect [...] has to think how best can he entertain the requirements not only of the client, but of society.”

Code E: Highlighting the Issue of Modern Slavery

- “[W]here we have the most influence is with the consultants we are working with, to raise awareness of things to consider.”
- “Maybe some actual concrete examples of what modern slavery means. I mean, to me, it's a completely abstract term.”

Code F: Material Selection

- “The big one is materials- where we really have an impact.”
- “In terms of material selection, we could say actually, we don't want to specify stone from [a particular] quarry, for instance.”
- “[I]f you have the green guide to building materials, why don't you have one [with social] sustainability criteria?”
- “[I]n some practices, they ask the manufacturer to state the source of the material.”
- “[I]n the fashion industry, [...] garments are produced in modern slavery-like conditions. So, it doesn't take a huge leap of imagination to think ‘Well, some of these building materials, how are they produced?’”

Code G: Monitoring Projects

- “I would say it's mostly about project monitoring.”
- “[W]hen you do a project overview, you're looking at logistics for any site [...] [I]t's another tag on that needs to go into that.”
- “[Y]ou can have Investors in People initiatives, which are pretty much the standard now. Everybody has to have an annual review to meet these requirements.”
- “[W]e already do [project monitoring] as part of organization, ISO 9001 and 14,001.”
- “[K]eeping a watchful eye out on site. Because in reality in the construction industry, that's where it's going to come from.”

Code H: Specification

- “I think at the specification level.”
- “The specification is something we don't do so much as we used to. It's more or less for the contractor to come up with their own ways of doing things, which is not the way I would like to proceed. For costs, we tend to cut out the specification from our work, unfortunately.”

Code I. System Selection

- “It's probably system selection. [C]hoose what you're going to do in terms of piling, the structure of the building, how are you going to clad it. Or prefabrication, where you can build bits the building in a factory where it's nice and warm and you can control the conditions.”

Code J. Understanding How Clients Operate

- “[D]ue diligence and understanding how the potential client operates and how their supply chain will work under the contract. [...]. But they might say yes to you to tick the box, but then in the background do something different.”

Interview Question 5**Code A: Accountability**

- “It comes back to accountability. [If you accept] work, have you got the resources in place in terms of staff to actually do this?”
- “You've got a responsibility. I used to say, ‘If you're not making any mistakes, you're not making any decisions’.”

Code B: Project Monitoring

- “You can have all of these processes and agreements in place between parties, but it's about monitoring and really checking what is happening.”

Code C: Audit of Supply Chain

- “I would say some sort of an audit of the supply chain would be very useful.”
- “In terms of contractors, you have to ask the question. That's all you can do. You could formulate that questionnaire or it could be a recognised scheme. I don't actually know if there's a recognised [modern slavery] scheme that people can sign up to.”

Code D: Awareness

- “[I]ndividuals have a choice, but they need to be made aware of the risks that are associated with [working in countries with a high risk of modern slavery].”
- “I have very limited awareness of what legislation there is. So, I think as a professional body, there has to be a responsibility from the RIBA to make sure it should be on one of the CPD lists- on awareness of what legislation there is from a UK perspective.”

Code E: Mandatory Compliance

- “I think the most effective [process would be] legislation that would make mandatory compliance to ethical standards. I think that is fundamental. During the tendering process when the main contractor sources materials, or it could be a planning requirement for manufacturers to prove their ethical standards.”

Code F: Implementation

- “All the rules, all the processes are there, it's about implementing them. To implement is to conduct site visits without arrangement, walk in and see for yourself. [...] The next thing is to understand the labour law. There's no

point in having all these rules and regulations if you don't study them yourself, because if you don't study it, you don't know how to apply it."

- I think from a consultancy point of view you need you do need strong, robust procedures in place to try and address it as much as you can. But as an architectural consultant, you cannot fully protect that."

Code G: Certified Products

- "I wouldn't even be able to tell you what certificate we're expected to ask the material suppliers to show me."
- "I don't think there's any system you could put in place that's going to ensure that you comply with all those requirements to check the whole supply chain, unless there was some sort of system in place like there is for the environmental side of things."
- "If there was some sort of certification process, then you could get it to work. But that only works if the whole supply chain wants to take it on board. What will happen is that individually industries will say, 'I'm not doing that, sorry. Do you want to buy this or not?'"

Code H: Project Management

- "I would say project management [...] from my experience. I think it's more on the management side, they need to be aware of these things."

Code I: Industry Standards

- "Within the EU you usually have a certain threshold of acceptability for standards. But now we are not in the EU, it's not so easy to see how that's going to continue."
- "I think accreditation systems would be really, really useful, I can see that being the only way that you could have suppliers signed up to best practice."

Code J: Company Policy

- "[Y]ou need a social responsibility document, just as everyone has their sustainability document and their QA QC document."

Code K: International Cooperation

- "Governments need to come together. They need some internationally agreed monitoring system for governments not to benefit from slavery."

Code L: Risk Management

- "Risk management is very important. It's not just saying that people should have the relevant licences and permits to building sites, let's take that further, so that's off-site and in factories, and so on."

Code M: Membership Schemes

- “Most larger contractors are a member of contracting organizations, so they probably already have guidance and schemes. Primarily because they're worried about risk.”
- “Memberships to certain schemes. So, it's effectively an outsourcing of particular functions, a bit like ISO 9001.”

Interview Question 6**Code A: Corruption**

- “We're talking about business practice cultures, like corruption, about incentives and so on. It's there. It's part of the culture.”
- “The Grenfell inquiry has highlighted the kind of corruption in the construction industry. The legislation isn't strong enough, private enterprise is left to its own devices, laissez-faire, unchecked.”

Code B: Lack of Transparency

- “it's certainly a lack of transparency in the supply chain, because who's actually taking responsibility? Everyone's really busy to properly take responsibility for all these things.”
- “I think transparency and accountability within supply chains is really a minimum requirement, until you have that it's very difficult to make any progress.”
- “It's great to have [transparency] principles and policies going on in the UK, but when you're working in a global economy it's very difficult to monitor and manage.”
- “[Transparency is] not easy. I asked the site manager to show me one of the [labour] camps, and they don't make it easy”.
- “[W]hat will happen is in a lot of situations they will give an advance warning. ‘Oh, so and so's coming for an inspection’. So, what do they do? They have everything perfect, as if it's this situation all the time.”
- “Anybody can put whatever they want on paper. So, it's about seeing what's happening on the ground.”
- “How do you do your background checks on the client? A developer in Dubai? Say, ‘Show me all of this information about modern slavery? Do you comply? Otherwise, we don't want to work with you’. Again, that comes down to the pressure- if you refuse work, what else you can get through the door?”

Code C: Bureaucracy

- “[I]n the 80s we didn't have all this paperwork until the ISO came into place [...] that makes it impossible for an architect to implement. But nevertheless, there are some very good documents and checklists that you can follow.”

Code D: Resourcing

- “It's about putting the project manager hat on, managing things, summarizing the key issues. Depending on the level of your position, you need to appoint other people to implement the macro and micro levels.”

- “I think a lot of it is underestimation at the beginning of the time work and cost involved and the professional services that are required.”

Code E: Institutional Support

- “I do think our institute rather than just saying, ‘You must do this’, should actually be helping us. Help us understand what we should be doing, be a bit more proactive.”
- “When you read the RIBA candidates, some of them will have platitudes about modern slavery, perhaps. But most people don't talk about it at all.”
- “The policy that comes out of the RIBA is confused [...]. Not many practicing architects who actually survive by making their money out of designing and building buildings are involved in the policymaking.”

Code E Sub-Code A: Limited Time

- “It's unworkable from an individual member's point of view simply because there's no way to track everything back [...] to make sure that everyone in that supply chain hasn't been forced to do any work. You can't do it, because you can't get that information. And frankly, if you didn't get information, it would take you a week for each nut and bolt in the building [...].”

Code E Sub-Code B: Governance Implementation

- “[The RIBA are claiming], ‘Look at us, we're telling our Members to do this, aren't we fantastic?’ I could write a policy tomorrow that says every building site we go on, we're going to check out modern slavery. But what's the point? It's meaningless. That's passing the buck and giving us something to do that can't be done, and then we're going to get told off about it.”
- “[The RIBA] is basically saying, ‘We've drawn the bar very high here, but it doesn't actually matter if you don't apply it’.”

Code E Sub-Code C: Accreditation

- “I became a project manager as well, [...] [via the] Association of Project Management exams to prove what I already knew, that I could do the job. But of course, I had to prove that to clients. Architects are very good at diminishing their own responsibility, and they've only got themselves to blame.”

Code F: Distance

- “The trouble is, the further you get away from [problems], the more difficult it is to, one appreciate, and [two], influence. Because when you're procuring stuff, [your agency is] diminishing all the time.”

Code G: Lack of Political Support

- “I think one of the weaknesses for me is the political initiative, I think it's having the power of law, and to have the power of law behind you.”

Code H: Informal Economy

- “People have to stop using the black economy. Unfortunately, I don’t think anybody is innocent of the temptation of saving a bit of money by paying somebody cash. Until then, I don’t know how you eliminate [the risk of modern slavery].”

Sub-Code D: Construction Worker Vulnerability

- “[As an immigrant you are vulnerable. When I was working in Europe] I didn't have paperwork, so I couldn't get any access to health care. [...] The poor, the vulnerable are completely [susceptible to exploitation].”
- “I am fairly educated so I can understand. I can read. But maybe there are people who don't have that advantage. Maybe the nature of the wording in whatever [contract] they're signing, they don't fully understand.”

Code I: Awareness

- “One of the weaknesses is publicising that this is actually going on in this country. It's like the evils of the Industrial Revolution. People are being exploited, in particular London and big cities. They're going under the radar.”

Interview Question 7**Code A: Increasing Awareness**

- “You’ve got to make people aware. Like with the timber industry where timber is certified that it comes from a sustainable source. Give the people the information, and it's up to them to make an informed decision.”
- “I think a better understanding [...] of what you're looking for. For people to go, ‘Bloody hell, that's a shocker. I didn't realize people were doing that’. It's more about understanding the fact that this stuff goes on, because if it doesn't affect you, then this is kind of not your problem. And therefore, it's kind of no one's problem.”
- “[M]ake us aware, but make us aware in proactive, positive way. Help us look at [modern slavery risk], because we're not trained to do this.”
- “I don't like seeing people being exploited, it's very sad. It happens here [in Dubai]. Legislation already exists in UK, America, Europe, Singapore, most ‘developed’ countries, but to adapt it you have to understand what is happening.”

Code B: Defining Best Practice

- “You start off by saying, ‘This is best practice. This is the way we're going to do it and we’ll give you time to test it’. Then, as it gets used more widely, it becomes the standard practice, [...] but it doesn't change overnight”.
- “I think the RIBA should set high standards, and put the bar as high as possible as to where we should go, and there has to be some disciplinary procedures if it's really knocked off. But if someone started coming down on me from the RIBA because of slavery issues, I would like to be treated as any other professional doing a similar sort of thing.”
- “Setting the bar high is fine, but [practitioners] need to have practical help- what that means today, and where they're heading”.

Code C: Using Certification Schemes

- “[Our client is] very hot on certain contractor schemes to do with quality, and that kind of thing.”
- “If you look at the specification materials, sustainability schemes are a kind of auditing scheme. [...] I don't know if there's a recognised scheme [for social sustainability] that people can sign up to. If there was, maybe that would be something that we would look for.”
- “In some practices, there is [a policy] in place asking the manufacturer to state the source of the material, which is becoming even more important in the climate conversation.”

Code D: Changing Behaviour

- “You have an amazing amount of influence [as an RIBA Chartered Architect working outside the United Kingdom]. I think your impact is probably heightened by working internationally.”
- “[Y]ou have to be alive to it all the time. You can't drop the ball.”
- “You need to make reasonable provisions [to mitigate modern slavery risk], but you can't be held to account. If you can demonstrate that you've checked all the way through, then that's good enough. Your insurance will just have to cover you if anything comes up.”
- “Now we need to consider [modern slavery risks] in the design and construction of a building project as you go through each step. [To ask], ‘How can this affect the individual?’, or ‘Are their rights protected?’”

Code E: Improving Transparency

- “I think increasing transparency is a given [to improving processes].”
- “I think it's more transparency, and transparency can only come from people who have power. So, the question here is, is that coming from the client? Is that coming from the government? Or is that coming from contractors? Because they're the three parties who generally hold the power in the construction industry.”
- “Transparency is obviously very good, but I think it's down to individual companies to review their policies on a yearly basis.”
- “I would say transparency and communication [are essential]. Bring in different governance and policy thinking globally, different approaches.”

Code F: Conducting Due Diligence

- “[D]ue diligence and understanding how the potential client operates is important. [...] [T]hat's fine when you're dealing with the UK, but when you're working with different cultures and countries, it's more complicated.”
- “We're obliged to check our sub-consultant's performance. So that's the first step in the supply chain.”
- “Maybe there's a separate form [for modern slavery], like everything else. You have the government review that, and there's then inspectors that may do spot checks on offices or sites.”
- “I think people become too complacent [in their due diligence]. There is a certain amount of repetition, but each project has its own conditions. Maybe there are lessons learned from previous projects that you bring into [new ones].”

- “I’m not against putting some responsibility on contractors, even the smaller ones. It could just be part of their tender response. Are they aware? All you can do is trust what they say, but say ‘Yes, we can certify that we are working in accordance with the MSA’.”
- “[C]lient screening policies in place in practice would be really effective.”
- “I would say checklists. Have you thought about it at this stage? Have you thought about it at that stage? You have to be an active participant in checking things.”

Code G: Improving Education

- “[E]ducation is quite important because some people aren’t aware, they’re just doing what they are being told. At the end of the day, they just want to keep their job.”
- “If we are given the knowledge, we can make it work. [A]rchitects are very flexible, they are intelligent and have the imagination to apply things, but I think it’s dangerous to put blanket responsibility on somebody when they don’t know what their responsibility is.”
- “[You have to] understand the Labour Law. There’s no point in having all these rules and regulations if you don’t study them yourself, because you won’t know how to apply it.”
- “There are some very good designers, the top architect names that I have worked with, but when it comes to site, they haven’t got a clue how to deal with issues. They don’t know how to construct. And that is a very dangerous scenario.”
- “If [architects can be made aware of modern slavery risks] in a formal manner, then they know exactly what they’re buying into.”

Code H: Enhancing Contracts

- “In a collaborative contract like the NEC contracts, [it is possible to include] clauses [agreed] collectively as a group working on a project, [to make a commitment to tackle modern slavery].”
- “[Our modern slavery requirements typically] refer to general standards, although sometimes there are bespoke things in there.”
- “We’ve got policy [on modern slavery] because of the nature of our clients. It would be something that [the client] would immediately go to, in the same way that they want us to make sure we’ve got the right level of insurance.”

Code I: Improving Agency

- “To improve agency. I think we’re in a privileged position in a way because we have an increased level of influence in the [Middle East] region, which is helpful.”
- “Agency, definitely agency. Because instead of relying on other parties to make statements or provide evidence, a bit of investigation on active parties would be quite effective.”
- “[Agency is] an issue for many of us who feel that our powers as head of the construction team have been eroded over the years. It would be deeply ironic if we got back those powers, but then immediately found ourselves responsible for awful things happening [around the world].”

Code J: Monitoring Projects

- “Monitoring is always good. You can have all these processes and agreements in place but it's about really checking what is happening, rather than just ticking the box and saying, ‘Okay, I'm done’.”
- “[P]ractices should ask for evidence that all [project stakeholders] have their own measures in place. There should be more in-depth monitoring because as a practice, you want to safeguard yourself. I think that's the first step. If there's something that can be adopted by any practice, [gradually] the situation will change.”
- “[C]onduct site visits without arrangement, walk in and see for yourself.”
- “I feel [modern slavery] relates to health and safety issues [on site].”
- “it's those incremental steps [such as site safety] that you can start to help [construction workers] to value life a little bit more.”
- “The [modern slavery] law was non-existent, so I used the contract itself [to manage the risks of modern slavery]; the untidy conditions of the site, the risk of fire, the risk of injury.”

Code K: Engaging Positively

- “Bring positivity rather than negativity. Someone will do the work, so what's the point of saying ‘No’? Better to say, ‘Okay, let's try and make things better’. [Otherwise], they will carry on the same way.”
- “First, generate awareness across the industry. Which is not about finger-pointing, blaming, or saying ‘Don't work with [high risk countries]’, which often happens. Rather, saying, ‘Okay, there are some issues. How can we help improve those issues?’”
- “How do you get people to engage and bring on understanding? Because, particularly if you are a sole practitioner, you're very busy. You're trying to square away all the other things you're doing, plus trying to make a living.”
- “[W]hen you've got awareness through the supply chain, [look to improve] transparency. Then we can all pull in the same direction and create a better working environment for everyone. Not just the UK, right across the globe.”

Code L: Role of the RIBA

- “I think the RIBA has to be more realistic about how to apply [the Code] to its Members.”
- “You have to have a realistic view of the [working] life of the architect and what the actual job encompasses, and not unnecessarily burden them. That's not to diminish their responsibilities. I think it's an issue that can be dealt with fairly efficiently, but people need a bit of help.”
- “it's almost like [the RIBA is] always acting as a watchdog, but they're not actually supporting.”
- “Maybe having some motivation, so that you ‘do it right’ and get put on a list of like people ‘who do it right’. You know, maybe having some branding like the ‘disability confident’ thing. I'm a ‘slavery confident’ practice.”
- “[Architects] have a very puggled idea of our worth in the world- it's worth nothing and worth a lot the same time. It's important that we have our thinking processes confidently displayed, and I think we've got to talk more about our political place in the world.”
- “We have seen [demonstrations] for climate change, but beyond that, I don't know why there is a reluctance to join together and fight for causes that matter. There should be a [modern slavery] focus group among architects.”

Code L Sub-Code A: CPD

- “When an organisation such as the RIBA require [new knowledge] as part of their CPD, it's getting people to engage in that properly, in a meaningful way.”
- “There have been so many RIBA programs over the years, but one subject they don't teach is being conversant with implementing their own design.”
- “The RIBA should produce a CPD to improve] awareness of what legislation there is from a UK [...] and an international perspective. [...] [T]hen just as we do [...] the best we can within the context of the region that we're [practicing] in [...]. Best international practice.”
- “I think the RIBA need to take a lead on this [and] have [modern slavery] as part of the core CPD curriculum. If there was an obligation, just as there is for health and safety or accessibility and inclusivity, I think that would really help.”

Appendix 3: Best Practice? A Case Study

For over 100 years, UK Export Finance (UKEF) has worked to promote UK trade globally, and in 2019-2020 it provided £4.4 billion in support for UK exports (UK Export Finance, 2020). UKEF, through the Environmental Advisory Unit (EAU) carries out environmental and social screening and review of potential transactions falling within the scope of the 2012 Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD). Half a billion pounds was dedicated to construction projects in the UAE in 2018 (Great Britain and Export Credits Guarantee Department, 2019). The Department for International Trade (DIT) recently established a dedicated team in Dubai to fund projects worth £9 billion (Department for International Trade (DIT), 2023).

Yin, (1994) describes a case study as an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 2009). In 2019, I submitted a Freedom of Information (FOI) request under the Freedom of Information Act 2000 to request the following information from UKEF: “One example of a Due Diligence Report for any of the identified projects is in order to understand the scope of such reports, and one example of an ESHR Monitoring Form that includes an aspect of social responsibility to understand the mechanism and indicators for managing such risks.” (Priest, 2019).

The case study provided here is the BEEAH Headquarters, located in Sharjah, United Arab Emirates (UAE), and was designed by Zaha Hadid Architects (ZHA) (Zaha Hadid Architects, 2022), a practice headquartered in London. The main contractor was Carillion Construction Limited, a subsidiary of Carillion PLC, a British multinational construction and facilities management services company, liquidated in January 2018. UKEF provided “direct lending” to the value of £67,945,256 to the client, Sharjah Environment co LLC. This example provides the due diligence process in response to the potential environmental, social and human rights (ESHR) risks and impacts. It is an example of such processes required of a construction project designed by a RIBA Chartered Practice outside UK territory. It reviews the alignment of key project activities, potentially beneficial and adverse effects, and management and mitigation measures against relevant international ESHR standards.

The project was subject to IFC Performance Standard 1 (PS1): Assessment and Management of Environmental and Social Risks and Impacts (International Finance Corporation (IFC), 2012a). Compliance required the following: (a) completion of an Operations Environmental Management Plan (OEMP) to the satisfaction of UK Export Finance, no later than six months prior to the finalisation of the construction phase; and (b) delivery of Environmental and Social Self-Monitoring Reports at six monthly intervals during the construction phase, and 12 monthly intervals during the operations phase.

The project was subject to Performance Standard 2 (PS2): Labor and Working Conditions (International Finance Corporation (IFC), 2012b). Compliance required the following: Establishment and appropriate Human Resources policies and procedures, including those related to recruitment, staff and labour, in line with the requirements of PS2. These include

commitments to respect human rights and the requirements of the core International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions. The policies also apply to third-party supplied labour. Labour camp facilities to comply with international standards, including the IFC/EBRD Workers' Accommodation: Process and Standards (A Guidance Note by IFC and EBRD).

Concerning supply chain and subcontractors, Carillion claimed to vet all potential suppliers before inclusion on the Carillion "Preferred Supplier List." The company was required to complete a questionnaire which confirms it adheres to the UN Global Compact principles (specifically, upholding freedom of association, elimination of forced labour, and abolition of child labour), amongst other health and safety, environment, and community engagement metrics. The questionnaire asked whether the companies monitor their subcontractors' and suppliers' performance on these issues. It noted that labour recruitment agencies cannot levy excessive charges on candidates. Carillion also stated that they carried out a comprehensive audit programme for selected suppliers (including subcontractors), including a specific section on accommodation to ensure that all hired labour stays in accommodation in line with Carillion's worker welfare standards. Companies were also asked to demonstrate that their own (and their supply chain's) employment practices align with internationally recognised standards such as ILO and SA8000, which require the implementation of a grievance mechanism, and are considered appropriate for the local operating context and compliant with IFC PS2. It was noted that the workforce requirements for the project were estimated to peak at 3,000, incorporating a 50:50 mix of workers directly contracted and subcontracted labour. Most of the workforce was from the Indian subcontinent (UK Export Finance, 2019).

Whilst the above sets out a strategy for compliance and monitoring to industry standards, FOI requests for documented evidence of compliance were not forthcoming. Therefore, conclusions on its effectiveness in practice cannot be confirmed. However, this response provides a benchmark for "best practice" for a project of this nature, which would benefit from further study in practice.

Appendix 4: RIBA Code of Conduct Editions

Below is a list of editions of the RIBA Code of Conduct since its introduction.

- Council of the RIBA (1981) Code of Professional Conduct, RIBA, 1st edition January 1981
- 2nd edition December 1981
- 3rd edition June 1982
- 4th edition May 1983
- 5th edition February 1984
- 6th edition March 1986
- 7th edition September 1986
- 8th edition August 1988
- 9th edition September 1989
- 10th edition July 1991
- Council of the RIBA (1997) Code of Professional Conduct and Standard of Professional Performance, RIBA, April 1997
- Council of the RIBA (2003) Code of Professional Conduct and Standard of Professional Performance and Members' Rules for Clients' Accounts, RIBA, 1st edition March 2003
- 2nd edition, August 2003
- Council of the RIBA (2005) Code of Professional Conduct and Standard of Professional Performance and Members' Rules for Clients' Accounts, RIBA, January 2005
- 2nd edition, July 2016 (expansion of Guidance Notes) in addition to the three principles of professional conduct and professional values that support those principles, Guidance Notes expanded, which explain how the principles can be upheld. Note: These Guidance Notes are illustrative only and do not form part of the RIBA Code of Conduct. When dealing with matters of Professional Conduct, the key references to be considered are RIBA Byelaw 4 and the three key principles of the RIBA Code of Professional Conduct.
- Council of the RIBA (2019) Code of Professional Conduct, RIBA, May 2019

Appendix 5: RIBA Literature and Initiatives

Below is a list of the literature produced by the RIBA relating to modern slavery that has been reviewed and identified as relevant to this research.

1. [RIBA Code of Professional Conduct](#)
2. [RIBA Decade of Action Report](#)
3. [RIBA Ethics and Sustainable Development Commission Report](#)

In this report, the RIBA notes a number of explicit commitments in recent years, including pledges to:

"Assert the fundamental importance of public interest, social purpose and sustainability as core values within the profession." RIBA Council 2017

"Place social purpose, professional standards and ethics at the heart of action and debate about architecture and the profession." RIBA 2016-20 Strategy

"Set and maintain the highest professional standards in collaboration with other national and international professional bodies." RIBA 2016-20 Strategy

"By 2020 ... [have] re-established itself as a leader in the design professions championing a sustainable, responsible, resilient approach for the built environment" RIBA Council 2016

"Make the UN Global Compact and its principles part of the strategy, culture and day-to-day operations of the institute". UN Global Compact as signed by the RIBA 2015/6

"Work in partnership with our Chartered Practices to contribute to the creation of a sustainable and inclusive global economy that delivers lasting benefits to all people, communities and markets". RIBA 2015/6

"The Commission considers that such obligations should be handled in a more systematic, coordinated, and effective way, and that they should be integrated into the Institute's central operations" (RIBA, 2018a, p. 10).

The Commission has developed a series of key recommendations, which are summarised below:

"2.0 Leadership on Ethics, Values and Standards

2.1 Ensure that a commitment to the public interest, social purpose and sustainable development is a core requirement of Chartered and Chartered Practice membership.

2.2 Establish the Institute, alongside other professional and industry bodies, as a thought leader in ethics and sustainable development.

2.3 Create a new form of institutional accountability to the public for its public interest, social purpose and sustainable development objectives.

3.0 Collaboration and Influence

3.1 Work to increase demand for demonstrably sustainable architecture through engagement with outside bodies, including: co-professional, commissioning, funding, insurance and legislative organisations.

3.2 Work to influence and strengthen the policy and regulatory environment, particularly through lobbying, to help deliver ethical and sustainable outcomes.

3.3 Collaborate with key industry bodies to align the wider construction and property industries with jointly agreed standards for ethical and sustainable practice.

3.4 Actively engage in knowledge exchange with those working beyond the boundaries of standard architectural practice.

4.0 Ethics and Sustainable Development in Practice

4.1 Establish a comprehensive plan to drive the advancement of professional ethics and sustainable architecture across the profession.

4.2 Promote evidence-informed design to drive and enable continuous improvement in the standard and performance of the built environment.

4.3 Facilitate and actively promote the routine use of Post Occupancy Evaluation with open reporting of outcomes and sharing of standardised data.

4.4 Provide tools and guidance to make ethical practice (including employment standards, equality and diversity), and sustainable design central to the architecture profession.

5.0 Knowledge and Competence

5.1 Address the knowledge and engagement gap in respect of ethics and sustainable development and ensure that everyone entering the profession has adequate knowledge and understanding of ethics and sustainable development.

5.2 Ensure that all teaching staff in validated schools of architecture have appropriate knowledge of ethics and sustainable development.

5.3 Ensure that the Institute has appropriate systems in place, through validation and CPD, to confirm that new entrants to and existing members of the profession have appropriate up-to-date knowledge of ethics and sustainable development.

5.4 Develop and promote tools and guidance that can assist architects and practices to respond effectively and robustly to ethical issues that are beyond the scope of legal and/or code of conduct definitions.

5.5 Encourage and enable professional involvement with research methods and outcomes, and establish a programme to develop research literacy across the profession.

6.0 International Activity

6.1 Develop programmes to build international capacity in the built environment sector, to help drive sustainable development and ethics in practice, ensuring that these are both culturally and environmentally appropriate, and socially responsible (RIBA, 2018a, p. 9).

7.0 RIBA Governance

7.1 Establish mechanisms to improve institutional transparency and accountability, including through alignment with the principles of the UN Global Compact and social responsibility, as per ISO26000.

7.2 Establish mechanisms to ensure more effective delivery of the Institute's commitments. The Commission also believes any meaningful transition towards more ethical practice and sustainable development needs to be grounded in greater public accountability and building recognition from both members and society that the Institute's and the profession's primary responsibility is the advancement of the public good. The Commission recognises that driving demand for (as much as supply of) ethical practice and sustainable development is fundamental to achieving the transition proposed by this report. This will require collaborative leadership with fellow built environment institutions, investors, financiers, legislators and commissioners while simultaneously building and agreeing a viable policy framework.

Given the nature and scale of current challenges facing society and the planet, and the urgency with which they need to be addressed, this Commission believes that a determined transformation of the Institute and the profession as outlined in its findings is no longer simply desirable but is a necessity" (RIBA, 2018a, p. 10).

4. [RIBA Ethics in Architectural Practice \(Toolkit Part 2\)](#)
5. [RIBA Health, Safety and Wellbeing](#)
6. [RIBA Chartered Practice Employment Policy and Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Policy](#)
7. [RIBA Construction Contracts and Law Report](#)
8. [RIBA Ethical Practice Knowledge Schedule](#) is underpinned by six duties of care, namely the Duty to Oneself, the Duty to the Profession, the Duty to those in the Workplace, the Duty to those Commissioning Services, the Duty to Society and the End User and the Duty to the Wider World. Of direct relevance to modern slavery are sections on The Codes of Conduct and Practice, Whistleblowing, Employment Law, Modern Slavery, Supply Chains, Social Value and Social Responsibility. The duties are preceded by a section on Ethics in Practice with subsections listed as Recognising an Ethical Issue, Virtue Ethics/Social Contract Ethics/Duty Ethics/Utilitarian Ethics, Defining Behaviours - Codes, Regulations, Sanctions and Best Practice. The schedule concludes with a section entitled Resolving Ethical Issues, which lists subsections as Core Values, Decision Making, Lifelong Learning, Independence, Advocacy, and Resources and Toolkits.
9. [RIBA The Way Ahead](#)
Education Themes and Values - E2. Professional and Ethical Practice
Mandatory Competences - M2. Ethical Practice
CPD Core Curriculum – C4. Legal, Regulatory and Statutory Compliance
Education Themes and Values - E3. Structure, Construction and Resources
Mandatory Competences – M3. Climate Literacy
CPD Core Curriculum – C5. Procurement and Contracts, C6. Sustainable Architecture
10. [RIBA United Nations Sustainable Development Goals in Practice \(Toolkit Part 1\)](#),
 Human Rights
 "Develop and promote a policy statement establishing and affirming your practice's commitment to respecting and upholding human rights throughout your business operations and relationships. [...] Develop and promote a human rights due diligence strategy, dealing with a spectrum of human rights issues, from poverty and education to health, safety and wellbeing.

Resources

Consider how other companies have approached developing policies: '[Companies with human rights policies](#)'

UNGC guidance: [How to Develop a Human Rights Policy \(UNGC, 2015\)](#)

Specific engagement in architecture and human rights-focused initiatives, such as [Article 25](#) or [Architecture for Humanity – UK](#)

UNGC guidance: [Guide to Human Rights Impact Assessment and Management](#)

The Benefits

Reassuring stakeholders and creating strong working relationships

Fostering better relations with the local community - more easily securing a 'social licence to operate'

Becoming a more attractive employer, particularly to millennials

Securing higher employee engagement and retention figures

Minimising the risk of complicity in human rights abuses

Labour Laws

Review business and employment policies to ensure that the practice is addressing key labour laws, regulations and standards, as an absolute minimum. Implement standards and guidance such as: RIBA Chartered Practice Employment Policy and Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Policy, Codes of Conduct. Develop construction strategies which take labour issues into account, including health, safety and wellbeing and working conditions. Commit to supporting an ethical supply chain and ethical sourcing of materials. Produce a slavery and human trafficking statement engaging with the requirements of the MSA and encouraging and influencing other construction industry professionals to examine their own practices.

Resources

UNGC guidance: [The Labour Principles of the UN Global Compact: A Guide for Business](#)

[UK Modern Slavery Act 2015](#)

CIOB guidance: [Building a Fairer System: Tackling Modern Slavery in Construction Supply Chains](#)

Webinar: [Safety and health in the construction sector-overcoming the challenges](#)

RIBA CPD: [Health, Safety and Wellbeing](#)

[Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority](#)

[Stronger Together Construction Toolkit](#) (Tackling Modern Slavery in the Construction Sector)

[Modern Slavery Charter](#) (in progress)

[RIBA Chartered Practice Employment Policy and Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Policy](#) (RIBA and United Nations, 2017a, p. 10).

Appendix 6: General Resources

1. [Action Programme on Responsible and Ethical Sourcing \(APRES\) Eight Pathways Model](#)
2. [Anti-Slavery International](#)
3. [Architecture for Humanity – UK](#)
4. [Article 25](#)
5. [BES 6001](#)
6. [BS 8900:2013](#)
7. [Building a Fairer System: Tackling Modern Slavery in Construction Supply Chains](#)
8. [Building Responsibly](#)
9. [Business & Human Rights Resource Centre](#)
10. [Business Social Compliance Initiative \(BSCI\)](#)
11. [Clearview](#)
12. [Construction and the Modern Slavery Act: Tackling Exploitation in the UK](#)
13. [Construction Coalition](#)
14. [Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority \(GLAA\)](#)
15. [Global Alliance for Urban Crises](#)
16. [Grace Farms Foundation](#)
17. [Guide to Human Rights Impact Assessment and Management](#)
18. [How to Develop a Human Rights Policy \(UNGC, 2015\)](#)
19. [International Ethics Standards \(IES\)](#)
20. [International Labour Organization \(ILO\)](#)
21. [ISO 26000:2010](#)
22. [Leadership Group for Responsible Recruitment](#)
23. [Memorandum of Understanding: Creating a More Diverse, Equitable and Inclusive](#)
24. [New Urban Agenda](#)
25. [ShareAction](#)
26. [Stronger Together Construction Toolkit](#)
27. [Supplier Ethical Data Exchange \(SEDEX\)](#)
28. [Supply Chain School](#)
29. [Sustainalytics](#)
30. [The Chartered Institute of Procurement and Supply \(CIPS\)](#)
31. [The Construction Protocol](#)
32. [The Construction Sector Transparency Initiative \(CoST\)](#)
33. [The Labour Principles of the UN Global Compact: A Guide for Business](#)
34. [The Local Government Association](#)
35. [United Nations Global Compact](#)
36. [Walk Free](#)

Appendix 7: Modern Slavery Policy

The UK Modern Slavery Act (2015)

Covering slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour,

“1. A person commits an offence if-

the person holds another person in slavery or servitude and the circumstances are such that the person knows or ought to know that the other person is held in slavery or servitude, or the person requires another person to perform forced or compulsory labour and the circumstances are such that the person knows or ought to know that the other person is being required to perform forced or compulsory labour.

2. In subsection (1) the references to holding a person in slavery or servitude or requiring a person to perform forced or compulsory labour are to be construed by Article 4 of the Human Rights Convention” (“Modern Slavery Act 2015”, 2015).

Core Universal Instruments

As summarised by The Antislavery in Domestic Legislation Database (Schwarz, 2020c), listed below.

1. [1926 Slavery Convention](#)
2. [1953 Protocol amending the Slavery Convention](#)
3. [1930 Forced Labour Convention](#)
4. [2014 Protocol to the Forced Labour Convention, 1930](#)
5. [1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery](#)
6. [1957 Abolition of Forced Labour Convention](#)
7. [1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights](#)
8. [1966 Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights](#)
9. [1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child](#)
10. [2000 Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict](#)
11. [2000 Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography](#)
12. [1998 Statute of the International Criminal Court](#)
13. [1999 Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention](#)
14. [2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime](#)

Regional Instruments

As summarised by The Antislavery in Domestic Legislation Database (Schwarz, 2020c), listed below.

1. [1950 European Convention on Human Rights](#) (See note below)
2. [1969 American Convention on Human Rights](#)
3. [1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights](#)

4. [1998 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights](#)
5. [2002 SAARC Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution](#)
6. [2004 Arab Charter on Human Rights](#)
7. [2005 Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings](#)
8. [2015 ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children](#)

The Case-Law Guide on Article 4 of the European Convention on Human Rights (Prohibition of Slavery and Forced Labour) states,

“The terms of the Convention are not intended to be treated by the Court as a sole framework. The Convention must be interpreted as an international document, taking into account the principles of interpretation set down in the Vienna Convention of 23 May 1969 on the Law of Treaties, and requires that provisions be interpreted and applied so as to make safeguards practical and effective.

Article 4.1

1. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.

Definition: Slavery

In defining “slavery”, the Court refers to the classic definition contained in the 1926 Slavery Convention as “the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised”.

Definition: Servitude

In defining “servitude”, the Court means an obligation to provide one’s services that is imposed by the use of coercion and are to be linked with the concept of slavery.

Article 4.2

2. No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour.

Article 4 does not define what is meant by “forced or compulsory labour”, and no guidance on this point is to be found in the various Council of Europe documents relating to the preparatory work of the European Convention.” (European Court of Human Rights, 2020)

Appendix 8: Research Ethics

This research was conducted as part of an independent academic project designed and managed under the direction of the RCA’s Department of Architecture. The RIBA Member Survey was distributed by the researcher and promoted by the RIBA through Member update emails. Participants were safeguarded by following the ethics strategy approved by the RCA Research Ethics Committee, which the RIBA subsequently authorised before the research began. All participants provided informed consent, and all information was anonymised and stored securely in line with GDPR protocols. Respondents participating in the interview were also required to complete a Participant Project Information and Consent Form, which informed them of the project's scope and their rights. Further details of this strategy are included as part of the submission.

END