

Executive summary

- The Modern Slavery and Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre has been commissioned by the Office of Theresa May to conduct a scoping study examining the case for establishing a Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking (the “Scoping Study”). The Scoping Study has been funded by the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office.
- **Modern slavery and human trafficking constitute one of the greatest global challenges of our time.** Vulnerability to such exploitation has dramatically increased as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, new and protracted conflicts and the direct effects of climate change. With the number of people forcibly displaced worldwide now exceeding 100 million for the first time in history, the world is set to see a significant increase in the numbers vulnerable to modern slavery and human trafficking. The scale of such vulnerability to exploitation means that all countries of the world are affected, whether countries of origin, transit or destination.
- **Yet, just as vulnerability to exploitation has dramatically increased, there has been a loss of international political momentum behind efforts to address it.** The issue has slipped down the global political agenda, displaced by the very events – the pandemic, conflict and climate change – which are responsible for the significant increase in vulnerability to exploitation. International collaborative action and partnerships are fragmented, and the evidence and knowledge base remain under-developed.
- **The Scoping Study finds that there is a compelling need for a Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking.** Current global efforts in relation to modern slavery and human trafficking are not on track to bring about the necessary transformation in the effectiveness of the laws, policies and practices which are capable of eradicating it. A Global Commission could help bring about such a step-change, significantly reducing the numbers of people subjected to modern slavery and human trafficking and at risk of such exploitation.

The remainder of this executive summary provides an overview of the approach, findings and recommendations of each chapter of the report.

The international modern slavery landscape

- The Scoping Study undertook a desk-based survey of the international modern slavery landscape, and analysis of any significant gaps that a Global Commission could fill. It mapped 64 international actors against a series of attributes, selected to reflect the complexity and diversity of anti-trafficking and modern slavery work.
- The Scoping Study found that:
 - The international modern slavery field has a stark power imbalance: funds and decision-making almost exclusively flow from the Global North. If a commission is to be truly global, it must be regionally inclusive and structured so as to ensure different regions are meaningfully represented and have the power to inform and influence decisions.
 - Civil society organisations play a significant role in the international modern slavery landscape. Given their substantial experience, expertise and influence, they should be embedded in the configuration of a Global Commission and feature heavily in its engagement.
 - In line with prevalence estimates released by ILO and Walk Free, the sector is predominantly focused on forced labour. However, a Commission should not automatically restrict its focus to forced labour, as this would risk overlooking other types of exploitation that vulnerable communities are most affected by.
 - While there is significant interest and investment in the modern slavery sector in relation to supply chain risk, there is relatively limited focus on states enacting binding regulation on companies as a response.
 - A Commission might also consider focusing on pre-exploitation systemic causes of modern slavery, which are less represented in the work than post-exploitation issues.
 - Similarly, both gender-related vulnerabilities and climate change impacts, and their connection with modern slavery and human trafficking, appear to be underserved areas that a Commission could look at.
 - A majority of international actors mapped by the Scoping Study already focus on facilitating collaboration, undertaking research and policy advocacy. If a Global Commission is to undertake work that falls within these categories, it should closely cooperate with existing initiatives and draw lessons from them on how to be most effective.



Stakeholder views

- The Scoping Study met with experts within 50 organisations in the international modern slavery landscape and sought their views on the need for a Global Commission, and the role it could potentially play.
- Stakeholders agreed that political momentum towards eradicating modern slavery and human trafficking has stalled: none of them considered that the international community was on track to meet SDG 8.7. They cited a number of reasons for this pessimistic outlook, including a lack of high-level political leadership, inadequate levels of funding, other global issues dominating the political agenda, and a marked increase in vulnerability to modern slavery as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, the war in Ukraine, and the climate crisis.
- Stakeholders generally welcomed the idea of a Global Commission, and identified four broad ways that it could potentially revitalise efforts to eradicate modern slavery:
 - **Provide high-level political leadership.** Bring together figures of international renown to raise the profile of modern slavery and galvanise action by states and other stakeholders.
 - **Be a centre for collating research and best practice on effective policy responses.** Effective implementation and enforcement of existing legislation is as important as working towards new legislation; in this regard, a Global Commission could build the research and knowledge base and make existing evidence on “what works” to address modern slavery accessible, as well as improve understanding of the structural causes of vulnerability to exploitation.
 - **Promote international collaboration and partnerships between different parts of the modern slavery landscape. Communication between different parts of the modern slavery landscape** can be poor, leading to a silo mentality, which impedes effective responses. A Global Commission could facilitate cooperation between a wide range of actors, as well as between the global, regional, national and local levels.
 - **Focus on tackling forced labour in global supply chains.** A Commission could catalyse state action on corporate accountability, including through work on supply chain transparency legislation, mandatory human rights due diligence, public procurement, and tariff acts or import bans on goods produced through forced labour.
- While the consensus among stakeholders was that a Global Commission could help galvanise international action towards eradicating modern slavery and human trafficking, they stressed the need for it to complement and amplify existing international collaborations, including the Global Fund to End Modern Slavery (GFEMS), Alliance 8.7 and the UN’s Inter-Agency Coordination Group against Trafficking in Persons (ICAT). Stakeholders felt a Global Commission could achieve this by having a clearly defined aim, engaging closely with other modern slavery stakeholders, including international collaborations, and providing regular updates.

Review of literature

- The Scoping Study conducted a rapid literature review of recent evidence identifying priority areas for intervention in the international modern slavery and human trafficking landscape. Five key themes emerged:
 - **Crisis.** Covid-19, and the mass movement of refugees within Europe resulting from Russia's invasion of Ukraine, have significantly increased vulnerability to modern slavery.
 - **Climate change.** Responding to the vulnerabilities created by climate change will require the strengthening of social protection mechanisms, and the creation of safe migration opportunities, as well as a heightened focus on particular geographies and indigenous communities.
 - **Structural causes.** The complex and multi-dimensional causes of modern slavery necessitate moving beyond a purely criminal justice response, and focusing on broader societal issues including poverty, inequality and discrimination.
 - **Labour exploitation in supply chains.** Voluntary guidelines and unenforced reporting requirements are increasingly thought to have been ineffective, and more governments are now introducing binding forms of corporate regulation to address forced labour in supply chains.
 - **Implementation and evaluation.** A greater focus on monitoring, evaluating and learning is required to enable governments and civil society to better understand "what works" in tackling modern slavery.

The need for a Global Commission

- On the basis of the mapping of the international modern slavery landscape, the views of stakeholders, and the rapid literature review, the Study finds there is a compelling need for a Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking.
- Modern slavery has already attained recognition as a great global challenge requiring a concerted and co-ordinated response. There is a global agreement, in the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals, on the aim of eradicating it by 2030. There is an agreed framework for international action, in the form of the 2017 Call to Action, now endorsed by 92 states. There are also global collaborations which exist to accelerate progress towards the agreed goal of ending modern slavery by 2030, including ICAT, GFEMS, Alliance 8.7 and Delta 8.7.
- Notwithstanding this global consensus, there is a widely shared sense that not enough is being done at the global level to respond to the challenge: vulnerability to modern slavery and human trafficking has dramatically increased; political momentum towards eradicating modern slavery and human trafficking has stalled; the evidence and knowledge base is under-developed, with a lack of readily accessible evidence on effective responses to modern slavery and human trafficking; and international collaboration and partnerships are limited.

- What is needed, at the global level, is an initiative capable of bringing about a step-change in progress towards eradication. A Global Commission could contribute to meeting this need in three ways:
 - **Provide high-level political leadership.** An inclusive Global Commission that brings together influential figures of renown from politics, civil society, business and research can restore lost political momentum and catalyse action by states and other stakeholders.
 - **Build the evidence and knowledge base.** A Global Commission could help ensure that global efforts on modern slavery and human trafficking are better connected to the production of research and evidence, so that modern slavery laws, policies and practices are fully informed by the best research into the drivers of modern slavery and the best analysis as to what works.
 - **Promote and facilitate international collaborations.** A Global Commission could promote and facilitate international collaborations and partnerships between states, multilateral organisations, civil society, business, researchers and people with lived experience, as well as between the global, regional and national levels. It will aim to complement and amplify existing collaborative efforts.
- The Scoping Study has identified three main candidates for a Global Commission's substantive area of focus (in no particular order):
 - **Tackling forced labour in global supply chains.** A Global Commission could play a vital role in catalysing state action on corporate accountability, including through building the evidence base on supply chain transparency legislation, mandatory human rights due diligence, public procurement, and tariff acts or import bans on goods produced through forced labour, and assessing the evolving evidence concerning the effectiveness of such emerging policy responses.
 - **Effective national implementation by states of their international commitments.** A Global Commission could also play a significant role in helping states report in detail on the actions they have taken at the national level to implement their international commitments and make their national legal framework more effective in practice.
 - **More effective engagement of civil society in crisis contexts.** A Global Commission could engage with large international NGOs which work directly with those most vulnerable to exploitation during crises, such as the major disaster and humanitarian relief organisations, so that the issue of modern slavery and human trafficking is an integrated part of crisis response.

The design of a Global Commission

- To determine the best design of a Global Commission, the Scoping Study conducted a desk-based survey of comparable commissions, met with key actors in the most directly relevant comparable commissions, and sought the views of modern slavery stakeholders.
- On this basis, the Scoping Study has identified six principles to guide the design

of a Global Commission: globality; independence; centrality of lived experience; international collaboration; long term ambition; and looking beyond the “usual suspects.”

- Applying these principles, the Scoping Study recommends that a Global Commission should be designed along the following lines:
 - **Formation and purpose.** A Global Commission should be co-convened by a small number of supportive governments from different regions of the world, and an appropriate international organisation. It should have two phases: 12-18 months to produce a flagship report, followed by an implementation phase until 2030. A Global Commission should not have a formal relationship with the UN, though a commitment from the UN to receive and consider the flagship report would be welcome.
 - **Commissioners.** The optimum number of commissioners would be between 20 and 25, drawn from four broad categories: political, business, civil society/international NGOs and research. Commissioners must be drawn from all regions of the world, with an appropriate balance between Global South and North. The Commission should also have an appropriate gender balance, reflecting the fact that women and girls are estimated to comprise more than two-thirds of those exploited in modern slavery today. Commissioners should be appointed for an initial 18-24 month period, and should act in a combination of advisory, supervisory and advocacy roles. Whole Commission meetings should take place in a Global Commission’s first phase – mainly virtual, with some in person.
 - **Governance.** A Global Commission should have an Executive Board that would play a decision-making role, comprising Commissioners, other policy, business and research expertise, and persons with lived experience. The Commission should also have expert groups, including for business, faith groups and civil society organisations. A Global Commission should adopt and publish clear Terms of Reference setting out its mandate, aims, ways of working and composition.
 - **Secretariat.** A Global Commission’s secretariat should cover executive leadership, strategy, research and analysis, policy, communications, stakeholder engagement, operations and finance roles. A Global Commission could either be independent, or hosted by a suitable organisation with the infrastructure to provide all the required functions. A Global Commission should in either case have its own distinct identity, branding and online presence.
 - **Partnerships and engagement.** A Global Commission should consider relationships with research partners for the purposes of preparing the initial report, as well as partnerships with business who could sign up to affirm their commitment to tackling modern slavery. A Global Commission should build and expand on the stakeholder engagement conducting by the Scoping Study, incorporating stakeholder views into its flagship report. It should also engage with stakeholders through public events, which should be held in different regions.
 - **Research.** A Global Commission should combine some research capacity within the secretariat team with commissioned research.
 - **Monitoring and evaluation of impact.** A Global Commission should engage existing expertise in the modern slavery sector to monitor and evaluate its impact on an ongoing basis.

Embedding lived experience

- The Scoping Study spoke with people with lived experience in different regions, as well as modern slavery stakeholders more generally, to assess how a Global Commission can ensure people with lived experience are embedded in the work and governance of a Global Commission. On that basis, the Scoping Study recommends that:
 - A Global Commission should be informed by a Panel of Advisers with Lived Experience, who should play a role in planning the Commission's work.
 - The secretariat of the Panel of Advisers with Lived Experience could be provided by a group such as the FCDO Survivor Engagement Regional Consultants. Other membership would be based on the specific activities of a Global Commission from time to time, and sourced on a flexible basis from existing people with lived experience engagement groups.
 - There should be organic representation of people with lived experience on the Commission, achieved by targeting senior leaders with expertise in the areas required for the Commission, who are also qualified by lived experience.
 - The Global Commission's Executive Board should scrutinise and hold a Global Commission to account for progress against agreed targets, including those on the effective embedding of people with lived experience in the work of a commission. Its membership should include members of the Panel of Advisors with Lived Experience.
 - The costs of establishing and maintaining the Panel of Experts with Lived Experience should be considered core to the operation of the Commission.

Funding a Global Commission

- The Scoping Study considered how a Global Commission could be funded, based on the funding models of comparable commissions, feedback from stakeholders, ethical considerations, and the proposed design of the Commission. The Scoping Study recommends that:
 - The funding model for a Global Commission should aim to be a mixed model of donor governments and philanthropic/private sector funding from the outset, but with a majority of donor government funding in Phase 1 to get the Commission up and running.
 - Funding should be sought from more than one donor government for Phase 1 (Autumn 2022 to Spring 2024).
 - A Global Commission should aim to transition to a majority of philanthropic/private sector funding in Phase 2 (2024-2030).
 - So far as possible, a Global Commission should seek to avoid approaching existing modern slavery programme-level donors and should seek to increase the resources available in the modern slavery and human trafficking space.

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Foreword

The Rt Hon Theresa May MP

When I presented the Call to Action to End Modern Slavery at the United Nations General Assembly in 2017 there was an international momentum focused on eradicating this, the greatest human rights issue facing the world. Today more and more people are becoming vulnerable to modern slavery, trafficking and forced labour due to a number of global challenges, including climate change and the war in Ukraine, yet at the same time I fear that modern slavery has fallen down the global political agenda. Signing the Call to Action was the easy part. Acting on what is necessary to effect change as a result is much harder.

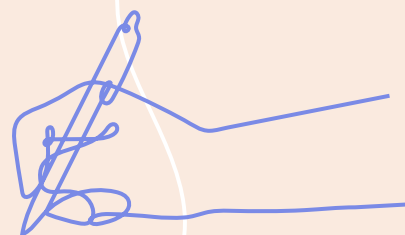
That is why I want to bring together a global commission on modern slavery to reinvigorate the political will to address this issue internationally and to focus on those areas that can make most difference such as government legislation and business supply chains.

Such work can only be effective if it has the support of those working in the field and if it addresses the areas that need most action. I am grateful to the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office who funded this scoping study to identify the need for a global commission and the issues such a group should focus on.

The message from the study is clear. There is a need to bring international efforts together and to provide greater political impetus to support the very good work being done by so many organisations around the world. More evidence is needed on best practice in countering modern slavery worldwide and we need to fully engage businesses in identifying slavery and forced labour in their supply chains. Critically any such group should represent all parts of the world and should bring together government, business, NGOs and survivors.

With vulnerability increasing and the eyes of the world on other issues now is the time to regain momentum and call on governments, business and people around the world to act.

I look forward to bringing such a global commission together and working with others around the globe who share my determination to eradicate modern slavery.



Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

In February 2022, the Modern Slavery Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre (Modern Slavery PEC) was commissioned by the Office of Theresa May to conduct a scoping study examining the case for establishing a Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking (the Scoping Study). The Scoping Study has been funded by the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO).

The remit of the Scoping Study was to provide a clear, robust and thought through basis for establishing a Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking (Global Commission) by examining six key questions:

- What precisely is the need for a Global Commission?
- Where and how would it fit in the existing international modern slavery landscape?
- What would a Global Commission do which would add value to existing international collaborations, including the key evidence gaps it would aim to fill?
- Who would it seek to influence and to what effect?
- How would it best be configured, including to ensure that survivor engagement is embedded in both its governance and work?
- How will it secure stable and sustainable long-term funding?

The Scoping Study was tasked with making practical and achievable recommendations for the establishment of a Commission, including draft Terms of Reference.

Process

The Modern Slavery PEC engaged three external consultants to carry out the Scoping Study: Andrew Hilland, who led the Scoping Study, together with Maisie Biggs and Dr Sarah Kerr (the “Scoping Study Team”). The Scoping Study Team worked in close consultation with the Modern Slavery PEC’s Senior Leadership Team, and under the supervision of a Steering Group comprising the Rt Hon Theresa May MP, Professor Andrew Thompson, Edward Braham, Ali Kirby-Harris and Murray Hunt.

The Scoping Study was conducted between February and May 2022. During that time, the Scoping Study Team carried out the following research, evidence gathering and analysis:

- A desk-based survey of the current international modern slavery landscape, and analysis of any significant gaps that a Global Commission could fill.

- Direct stakeholder engagement with other key parts of the international modern slavery landscape, including global and regional intergovernmental bodies, international human rights groups, survivor organisations, faith and civil society organisations, and businesses.
- A rapid literature review of recent evidence identifying priority areas for intervention in the international modern slavery and human trafficking landscape.
- A desk-based survey of comparable global commissions, as well as meetings with key actors in the most directly relevant global commissions.
- A desk-based review of funding models used by comparable global commissions, and meetings with some potential funders of a Global Commission.
- Consultation on how to embed persons with lived experience of modern slavery in the work and governance of a Global Commission, including with survivor leaders and leaders of community-based organisations in the Global South.

These steps, together with the conclusions that the Scoping Study Team drew from each of them on the purpose and configuration of a Global Commission, are described in detail throughout this report.

In carrying out the Scoping Study, the Scoping Study Team has benefited immensely from the engagement and support of a wide range of individuals and organisations. In particular, the Scoping Study Team would like to thank:

- The stakeholders from 50 organisations within the international modern slavery landscape who provided written or oral input to the Scoping Study Team, listed at Annex V.
- Key actors from comparable commissions who shared lessons learned, namely Gordon Brown, Justin van Fleet and Liesbet Steer from the International Commission on Financing Global Education, Mike Girling from the Global Commission on Adaptation, and Jessica Brand and Madhavi Ganeshan from the Global Commission on Economy and Climate.
- Dr Wendy Asquith, Dr Allen Kiconco and Professor Alex Balch, who are leading an FCDO-funded project on Survivor Engagement in International Development Policy and Programming, and shared insights and expertise throughout the course of the Scoping Study.
- The Modern Slavery PEC, for providing advice, substantive input and administrative support.
- John Iley, a secondee to the Modern Slavery PEC from the UK civil service, who helped conduct the desk-based survey of comparable global commissions underpinning Chapter 6, and with other ad hoc research.

Terminology

Modern slavery is an umbrella term for practices in which people are trapped, controlled and exploited in situations they cannot escape because of threats, violence, or someone taking advantage of their vulnerability.

For the purposes of this report, we use the term modern slavery as comprising the five practices enshrined within international law: **slavery**;¹ **institutions and practices similar to slavery**;² **servitude**;³ **forced or compulsory labour**;⁴ and **trafficking in persons**.⁵ This provides conceptual clarity, remains consistent with legal frameworks, and allows the Scoping Study to discuss the related set of practices it seeks to address succinctly.

Moreover, focusing broadly on the exploitation of human beings through force or coercion – rather than on the specific term used to describe that exploitation – is consistent with the approach taken in the 2017 Call to Action to End Forced Labour, Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking, which has been endorsed by 92 states.

That said, due to the novelty, complexity and national specificity of the relevant legal and policy frameworks, it is vital that when referring to or using the term “modern slavery” in particular contexts, a Global Commission is transparent and precise about the forms and types of exploitation that are included and excluded.

In view of the feedback received in the course of the Scoping Study from stakeholders in countries that do not adopt the term modern slavery, a Global Commission should also localise its work to be responsive to regional differences in terminology.

Structure

The remainder of this report is structured as follows. The next four chapters assess **the case for establishing a Global Commission**. In particular, Chapter 2 provides a narrative account of the Scoping Study Team’s desk-based survey of the current international modern slavery landscape; Chapter 3 gives an overview of stakeholder views in relation to the need for a Global Commission, and the role it could potentially play; Chapter 4 distils a rapid literature review of recent evidence identifying priority areas for intervention; and Chapter 5 summarises the Scoping Study’s findings on the need for a Global Commission, and recommends how a Global Commission could meet that need.

The report then turns to consider **what a Global Commission would look like and how it would work**. Specifically, Chapter 6 examines how a Global Commission should be designed to make an effective contribution to tackling modern slavery; Chapter 7 considers how lived experience can be embedded in the work of a Global Commission; and Chapter 8 looks at how a Global Commission can secure stable and sustainable funding.

1. 1926 Slavery Convention: Article 1(1)

2. 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery: Article 1

3. 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) Article 8

4. ILO 1930 Forced Labour Convention: Article 2 – See also: Abolition of Forced Labour Convention No. 105 (1957) which primarily concerns forced labour imposed by state authorities.

5. UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (‘Palermo Protocol’): Article 3

Chapter 2: The international modern slavery landscape

Introduction

The Scoping Study undertook a desk-based survey of the current international modern slavery landscape. This exercise was designed to inform the analysis of the need for a Global Commission, and what it would do to add value to existing international collaborations. It should be understood as complementary to the stakeholder engagement with key actors in the international modern slavery landscape, which sought to solicit their views on the role that a Global Commission could play, as well as the review of existing evidence reviews and synthesis on the subject.

The team undertook a focused desk-based review, starting from a list of 117 organisations and actors operating under the modern slavery and human trafficking umbrella that undertake work or interventions with a transnational focus. Selection was made based on (a) the expertise of the Steering Group, the Modern Slavery PEC and the Scoping Study Team; (b) the public activities of the relevant organisations and actors; and (c) the process of stakeholder engagement.

From this list of 117, the scoping team prioritised actors for mapping based on specific attributes of a Commission which were identified in the Scoping Study's remit, including that the Commission would: (a) play a co-ordinating function; (b) focus on policy and regulation; (c) commission research to address key evidence gaps; and (d) ensure that people with lived experience of modern slavery are meaningfully embedded in its work. Accordingly, the Scoping Study team selected for more detailed mapping actors that perform one or more of those functions. This produced a final list of 64 actors for detailed mapping ("key international actors").

These key international actors fell into eight categories: global intergovernmental, regional intergovernmental, state actors, civil society, academia, funders, private sector and knowledge platforms. The full list of the 64 key international actors is set out in **Annex I**.

The Scoping Study Team then "mapped" the key international actors against a series of attributes, selected to reflect the complexity and diversity of anti-trafficking and modern slavery work. Details of the approach and limitations of the mapping exercise are set out in **Annex II**. Details of the attributes themselves can be found in **Annex III**.

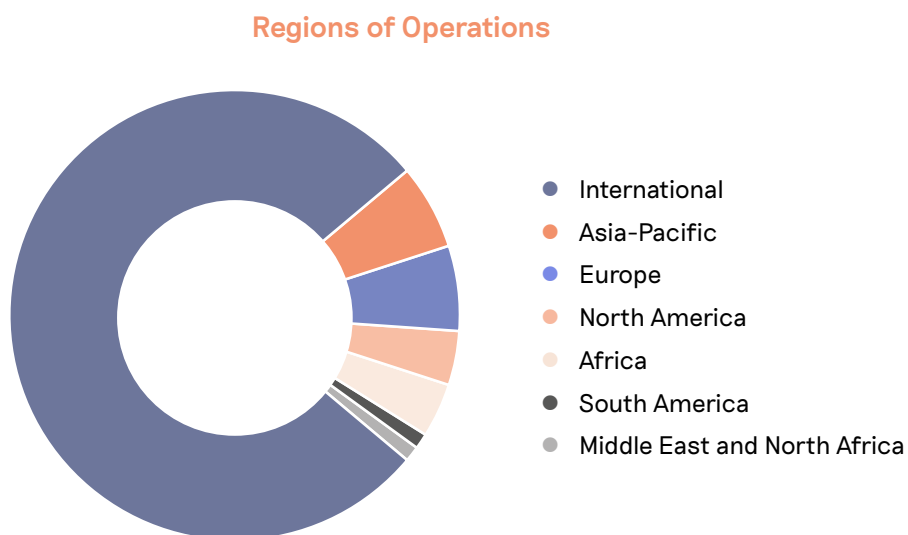
Summarised below are the high-level findings from the mapping exercise, which are set out in more detail in **Annex IV**. The findings provide certain insights about the state of the international modern slavery and human trafficking field in 2022, including the locations of the mapped actors' activities and headquarters; exploitation types on which they are focussed; the intervention focuses; sectors which they target through their interventions; and focus industries.

Finally, this chapter outlines the key implications from the mapping for the design and focus of a Global Commission.

Findings

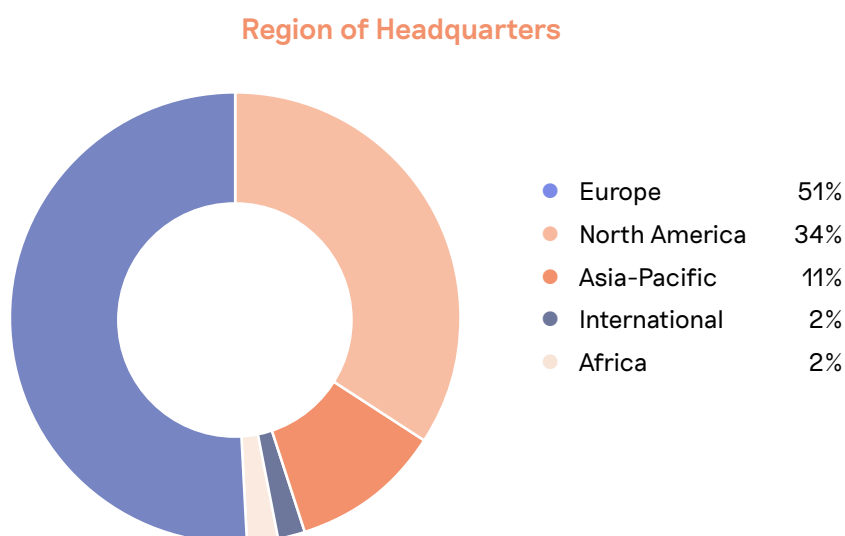
Sectors and locations of activities and headquarters:

Figure 1: Regions of operation of key international actors.



In contrast with the international span of their programmatic activities (illustrated in Figure 1), most key international actors are headquartered in either Europe (51%) or North America (34%) – see Figure 2.

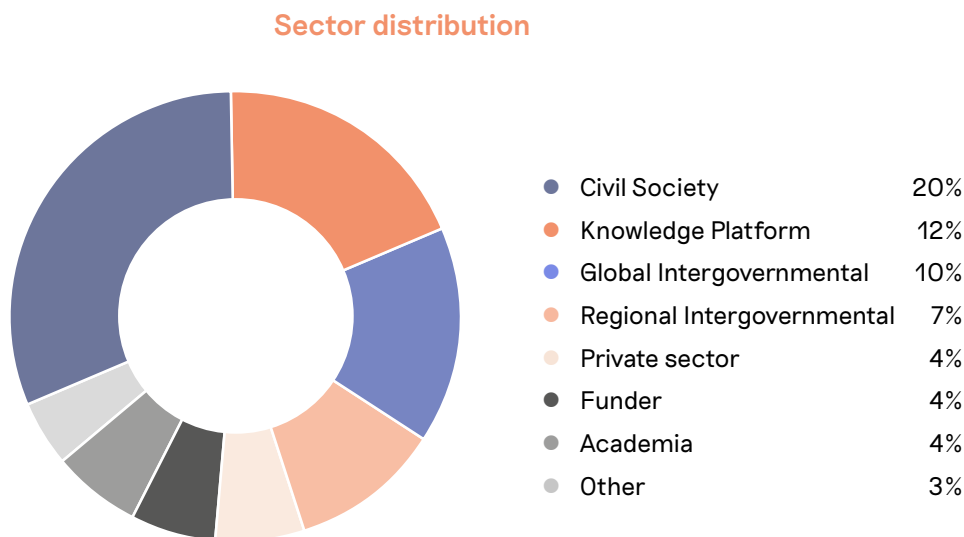
Figure 2: Distribution of regions in which key international actors are headquartered.



The largest group of key international actors are civil society organisations, including international non-governmental organisations, trade unions and faith groups. This is followed by knowledge platforms (initiatives which act as a convening space for other actors, or as a repository of research) and global intergovernmental bodies (see Figure 3).

The significant role played by CSOs in the international modern slavery landscape is striking, particularly in view of the fact that CSOs – alongside intergovernmental bodies – also run many of the knowledge platforms.

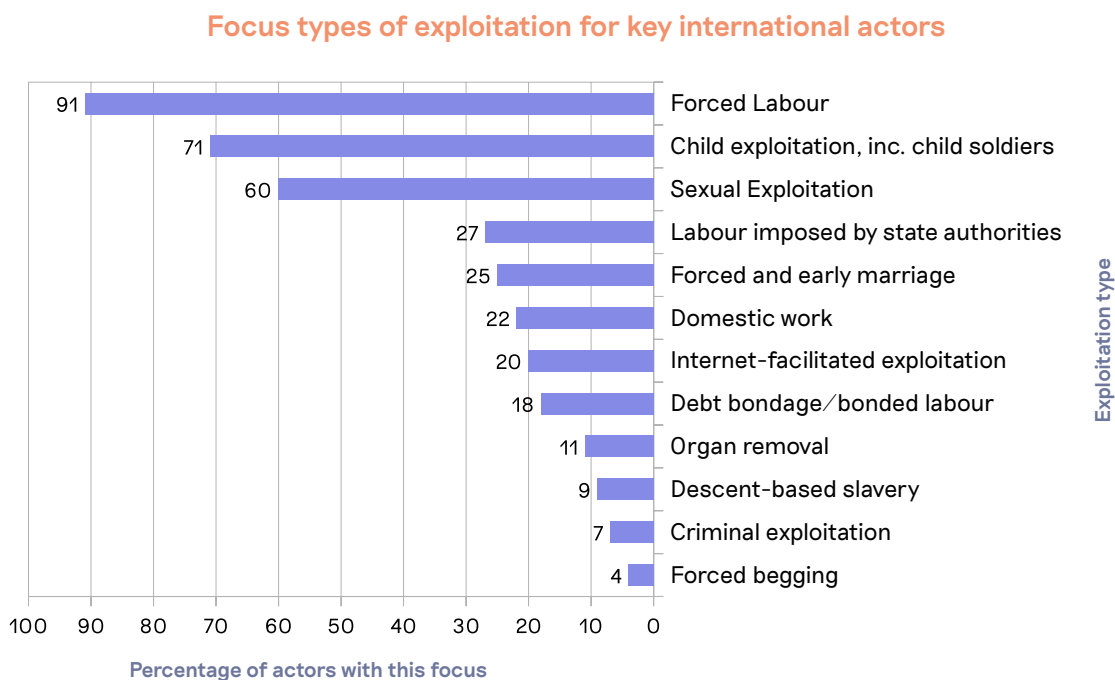
Figure 3: Comparative distribution of the sectors of key international actors



Types of exploitation

The majority of actors focussed on multiple forms of exploitation, with forced labour (91%), child labour (71%) and sexual exploitation (60%) the most prevalent among these. Other, more specific forms of exploitation such as domestic work, forced marriage and organ removal were singled out by fewer actors (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Exploitation types on which key international actors are focussed.



Intervention focuses of key international actors

The most common intervention focus was supply chain risk, followed by migration and regulation (see Figure 5).

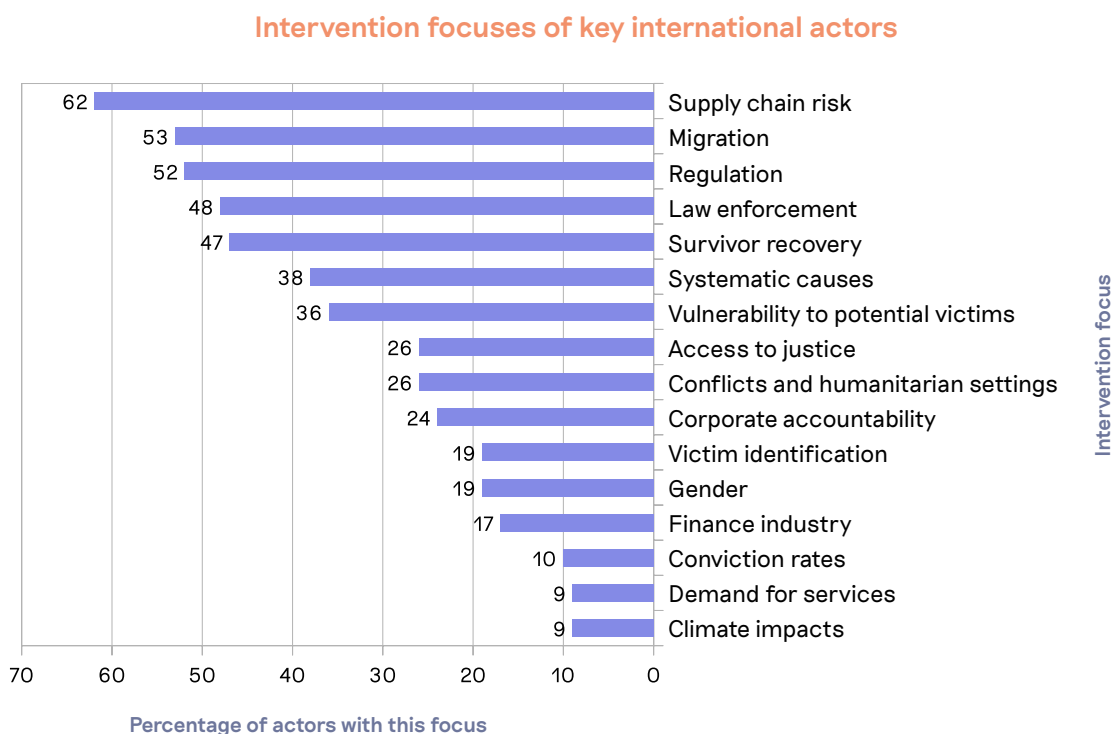
While 62% of key international actors focus on how the risk of forced labour and modern slavery manifests within supply chains, only 24% explicitly focus on corporate accountability as a form of regulatory response to that risk.

And although 52% of key international actors focus on migration, there is significant variance in the way they approach the issue: some focus on the relationship between irregular migration and cross-border trafficking in persons, while others focus on the increased vulnerability of migrant workers once in-country.

There appears to be a stronger emphasis on post-exploitation issues than on pre-exploitation issues. For instance, 48% of key international actors focus on responses by law enforcement and 47% on survivor recovery, with 26% looking into the more specific and related issue of access to justice. By contrast, 38% of key international actors focus on systemic causes, and 36% on vulnerability of potential victims.

It is notable that certain interventions were relatively rare: only one in five actors focus on gender, and one in ten consider climate change impacts.

Figure 5: Intervention focuses of key international actors.

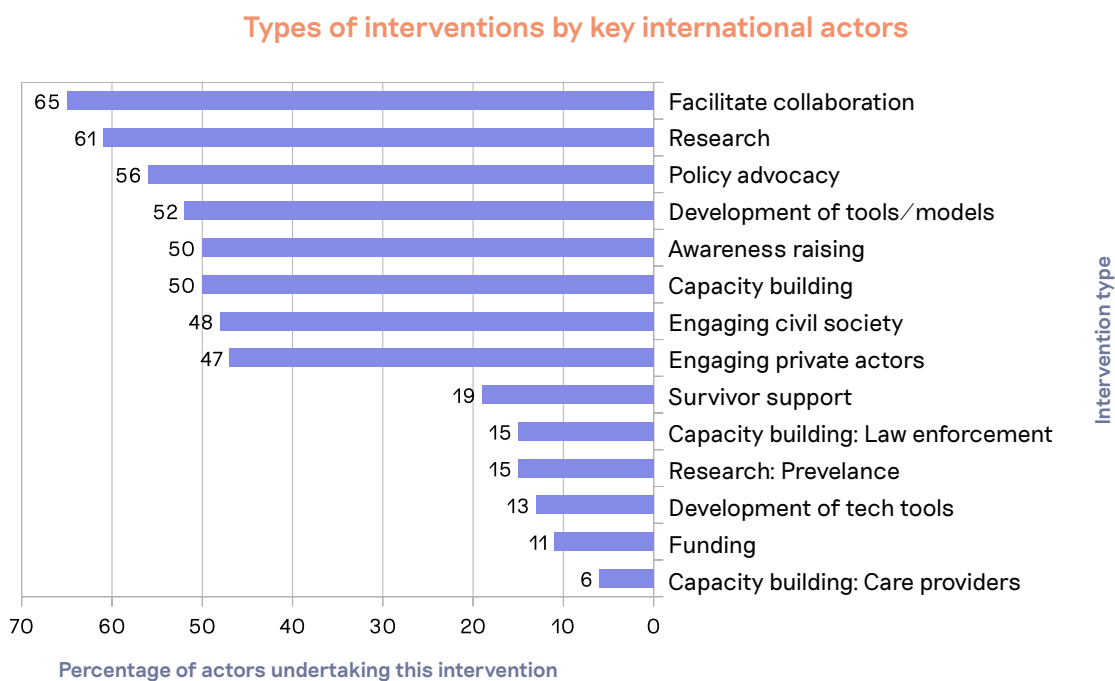


Types of interventions by key international actors

The most common types of interventions by key international actors are facilitating collaboration among other actors and institutions (65%), research (61%) and policy advocacy (56%) (see Figure 6).

These types of institutional activities are undertaken far more often than frontline work, including direct survivor support (19%) and capacity building of care providers (6%).

Figure 6: Types of interventions undertaken by key international actors.



Target sectors of key international actors' work

The most common target of key international actors' work was policymakers (70%), followed by civil society (58%) and business (55%). There was little direct targeting of consumers (13%) or the media (7%) (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Sectors which key international actors target through their interventions.

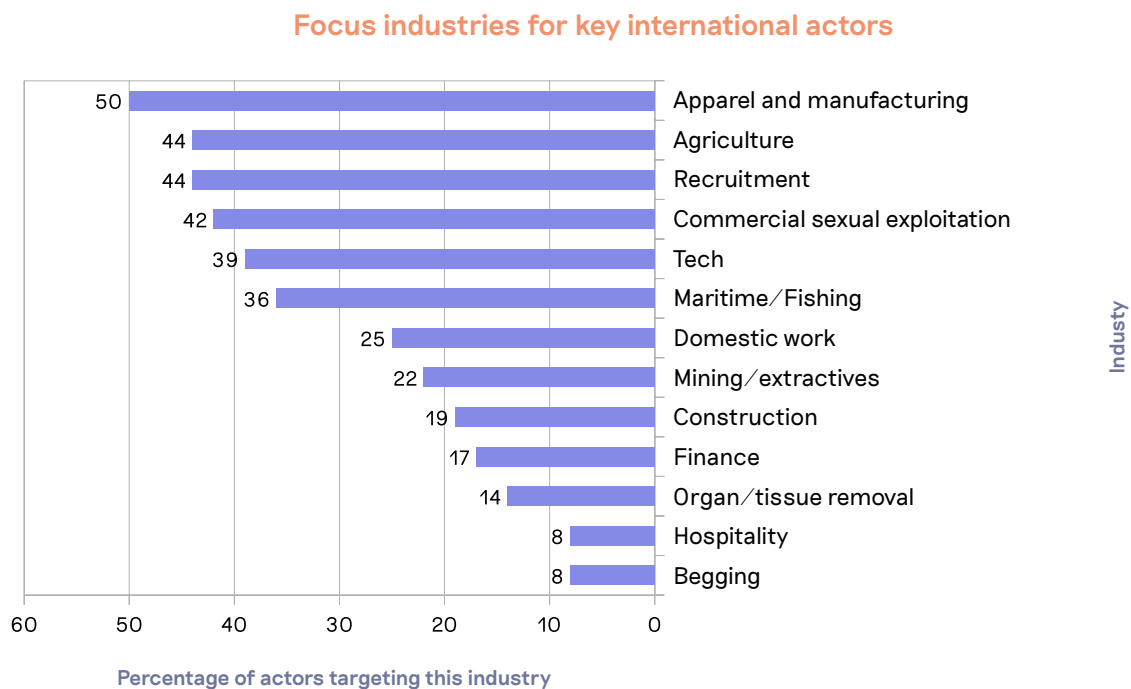


Focus industries for the key international actors

Approximately 55% of key international actors highlight specific industries on which they focus (Figure 8). Of those actors that have an industry focus, apparel and manufacturing (50%), agriculture (44%) and recruitment (44%) are the most represented.

The prominence of recruitment of workers is not surprising, given it is closely linked with migration and supply chain risk, which are the two most common intervention focuses of key international actors (see Figure 5, above). By focusing on recruitment, key international actors are concentrating on a particular point of high vulnerability that has implications for other industries on the list, including maritime/fishing, domestic work and construction.

Figure 8: Focus industries for key international actors.



Implications for a Global Commission

Regional equity

- The international modern slavery and human trafficking field has a stark regional power imbalance, as funds and decision-making almost exclusively flow from the Global North (Figures 1 and 2). If a Global Commission is to be truly global, it must be regionally inclusive and structured in such a way as to ensure that different regions are not only meaningfully represented, but also have power to inform and influence decisions.

Engagement with civil society

- CSOs play a significant role in the international modern slavery and human trafficking landscape (Figure 3). Given their substantial experience, expertise and influence in the sector, CSOs should be embedded in the configuration of a Global Commission, and feature heavily in its engagement.

Consultation on exploitation focus

- The sector is predominantly focussed on forced labour (Figure 4). This is in line with the prevalence estimates released by the ILO and Walk Free for Alliance 8.7 in 2017,⁶ which estimated that of 40.3 million people in modern slavery, 24.9 million are trapped in forced labour. One option open to a Global Commission would be to follow a similar logic and also focus on forced labour.

6. International Labour Organization and Walk Free Foundation, Global Estimates of Modern Slavery: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage, Geneva, September 2017, available at: https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_575479/lang--en/index.htm.

- However, as noted in Chapter 3, frontline stakeholders expressed the view that intergovernmental organisations, state-run development groups and funders are often only willing to support work which targets the forms of exploitation that the international community considers the most important, rather than the types of exploitation impacting communities the most. For instance, some groups said that organ trafficking is a significant issue for their communities, but that it was not a priority for international actors.
- A Global Commission should therefore ensure that there is abundant engagement with communities at risk of exploitation, and that they are substantively involved in the decisions regarding exploitation focus. A Commission should not automatically restrict its exploitation focus to forced labour, as this risks overlooking other types of exploitation that particular communities are most affected by.

There are gaps in intervention focus that a Global Commission could fill

- While there is significant interest and investment in the modern slavery sector in relation to supply chain risk, there is a relatively limited focus on states enacting binding regulation governing the conduct of companies as a response (Figure 5). This is potentially an area where a Commission could add value.
- A Commission might also consider focusing on the systemic causes of modern slavery, which are less represented in the work of key international actors than post-exploitation issues. This theme also emerged strongly from stakeholder consultation (see Chapter 3). Doing so might engage a new, broader range of actors that are working to address these systemic causes in other sectors (eg development actors).
- Both gender-related vulnerabilities and climate change impacts – and their connection with modern slavery and human trafficking – appear to be under-served areas. A Commission could potentially focus on these issues, particularly in view of feedback from stakeholders on the need to take a cross-cutting approach to the SDGs.

Lessons must be learned from existing collaborative, research, and policy work

- A majority of key international actors already focus on facilitating collaboration, undertaking research and policy advocacy (Figure 6). A Global Commission should not duplicate the work of key international actors. If it is to undertake work that falls within one or more of these categories, it should draw lessons from existing initiatives as to how to be most effective, and in the process potentially develop new collaborations, strengthen existing work and draw in new actors.
- Many key international actors are already specifically targeting policymakers (Figure 7). If a Global Commission is also to target policymakers, it will need to avoid duplicating existing efforts or fatiguing the target, and there will be a need for coordination in this space.
- A relatively limited proportion of key international actors are taking a particular industry focus – accordingly, Figure 8 should not be read as indicating that certain industries already receive sufficient attention at the international level. To the contrary, there is a need for more innovative work to be done in relation to all of the listed industries. A Global Commission could either initiate its own industry-specific initiatives, support existing industry initiatives, or find a means to share best-practices across industries.

Chapter 3: Stakeholder views on the need for a Global Commission

Introduction

The Scoping Study Team engaged key actors in the international landscape of organisations working to address modern slavery and human trafficking. Consultees have included global and regional intergovernmental bodies, international human rights bodies, survivor-representative organisations, faith and civil society groups, and business.

The Modern Slavery PEC and the Office of Theresa May contacted 67 stakeholders. Between March and May 2022, the Scoping Study Team held meetings with 50 stakeholders, as well as further ad hoc engagement based on perceived need and gaps in engagement. A list of the stakeholders that the Scoping Study Team spoke with can be found at Annex V, along with the standard set of questions discussed with each stakeholder at Annex VI.

Stakeholders have welcomed being consulted. One government official said:

“The composition of the Commission will be crucial to its credibility – I am glad that you’re getting views from across the board and making it participatory.”

Stakeholders have also welcomed the idea of a Global Commission. A leader on trafficking responses for an intergovernmental organisation, for example, said:

“It’s quite clear that yes, there is a need for a commission. The question is a need for what, and it also depends what you mean by a commission.”

An NGO in the modern slavery field was enthusiastically supportive:

“It’s really exciting that a Commission is being considered. If we look at the current state of play there are lots of excellent organisations doing frontline work. What’s needed, and missing, is to try to translate this into a level of political leadership, focus and international collaboration at scale.”

This chapter provides an overview of stakeholder views in relation to the need for a Global Commission, and the role it could potentially play. Stakeholder views on the design of a Commission, and how survivor engagement should be embedded in its governance and work, are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

Progress towards eradicating modern slavery and human trafficking

None of the 50 modern slavery stakeholders that the Scoping Study Team spoke with as part of its engagement considered that the international community was on track to meet SDG 8.7.

“At the moment, we’re not really set up for success. For instance, under SDG 8.7, child labour is meant to be eradicated by 2025, though I don’t see any way of meeting that.” (Researcher)

“I attended a... meeting a few years ago, and a country that was meant to be leading the way announced they were aiming to adopt a law on child labour by 2025 – but the goal says that child labour is meant to be eliminated by 2025. This is just one small example of how we’re not even close to achieving SDG 8.7.” (Intergovernmental body)

Stakeholders cited a number of reasons for this pessimistic assessment, including a lack of high-level political leadership, inadequate levels of funding, other issues dominating the political agenda, and a marked increase in vulnerability to modern slavery and human trafficking as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, the war in the Ukraine, and the climate crisis.

“There is not nearly enough funds to support efforts to end modern slavery and ensure recovery for survivors. There are still corrupt governments who are supporting [illegal] practices, and economies are not set up to take an influx of workers.” (Civil society network)

“Progress towards the SDGs in general has been slow. The pandemic has made the prospects of achieving the goals more precarious, particularly with regard to modern slavery and child labour – the education interruptions brought on by the pandemic had a hugely negative impact on child labour specifically.” (Government official)

“My suspicion is that we’re not on track. It will be very challenging to meet the 2030 targets. It’s been made more challenging as a result of Covid-19, and with child labour we’ve seen years of progress reversed in the last two years.” (Government official)

“There is a lack of political will, focus and energy on modern slavery and human trafficking issues globally. This is in part due to other issues competing for the political agenda.” (Government official)

“It’s a definite “No” – we’re not on track. We see huge gaps in legislation, coordination at the local, national and international levels, addressing risk factors, the criminal justice system, and the role of business.” (International NGO)

“It doesn’t look like we’re on track. There’s increasing competition as to what else is consuming politicians’ attention – energy issues, the war in Ukraine – so there’s a struggle to cut through.” (Intergovernmental body)

“We’re not going to achieve SDG 8.7. There’s no prospect of that whatsoever. There’s a huge gap in political will. I think with Theresa May no longer in government there’s no high-level political leadership in modern slavery and human trafficking. There’s no head of state or national leader that’s a champion for this issue globally... There’s also no leadership in the Global South on this issue, which means there’s a real risk of this being a North versus South issue.” (International NGO)

"I'm not sure how realistic the SDGs are. International organisations will point to the SDGs, lobby for them, and try to mobilise resources in support of them. But in reality – with conflicts and the pandemic – everything goes out of the window. The situation in Ukraine presents an enormous risk of abuse: even if most people are well meaning, there will always be some that try to profit from refugees." (Intergovernmental body)

"Modern slavery is one of those issues that gets rhetoric and focus at times but not concerted leadership between countries. There is talk but not a lot of action, so there's insufficient global leadership and resourcing. Vulnerability to modern slavery has only increased as a result of climate change, Covid-19 and recent conflicts." (NGO)

"We're not on track. There's a lack of political leadership at the government level. And there's a lack of engagement with national governments to ensure they implement the international commitments they've already signed up to." (International NGO)

"We needed a paradigm shift to achieve SDG 8.7 even before the pandemic. The pandemic then made the economy more precarious for workers, increased pressures on business, and led to job losses. The result is that we've already seen a rise in child labour, and we're likely to see that in forced labour too." (Civil society network)

"Part of the challenge is that human trafficking doesn't neatly sit into one area. There are intersecting issues, but people work in silos: poverty, health, climate, labour and economic rights, human rights, crisis. We cannot view 8.7 in isolation from the vulnerabilities and drivers of exploitation." (International NGO)

"I am not confident that we are on target to achieve [SDG 8.7]: the inequality and structures that sustain modern slavery and human trafficking are entrenched and are still there. [In] Kenya, Uganda, Eritrea, Somalia, Sudan, and South Sudan, there are key local and regional level structures which sustain exploitation. For example, we send out our young people to the Arabian gulf for exploitation. Exploitation is built into the system and the goals of 8.7 are diminished by this." (NGO)

"We are behind [achieving 8.7]. There are multiple reasons, but primary among them is the discordance and fragmentation of the movement. We are too small a community to be divided on so many things, and to be running in parallel on so many initiatives. There is a dearth of evidence for interventions that work. And we are not speaking with relevance in the spaces with the potential to leverage power to respond – eg making the economic, environmental and security arguments: how reducing modern slavery enhances each of these." (International NGO)

The role that a Global Commission could play

Stakeholders identified four broad ways⁷ in which a Global Commission could revitalise efforts to eradicate modern slavery and human trafficking, namely:

1. Provide high-level political leadership
2. Be a centre for research and best practice on effective policy responses
3. Promote international collaboration and partnerships
4. Focus on tackling forced labour in global supply chains

⁷ Stakeholders also emphasised the importance of the Commission engaging with people with lived experience of modern slavery, which is discussed in Chapter 7.

Stakeholders did not see these ways of adding value as being mutually exclusive. Indeed, a number of stakeholders suggested that a Commission might address more than one of these gaps, and several thought that the Commission could address all of them. So we might think of these themes as a 'menu' of potential options for a Global Commission.

Provide high-level political leadership

As noted above, there is widespread agreement that the pace of progress on modern slavery has stalled, and there is a need for stronger political leadership at the international level. A number of stakeholders therefore suggested that the role of a Global Commission should be to bring together figures of international renown to raise the profile of the issue, and galvanise action by states and other stakeholders.

*"You need a global commission that can somehow mobilise high level political attention."
(International NGO)*

*"An area where a global commission could really add value is in lifting political will in a global setting to really push this agenda forward. To me, a commission would mean a set of largely political heavyweights, or from civil society and business. They would have lots of authority, connections and legitimacy."
(Civil society network)*

*"A Commission could play a very valuable role if properly structured to push the issue, by effectively saying: 'you need to do more, and this is what you need to do.' ... I see a need for something that can bring some power and political weight to the issue, that can mobilise resources for a broader impact, and has some capacity to address issues... we need a position and a larger body that elevates this issue of human trafficking and modern slavery issue dramatically, from being seen as one form of organised crime to a social issue of paramount importance. An analogy in the US would be their drugs tsar: they have a \$1 billion budget not \$5 million, with real money and real authority to mobilise across agencies. This would be useful at the international level: a Commission that has some weight behind it. It would require government buy-in yet would also have to be independent to be able to speak truth to them."
(Intergovernmental body)*

*"What's needed, and missing, is to try to translate [excellent frontline work] into a level of political leadership, focus and international collaboration at scale. There was real progress on this five or six years ago, though post-Call to Action it's faded somewhat."
(NGO)*

*"A Global Commission could provide the necessary leadership to bring together the various international efforts to tackle modern slavery, while addressing existing evidence gaps."
(Government official)*

*"If a Global Commission is to be effective, then it needs to be able to re-energise the existing structures, current thinking, and approach of governments to the challenge involved in realising 8.7."
(International NGO)*

*"What you could do is think about how to mobilise senior politicians. In a recent speech on Ukraine, UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres said that: 'For predators and human traffickers, war is not a tragedy; it is an opportunity. And women and children are the targets. They need safety and support every step of the way.' It's a great line, but there wasn't much publicity around it. Are there leaders in the Global South who could also play a role in raising the profile of modern slavery?"
(Government official)*

“The sector doesn’t need more talking shops. It should instead be about making things happen. Lots of it is about getting laws and finance in place. If the Commission comprised people with genuine global convening power, that would help.” (International NGO)

Stakeholders argued that, in making the political case for action, a Global Commission should demonstrate how modern slavery and human trafficking is inextricably linked to other global crises.

“A Commission should also link the challenge of modern slavery into other key issues: if we don’t deal with climate change, for instance, we’ll see people become more vulnerable to modern slavery. (Intergovernmental body)

“The intersection between slavery and armed conflict could be a focus of a Commission.” (Intergovernmental body)

“As we are seeing in Ukraine, there is a need for anti-trafficking responses to be part of a humanitarian response from day one. A Global Commission could convene efforts across humanitarian responses, maximising impact not just on SDG 8.7 but the broader SDGs” (International NGO)

A Global Commission should also be discerning about the different types of political arguments and policy responses that are likely to be effective in different parts of the world:

“Whatever the Commission does, it has to segment the world into the sorts of solutions that are going to be winnable in some jurisdictions, versus others. We’re quite good at saying, this is what we need to do about forced labour and child labour. But there’s a risk of missing the political context, because what you can do to leverage change in China is different from in India.” (International NGO)

A Commission would need to take an overall approach for clarity, but then have a distinct approach to place. In some countries, linking modern slavery to climate effects would work well. In other places, the link could be to conflict.” (Intergovernmental body)

Several stakeholders, including from the Global South, spoke about how national action can be catalysed through effective international political pressure. However, for this model to be successful, we heard that the Commission’s leadership needs to be truly globally representative.

“The composition of the commission needs to be representative of countries of origin, transit and destination ... ‘Representation’ means that I want to see survivors, people from countries of origin, and gender balance; there is beauty in that representation.” (Government official)

A centre for collating research and best practice on effective policy responses

Stakeholders felt that effective implementation and enforcement of existing legislation was as or more important than working towards new legislation. In this regard, they highlighted a lack of readily accessible evidence on “what works” to reduce modern slavery and human trafficking, and envisaged that a Global Commission could play a role in building the research base and bringing together best practice on effective policy responses.

"It's not enough for states to ratify legislation - they need to implement it. One role that a commission could play is to highlight good practice and common challenges... It could also potentially speak to civil society, including women's groups and trade unions. There is not currently a forum for these groups to get together and exchange good practice, but there needs to be a place for these people to meet: these are the ones who know what works and doesn't work." (Intergovernmental body)

"There's a need for actionable recommendations that are accessible... This is a helpful thing that a commission could do: synthesise, and serve as a repository of what's out there, identifying examples of good practice. We have all the solutions we need out there. There's an army of people fighting modern slavery across the world on policing, prosecutions, NGOs and business. But it's difficult to find." (NGO)

"It's not just about introducing legislation. It's the disconnect between the legislation and the actual implementation on the ground." (NGO)

"The evidence we do not have concerns the effectiveness of what we do. Our research always focuses on the extent and manifestations of the problem we want to tackle. At the same time you have millions of dollars being spent, and thousands of people engaging in awareness raising, training, capacity building, and other interventions, but it is so politically sensitive to measure the impact of all of this. There is a powerful status quo in how we address things, and people will praise and defend their own approaches, but this dynamic is hurting the causes we are working towards. At some point a commission will need to look at how effective these approaches are. We need a space to say, 'I tried something and it didn't work out.'" (International NGO)

"If a Commission is trying to foster ideas about effective measures, that's very different from a commission that builds political momentum to support effective measures. I'm cautiously optimistic that these two roles - political convenor, and research leader - can be bridged." (Intergovernmental body)

"A Global Commission could amplify the messages from Walk Free's Promising Practices on what works, as well as what not to do, so we stop funding things that don't work. Promising Practices focuses on evaluating specific interventions: I'm not sure if anyone has looked at it more systematically in terms of what evidence exists on particular areas (eg markets, criminal justice, social protection) so that could be an area where the Commission could add value." (International NGO)

"There's a high demand for information on the part of countries affected by slavery. We have seen so many requests from Country A for us to go to Country B and ask how they've managed to eliminate slavery in farms, for instance. A Global Commission could help amplify the exchange of information and best practice." (Intergovernmental body)

"I believe the primary thrust of any collective response needs to be: identify the interventions that are proven to actually reduce modern slavery, then work out how to replicate them at scale." (International NGO)

A Global Commission should also localise best practice: a number of Global South stakeholders expressed frustration that international frameworks did not "fit" with their local context, and said they would value work that translated international frameworks in a context-specific-way.

"Evidence gaps remain especially where there are region-specific exploitation practices which might not fall under the international Palermo-informed definition of trafficking, and don't occur in other countries... examples include removal of organs for other reasons, including human sacrifice for rituals, and child soldiers. Because these forms of exploitation are region-specific there is less research and evidence available." (Sector expert)

"A Global Commission would be able to bring that spotlight at the global level and to contextualise interventions that address local versions of it... We don't just want to adopt things from the UN convention and transplant it here. If we can strengthen community institutions, then we can address global problems... As much as we would want a Global Commission with a broad overview, local context really matters. The context we have in this region demands expertise from this region." (NGO)

"For example, in a region with no child soldiers, [child soldiers] would not be a priority [for anti-trafficking actors], or the removal of organs for witchcraft. If you have appropriately representative people involved in determining which things should be included in a commission, in that development stage, ensuring that you speak to stakeholders to gather these ideas, the commission will resonate with them, and there will be ownership by the Commission when speaking about issues that have affected people in those regions." (Government official)

On specific research gaps, several stakeholders considered that a Global Commission could help build the evidence base on the connection between modern slavery and other global issues, including Covid-19, the climate crisis and the movement of refugees.

"In humanitarian assistance settings, there needs to be better evidence on the nexus between forced displacement, refugee movement and trafficking for stronger humanitarian responses to identify, address and prevent trafficking in crisis contexts." (Intergovernmental body)

"A Global Commission could look at the intersectionality between modern slavery and Covid-19, the climate crisis and other issues, and start to see how this all fits together." (International NGO)

Promote international collaboration and partnerships

Stakeholders told us that communication between the different parts of the modern slavery landscape can be poor, and that this can lead to a silo mentality which impedes effective responses. They felt that a Global Commission could usefully promote and facilitate international collaboration and partnerships between a wide range of actors in the modern slavery and human trafficking field where there is a need for greater collaboration: between states, multilateral organisations, civil society, businesses, researchers and people with lived experience, as well as between the global, regional, national and local levels.

"You need to create an orchestra of social change – you're not going to do anything big or transformative without bringing together that orchestra. You're going to have to get people into the uncomfortable space of a bigger platform and working together, not thinking about self-interest and survival. Little row boats on their own aren't going to solve the big issue." (Sector expert)

"Research and partnerships are required around these issues: you can't do this work alone as a country, or as an agency, you need partnerships. The ideal combination would be to bring together experts from the country of origin, destination and transit – we would then be able to map things out." (Government official)

“There is a lack of networking opportunities - people most often operate in silos and collaboration at most levels is limited or weak. The Global Commission needs to serve as a platform to make sure that the information gets to the right people (advocacy experts, legislators etc). Create opportunity for closing gaps and sharing information, networking, best practice, and resonating voices that may have been drowned... This would mean that global leaders will see information that they haven't seen before, and nation state leaders will see data about their country that they may not have seen.” (Sector expert)

“We've also observed some good sectoral collaborations at the global and regional levels, in the banking, finance and tech sectors, including Finance Against Slavery and Trafficking, Tech Against Trafficking and WeProtect. Some of these alliances are very good, and the Global Commission could be a convening forum for those.” (NGO)

“But where I think could be interesting is to bring together the regional entities, like the African Union, ASEAN and the European Union, also those representing Middle Eastern states. That is lacking... Though you'd also need to involve states if you want to get a job done, and then it's a question of which states (even rotating states?).” (Intergovernmental body)

“Any organisation that can facilitate connections between different law enforcement organisations [would be valuable]. The work that UK law enforcement has done with Romania is great, for example, but comes down to personalities. The Eurojust setup a good model for how collaboration works. Attempting to think about how we can better join up would be great.” (NGO)

“The Global Commission would have a lot of work to do as an intermediary/connector between governments, local organisations and the international level. It would support the work of local organisations...if there was an established clear pathway for engagement, showing who the intermediaries are from the local to the international. This might be possible from where a Global Commission is standing; making sure those intermediaries are clear would make local work easier. It could make sure the different institutions, the local government, national level, international level, religious institutions, are interconnected and focus on the same goal.” (NGO)

“[To] make sure that those with local knowledge are listened to, it would need a structure where intelligence flows from localities through regions, and up to national and intergovernmental, and then good channels of communication the other way round.” (NGO)

“If a Global Commission brought together national rapporteurs where they exist, and encouraged their establishment where they did not, that would be helpful.” (Intergovernmental body)

“We're working with labour ministries on modern slavery and human trafficking issues. But is anyone working with justice ministries, law enforcement and community organisations? It's a huge universe, and a Global Commission could help to facilitate communication and bridge gaps among stakeholders.” (Intergovernmental body)

Focus on forced labour and global supply chains

While the above three categories of need are best categorised as things a Commission could do, the final category of need identified by stakeholders is a substantive area of focus. Specifically, there was a broad consensus among stakeholders that a Global Commission could demonstrate leadership and have real impact in tackling forced labour in global supply chains.

“There is a lot of open runway on forced labour, supply chains and corporate transparency. There is not as much of an ideological difference there, there is commonality across the groups on what is needed and that is where the political will is to do big things on forced labour... a zeitgeist is happening here, there is all this open daylight where there is so much agreement and potential.” (Sector expert)

“I worry that peak global political attention on modern slavery has passed. But where there is a lot of traction is forced labour in supply chains. So a commission could be much more targeted. If I was drawing up an agenda for high-level political action, I’d focus on forced labour in supply chains, not least because the US administration is open to it, and mandatory human rights due diligence is the potential solution. A Global Commission on corporate accountability is where you might get traction” (International NGO)

“Due diligence and the role of public procurement in tackling modern slavery is an area that is very much on the move and has potential.” (Intergovernmental body)

“We are seeing a big shift in relation to supply chains, with increased human rights due diligence, transparency regulation and import bans addressing trafficking and labour exploitation – a survey our office completed recently revealed that the number of countries adopting procurement and supply chain measures has doubled in five years, which shows a significant advance.” (Intergovernmental body)

“The areas I think are exciting are business and human rights, which is growing, and the role of investors and the financial sector. A number of initiatives have been set up after COP26, and it’s a space where coordination and leverage could be impactful.” (International NGO)

While stakeholders largely agreed that forced labour and global supply chains is a potential area of focus for a Commission, different approaches were put forward on the manner in which businesses should be engaged, best practices for influencing business behaviour, and the role of states in regulating globalised supply chains. A number of stakeholders suggested that a Global Commission should focus on catalysing state action on corporate accountability, including through supply chain transparency legislation, mandatory human rights due diligence, and tariff acts or import bans on goods produced through forced labour, and evaluating best practice in this area.

We now have lots of different pieces of legislation that make doing business globally complicated; as things are changing across jurisdictions, global alignment around legislation is particularly important. The biggest slice of pie in terms of victims are found in forced labour – how do we ensure best business practice, and how can we demonstrate that numbers are decreasing and ultimately eliminated within global supply chains? How can a commission create the race to the top, and how it can rank and rate businesses?” (NGO)

“[When a business finds forced labour in a supplier], cutting business ties perpetuates the problem. A Global Commission can contribute to finding out what is best practice for a business when something happens – which could, for instance, involve trying to create trade unions within that affiliate.” (Civil society network)

“The commission could play a role in bringing businesses together, talking about how human rights due diligence and the UNGPs are being implemented, and showcasing what works.” (Intergovernmental body)

“A Global Commission could play a role in pushing for the private sector to be held accountable, equipping the public with information needed to demand change, and give more visibility and assistance to people who are being exploited.” (International NGO)

"A human rights due diligence focus is bigger than modern slavery. There is movement seen through the French and German due diligence laws and now the EU proposal: the commission can say this is a trend that we want to globalise and consult with countries to create their own due diligence... [this approach] is less colonial, it is constructive, and it is an existing state duty under the UNGPs and OECD." (Sector expert)

"We know that mapping supply chains and identifying and addressing risks is a complex, long-term task. Therefore eradicating forced labour will not just be about galvanising businesses to act – it will also require guidance, support and direction on the part of governments and organisations like the UN." (Government official)

"In relation to business, everyone will say that you should focus on ESG, which matters to corporates and investors. The E – climate – is more developed, and we're better at measuring it. The S is important, but the ways of measuring it are internal (gender pay gap, women on boards): how do you measure the S's impact on countries, communities and the environment? We have data out there, but no benchmarks. I'm not saying you want to put the name of a company into a computer and get a rating, but you need a framework." (Government official)

"Global supply chains and corporate accountability is an area where there's room for additional work. With so many efforts going on, there's potential scope to collate promising practices in that arena, and look at how to bridge the gap between the responsibilities of governments and companies." (Government official)

"A Commission could be a kind of neutral space with credibility. The message to business could be 'come and explore how you could have a more credible offering in the public space', when the threat of consumer concern is in the background and growing." (Civil society network)

There was a sense that reporting requirements have proven insufficient to alter corporate behaviour, and that a Commission should therefore focus on binding measures or innovative accountability mechanisms.

"What we do know is that voluntary measures, reporting laws and self-regulation do not work: the tech industry is a good example of the latter." (Intergovernmental body)

"How are we pushing for the private sector to be held accountable, and equipping the public with information needed to push and demand changes?" (International NGO)

"Where do you target resources? The biggest impact could be in forced labour and holding businesses to account. This involves mandatory transparency in supply chains, mandatory human rights due diligence, and tariff acts to ensure goods made of forced labour are not entering the market" (NGO)

"It feels like there are so many voluntary commitments in modern slavery, but this is not going to get us far. Perhaps there's scope for some mutual corporate accountability mechanism, which enables people to say when businesses haven't met their commitments." (Researcher)

And some stakeholders felt that a Commission could play a broader role in scrutinising the economic structures that enable and encourage exploitation:

"A new social contract is needed where rights are respected, jobs are decent with minimum living wages and collective bargaining, social protection is universal, due diligence and accountability are driving business operations, and that social dialogue ensures just transition measures for climate and technology." (Civil society network)

"The way that businesses currently work, including through elements like quarterly reporting, creates short termism and a model that sustains forced labour. If a Global Commission could promote a better model, moving from an extractive profit model to a sustainable profit model, this would create an environment where businesses do not need to rely on exploitative labour practices and child labour, which would have a real impact on the ground." (NGO)

"The biggest issue impeding meaningful action is existing power structures. On forced labour, this includes how existing global business models are able to continue with exploitative tendencies built in. Tax evasion is one example, where workers bear the brunt. It is in those structures where there is real room for development, and a new body could be a way into that." (Researcher)

"Corporate institutions use cheap labour and they don't want to pay attention to labour issues. Cheap labour is used to maximise profits." (Sector expert)

Any work by a Commission on this topic would require engagement with frontline organisations and communities:

"You need to be aware of [state and company] complicity in crime – the approach of working with and consulting vulnerable populations and their representatives from the start is important, since they are aware of the state of play and dynamics in their country, and should be a key part of the response." (Intergovernmental body)

We also heard that recruitment, and its relationship with unsafe migration, should be a central part of any discussion about forced labour in global supply chains.

"A Global Commission should try to connect local vulnerabilities with global... unequal labour structures that exist to exploit cheap labour from African countries." (NGO)

"The politics of migration is such a hurdle in this space. Low skilled workers are travelling to the Middle East and we hear so many stories of exploitation... but an effective response is caught up in politics." (Government official)

"It looks like our economy is designed to supply cheap exploitable labour. The governments have failed [to provide opportunities], but the global system attracts our young girls expressly for exploitation... The violation of black female bodies amongst the Arab gulf nations is horrendous and is based on racism. The Global Commission must talk about the racism inherent in these structures." (NGO)

Complementing and amplifying existing international collaborative work

While the consensus among stakeholders was that a Global Commission could help galvanise international action towards eradicating modern slavery and human trafficking, and help break down remaining obstacles to better international collaboration, they stressed the need for it to complement and amplify existing international collaborations, including GFEMS, Alliance 8.7 and ICAT.

"You need to make sure a Commission fits with the work of GFEMS, and the relevant rapporteurs, as the last thing you want is to be seen as competing." (Intergovernmental body)

"Alliance 8.7 includes key stakeholders, including governments, social partners and civil society. Its monitoring mechanism is tied into the supervisory system of the UN and ILO. A Commission needs to support those initiatives." (Civil society network)

"There are lots of initiatives on trafficking that a Commission would need to complement: Alliance 8.7, ICAT, the UN Global Compact (which includes forced labour), climate change initiatives, and significant regional initiatives." (Intergovernmental body)

Stakeholders felt that a Global Commission could achieve this by having a clearly defined aim, engaging closely with other modern slavery stakeholders, including existing international collaborations, and providing regular updates.

"A Commission would best complement existing international and regional efforts by joining up efforts from international stakeholders, creating shared commitments and goals. Consistent messaging from stakeholders would make collaborative efforts, including the Commission itself, more effective." (Government official)

"There have been initiatives to coordinate action – including Alliance 8.7, Freedom From Slavery Forum and Freedom Collaborative – so make sure whatever a Commission does is involved with those initiatives, or engages with the reasons they haven't succeeded. A Global Commission's engagement with existing organisations should be up front, and very clear about where it sits and how it is complementary. You should also make sure you're embedded in, and in the room for, the various different processes in the modern slavery space. And then provide regular updates to stakeholders." (International NGO)

"A Commission needs to work with anti-slavery actors and can build goodwill through extensive outreach." (International NGO)

"The willingness of modern slavery actors to work together has changed in the last five years. The Commission is launching at a time of great potential for collaboration and alliances. But the personality of the Commission needs to really write that, and to try to take people along. If it does, there's an opportunity to ride the wave." (NGO)

"If the purpose of a Commission is to help invigorate efforts going forward, that's a good thing, and you can work with other frameworks, including Alliance 8.7, the UNODC, ICAT and the OSCE." (Government official)

"The other thing to consider is engaging with existing global fora, including actual meetings, like the Freedom from Slavery Forum in Marrakesh in Morocco." (Researcher)

"A Global Commission should not just be a talking shop, but you could make a compelling case for a commission with a stated, specific aim where its impact can be demonstrated. It should be hugely ambitious, but also narrowly focused on what it is going to deliver." (NGO)

Chapter 4: Literature review of key priorities

This chapter provides a high-level overview of key themes in the international modern slavery and human trafficking field at the beginning of 2022, as articulated in existing work.⁸ The full analysis is set out in Annex VII, and the cited resources can be found at Annex IX.

This review identified the following key themes (in no particular order):

- The role of crisis - Covid-19 and conflict displacement
- Climate change
- Structural causes of vulnerability
- Labour exploitation in supply chains
- Implementation and evaluation

Together, these sections illustrate prevailing concerns in the field, and at the same time, shed light on current evidence gaps and/or areas where a Global Commission could potentially add value. The sector has also done a deal of self-reflection on the meaningful engagement of people with lived experience in all aspects of anti-slavery work: this is discussed in more depth in Chapter 7 of this report.

8. A list of databases which are regularly maintained is provided at Annex VIII. Also of note (and outlined in Annex VII) are the themes highlighted by the Human Trafficking Research Initiative (HTRI) run by Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA), who in 2021 set out a series of learning questions that the field needs to address. Additionally, as part of the 'From Research to Action: Using Knowledge to Accelerate Progress in the Elimination of Child Labour and Forced Labour' (RTA) project, in May 2022 the ILO and IOM released five questions/themes to shape the 'Global Research Agenda'. See: 'Research and Learning Agenda: Human Trafficking Research Initiative', Innovations for Poverty Action, 13 September 2021, <https://www.poverty-action.org/publication/research-and-learning-agenda-human-trafficking-research-initiative>; International Labour Organization (ILO), 'Global Research Agenda: Building the Evidence Base for Informed Policy Action against Child Labour, Forced Labour, and Human Trafficking', From Research to Action (RTA) Project (ILO, May 2022), http://www.ilo.org/ipecc/projects/global/from-research-to-action/WCMS_845264/lang-en/index.htm.

The role of crisis⁹ – Covid-19 and conflict displacement

Crisis exacerbates existing vulnerabilities to modern slavery and human trafficking, as well as creating new vulnerabilities. Responding to the risk of modern slavery and human trafficking in crisis contexts therefore requires both structural and preventative policies, as well as immediate and reactive responses.¹⁰

Covid-19

Covid-19 has served to exacerbate existing inequalities.¹¹ Quick-response research and analysis on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic¹² has shown how the pandemic exacerbated existing vulnerabilities,¹³ and how mitigation responses to the pandemic have generated “economic and social distress” which in turn have exacerbated risks of trafficking for vulnerable groups.^{14,15}

Child labour is one particular area where progress has been significantly undermined by the pandemic.¹⁶ Further, Covid-19 and mitigating responses have had enormous disruptive impacts on supply chains, starkly exposing existing exploitative structures¹⁷ as these were brought under pressure.^{18,19} This in turn has strengthened calls for more effective regulation.²⁰

9. The operational definition of crisis used by Delta 8.7 in their Crisis Policy Guide is also adopted here: “Crisis represents a critical threat to basic human rights of a community or other large group of people, usually over a wide area. It requires a unified response from multiple actors, which may involve an international or cross-border response. It can include conflict and natural disasters (including pandemics),” for more information see: Delta 8.7, Crisis Policy Guide, Delta 8.7 Policy Guides (United Nations University, 2021), http://collections.unu.edu/eserv/UNU:8065/Delta87_CrisisPolicyGuide.pdf.

10. For more research on the relationships between crisis and modern slavery, see: Delta 8.7, Crisis Policy Guide, Delta 8.7 Policy Guides (United Nations University, 2021), http://collections.unu.edu/eserv/UNU:8065/Delta87_CrisisPolicyGuide.pdf; see also: Olivia Hesketh and Alex Balch, ‘Modern Slavery and International Development’, Policy brief (Modern Slavery and Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre, 14 April 2021), <https://modernslaverypec.org/resources/modern-slavery-international-development>.

11. UNODC, ‘Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020’ (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.20.IV.3, January 2021), https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GL0TIP_2020_15jan_web.pdf, p 4.

12. For a summary of the impact of Covid-19 on modern slavery, containing findings from Modern Slavery PEC research projects and the wider evidence base, see: Olivia Hesketh and Owain Johnstone, ‘Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on Modern Slavery’, Policy brief (Modern Slavery and Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre, 17 November 2021), <https://modernslaverypec.org/resources/covid-modern-slavery>.

13. UNGA, ‘Political Declaration on the Implementation of the United Nations Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons (2021)’ (UN (New York), 9 November 2021), <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3948046>, para 11.

14. U.S. Department of State, ‘2021 Trafficking in Persons Report’ (Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, July 2021), <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-trafficking-in-persons-report/>, p 2.

15. Tomoya Obokata, ‘Impact of the Coronavirus Disease Pandemic on Contemporary Forms of Slavery and Slavery-like Practices: Report of the Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, Including Its Causes and Consequences’ (United Nations Human Rights Council (A/HRC/45/8), 4 August 2020), <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G20/201/21/PDF/G2020121.pdf?OpenElement>, p 4.

16. This is within the context: “Global progress against child labour has stagnated since 2016. The percentage of children in child labour remained unchanged over the four-year period while the absolute number of children in child labour increased by over 8 million. Similarly, the percentage of children in hazardous work was almost unchanged but rose in absolute terms by 6.5 million children.” International Labor Organisation (ILO) and United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), ‘Child Labour: Global Estimates 2020, Trends and the Road Forward’, Report (ILO and UNICEF, 10 June 2021), http://www.ilo.org/ipcc/Informationresources/WCMS_797515/lang-en/index.htm, p 8.

17. “If there were any doubts about the precarity in the world of work, COVID-19 has dispelled them for everyone.” in Bandana Pattanaik, ‘Can Anti-Trafficking Measures Stop Trafficking?’, GAATW (blog), 29 July 2020, <https://gaatw.org/blog/1057-can-anti-trafficking-measures-stop-trafficking>.

18. Re:Structure Lab, ‘Re:Structure Lab Blueprint’ (Sheffield: Sheffield, Stanford, and Yale Universities, 2021), www.restructurelab.org/blueprint, p 7.

19. Potential positive outcomes, such as that because businesses have increasingly focused on supply chain resilience and some improving their relationships with their suppliers as a result of covid disruption, this offers opportunities for addressing forced labour risks.

20. “HRDD is a key tool in the global efforts to build forward better in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic.” Working Group on Business and Human Rights, ‘Mandatory Human Rights Due Diligence (MHRDD)’, OHCHR, 2022, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/wg-business/mandatory-human-rights-due-diligence-mhrdd>.

Conflict displacement

Over six million refugees have fled Ukraine since 24 February 2022,²¹ with over eight million displaced internally following the Russian invasion.²² Both within and outside of Ukraine, risks of trafficking and modern slavery for displaced populations are continuing to increase as the conflict continues.²³ Anti-trafficking actors have been quick to respond to the Ukraine crisis,²⁴ both at the intergovernmental level and in civil society.^{25,26} There has been rapid response analysis of the trafficking risks attendant on this mass movement of refugees.²⁷ Mass displacement increases vulnerability:²⁸ a multi-disciplinary and cross-institutional response is therefore required in humanitarian crises.²⁹

What does this mean for a Global Commission?

- What role might a Global Commission play in response to crisis events?
- How should a Global Commission work with other international organisations to minimise the risks of exploitation in crisis contexts?

21. At time of writing: "Refugees fleeing Ukraine (since 24 February 2022): 6,312,255 (Last updated 17 May 2022)" see: UNHCR, 'Ukraine Refugee Situation', Operational Data Portal, accessed 18 May 2022, <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine>.

22. 8,029,000 EST. internally displaced within Ukraine as of 3 May 2022 - 13,686,000 EST. total displaced: IOM, 'Ukraine - Internal Displacement Report - General Population Survey Round 4 (29 April - 3 May 2022)', 10 May 2022, <https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/operations/ukraine/document/iom-ukraine-internal-displacement-report-general-population-survey-round>.

23. Miriam Berger, 'Human Trafficking Likely to Increase as Ukraine War Drags, Groups Warn', Washington Post, 10 May 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/05/10/human-trafficking-ukraine-war-russia-refugees/>.

24. "Early action by civil society and governments to protect refugees at border crossings probably helped stave off initial nightmare forecasts." in Miriam Berger, 'Human Trafficking Likely to Increase as Ukraine War Drags, Groups Warn', Washington Post, 10 May 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/05/10/human-trafficking-ukraine-war-russia-refugees/>.

25. "Coming at the request of Moldova's INTERPOL National Central Bureau (NCB) in Chisinau... the INTERPOL team will provide immediate field support to law enforcement and humanitarian organizations and help evaluate the situation on the ground, identifying needs in order to provide relevant training, analysis and operational support. The mission will be based in Chisinau and different refugee camps hosting those who have recently fled Ukraine." INTERPOL, 'Ukraine Conflict: INTERPOL Deploys Team to Moldova', 25 March 2022, <https://www.interpol.int/en/News-and-Events/News/2022/Ukraine-conflict-INTERPOL-deploys-team-to-Moldova>.

26. "The Task Force (TF) will convene under the leadership and auspices of the Protection Cluster in Ukraine, and will be co-chaired by IOM Ukraine and La Strada-Ukraine during the timeframe of the Task Force," see the TOR here: https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/ukraine_anti_trafficking_task_force_tors_.pdf

27. Suzanne Hoff and Eefje de Volder, 'Preventing Human Trafficking of Refugees from Ukraine: A Rapid Assessment of Risks and Gaps in the Anti-Trafficking Response' (La Strada International and The Freedom Fund, May 2022), https://freedomfund.org/wp-content/uploads/UkraineAntiTraffickingReport_2022_05_10.pdf, p 1.

28. Delta 8.7, Crisis Policy Guide, Delta 8.7 Policy Guides (United Nations University, 2021), http://collections.unu.edu/eserv/UNU:8065/Delta87_CrisisPolicyGuide.pdf, p 2.

29. International Labor Organisation (ILO) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 'Child Labour: Global Estimates 2020, Trends and the Road Forward', Report (ILO and UNICEF, 10 June 2021), http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Informationresources/WCMS_797515/lang--en/index.htm, p 10.

Climate change

The 2021 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP26)³⁰ and the 2022 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reports³¹ have spurred a renewed focus on the nexus between modern slavery, human trafficking and climate change.^{32,33,34}

Climate change exacerbates vulnerabilities driving trafficking,³⁵ while both slow and rapid onset climate events displace people and stimulate unsafe migration.^{36,37} International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) researchers have argued³⁸ that social protection mechanisms must be strengthened to address the vulnerabilities which are being heightened by the climate crisis,³⁹ and safe migration opportunities created.⁴⁰ Consideration should be given to specific geographies, like Pacific Island countries, which will be particularly affected,⁴¹ and to the ways in which climate and environmental crises increase the already-heightened vulnerability to exploitation of indigenous communities.⁴²

What does this mean for a Global Commission?

How might a Global Commission help to articulate the relationship between climate events and risks of modern slavery, and in so doing formulate effective responses?

30. 'COP 26: Climate Change and Modern Slavery', Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner, 31 October 2021, <https://www.antislaverycommissioner.co.uk/news-insights/cop-26-climate-change-and-modern-slavery/>.

31. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 'Sixth Assessment Report (AR6)', April 2022, <https://www.ipcc.ch/assessment-report/ar6/>.

32. For more information, see: 'Ecosystems and the Environment' at <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/research/beacons-of-excellence/rights-lab/programmes/ecosystems/index.aspx>

33. For more information, see: 'The Environmental Migration Portal' at <https://environmentalmigration.iom.int>

34. See their project page 'Climate-induced migration and vulnerability to modern slavery': <https://www.iied.org/climate-induced-migration-vulnerability-modern-slavery>

35. Ritu Bharadwaj et al., 'Climate Change, Migration and Vulnerability to Trafficking' (Publications Library (IIED), 2021), <https://pubs.iied.org/20581iied>, p 4.

36. Ritu Bharadwaj et al., 'Climate Change, Migration and Vulnerability to Trafficking' (Publications Library (IIED), 2021), <https://pubs.iied.org/20581iied>, p 5.

37. Viviane Clement et al., 'Groundswell Part 2: Acting on Internal Climate Migration' (Washington, DC: World Bank, 13 September 2021), <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/36248>.

38. Ritu Bharadwaj et al., 'Climate Change, Migration and Vulnerability to Trafficking' (Publications Library (IIED), 2021), <https://pubs.iied.org/20581iied>, 6.

39. Ritu Bharadwaj et al., 'Climate Change, Migration and Vulnerability to Trafficking' (Publications Library (IIED), 2021), <https://pubs.iied.org/20581iied>, 5.

40. Ritu Bharadwaj et al., 'Climate Change, Migration and Vulnerability to Trafficking' (Publications Library (IIED), 2021), <https://pubs.iied.org/20581iied>, 6.

41. Walk Free, 'Murky Waters: A Qualitative Assessment of Modern Slavery in the Pacific Region' (The Minderoo Foundation, December 2019), <https://www.walkfree.org/reports/murky-waters/>, p 35.

42. 'Climate Inaction Is Undermining Anti-Slavery Efforts', Freedom United (blog), 20 August 2021, <https://www.freedomunited.org/climate-inaction-is-undermining-anti-slavery-efforts/>.

Structural causes of vulnerability

The social and economic vulnerability of individuals is a risk factor for modern slavery and human trafficking.⁴³ The causes are complex and multi-dimensional,⁴⁴ which necessitates moving beyond a purely criminal justice response,⁴⁵ which though important, treats the symptoms rather than the societal and structural causes at scale.⁴⁶ Sustainable development and addressing modern slavery are intertwined: both involve “maximising people’s economic agency.”⁴⁷ Likewise, gender inequality and discrimination against women and girls increases their vulnerability and the risk of trafficking and exploitation, and responses must therefore address these wider societal issues.⁴⁸

A structural response to modern slavery and human trafficking will necessitate breaking down silos between “anti-trafficking” work and other disciplines.⁴⁹

What does this mean for a Global Commission?

Can a Global Commission focus on the structural causes of modern slavery, including how it disproportionately impacts specific demographics (eg women and girls)?

How can a Global Commission work across the SDGs, especially those relating to fair work, poverty alleviation, the environment and gender?

43. International Labor Organisation (ILO) et al., ‘Ending Child Labour, Forced Labour and Human Trafficking in Global Supply Chains’ (Alliance 8.7, 2019), https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---ipec/documents/publication/wcms_728062.pdf p 14.

44. Ritu Bharadwaj et al., ‘Climate Change, Migration and Vulnerability to Trafficking’ (Publications Library (IIED), 2021), <https://pubs.iied.org/20581iied>, 3.

45. The Justice evidence review of the hypothesis that “Over-prioritisation of criminal justice mechanisms and responses impedes effective prevention, identification, and support” found that “studies in this group highlighted a range of negative outcomes arising when antislavery actors over-prioritised criminal justice approaches to the problem of modern slavery and human trafficking. Although several studies noted the importance of criminal justice mechanisms, records across the group highlighted that treating this as the primary focus of antislavery and anti-trafficking responses had adverse impacts on prevention and protection efforts.” In Katarina Schwarz et al., ‘What Works to End Modern Slavery? A Review of Evidence on Policy and Interventions in the Context of Justice’ (Delta 8.7 and Rights Lab, 2020), <https://delta87.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Justice-Report-141220.pdf>, p 36.

46. Bandana Pattanaik, ‘Can Anti-Trafficking Measures Stop Trafficking?’, GAATW (blog), 29 July 2020, <https://gaatw.org/blog/1057-can-anti-trafficking-measures-stop-trafficking>.

47. James Cockayne, Developing Freedom: The Sustainable Development Case for Ending Modern Slavery, Forced Labour and Human Trafficking (New York: United Nations University, 2021), <https://www.developingfreedom.org/>, p xi.

48. Freedom Fund, ‘Gender Inequality and Modern Slavery: How to Break the Cycle of Women and Girls’ Exploitation’ (Freedom Fund, March 2022), https://freedomfund.org/wp-content/uploads/GenderInequalityModernSlaveryWeb_2020_02.pdf, p 26.

49. Bandana Pattanaik, ‘Can Anti-Trafficking Measures Stop Trafficking?’, GAATW (blog), 29 July 2020, <https://gaatw.org/blog/1057-can-anti-trafficking-measures-stop-trafficking>.

Labour exploitation within supply chains

Recent legislative moves by the governments of large economies signal a strong shift towards more binding measures to root out forced labour and significant human rights violations hidden within often complex and opaque transnational supply chains.^{50,51,52}

These measures come in the wake of growing evidence that materials produced through state-sponsored forced labour are permeating transnational supply chains.⁵³ They also represent in some respects a hardening of non-binding but broadly accepted international standards on responsible business conduct.⁵⁴

Research in this area is inhibited by the lack of transparency⁵⁵ surrounding the supply chains of private companies, and a lack of available data for analysis.⁵⁶

Patterns of forced labour are context, region and sector specific, and particular sectors and circumstances present higher forced labour risks.⁵⁷ For example, opacity of operations and the isolated nature of some exploitative workplaces are contributing factors which increase vulnerability.⁵⁸ The vulnerability of migrant workers is further heightened in some contexts, to the point of systemic exploitation.⁵⁹

Voluntary guidelines and unenforced reporting requirements^{60,61} are increasingly considered to have been ineffective,^{62,63} and recent proposed responses are leaning heavily

50. 'Just and Sustainable Economy: Commission Lays down Rules for Companies to Respect Human Rights and Environment in Global Value Chains', European Commission, 23 February 2022, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_22_1145.

51. For a summary of the directive and comparison with other European measures, see: 'Comparative Table: Corporate Due Diligence Laws and Legislative Proposals in Europe', ECCJ, 21 March 2022, <https://corporatejustice.org/publications/comparative-table-corporate-due-diligence-laws-and-legislative-proposals-in-europe-2/>.

52. H.R.1155 – 117th Congress (2021-2022): Sec. 3 "It is the policy of the United States –(1) to prohibit the import of all goods, wares, articles, or merchandise mined, produced, or manufactured, wholly or in part, by forced labor from the People's Republic of China and particularly any such goods, wares, articles, or merchandise produced in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China;" see: [https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1155/text](https://www.congress.gov/bills/117/congress/house-bill/1155/text)

53. Laura Murphy, et al, 'Laundering Cotton: How Xinjiang Cotton Is Obscured in International Supply Chains' (Sheffield, United Kingdom: Sheffield Hallam University Helena Kennedy Centre, November 2021), <https://www.shu.ac.uk/helena-kennedy-centre-international-justice/research-and-projects/all-projects/laundered-cotton>.

54. 'Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the United Nations "Protect, Respect and Remedy" Framework' (United Nations Human Rights Council (A/HRC/17/31), 2011), https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/publications/guidingprinciplesbusinessshr_en.pdf; the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, Due Diligence Guidance on Responsible Business Conduct; the ILO Tripartite Declaration of Principles concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy; and the IOM's ethical recruitment standards; among others.

55. "Experts found that their knowledge of past and ongoing efforts within the private sector was not reflected in the research base, with an overwhelming lack of data apparent in the evidence base." Delta 8.7, Markets Policy Guide, Delta 8.7 Policy Guides (United Nations University, 2021), http://collections.unu.edu/eserv/UNU:8066/Delta87_MarketsPolicyGuide.pdf, p 2.

56. Potential strategies have been proposed for overcoming these obstacles, see: Florian Ostmann et al., 'Data for Investor Action on Modern Slavery: A Landscape Analysis' (Modern Slavery and Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre, 14 June 2021), <https://modernslaverypec.org/resources/investors-data>.

57. International Labor Organisation (ILO) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 'Child Labour: Global Estimates 2020, Trends and the Road Forward', Report (ILO and UNICEF, 10 June 2021), http://www.ilo.org/ipcc/Informationresources/WCMS_797515/lang-en/index.htm, p 10.

58. UNODC, 'Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020' (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.20.IV.3, January 2021), https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTIP_2020_15jan_web.pdf, p 18.

59. Sheldon Zhang et al., 'Forced Labor Among Kenyan Migrant Workers in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Countries: A Prevalence Estimation Report' (University of Chicago (NORC) and Global Fund to End Modern Slavery (GFEMS), December 2021), <https://www.gfems.org/reports/prevalence-estimate-forced-labor-among-kenyan-workers-in-the-gulf-cooperation-council/>.

60. The Financial Reporting Council Limited, 'Review of Corporate Governance Reporting' (FRC, 2021), <https://www.frc.org.uk/getattachment/b0a0959e-d7fe-4bcd-b842-353f705462c3/FRC-Review-of-Corporate-Governance-Reporting-November-2021.pdf>, p 27.

61. Amy Sinclair and Freya Dinshaw, 'Paper Promises? Evaluating the Early Impact of Australia's Modern Slavery Act' (Human Rights Law Centre, Uniting Church in Australia, UNSW Sydney, University of Melbourne, RMIT University, 7 February 2022), <http://hdl.handle.net/11343/297535>, p 2.

62. Know the Chain and Business and Human Rights Resource Center, 'Closing the Gap: Evidence for Effective Human Rights Due Diligence from Five Years Measuring Company Efforts to Address Forced Labour' (Know the Chain and BHRRC, 18 January 2022), <https://knowthechain.org/wp-content/uploads/2022-KTC-mHREDD-brief.pdf>, p 4.

63. Lisa Hsin et al., 'Accountability, Monitoring and the Effectiveness of Section 54 of the Modern Slavery Act: Evidence and Comparative Analysis' (Modern Slavery and Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre, 2021), <https://modernslaverypec.org/assets/downloads/TISC-effectiveness-report.pdf>.

towards mandatory, binding measures.⁶⁴ Governments have a key role to play in the shift towards binding regulation, including by introducing mandatory human rights due diligence to mitigate supply chain risks of child labour, forced labour and human trafficking.^{65,66}

Criminal justice is not the appropriate frame of response for the structural causes of modern slavery in supply chains.⁶⁷ A more holistic approach is required to strengthening labour rights and protections.⁶⁸ Moreover, companies' obligations under any proposed due diligence requirements should not be restricted to identifying only the most extreme forms of labour exploitation.⁶⁹ Any human rights due diligence requirements developed to tackle forced labour should also incorporate obligations to detect gender-based violence and harassment (GBVH)⁷⁰ and other 'less extreme' forms of exploitation which are endemic within transnational supply chains.

Some concrete suggestions as to what a more equitable supply chain structure might look like have been offered by Re:Structure Lab,⁷¹ featuring:

*"more equitable value redistribution; contractual language with consequences for abuse; worker participation in standard-setting; workplace inspection and reviews that are designed and executed with worker input and real remedies; policy and practice claims assessed for actual impact rather than mere articulation; penalties for interference with audits or educational efforts; and effective labour and criminal law enforcement that is serious (and costly enough) of a threat to incentivise firms to enforce a rights-respecting, sustainable culture internally."*⁷²

What does this mean for a Global Commission?

- What role can a Global Commission play in galvanising a state-level shift from voluntary guidelines towards binding corporate regulation?
- Can a Global Commission play a role in promoting transparent corporate data to improve research outcomes on modern slavery and human trafficking in supply chains?

64. Further actions included: supporting survivors, strengthening criminal justice, improving coordination and accountability, and addressing risk factors: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI) and Walk Free, 'Eradicating Modern Slavery: An Assessment of Commonwealth Governments' Progress on Achieving SDG Target 8.7' (The Minderoo Foundation and CHRI, 2020), <https://www.walkfree.org/reports/eradicating-modern-slavery/>, p 9.

65. International Labor Organisation (ILO) et al., 'Ending Child Labour, Forced Labour and Human Trafficking in Global Supply Chains' (Alliance 8.7, 2019), https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---ipec/documents/publication/wcms_728062.pdf p 17.

66. Laura Murphy, et al, 'Laundering Cotton: How Xinjiang Cotton Is Obscured in International Supply Chains' (Sheffield, United Kingdom: Sheffield Hallam University Helena Kennedy Centre, November 2021), <https://www.shu.ac.uk/helena-kennedy-centre-international-justice/research-and-projects/all-projects/laundered-cotton>.

67. Genevieve LeBaron, 'The Global Business of Forced Labour: Report of Findings' (SPERI & University of Sheffield, 2018), <http://globalbusinessofforcedlabour.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Report-of-Findings-Global-Business-of-Forced-Labour.pdf>, p 4.

68. UNODC, 'Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020' (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.20.IV.3, January 2021), https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLoTiP_2020_15jan_web.pdf, p 4.

69. "The range of exploitative working circumstances is often not acknowledged. However, it is important to not look solely at the extreme manifestations, but at the entire spectrum that keeps people in this loop" in Ritu Bharadwaj et al., 'Climate Change, Migration and Vulnerability to Trafficking' (Publications Library (IIED), 2021), <https://pubs.iied.org/20581iied>, 4.

70. Business & Human Rights Resource Centre (BHRRC), Asia Floor Wage Alliance (AFWA), and Society for Labour and Development (SLD), 'Unbearable Harassment: The Fashion Industry and Widespread Abuse of Female Garment Workers in Indian Factories' (BHRRC, AFWA and SLD, April 2022), https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/2022_GBVH_Briefing_latvnJb.pdf.

71. For more information, see: <https://www.restructurelab.org/the-project>

72. Re:Structure Lab, 'Re:Structure Lab Blueprint' (Sheffield: Sheffield, Stanford, and Yale Universities, 2021), www.restructurelab.org/blueprint, p 8.

Importance of implementation and evaluation

A lack of credible evaluations hampers the understanding of “what works” for both governments and civil society actors delivering anti-trafficking and anti-slavery programming.⁷³ a greater focus on implementation is needed⁷⁴ in tandem with robust monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL).⁷⁵

Monitoring and evaluation should also be factored into funding: Walk Free recommends that program funding should support more innovative techniques for evaluation, and more long-term programme implementation, since it is often impossible to assess the impact of an approach on the actual prevalence of modern slavery within existing short programme deadlines.⁷⁶

What does this mean for a Global Commission?

- How can a Global Commission support the development of more effective MEL approaches?
- How might a Global Commission’s own work be most effectively monitored for impact?

73. Independent Commission for Aid Impact, 'Literature Review: The UK's Approach to Tackling Modern Slavery through the Aid Programme' (ICAI, 14 October 2020), <https://icai.independent.gov.uk/html-version/the-uks-approach-to-tackling-modern-slavery-through-the-aid-programme/#section-6>, 'Conclusions'.

74. Katarina Schwarz et al., 'What Works to End Modern Slavery? A Review of Evidence on Policy and Interventions in the Context of Justice' (Delta 8.7 and Rights Lab, 2020), <https://delta87.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Justice-Report-141220.pdf>, p 4.

75. Walk Free, 'Promising Practices: Five Years of Lessons Learned' (The Minderoo Foundation, 2021), <https://www.walkfree.org/projects/promising-practices/promising-practices-five-years-of-lessons-learned/>, p 20. For further analysis of the dataset, see also Katharine Bryant and Todd Landman, 'Combatting Human Trafficking since Palermo: What Do We Know about What Works?', *Journal of Human Trafficking* 6, no. 2 (2020): 119-40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2020.1690097>.

76. Walk Free, 'Promising Practices: Five Years of Lessons Learned' (The Minderoo Foundation, 2021), <https://www.walkfree.org/projects/promising-practices/promising-practices-five-years-of-lessons-learned/>, p 20.

Conclusions

This brief review identified the following recurring themes in the outputs of key international actors in 2022: crisis; climate change; structural causes of vulnerability; and labour exploitation within supply chains. These themes and the important recurring concern regarding effective monitoring and evaluation of anti-slavery interventions ought to be considered while articulating the role that a Global Commission should play.

Specifically, these overarching concerns reaffirm the need for a Global Commission to work with other international organisations and across the SDGs. Issues of fair work, poverty alleviation, and gender are central to any multidimensional approach to the structural causes of modern slavery. The need for intersectional collaboration is a recurring theme, whether in relation to crises or climate events and the risk of exploitation, or the causes of forced labour in supply chains.

Other sectors have done a great deal of work toward galvanising a state-level shift from voluntary guidelines towards binding corporate regulation, and if this were to be a focus, collaboration would be essential.

A Global Commission might have a role to play in assisting the sector itself, whether this be promoting transparency of corporate data to improve research outcomes or supporting the development of more effective MEL approaches.

In any case, dynamism will be needed, including to ensure a rapid response to crisis events and to incorporate new evidence of best practice in the work of a Global Commission.

Chapter 5: The need for a Global Commission

Introduction

This chapter summarises the Scoping Study’s findings about the need for a Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking. The Study’s findings are informed by the mapping of the international modern slavery landscape summarised in Chapter 2, the views of stakeholders gathered during the stakeholder engagement exercise summarised in Chapter 3, and a rapid literature review of recent evidence identifying priority areas for intervention in Chapter 4.⁷⁷

The Study finds that there is a compelling need for a Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking. Recent world events, including crises like the pandemic, international conflict and displacement due to climate change, have significantly increased vulnerability to exploitation and will lead to even more people exposed to the risk of modern slavery and human trafficking. Yet there is a widespread sense that international efforts to end modern slavery have lost political momentum, at the very time when they should be significantly accelerating to have any prospect of achieving the shared global goal of eradication by 2030. The chapter seeks to identify the precise nature of the need for a Global Commission, and to spell out how a Global Commission could meet that need.

The starting point: global efforts to tackle modern slavery and human trafficking

Modern slavery and human trafficking have already attained some recognition as one of the great global challenges facing the world today requiring a concerted and co-ordinated global response. There is global agreement, in the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals, on the aim of eradicating it by 2030. There has been a [UN Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons](#) since 2010, overseen by the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, and reviewed periodically, most recently in 2021.⁷⁸ Previously fragmented efforts by a large number of UN agencies dealing with aspects of the challenge are now co-ordinated by the Inter-Agency Co-Ordination Group against Trafficking in Persons. There is even an agreed framework for international action, in the form of the 2017 Call to Action, launched at the

77. See Annex VII: Landscape Research Themes (extended version)

78. UNGA, '2021 Political Declaration on the Implementation of the United Nations Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons (2021)' (UN (New York), 9 November 2021), <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3948046>.

UN General Assembly and now endorsed by 92 states.⁷⁹ Further political groups of states have recently re-affirmed their commitment to fight modern slavery, forced labour and human trafficking.⁸⁰

There are also global collaborations which exist to accelerate progress towards the agreed goal of ending modern slavery by 2030. The Global Fund to End Modern Slavery, for example, is an international fund working to end modern slavery, created to mobilise the resources, partners, evidence and ambition required to make that happen. Alliance 8.7 is an inclusive global partnership committed to achieving Target 8.7 of the SDGs (ending modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour by 2030). It aims to support countries and other partners by increasing and accelerating collaborative action on Target 8.7, driving innovation, scaling up solutions that work and leveraging resources; and providing a platform to engage in dialogue and to share knowledge and information. Delta 8.7 is Alliance 8.7's knowledge platform, to which the UN University's Centre for Policy Research contributes.

The Gaps: why more needs to be done at the global level

Notwithstanding this global consensus about the need to eradicate modern slavery and human trafficking by 2030, these well-established global collaborations and the existence of a widely endorsed framework for accelerating progress, there is a shared sense that not enough is being done at the global level to respond to this intractable global challenge. None of the 50 modern slavery stakeholders that the Scoping Study spoke with as part of its engagement considered that the international community was on track to meet SDG 8.7. They provided a number of reasons:

1. Vulnerability to modern slavery and human trafficking has dramatically increased

The world was already highly unlikely to achieve its ambitious SDG target of taking "immediate and effective measures" to eradicate modern slavery and human trafficking by 2030 before recent world events which have so dramatically increased vulnerability to exploitation worldwide: in particular, the Coronavirus pandemic and the return of war in Europe with Russia's aggression against Ukraine, which has caused the largest movement of refugees in Europe since the Second World War.

The extent to which these crises have exacerbated existing vulnerabilities to exploitation and given rise to new vulnerabilities on a massive scale, is now beginning to emerge.⁸¹ In addition, protracted conflicts lasting years are an increasingly common phenomenon

79. Launched during the 72nd Meeting of the UN General Assembly: 'A Call to Action to End Forced Labour, Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking' (UN General Assembly, 72nd Meeting, 19 September 2017), <https://delta87.org/call-to-action/>. To the end of implementing these types of political commitments, practical guides for lawmakers looking to review and strengthen legislation and raise awareness were created by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA): See Commonwealth Parliamentary Association UK, 'EHandbook: Legislating against Modern Slavery, Human Trafficking & Forced Labour' (CPA UK, 2018), <https://www.uk-cpa.org/what-we-do/modern-slavery/e-handbook-legislating-against-modern-slavery-human-trafficking-forced-labour/>; also Commonwealth Parliamentary Association UK, 'EHandbook Vol. II: Legislating against Modern Slavery, Human Trafficking & Forced Labour: The Role of Parliament to Scrutinise & Raise Awareness' (CPA UK, March 2020), <https://www.uk-cpa.org/news-and-views/launch-of-e-handbook-supports-international-parliamentarians-to-raise-awareness-of-modern-slavery-human-trafficking-and-forced-labour/>.

80. In February 2020, the African Union adopted its Ten Year Action Plan to Eradicate Child Labour, Forced Labour, Human Trafficking and Modern Slavery (2020-2030). For more information, see: African Union Commission, 'The African Union Ten Year Action Plan on Child Labour Plan Moves toward Implementation', African Union, 21 September 2020, <https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20200921/au-ten-year-action-plan-child-labour-plan-moves-toward-implementation>. See also: 'G7 Trade Ministers' Statement on Forced Labour', GOV.UK, 22 October 2021, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/g7-trade-ministers-statement-on-forced-labour-annex-a>.

81. See Annex VII, Landscape Research Themes (extended version), p. y "The role of crisis – Covid-19 and conflict displacement".

(eg in Afghanistan, Syria and Yemen), creating ongoing conditions in which vulnerability to modern slavery and human trafficking is bound to continue to increase, and the consequences of which are likely to stay with us for years, or even decades, even if the conflicts are brought to an end.

At the same time, the more gradually unfolding crisis of climate change is also now recognised as a significant driver of increased vulnerability to exploitation, as extreme weather events and fires cause displacement, migration and a general increase in precarity.

As the effects of these crises on the numbers of people now vulnerable to modern slavery and human trafficking become clear, there is an increasingly urgent need for strong global leadership to bring about the necessary transformation in the effectiveness of the laws, policies and practices which are capable of eradicating it.

2. Political momentum towards eradicating modern slavery and human trafficking has stalled

At the very time when vulnerability to modern slavery and human trafficking is dramatically increasing, there has been a loss of international political momentum behind the efforts to eradicate it.

The issue has slipped down the global political agenda, displaced by major international crises – the pandemic, Russia’s aggression against Ukraine, climate change – which themselves significantly increase vulnerability to exploitation.

The loss of international political momentum is demonstrated by the fate of the 2017 Call to Action. Although 92 States have now endorsed it, and Alliance 8.7 published a [“One Year On”](#) report in 2018, gathering together some examples of actions taken so far, there is no mechanism for reviewing or monitoring what signatory States have done in practice to implement the Call to Action. A comprehensive global survey has never been undertaken.

3. The evidence and knowledge base is under-developed

The Scoping Study found that, despite the best efforts of a number of knowledge and information sharing platforms, the evidence and knowledge base needed to support global efforts to eradicate modern slavery and human trafficking remains seriously under-developed.

There is a strong sense that there is a lack of readily accessible evidence of “what works” to reduce modern slavery and human trafficking, and that best practice, or even “promising practice”, on effective policy responses is not systematically identified, collected and disseminated to policy makers. There is also a growing awareness that the causes of vulnerability to exploitation are complex and multi-dimensional, and very often structural in nature. Our understanding of the many inter-related factors which drive that vulnerability remains fairly rudimentary, and this hinders the development of effective preventative approaches.

This immaturity of the evidence and knowledge base contributes to the sense of disconnect between the existence of legal frameworks for countering modern slavery and human trafficking and the effective implementation of those laws. Policy makers and decision-makers often lack actionable recommendations based on examples of good or promising practice that have been tried and found to be effective elsewhere. Scaling up solutions that work is therefore a rarity in the field of modern slavery and human trafficking.

4. International collaboration and partnerships are limited

The Scoping Study found that, despite determined attempts in recent years to increase and accelerate international collaborative action, communication and collaboration between different parts of the international modern slavery landscape can be poor, and that this can lead to a silo mentality which impedes effective responses.

While collaborations and partnerships have improved, and there are some examples of good collaborative practice, there was a surprisingly strong consensus amongst stakeholders that poor coordination within the field of modern slavery and human trafficking significantly reduces its effectiveness and impact. Current efforts are too often disparate and disjointed, and this is the case in relation to all types of actors: states, multilateral bodies, advocacy groups, international NGOs.

Collaborations and partnerships between the global, regional and local levels are particularly limited. Where strong collaborations between the global and regional levels exist, they tend to be sectoral, for example in the banking and finance sector (e.g. Finance Against Slavery and Trafficking) and the tech sector (e.g. Tech Against Trafficking).

Possibly the greatest obstacles to collaboration and partnership exist between the global and the local level. The Scoping Study found that there is a fundamental disconnect between modern slavery and human trafficking efforts at the global level and the more local, community level. Global initiatives are often regarded as embodying top-down, one-size-fits-all approaches by community level actors, and there are very few intermediaries between the local and the global.

How could a Global Commission meet these needs?

Current global efforts in relation to modern slavery and human trafficking are therefore not on track to bring about the necessary transformation in the effectiveness of the laws, policies and practices which are capable of eradicating it.

What is needed, at the global level, is an initiative capable of bringing about a step-change in progress towards eradication by restoring lost political momentum, building the evidence base and facilitating collaborative international partnerships.

There are three main ways in which a Global Commission could contribute to meeting these needs.

1. Provide high-level political leadership

A truly globally inclusive Commission that brings together influential figures of international renown from politics, civil society, business and research could restore lost political momentum and catalyse action by states and other stakeholders by providing high-level political leadership.

Such a Commission could raise the profile of modern slavery and human trafficking on the international agenda, showing for example how global crises, including pandemics, climate change and armed conflict, exacerbate existing vulnerabilities to modern slavery and human trafficking, and create new ones. It could advocate for long term and structural action, as well as immediate and reactive responses.

A Commission could also highlight the link between modern slavery/human trafficking and gender, and make the case for a cross-cutting approach to the SDGs. This kind of political leadership would bring renewed momentum to efforts to tackle modern slavery and human trafficking by leveraging high-level political influence.

2. Build the evidence and knowledge base and mobilising the research required to support global efforts

A Global Commission could help build the evidence and knowledge base needed to support global efforts to eradicate modern slavery and human trafficking, by proactively identifying evidence or knowledge gaps and providing or commissioning research, reviews or syntheses that will fill those gaps.

A Global Commission could implement lessons learned from other major global challenges of our time, such as prevention of and preparedness for future pandemics, or decarbonisation to prevent catastrophic climate change, by ensuring that global efforts on modern slavery and human trafficking are better connected to the production of research and evidence, so that modern slavery laws, policies and practices are fully informed by the best research into the drivers of modern slavery and human trafficking and the best analysis and data about what works in practice.

The Commission could also localise best practice: numerous global South respondents expressed frustration that international frameworks did not 'fit' with their local context,

and said that they would value work that translated international frameworks in a context-specific and collaborative way.

3. Promote and facilitate international collaborations and partnerships

A Global Commission could usefully promote and facilitate international collaboration and partnerships between a wide range of different actors in the modern slavery and human trafficking field where there is a need for greater collaboration: between states, multilateral organisations, civil society, businesses, researchers and people with lived experience, as well as between the global, regional, national and local levels. The Commission should aim to complement and amplify existing collaborative efforts by such work, not duplicate or cut across them.

Although stakeholders identified a range of groups that could benefit from increased international collaboration – from regional organisations to law enforcement – the most commonly mentioned was civil society. Moreover, the Scoping Study’s mapping exercise identified civil society actors as being particularly prominent in the international modern slavery landscape. A Global Commission could therefore have a particular focus on promoting and facilitating international collaborations and partnerships for civil society actors, and particularly less powerful civil society actors, who often lack resources and political leverage.

A Global Commission should seek to engage with international NGOs that are working to address structural issues directly relevant to anti-slavery work, or in crisis situations where the risk of trafficking is heightened.

A Global Commission could also facilitate collaborations between actors in the Global North and South, to try to overcome the disconnect which is often felt in the Global South between the priorities identified by Global North partners and experience on the ground in the South.

A Global Commission’s substantive areas of focus

The success of the Commission, as many stakeholders pointed out, will depend to a large extent on it having very clear and achievable objectives, and that points to keeping its substantive areas of focus within relatively tight parameters.

The Scoping Study has considered what a Global Commission’s main areas of focus should be, taking into account its mapping of the international landscape, the views of stakeholders, and the current priorities which emerge from its review of the recent literature. It has identified three main candidates, each of them covering an important aspect of the 2017 Call to Action to End Forced Labour, Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking. The team envisages that the three ways of working described above (high-level political leadership; building the evidence base; and promoting international partnerships) would be necessary for the Commission to deliver on any of these areas of focus.

1. Tackling forced labour in global supply chains

The substantive area of international action that stakeholders overwhelmingly consider would most benefit from the work of a Global Commission is that of **tackling forced labour in global supply chains**: the need for both business and states to take greater responsibility for forced labour in their supply chains and to be more proactive in eradicating it and in regulating to achieve that.

In the Call to Action, states agreed to endeavour to eradicate modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour from their economies, by developing regulatory or policy frameworks, working with business to eliminate such practices from global supply chains, and addressing government procurement practices. One of the follow up actions taken by the UK, US, Australia, Canada and New Zealand to further that commitment was the announcement in 2018 of a set of [Principles to Guide Government Action to Combat Human Trafficking in Global Supply Chains](#).⁸² The principles are intended to provide a framework on which all countries can build a strategy to take effective action to prevent and eradicate human trafficking from both public and private sector supply chains, through both government procurement practices and encouraging the private sector to address human trafficking in their supply chains.

The Scoping Study's landscape mapping analysis concluded that while there is significant interest and investment in relation to supply chain risk, there is currently a relatively limited focus on states enacting binding regulation on companies in response. A Global Commission could therefore play an important role in catalysing state action on corporate accountability, including through building the evidence base on supply chain transparency legislation, mandatory human rights due diligence, public procurement, and tariff acts or import bans on goods produced through forced labour. It could assess the evolving evidence on the effectiveness of such emerging policy responses and engage with experts and stakeholders to ensure these measures demonstrably reduce exploitation within global supply chains, incentivise best business practice, and ensure access to remedies for exploited workers.

2. Effective national implementation by states of their international commitments

In the Call to Action, states committed to ensuring the **effective implementation at national level** of their international commitments in relation to modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour, including by accelerating effective implementation of their domestic legislation, the development and publication of national strategies, and the strengthening of law enforcement and criminal justice responses.

The need to focus on effective implementation and enforcement of existing legal standards and commitments, rather than create new legal frameworks, was also a strong theme in the Scoping Study's stakeholder engagement.

A Global Commission could play a significant role in helping states which support the Call to Action demonstrate their commitment to it by reporting in detail on the actions they have taken at the national level to implement their international commitments and make their national legal framework more effective in practice.

82. For more information, see: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/trafficking-in-supply-chains-principles-for-government-action>

3. More effective engagement of civil society capable of protecting the vulnerable in crises

In the Call to Action, supporting states called for enhanced international co-operation to tackle modern slavery, including an “increased focus and co-operation on the measures that can be taken to reduce the drivers of [modern slavery] and to **protect the most vulnerable**, including those affected by conflict and humanitarian situations, people on the move, marginalised groups and women and children.” The current extreme vulnerability to trafficking of Ukrainian women⁸³ and unaccompanied children seeking refuge outside Ukraine demonstrates the great importance of following up on this part of the Call to Action.

The US Department of State recently noted, in its 2021 Trafficking in Persons Report,⁸⁴ “the need to incorporate anti-trafficking efforts into existing responses in other contexts, such as in humanitarian settings”, and “the importance of proactive response and crisis mitigation planning to anti-trafficking activities.” The ILO and UNICEF drew a similar connection between child labour and humanitarian crises in their recent Global Estimates Report, observing that “child labour concerns should factor in all phases of humanitarian action – from crisis preparedness and contingency plans to humanitarian responses to post-crisis reconstruction and recovery efforts”.⁸⁵

A Global Commission would be responding to these calls by including as one of its areas of focus increasing the engagement of large international NGOs which work directly with those most vulnerable to exploitation during crises, such as the major disaster and humanitarian relief organisations. The issue of modern slavery and human trafficking needs to be an integrated part of crisis response.

A Global Commission could, for example, work with a number of key international NGOs on their policies regarding vulnerability to modern slavery and human trafficking in conflict or other emergencies, and work with them towards the development of some international Principles or Guidelines on dealing with modern slavery and human trafficking in emergencies.

83. See: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-60891801>

84. U.S. Department of State, '2021 Trafficking in Persons Report' (Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, July 2021), <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-trafficking-in-persons-report/>, p 21.

85. International Labor Organisation (ILO) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 'Child Labour: Global Estimates 2020, Trends and the Road Forward', Report (ILO and UNICEF, 10 June 2021), http://www.ilo.org/ipec/informationresources/WCMS_797515/lang--en/index.htm, p 10.

Chapter 6: How a Global Commission should be designed

Introduction

As well as thinking about *what* a Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking should do, the scoping study also considered *how* it should be designed to achieve what it is set up to do. This chapter examines how a Global Commission should best be designed to make an effective contribution to tackling modern slavery and human trafficking. In the two chapters that follow, the scoping study consider two closely related questions: Chapter 7 examines how lived experience can be embedded in the work of a Global Commission; and Chapter 8 looks at how a Global Commission can secure stable and sustainable funding.

To determine the best design of a Global Commission, the Scoping Study took several steps, including conducting a detailed desk-based survey of comparable global commissions; meeting with key actors in comparable global commissions to discuss lessons learned; and asking each modern slavery stakeholder that the scoping study spoke with for their views on the set up of a Global Commission. This chapter summarises the findings of this research and engagement, before drawing some conclusions about how a Global Commission should be designed.

Survey of comparable global commissions

The Scoping Study began by reviewing the approach taken by other directly relevant global commissions (“comparable commissions”).

Eight comparable commissions were identified based on their profile, impact and relevance to a potential Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking. They comprise:

- the Education Commission (formerly the International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity)⁸⁶
- the Global Commission on the Economy and Climate⁸⁷
- WeProtect Global Alliance⁸⁸
- the Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development⁸⁹
- the Global Commission on Drug Policy⁹⁰

86. See: <https://educationcommission.org>

87. See: <https://newclimateeconomy.net>

88. See: <https://www.weprotect.org>

89. See: <https://www.broadbandcommission.org>

90. See: <https://www.globalcommissionondrugs.org>

- the Global Commission on International Migration⁹¹
- the Global Commission on the Future of Work⁹²
- the Global Commission on Adaptation.⁹³

Specifically, the scoping study undertook a desk-based survey of the comparable commissions, assessing a wide range of relevant characteristics of each of them based on publicly available materials. The key findings from this survey are summarised below. A discussion of comparable commissions' engagement with people with lived experience is covered in Chapter 7, and a review of their funding models and sources is covered in Chapter 8.

Formation and purpose

Who established the Commission?

Some comparable commissions were commissioned or convened by the governments of one or more countries, including the Education Commission, the Global Commission on the Economy and Climate, and the Global Commission on Adaptation. In the case of the Global Commission on Adaptation, it was established by a single government – the Netherlands – with the support of 23 other countries.

Other comparable commissions were established by international organisations, sometimes with the support of certain states. For instance, the Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development was set up by the International Telecommunication Union and UNESCO; the Global Commission on the Future of Work was established by the International Labour Organization; and the Global Commission on International Migration was set up by the UN Secretary-General, with the mandate prepared by a core group of interested states.

Some comparable commissions were established by former world leaders: for instance, the Global Commission on Drug Policy was formed by a group of former presidents from Latin America.

What was the Commission's aim?

The aims of the comparable commissions varied, but common themes include:

- identifying mechanisms for increased or more effective investment (the Education Commission);
- providing independent evidence on policy actions that should be taken by governments, business and society (the Global Commission on the Economy and Climate, WeProtect Global Alliance, The Global Commission on Drug Policy and the Global Commission on the Future of Work);

91. See: <https://www.iom.int/global-commission-international-migration>

92. See: https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/future-of-work/WCMS_569528/lang--en/index.htm

93. See: <https://gca.org/about-us/the-global-commission-on-adaptation/>

- raising the visibility of the issue on the international agenda (Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development, Global Commission on Adaptation);
- accelerating progress towards national or international targets (Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development, Education Commission); and
- developing an international framework for responding to an issue (Global Commission on International Migration).

What did the Commission cite as its mandate?

Several pointed to the UN Sustainable Development Goals or their predecessor, the Millennium Development Goals. For instance, the Education Commission cited SDG4 on education, while the Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development argues that the SDGs “recognise broadband as fundamental elements for achieving all 17 goals.”

Other commissions coincided with, or sought to implement commitments made at, international summits⁹⁴ or derived from an existing initiative by an international organisation.⁹⁵ For two comparable commissions, the mandate was unclear or unstated.⁹⁶

What was the Commission’s relationship with the UN?

Comparable commissions had a variety of relationships with the UN. Some comparable commissions were established by UN agencies: the Global Commission on the Future of Work was set up by the ILO, and the Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development was founded by the International Telecommunication Union and UNESCO.

Other comparable commissions had a more informal relationship with the UN: for instance, the Education Commission was co-convened by UNESCO, and the UN Secretary General agreed to receive its report and consider its recommendations.

Some comparable commissions, including the Global Commission on Drug Policy, did not have any stated direct relationship with the UN.

Lifespan

Did the Commission have pre-determined outputs or goals?

Most of the comparable commissions did not publish specific pre-determined output or goals, let alone link the lifespan of the Commission to their achievement. However, there are exceptions to this: for instance, the Global Commission on International Migration planned to put forward a series of strategic options together with “actionable steps” for consideration for the UN Secretary-General and other stakeholders, within a timeframe of one and a half to two years.

94. We Protect Global Alliance, Commission on Adaptation.

95. Global Commission on the Future of Work.

96. Global Commission on the Economy and Climate, The Global Commission on Drug Policy.

By contrast, the Global Commission on Adaptation envisaged a two-phase approach: a year to develop the flagship report, followed by a “year of action” to implement the actions within this report. The Education Commission adopted a similar, phased approach, though it is not clear whether this was envisaged at the outset.

How long has the commission been active?

Several of the comparable commissions were active for a relatively limited period of time, including the Global Commission on International Migration (two years), the Global Commission on the Future of Work (18 months) and the Global Commission on Adaptation (27 months).

Others are more open ended: for instance, the Global Commission on Drug Policy, which commenced in January 2011, is still active, as is the Global Commission on Economy and Climate Change (now New Climate Economy project)

How has the commission changed over time?

The focus of some comparable commissions, including the Global Commission on Drug Policy and the Global Commission on the Economy and Climate, has not changed significantly over time.

The most common shift was that exemplified by the Education Commission and the Global Commission on Adaptation, both of which had an initial phase focused on developing and producing a flagship report, followed by a second phase focused on implementing the report’s recommendations.

Commissioners

How many Commissioners were there?

The number of commissioners on comparable commissions ranges from 19 (WeProtect Global Alliance) to 55 (the Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development).

The average number of commissioners that served on comparable commissions is 30.

Who were the members of the Commission?

The comparable commissions generally comprised commissioners from a range of backgrounds, including – in order of prevalence – government, international organisations, business, civil society, academia, and entertainment.

What was the geographic representation of the Commission?

The comparable commissions have tended to comprise commissioners from a wide range of countries around the world: for instance, the Education Commission had 23 countries represented on the Commission, including from Europe, Africa, Asia, North America, South America and Australasia; the Global Commission on Adaptation has 25 countries represented; and the Broadband Commission had 31.

Diverse regions were represented in the work of comparable commissions in two principal ways. First, most comparable commissions included Commissioners from both global South and global North countries. Second, a number of comparable commissions, including the Education Commission and Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development, put forward recommendations targeted at low- and middle-income countries.

What was the gender balance of the Commission?

All of the Commissions had more male than female commissioners, though both the WeProtect Global Alliance and the Education Commission came close to 50/50 representation.

What was the role of the Commissioners?

The role of commissioners was generally a combination of advisory (agreeing strategic direction and providing expert input on the development of reports), supervisory (overseeing progress) and advocacy (disseminating the work of the Commission and engaging with governments, the private sector, civil society and international organisations).

Comparable commissions typically had chairs or co-chairs (for instance, Gordon Brown is chair of the Education Commission, and the Global Commission on International Migration had Co-Chairs) and some had commissioner leaders (eg Ban Ki-moon, Bill Gates, Kristalina Georgieva are commissioner leaders of the Global Commission on Adaptation, and the Broadband Commission has a leadership team of eight Commissioners). The remainder of commissioners had equal status.

Commissioners in some comparable commissions have roles in sub-groups: in the case of the Education Commission, as chairs of expert panels or work strand leads.

Did the Commission have in-person meetings?

All comparable commissions held in-person meetings. Most of the commissions held multiple meetings – including a launch event – at different locations around the world.

However, the commissions that continued during the Covid-19 pandemic were forced to adapt: for instance, the WeProtect Global Alliance, which met in person in Addis Ababa in December 2019, met virtually in June and December 2021.

Governance

Did the Commission have governance other than the commissioners?

Beyond commissioners, the governance structure of comparable commissions was often unclear from their websites. Several of them appear to have had a steering committee (which played an oversight role) or an expert group (which advised on policy).

A number of comparable commissions also relied on working groups: this included the

Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development, whose working groups were led by Commissioners, with the support of external experts, and convened industry leaders, government officials and civil society in an effort to address prominent substantive issues.

Did the Commission publish terms of reference or an action plan?

Most comparable commissions did not publish terms of reference at the outset of their work. One notable exception was the Global Commission on International Migration, whose terms of reference set out the Commission's mandate, the role of commissioners and the secretariat, and a budget for 18 to 24 months.

It was more common for comparable commissions to include an action plan as part of their flagship report, which guided the second phase of that commission's work: for instance, the Education Commission's Learning Generation report made 12 recommendations across four aims – performance, innovation, inclusion and finance – which it has subsequently sought to implement.

Secretariat

Was the Commission independent or hosted?

Three comparable commissions were hosted within another institution, namely: the Global Commission on the Economy and Climate (housed within the World Resources Institute's Climate Program), the Global Commission on the Future of Work (housed within the ILO) and the Global Commission on Adaptation (co-managed by the World Resources Institute and the Global Center on Adaptation).

The WeProtect Global Alliance became an independent organisation in 2020 when the EU/US Global Alliance Against Child Sexual Abuse Online combined with WePROTECT, a UK Government initiative that was incubated in the Home Office.

The other comparable commissions were independent from the outset.

What was the size and composition of the Commission's secretariat?

The size of the secretariat for comparable commissions appears to have varied from five people (in the case of the Global Commission on Drug Policy) to 23 people (in the case of the Global Commission on the Economy and Climate).

The functions performed by members of the secretariat on comparable commissions include director, strategy, research and analysis, policy, communications, external relations, programming, operations and finance.

For those comparable commissions hosted by another institution, the secretariat was provided by that institution: for instance, the Global Commission on the Future of Work's secretariat came from the ILO, while the UK Home Office originally provided the secretariat for WePROTECT before it joined with the Global Alliance Against Child Sexual Abuse Online to become the independent WeProtect Global Alliance.

Partnerships and engagement

Did the Commission have external partnerships?

The most common form of partnership that comparable commissions had was with researchers. For instance, in the case of the Global Commission on Adaptation, a large range of research partners – including academic institutions, civil society groups and international organisations – developed 27 background papers that informed the Commission’s final report. Similarly, 69 research partners contributed to the Education Commission’s report.

Partnerships were not, however, limited to research groups. The WeProtect Global Alliance partnered with 52 technology companies “working to help limit the negative impact of their creations and ensure future advancements cannot be used to sexually exploit and abuse children.” This partnership did not involve any legal or financial commitments on the part of tech companies. Instead, the benefits for the tech companies were said to include the opportunity to affirm a high-profile commitment to ending online child sexual abuse and exploitation; inform and direct the global strategy to tackle online child sexual exploitation; access a network of experts and influencers; exchange information and best practice of tackling online child sexual exploitation; and attend summits and other high-profile events.

How did the Commission engage with stakeholders and the public?

The majority of comparable commissions had a dedicated social media presence, across platforms including Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube and Instagram. They have appeared to attain the widest reach on Twitter: the Education Commission and Global Commission on the Economy and Climate have 43,000 and 31,000 followers on Twitter respectively.

In addition to social media, several comparable commissions engaged with stakeholders through events. For instance, the Global Commission on International Migration held five regional consultations (Asia and Pacific, Mediterranean and Middle East, Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, Americas) over a 14-month period including governments, NGOs, regional organisations, experts, media, business, trade unions and other stakeholders, to enable the Commission to test its own findings and identify areas of consensus.

Some comparable commissions also launched public campaigns. One example is the Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development’s Broadband Transforming Lives campaign, which used videos to show how broadband is having a positive impact on people’s lives.

In addition, commissioners at some of the comparable commissions were involved in public communications: for example, they authored opinion pieces and blogs, took part in interviews, and delivered Ted Talks about the work of their commissions.

Tangible outputs

What did the Commission produce?

All of the comparable commissions produced a flagship report. For instance, the Global Commission on International Migration's work culminated in the publication of *Migration in an interconnected world: new directions for action* in October 2005, which set out the Commission's findings on the global labour market, the potential of human mobility, security, migrants, human rights and norms, the governance of international migration, and principles for action. Having provided this framework for action, this commission ceased to exist.

By contrast, the Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development produced its flagship *State of Broadband* – which aims to guide international broadband policy discussions and support the expansion of broadband where it is most needed – on a yearly basis. This commission still exists some 12 years after being established.

The Education Commission produced its flagship report, *The Learning Generation*, and has continued to exist to attempt to implement the recommendations in its report.

Most of the comparable commissions also produced other reports, analysis, working papers and news articles on a rolling basis.

Did the Commission conduct its own research?

The Education Commission commissioned external research for the purposes of its flagship report, as did the Global Commission on Adaptation.

The comparable commissions generally relied, however, on some combination of in-house research, and research conducted externally. In the case of the WeProtect Global Alliance, for instance, research for the Alliance's flagship reports, *The Global Threat Assessments*, are led by the internal team, external consultants and the project's steering groups. Other reports are completed in partnership with other organisations: the *Survivor Perspectives* report was produced in collaboration with ECPAT International. A similar combination of external research overseen and developed by commissioners is deployed by the Broadband Commission.

Did the Commission focus on policy at the national or international level?

While the comparable commissions were generally international leaning, most of them also focused on policy at the national level. For instance, while the Education Commission put forward international recommendations – including the establishment of an International Finance Facility for Education – it also developed country-specific programs and forums (including in Africa and South America).

Impact

How did the Commission measure or present its impact?

Most comparable commissions do not appear to have publicly measured the impact of their work. Some of them publish ongoing reports that provide insight on the current state of affairs on the relevant substantive issues, but do not directly address the role that the Commission has played in addressing them.

One exception is the Education Commission, which recently published an impact report assessing the tangible measures undertaken by the Commission to achieve the 12 recommendations in its Learning Generation report, as well as the reach and coverage of its public campaigns.

Modern slavery stakeholder views on the design of a Global Commission

The Scoping Study also asked every modern slavery stakeholder that we spoke with for their views on the best configuration of a Global Commission. The following themes emerged.

First, stakeholders thought that a Global Commission should include representatives from politics, international organisations, civil society, researchers, business, trade unions and faith groups.

“The Commission should include activists in the space, as well as governments, international organisations, researchers and the private sector, which is a key player.” (Researcher)

“The Commission should involve a mix of states, businesses and NGOs.” (Government official)

“It would be helpful to try to engage with trade unions. The International Transport Workers’ Federation is doing a lot around fisheries, for instance.” (Intergovernmental body)

“Depending on how the final mission and terms of reference for the commission are defined, [you should] identify global trade union leaders to be part of the Commission, like has been done for the WEF, UN Global Compact, Alliance 8.7 and other initiatives.” (Civil society network)

“You need people with business credibility, those at the sharp end (survivors), policymakers, those with a research focus, who are trained to think widely and make connections. And with a faith stream you can reach every community.” (Civil society network)

“You need balance across the commission – you need NGOs if you have business, and these cannot just be the big NGOs operating at the international level, you need the smaller ones with the grassroots connections.” (NGO)

“An important piece of this is that workers and impacted communities are engaged, and that this is happening at a formative stage.” (Researcher)

“A Global Commission would need to be as broad based and inclusive as possible, involving the widest range of actors: governmental, international organisations and civil society.” (International NGO)

This should include people that are not typically represented in high-level initiatives in the modern slavery and human trafficking landscape.

"It's critical to have people you wouldn't expect, including from places like West Africa, the Caribbean and India, where they are facing difficult issues. Go out and find credible leading figures from these places." (Intergovernmental body)

"Make sure that it's not just the usual suspects" (Government official)

"You need to find ways of engaging and including non-traditional actors in this conversation" (Intergovernmental body)

The Scoping Study also heard some suggestion that there should be an open and transparent process for the appointment of Commissioners:

"You should think of how to design a process that makes it possible for the best individuals and experts to be appointed. [You want to avoid a] process based on horse trading. The aim should be to have independent people of the highest calibre." (Intergovernmental body)

Second, stakeholders thought that tangible measures should be taken to ensure meaningful input from stakeholders across all regions of the world. These should include ensuring countries most affected by modern slavery are represented in the composition of a Global Commission, holding meetings in all regions, and making available translated versions of materials in the main UN languages.

"To ensure diverse survivor participation, you should make some stipend available for participation by stakeholders who do not have strong institutional resourcing, and by offering participation to people who may not speak or work in English." (Intergovernmental body)

"I think this can be achieved by altering the meeting times, so that people can attend from different time zones; making simultaneous translation available in the meetings; and perhaps setting up geographically-focused sub-groups or small working groups within the Global Commission, depending on the size of the commission." (Researcher)

"Regional stakeholder meetings can help ensure substantive input, both virtually and in person to allow for wide participation. Co-convenors of the Commission should also be from all regions, to have a multiplying effect in their respective regions." (Government official)

"You can see a global commission on modern slavery being effective if it held hearings and brought people together in India and Nigeria, as opposed to sitting in London, New York and Berlin." (International NGO)

"Draw on existing regional initiatives, including strong child labour networks in the Americas, and strong slavery networks in Africa, which are not necessarily already integrated with international structures." (Civil society network)

"You need to have good representation from across globe, even if you can't have every country/ every perspective represented. You often get the west trying to solve problems for someone else. The Commission needs to truly bring people together to try to address the issue." (NGO)

"It clearly has to reflect global diversity. You have to have representatives from around the world who can act as a multiplying force: recognisable people, with influence in those areas." (Government official)

"We need to have equal voices, especially from the developing world. This is important to counter "regional bias": the American and European anti-trafficking sectors are preoccupied with sex trafficking, and MENA is mainly focused on domestic servitude, for example. However, globally, forced labour is the most prevalent form of exploitation. These biases emerge at the regional level, and the bigger issue comes in when you start ranking these different forms of exploitation." (NGO)

"Intentionally seek substantive engagement from stakeholders from countries which (1) have a high per-capita rate of slavery and (2) have demonstrated some interest in leading/proactively responding to slavery within their jurisdiction. The opportunity here is to be led by those most significantly and directly impacted by slavery." (International NGO)

Third, some stakeholders thought it important to establish an advisory board for a Global Commission, with the authority to amend a GC's Terms of Reference.

"I would recommend having something like an advisory board; a space where you have a few people you trust who can look beyond the procedures and format of the commission and confidently challenge it. This is a critical aspect to preserve. The structures that have similar mandates are set in stone once they are created: how are you going to maintain the dynamic nature of the commission, in light of the dynamic nature of the problem we are facing? A commission needs to be agile, rather than having too many fixed elements." (International NGO)

Design of a Global Commission

Design principles

Based on the research, interviews and stakeholder engagement summarised above, the Scoping Study has identified some principles to guide the design of a Global Commission.

- **Globality** – To be truly global, a Global Commission's membership and leadership should be drawn from all regions of the world and reflect an appropriate balance between the Global South and the Global North.
- **Independence** – The Global Commission must be genuinely independent of any Government, international organisation, business or civil society organisation, and based on a mixed funding model which does not give rise to any perception of a lack of independence.
- **Centrality of lived experience** – The voice and perspective of people with lived experience should be embedded in both the design and the work of a Global Commission, not merely by representation on a Global Commission, but by being woven into all of the Global Commission's work.
- **International collaboration** – a Global Commission should be designed to facilitate greater international collaboration and multilateral responses to this global challenge.
- **Long term ambition** – Modern slavery is proving an intractable global challenge, which requires long term strategic thinking and leadership to overcome. A Global

Commission should be designed to be sustainable until at least 2030 when the goal of eradication in the SDGs is supposed to be met.

- **Beyond “usual suspects”** – A Global Commission should include some new voices from outside the modern slavery sector to encourage innovation and bring lessons to be learned from other global challenges such as climate change.

Applying these Design Principles, the Scoping Study recommends that a Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking should be designed along the lines outlined below:

Formation and purpose

- **Convenors.** A Global Commission should be co-convened by a small number of supportive Governments ideally from different regions of the world. Consideration should be given to whether an appropriate International Organisation with a major role in the field should also be a co-convenor.
- **Overarching mission.** Respond to the recent dramatic increase in vulnerability to exploitation by bringing about a step-change in international efforts to eradicate modern slavery and human trafficking, significantly reducing the numbers of both those subjected to modern slavery and human trafficking, and those at risk of such exploitation.
- **Basis of mandate.** A Global Commission should adopt as its basis the relevant international political commitments, including: SDG 8.7, the 2017 UN Call to Action; and the Five Eyes Principles for Tackling Modern Slavery in Supply Chains (2018). These represent broad political consensus and commitments by states toward meaningful action against modern slavery and human trafficking.
- **Lifespan.** To maintain momentum, A Global Commission should have two phases: (1) 12-18 months to develop and produce a flagship report, which would include a Call to Action for national and international stakeholders, as well as an Action Plan and Work Programme with Key Milestones for the Commission; and (2) an implementation phase, in which the Commission would work within the framework of the action plan to implement its recommendations, from the end of the initial phase until 2030.
- **Relationship with the UN.** A Global Commission should not have a formal relationship with the UN, though endorsement of a Global Commission from the Secretary-General would be valuable, as would a commitment from the UN to receive and consider the flagship report and action plan or recommendations. The Commissioners and/or convenors should include some UN actors.

Commissioners

- **Size.** The experience of comparable commissions points to the need to strike the right balance between a Global Commission having enough Commissioners to take an active lead on different aspects of a Global Commission’s work but not so many Commissioners that a Global Commission lacks agility. The Scoping Study concludes that the optimum number would be no less than 20 and no more than 25 Commissioners.

- **Leadership.** A 'global' commission would draw its political legitimacy and international credibility from its being led by senior political figures from both the global South and North. If the Chair of a Global Commission is from the global north, consideration should be given to there also being a leading role on a GC for a counterpart senior political figure from the Global South who has a similar track record of achievement and commitment to the eradication of modern slavery and human trafficking. Consideration should also be given to a Global Commission having Vice Chairs from other regions of the world to ensure that a Global Commission's leadership is drawn from all regions.
- Commissioners should be able to further the goals of a Global Commission through their political leadership and profile; strengthen the output of a Global Commission through demonstrated expertise; or be able to ensure the legitimacy of a Global Commission's outputs through their understanding of the interests of those whom a Global Commission's ultimately aims to assist.
- **Composition.** Commissioners should be drawn from four broad categories: (1) Political – Government leaders (current or former) and representatives (current or former) of international/regional organisations; (2) Business – serving or former CEOs of businesses with a track record of acting to address modern slavery, or thought leaders about how business should do so; (3) Civil society/international NGOs, including trade unions, faith groups, and survivor-representative organisations, and not confined to organisations specialising in modern slavery, but including others with a much wider focus on humanitarian relief and poverty; (4) Research – including leading figures in the research and research funding community with expertise in policy-influencing research. A Global Commission should comprise approximately 7-8 Commissioners from the "Political" category, but the balance between the other categories should depend on the needs of a Global Commission. Some heads of strategic partners should also be included.
- **Geographic balance.** For a Global Commission to be considered truly global, Commissioners must be drawn from all regions of the world, with an appropriate balance between the Global South and North.
- **Gender balance.** A Global Commission should have an appropriate gender balance. Women and girls are estimated to comprise more than two-thirds of those exploited in modern slavery today.⁹⁷ This should inform what is considered to be an appropriate gender balance for a Global Commission.
- **Commissioners' Term.** Commissioners should be appointed for an initial 18-24 month period to cover the first phase of producing a Global Commission's report and its dissemination and immediate follow up and provide an opportunity to refresh a Global Commission as it enters its second phase of implementing its report.
- **Role of Commissioners.** Commissioners should act in a combination of advisory, supervisory and advocacy roles. In addition to a Global Commission leadership roles (see above), some Commissioners should lead sub-groups such as working groups on specific aspects of a Global Commission's work.

97. Freedom Fund, 'Gender Inequality and Modern Slavery: How to Break the Cycle of Women and Girls' Exploitation' (Freedom Fund, March 2022), https://freedomfund.org/wp-content/uploads/GenderInequalityModernSlaveryWeb_2020_02.pdf.

- **Meetings of Commission.** Whole Commission meetings should take place in a Global Commission's first phase, during 2022-23 - mainly virtual, some in person. Sub-Commission meetings should take place during Commission's second phase, from 2024 onwards, mainly virtual, with one in person meeting annually.

Governance

- **Governance.** A Global Commission should have an Executive Board that would play a decision-making role. It should include some Commissioners as well as other policy, business and research expertise, as well as persons with lived experience. A Global Commission should also have expert groups/ reference groups - including for business, faith groups, and civil society organisations - that would advise on policy.
- **Terms of reference.** A Global Commission should adopt and publish clear Terms of Reference which set out its mandate, aims and governance. A suggested draft Terms of Reference is set out at Annex XI.

Secretariat

- **Secretariat.** A Global Commission's secretariat should cover all the main functions required by a Global Commission: executive leadership, strategy, research and analysis, policy, communications, external relations, programming, operations and finance. These could be established from scratch, if a Global Commission is created as an independent entity from the start, or provided by a host organisation if a Global Commission is hosted (see below). It would be worth exploring whether a Global Commission could benefit from governmental secondments.
- **Independent or hosted.** A Global Commission could either be independent, or hosted by a suitable organisation with the infrastructure to provide all the functions required. Whether to be independent or hosted at the outset will depend on considerations such as the availability of funding, and how soon a Global Commission would like to get up and running. The experience of other comparable commissions shows that one option is for a Global Commission to be incubated in a host institution before becoming independent. To get up and running quickly, a Global Commission could be hosted at an appropriate institution for its first phase, with the possibility of becoming independent for the second phase of its existence.
- **Identity.** Whether hosted or not, a Global Commission should have its own distinct identity, branding, web and social media presence.

Partnerships and engagement

- **External partnerships.** A Global Commission should consider relationships with research partners for the purposes of preparing the initial report. It should also follow the lead of the WeProtect Global Alliance in creating partnerships with business, who could sign up to affirm their high-level commitment to tackling modern slavery and human trafficking, play a role in informing a Global Commission's strategy, access a network of experts and influencers, exchange information and best practice of tackling modern slavery/human trafficking, and attend summits and other high-profile events.

- **Public communications.** A Global Commission should have capacity to communicate its work with the public, including a dedicated website, social media presence and media function.
- **Stakeholder engagement.** As described in Chapter 3, the Scoping Study has met with stakeholders from 50 organisations in the international modern slavery landscape, including global and regional intergovernmental bodies, international human rights bodies, survivor-representative organisations, faith and civil society groups and business. A Global Commission should build and expand on this engagement in its initial phase, incorporating stakeholder views into its flagship report. A Global Commission should also engage with stakeholders through public events, which should be held in different regions to facilitate equitable access.
- **Regional representation.** Stakeholders strongly recommend a focus on a range of types of exploitation, as well as on source, transit and destination countries. This will by necessity take the focus of a Global Commission's work across all global regions.

Research

- **Research.** A Global Commission should combine some research capacity within the secretariat team with commissioned research. The range of issues on which a Global Commission is likely to need research will be much wider than be covered by in-house expertise and a research commissioning budget will therefore be essential to enable a Global Commission to obtain the highest quality research on the issues central to its work. Commissioners and in-house researchers should work with external researchers to co-create the research needed to carry out a Global Commission's Work Programme.

Impact

- **Monitoring and Evaluation of Impact.** Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) is a dynamic and innovative sub-sector within the modern slavery landscape: most larger INGOs have highly skilled capacity in this area, and there are groups of professionals specialising in MEL in the modern slavery context who meet regularly as ME-TIP (a MEL sub-group led by the US State Department TIP Office). Stakeholders – and in particular people with lived experience and organisations they lead or which support them – emphasised the need to ensure that the metrics used to evaluate the impact of a Global Commission are broad-based and involve both quantitative and qualitative data. This is an area where a Global Commission should use resource to engage existing expertise within the sector to devise its approach.
- Thorough and innovative monitoring and evaluation of impact is essential to the credibility of a Global Commission. Design of a monitoring approach with shortened feedback loops will also allow for a Global Commission to respond and adjust approaches in real time.

Chapter 7: Embedding lived experience in the work of a Global Commission

Introduction

This chapter explores how a Global Commission can ensure adults and children with lived experience of modern slavery and/or the social, economic and political vulnerabilities that can lead to modern slavery and human trafficking, are embedded in its set-up, work and governance.⁹⁸

One of the central aims of a Global Commission will be to exert high-level political leverage to accelerate progress towards achieving SDG 8.7. At the same time, in order to have legitimacy, it needs to embed experts qualified by experience at all levels.

This section is based on the scoping study's engagement with people with lived experience and organisations led by or operating to support those affected by modern slavery, as well as the views of other modern slavery stakeholders. The study did not distinguish between these groups in its analysis: all views are equally weighted.

The study's consultation suggests that there is an evolving understanding of what constitutes good practice in terms of inclusion. There is a desire to move towards leadership by people with lived experience, but barriers remain to the ethical and meaningful embedding of lived experience in policymaking at intergovernmental level:

- Rigid organisational structures - a legacy of the unequal nature of the international system.
- An unwillingness to cede leadership to people qualified by experience.
- Inclusion of people with lived experience deferred to implementation or review stage practice, rather than a holistic input across the full programme life cycle.
- A tendency to sensationalise.
- A tendency to focus on a relatively restricted set of types of exploitation.

The first section of the chapter describes the engagement process, which was designed to show commitment to the principles of inclusion at this very early stage of a Global Commission's development. In the second section evidence is presented as articulated by the stakeholders the Scoping Study consulted. The final section makes recommendations for how a Global Commission can model inclusive leadership whilst exerting high-level political influence.

98. These groups will be referred to collectively in this report under the acronym PWLE unless an organisation or individual specifically identifies as a survivor group/survivor.

Engagement process

The Scoping Study was tasked to investigate how to meaningfully embed survivors into the work of a Commission. In response to early feedback from stakeholders who were interviewed, the scoping study decided to take the broader lived experience lens: focusing on people with lived experience of modern slavery and/or the social, economic and political vulnerabilities that can lead to modern slavery. This is reflected in the description of processes (below), and outcomes and recommendations.

The scoping study engaged stakeholders in the following ways:

- Capitalised on existing knowledge. This included the following activities:
 - The [Antislavery Knowledge Network \(AKN\)](#)⁹⁹ team introduced the Scoping Study to survivor leaders and leaders of community-based organisations and/or activity which engages with people with lived experience in Kenya, Sierra Leone and Uganda. The Scoping Study then interviewed these leaders as part of its wider stakeholder engagement activity.
 - The Scoping Study established a regular group call with the team leading an FCDO-funded project on *Survivor Engagement in International Development Policy & Programming* to share insights and to seek advice.
 - The Scoping Study spoke to the Modern Slavery PEC Operations Director and Partnership Manager about the proposals for the Modern Slavery PEC's *Lived Experience Advisory Panel*
- Sought input from four *regional coordinators* from Africa, Asia and America recruited as part of the FCDO project described above. The coordinators provided comprehensive written feedback. This allowed the scoping study to respond to concerns raised in the wider stakeholder engagement around the lack of regional representation at the international level.
- Included a specific question on survivor engagement in the overall stakeholder engagement survey, and included a section on people with lived experience engagement in the research on the configuration of comparable commissions.
- Reviewed UK-based commissions which are innovating in the area of lived experience inclusion, in particular, *The Commission on Social Security led by Experts with Experience* and *The Poverty Truth Commissions*.

99. For more information, see: <https://aknexhibition.org>

The evidence

The idea of what constitutes good practice in the inclusion of people with lived experience in policymaking and practice is evolving

Historically, the inclusion of people with lived experience and survivors has been tokenistic: people with lived experience have often been invited to tell a trauma narrative and then side-lined from strategic level conversations. This is now roundly considered bad practice. New norms of survivor involvement demand inclusion at all levels of an organisation, and across all aspects of its work. This is the direction of travel, recognised by senior leaders in our surveys.

“You absolutely need members of the commission to be survivor leaders, as the space has moved in that direction quite a lot in recent years. It would be a fundamental issue if you did not have survivor leaders, and their participation in power structures is very important; potentially one of the co-chairs could be a survivor leader.” (International NGO)

“There has been a general increase in emphasis on people with lived experience engagement over the last few years across the anti-slavery sector, but in some cases this may be somewhat superficial, perhaps more lip-service than tangible action.” (Researcher)

Recent work to engage people with lived experience has moved towards the principle of participative equality through which people are listened to and have the opportunity to contribute to the production of shared knowledge by playing a meaningful part in decision-making processes that impact on their wellbeing.

“You should be ready for them to really co-design it and let them define the structure.” (Researcher)

The language used to talk about people with lived experience is changing too

Several individuals said that the use of the term “survivor” can be problematic. One respondent found, for example, that use of this term is not universal, and is not particularly meaningful to anti-trafficking professionals outside of North America and Europe. The Modern Slavery PEC found during its consultation with 15 survivor groups that:

“Some survivors may not want the ‘survivor’ tag (meaning there is a risk of unrepresentativeness because some survivors may not want to engage at all if the term survivor is used).” (Researcher)

Organisations representing workers specifically expressed concern that this term excludes those subjected to forced labour who remain in the workforce:

“Survivor or victim are not necessarily terms we’d work with. We’d rather speak in terms of meaningful worker representation, allowing workers to organise, identify their own representatives, and then having those representatives defend their rights and interests.” (Civil society network)

There was broad consensus that a commission would need to actively include workers, and communities (adults, children, families) vulnerable to exploitation, and not solely people who identify as survivors, and that language would need to be sensitive to context.

"[The use of the term people with lived experience] capture[s] experiences of persons often described as 'victims' and those described as 'survivors', plus their communities. The description is more inclusive, which is helpful for the Commission" (NGO).

"People with lived experience should be consulted on how they would like to be described as they engage with the structure and activities of the Global Commission" (NGO).

"Engaging people with lived experience in isolation from their networks and communities has implications for their welfare and the effectiveness/success of the engagement. The experience may vary according to individuals and contexts, but a Global Commission would have to consider expand the engagement space to capture a broader sense, perspectives and dynamics." (NGO).

Comparable global commissions are not yet developing replicable good practice in this space

There was evidence in the publicly-available material of six of the eight comparable commissions surveyed as part of the Scoping Study, of the involvement of people with lived experience in their work. However, the level and nature of the involvement was often limited in scope or at an early stage. For instance, the *Global Education Commission* had a Youth Panel; and *WeProtect Global Alliance* reported in December 2021 that "*the Board agreed to add an adult survivor representative to the Board*" and they liaised with a civil society organisation regarding survivor representation by way of a report in collaboration with ECPAT (survivor perspectives in Moldova). Moreover, in the work of the Global Commission on International Migration – arguably the commission with the closest relationship to a potential global commission on modern slavery and human trafficking – no reference was made in public-facing documents to the inclusion of victims/survivors of exploitative migration in the design of the commission. Largely, then, at the level of comparable commissions, representation of people with lived experience is not embedded in the way that stakeholders responding to the scoping study for this report consider to be good practice.

"Preliminary findings from the survivor engagement project suggest that there is a varying degree of people with lived experience engagement, including no involvement, tokenistic involvement and valuable inclusion. There is need to acknowledge the progress made so far and identify sustainable pathways to meaningful inclusion (equity)" (Researcher).

Local commissions are developing replicable good practice in this space

In the UK, there are examples of commissions demonstrating innovative good practice in the inclusion of people with lived experience. [The Poverty Truth Network](#) and Poverty Truth Commissions (PTCs),¹⁰⁰ and the [Commission on Social Security led by Experts by Experience](#) (CSS)¹⁰¹ are both examples of centring experts by experience in policy innovation, design and analysis. Their websites describe the following practice:

“The CSS project initiation group comprised 8 experts by experience, a funder (Trust for London) representative, and the lead academic. The Commission’s approach involved a radical inversion of standard power relations – the Experts by Experience are the decision makers and the support team work as directed by them... The working methodology that has evolved is: (i) Commissioners decide the strategy; ii) The support team prepare briefings containing possible – but not exclusive – options; (iii) The Commissioners then decide how to proceed.”

“Poverty Truth Commissions, seek to discover the answer to the question, ‘what if people who struggled against poverty were involved in making decisions about tackling poverty?’ The commissioners for each Commission comprise two groups of people. Around half of the commissioners are people with a lived experience of the struggle against poverty. The other half are leaders within the city or region. Collectively they work to understand the nature of poverty, what are some of the underlying issues that create poverty and explore creative ways of addressing them.”

Any eventual engagement mechanism to enable people with lived experience participation in the work of a proposed GC could usefully learn from these organisations’ work (further details of which are set out at Annex X).

There is consensus on the need for meaningful embedding of people with lived experience in the modern slavery field

Within the modern slavery and human trafficking field, there is a strong sense that the inclusion of people with lived experience – at all levels – is seen as good practice, and a Global Commission will not be able to gain legitimacy without it. This is borne out by people with lived experience, and those who work with them.

The positive case was also made that knowledge based on lived experience has an integral role in helping to understand the problem of modern slavery and human trafficking, and in working towards solutions:

“...the perspectives of those who have been trafficked are always going to be invaluable. In its set up, a Global Commission would have to have these people at the core because in addressing future cases of human trafficking, we have to rely on these experiences. In Kenya, we have Sophie Otiende, her contributions to policy environment in this country is amazing. Having these people who have been there is more critical to addressing future cases and looking at the policy gaps. It’s critical to centre those who have lived those experiences” (Government official).

100. See: <https://povertytruthnetwork.org/>

101. See: <https://www.commissiononsocialsecurity.org/>

Balancing inclusion with the need to exert high-level political influence

There were strong views on what the purpose of inclusion was at different levels of a Global Commission's work, and how to balance the ethical requirement to be inclusive, with the pragmatic need to 'get stuff done' within existing power structures and relationships. This tension is best embodied in this response from a survivor-led organisation:

"We have recognised that in the other commissions referenced, a lot of the high positions are filled with high-ranking politicians and other powerful individuals, which we recognise is important, both due to their experience working with issues pertaining to the aim of the commission, but also due to overall name recognition and funding opportunities that they bring. However, we also think it is highly important to ensure that a diverse set of stakeholders in the anti-trafficking movement are recognised, including civil society actors and activists, along with survivors, and that they are included throughout the layers of the commission." (NGO).

Organisations who work with businesses in particular felt that if senior business leaders are going to engage, then they would want to engage with senior political leaders. There was consensus that this brings the greatest opportunities for influence and action. At the same time, these same actors expressed a need to make sure that the commission is diverse and that all actors are in the right places to deliver the maximum impact. A regional organisation, for example, argued that:

"To ensure diverse representation, I would distinguish between the secretariat and advisory board – you don't want to force global diversity into your day-to-day structure, so you should aim for a secretariat with abundant experience and an advisory board with global diversity." (Intergovernmental body).

Avoid reproducing exploitation in the Commission's setup

Most organisations shared the view that global North and South co-leadership was a fundamental prerequisite to the commission's success. A leading INGO predicted that engagement would be low and change unlikely to happen without this co-leadership.

In its configuration, the commission should seek to address other prevailing imbalances, such as that between the status of community and local knowledge, and international knowledge. This was a view shared by many.

"It would need to have regional level leadership or structures that grow expertise on local contexts...A Global Commission must benefit from contextual realities." (NGO).

There was a desire to think about how to make the appointment process to the Commission equitable, to avoid replicating the perceived opacity and unfairness that can sometimes characterise appointment processes at intergovernmental level.

"You should think of how to design a process that makes it possible for the best individuals and experts to be appointed... The aim should be to have independent people of the highest calibre." (Intergovernmental body)

Whatever form the engagement with people with lived experience takes, if it is to not reproduce exploitation, it would need to form part of the core function of the Commission, and expertise from lived experience would need to be contracted and remunerated on the same basis as other forms of expertise. We heard that people with lived experience can be integrated into the work of a Global Commission by:

"...eliciting diverse survivor inputs at this [early] stage of planning, in the development of the Commission itself – and by including similar diversity of survivors (both individuals and organizations) in the Commission leadership. This may include building in financial support for survivors to participate, as well as offering pathways to participation for non-English speakers." (Intergovernmental body)

One respondent based in a global organisation was more direct:

"Pay for their time or it is exploitation." (NGO)

A survivor-leader group similarly cautioned about contributing to the exploitation of survivors, which in their view is already happening through different bodies in the modern slavery space:

"Give them value, a position and a stipend. Give them certain kinds of financial support for the time they are involved. It would be good to have survivors sitting on the commission, or for the commission to be engaged with a group of survivors who will be actively involved. You will need at least one male and one female survivor, and it will be desirable to have a range of experience (eg forced labour, sexual exploitation, etc). The Commission should involve survivors and acknowledge them in the paper. If you do not have survivors involved, you should at the very least engage them." (NGO)

Several respondents raised concerns about the spaces of a GC, and how these might be off-putting and restrict input.

"Engaging people with lived experience in isolation from their networks and communities has implications for their welfare and the effectiveness/success of the engagement. The experience may vary according to individuals and contexts, but the Global Commission would have to consider expand the engagement space to capture a broader sense, perspectives and dynamics." (Researcher).

The commission will need to assemble in, or host working groups in, diverse regions and localities. It might work in partnership with members of the eventual panel of advisors to ensure currently under-represented regions and localities are heard.

Engage from the beginning and engage throughout

Engagement with people with lived experience needs to permeate all levels of the commission's work, and it needs to start right at the beginning – in the scoping activity, the design of the commission and its programming. Most respondents wanted engagement with people with lived experience to be a feature of the entirety of the commission's work.

"[The Commission] can ensure meaningful survivor engagement by involving survivors in all different layers of the commission...By meaningfully involving survivors through every part of the commission, you would also be offering employment opportunities to survivors, which improves agency, empowerment, and fosters self-sufficiency amongst the survivors in the commission, creating generational change and sustainable development. Being persons with first-hand experience their input is very important, so it is important that they are included for their inherent value and expertise and because that is valued, and not just to fill a certain quota." (NGO).

There was also a sense that inclusion needs to be embedded as continuous process in the commission.

"Inclusion is a continuous process that creates a dialogue between continents, government, survivors, witnesses and affected others of human trafficking and modern slavery." (Researcher)

"Inclusion is not an event but a process, with back-and-forth negotiations." (Researcher)

A knowledge platform, which has survivor representatives in its governance structure, said that engaging in this deep way reaped dividends. Survivor engagement was seen as:

"...crucially important and we've learned a lot from early stages right through to implementation and review. It is an essential approach for a Commission to be meaningful." (International NGO)

Engage meaningfully

All types of stakeholders – including regional consultants, people with lived experience or those working with them, NGOs and intergovernmental bodies – agreed that a Global Commission should avoid tokenistic engagement.

"People can have good intentions, but current approaches to survivor engagement can be very wrong, for example getting them to tell their story for an audience and then saying goodbye." (Government official)

There were suggestions for ways in which representation can be embedded at senior levels in an organic way that avoids tokenistic 'survivor representative' type practices:

"I do not believe that a formal percentage of seats needs to be set aside "for survivor leaders," as this tokenises survivors into their identity as survivors rather than bringing them on for their expertise...there are survivors of human trafficking in leadership positions in major non-profit and government organizations. These leaders should be an organic part of the commission, rather than a cordoned-off portion of it, and these survivors should have a broad lens on the needs of diverse sets of survivors, rather than just advocating for their own needs and the needs of people like themselves." (Researcher)

One respondent felt that people with lived experience needed to be 'mainstreamed' in the work of the commission, by way of addressing the issue of hierarchy and the 'gap' between people with lived experience and other actors in a Global Commission:

"Foregrounding people with lived experience leadership is a promising pathway to inclusion in the contexts of Global Commission. But I am thinking about 'mainstreaming', where victims/survivors are meaningfully engaged and involved at all levels (a multi-layered approach), as a pathway to equity..." (Researcher).

Capitalise on existing engagement mechanisms

There is a proliferation of engagement mechanisms and groups in the international modern slavery landscape, and good practice in evidence through the Organisation for Security & Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), The International Survivors of Trafficking Advisory Council (ISTAC), International Justice Mission (IJM), Survivor Alliance (SA), International Trade Union Confederations (ITUC), the Antislavery Knowledge Network members, and the FCDO Survivor Inclusion Project regional consultants (AKN) and others. There was broad consensus that establishing another body was not the right step. Instead, most people advocated for building on good practice and established ways of working:

"Setting up an independent council is incredibly time consuming and resource intensive, so I wouldn't recommend that. Alternatively, you could hire survivors on your team, which is a great way to approach it - or you hire one or two as a liaison to a council." (Intergovernmental body)

Several of the stakeholders interviewed expressed a willingness to work with a Global Commission in this regard, and the budget for the Commission should take their participation into account. Further, existing UK government-funded projects in the landscape which have recently built strong networks, relationships and expertise (e.g. AHRC Antislavery Knowledge Network; FCDO Survivor Inclusion project) could be brought into productive engagement with the commission.

Include a diversity of perspectives

There was a sense that globally, certain forms of exploitation are prioritised over others – even though they are less prevalent. There was a specific concern that sex trafficking took precedence over a diversity of other forms of exploitation. Centring sex-trafficking as ‘distinct’ from other forms of exploitation was also seen as an attempt to avoid engaging with the complex structural issues relating to other forms of labour exploitation. These kinds of concerns underpinned an interest in making sure that different regions, different exploitation types, and countries of origin, transit and destination, were all properly represented in the work of the commission.

The prioritising of certain forms of exploitation can have a knock-on effect in terms of engagement from people with lived experience, reducing the perspectives that contribute to discourse and policy.

“In anti-trafficking, we often see the same survivors and activists represented and it is also highly important to include new voices and input from all over the world to diversify the commission’s input and therefore diversify the work you are able to do” (NGO).

“[There is a tendency to] prioritise specific categories of survivors. [Rather, a body should] capture more categories of survivors, I would want to see this - not just women who have experienced sexual exploitation - other categories need to be captured” (Government official).

There was a sense that concerted effort would need to be given to engage particularly vulnerable groups, such as female workers in the informal economy in certain regions, who remain outside of formal representative bodies like unions:

“...large groups of vulnerable workers are not included in trade union structures due to legal or practical barriers to organising. To be inclusive, [it is necessary to] engage with non-traditional groups - in India, for instance, representing women in the informal economy - even though they’re not traditional trade unions in a strict sense.” (Civil society network)

There was also concern to enable the safe and productive participation of children in the work of the Global Commission, especially with regard to prevention:

“It is important to distinguish participation and the voice of survivors. I am concerned that we combine the two in many spaces. The voice of survivors is very needed, for example [you can] engage with adults who had experienced abuse as children. However, when we talk about exploitation of children, there is a space for child participation as part of prevention work, not just those children who have experienced it but those who live in societies where they are at risk. This engagement is needed, it is not just an option... We cannot continue to have the conversation about them, without children also around the table.” (International NGO)

The concerns about appropriate representation of children echoed wider concerns around diversifying representation and seeking to avoid defaulting to familiar organisations which already operate in international spaces, and instead seeking to reach children ‘where they are.’:

“Appropriate representation is the piece of the puzzle that is increasingly important – are we getting the children of the leaders, who’ll have a nice trip somewhere? How are we organising some spaces to have children who are neglected, who are not trained to be spokespeople, those who are actually at risk. It is necessary to decentralise that consultative process, giving them space and time to consider what needs to be done differently. It is not just asking them about their experience but involving them in the analysis and the formulation of the recommendations. A spokesperson can then be identified from that group, and then having them present the recommendations to the commission. To have meaningful engagement, it is necessary to reach them where they are, gather those outcomes and then present that product to the commission. (International NGO)

There was enthusiasm for the role a Global Commission could usefully play in building better vertical integration and communication between local, regional and international organisations. It was felt that a Global Commission could help to improve the two-way flow of information and bridge the gap that is currently felt to exist between the experience of exploitation ‘on the ground’ and its representation in intergovernmental discourse:

“The commission [could] amplify voices that are often drowned out because of resource, political issues, or lack of space to speak...Local voices with local knowledge are often not part of international conversations. This makes the knowledge developed at the international level partial, and the policy responses not fit for purpose. A Global Commission should create space for voices that may not have had the opportunity for participating at that level. The international community’s view of victims does not fit the experience on the ground.” (Sector expert)

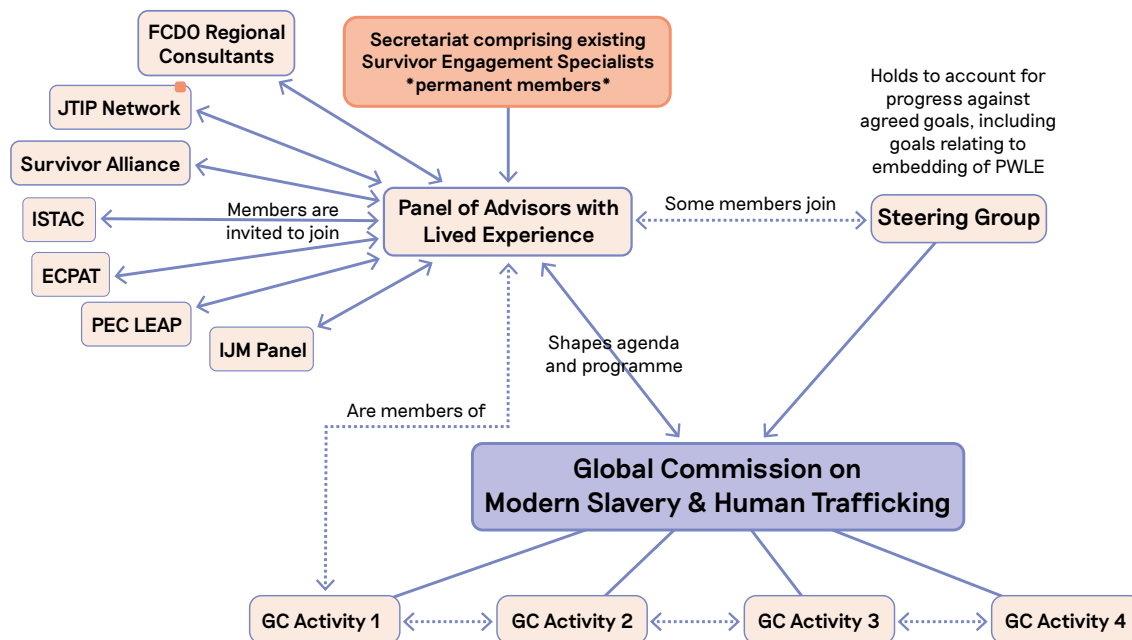
Recommendations

Based on the evidence above, the Scoping Study makes the following recommendations.

General recommendations

- A Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking should be informed by a Panel of Advisors with Lived Experience using the broad definition established above: people with lived experience of modern slavery and/or the social, economic and political vulnerabilities that can lead to modern slavery. This should include the safe, appropriate, and meaningful participation of adults and children.
- The secretariat of the Panel of Advisors with Lived Experience could be provided by a group such as the FCDO Survivor Engagement Regional Consultants (yellow box in **Figure 9**). Other membership would be defined based on the specific activities of a Global Commission from time to time, and sourced on a flexible basis from existing people with lived experience engagement groups, some of which are illustrated below (e.g. ISTAC, JTIP Network, ECPAT International etc.). Where the participation of children is desirable, this should be managed through organisations with experience in this field (e.g. ECPAT International).
- There should be organic representation of people with lived experience on the main commission, achieved by targeting senior leaders with expertise in the areas required for the commission and who are also qualified by lived experience (for example, leaders of INGOs who also have lived experience).
- A Global Commission's governance structure should include a body (eg an Executive Board) to scrutinise and hold a Global Commission to account for progress against agreed targets, including those on the effective embedding of people with lived experience in the body of the commission. Its membership could include members of the Panel of Advisors with Lived Experience, and other invited external experts identified by commissioners.

Figure 9: Proposed configuration of Commission’s engagement with people with lived experience. ‘GC activity 1-4’ represent the eventual work of the commission.



Detailed recommendations

- **The Commission should consider adopting the term ‘People with Lived Experience’** in its communications. This term can accommodate the interests of different groups (workers; vulnerable communities; children; victims and survivors). It reflects insight from the surveyed actors, and the preliminary findings from the FCDO *Survivor Engagement* project. In individual engagement with different regions/countries/projects/people the Commission should remain flexible to the preferred terms of those regions/countries/projects/people.
- **The Commission should embed ‘expertise by experience’** in three ways: i) Recruitment or appointment processes for the main panel should actively encourage people with lived experience who fulfil the leadership requirements set out in Chapter 6 to apply, but should not make disclosure a pre-requisite of membership; ii) the work of the commission should be planned in consultation with a Panel of Advisors with Lived Experience (Figure 9); and iii) members of the Panel of Advisors with Lived Experience should be represented on the Executive Board.
- **The Commission should have the necessary political profile to influence state-level action.** The commission itself will comprise senior political, business and third sector leaders able to influence high-level political decisions and build momentum toward the Commission’s goals. Some of these senior leaders and people with lived experience could be one and the same: people with lived experience are already present and recognised for their professional expertise and experience in a variety of spaces/sectors.

- **The Panel of Advisors should capitalise on the work of existing organisations**, funding the participation of these organisations and the people with lived experience who are part of their membership and networks, rather than establishing its own, discrete Panel. The latter does not represent good practice or good value. Several sector actors (including but not limited to those represented in the diagram above) have existing highly successful engagement mechanisms with the communities that the Commission needs to engage with (vulnerable communities; workers; children; victims and survivors). The Commission can build reputation, good will, and legitimacy by working with these existing mechanisms rather than trying to reproduce or replace them. This approach is also flexible, meaning that advisors can be pulled together into 'teams' to address specific activity areas.
- **The Panel of Advisors should have an ex officio place on the Commission**: In addition to the embedded representation of people with lived experience in the body of the main commission, at least one additional commissioner role should be held for this Panel of Advisors, who will nominate a representative on an annual basis.
- **The commission might seek to engage with the two existing UK commissions** innovating in meaningful and effective engagement of people with lived experience, and international equivalents, as part of its set-up activity.
- Where populations with specific safeguarding needs (e.g. workers outside of the protection of formal worker organisations; children; the elderly) are participating, **specialist expertise should be sought to ensure that these safeguarding needs are met**. A Global Commission should always engage with vulnerable populations through specialist organisations with experience in safeguarding, rather than directly.
- **The Commission should capitalise on pre-existing UK-government funded infrastructure** with specialist expertise in engagement with people with lived experience (e.g. the FCDO-funded 'Survivor engagement in international development policy and programming' project; the AHRC £2m+ investment in the *Antislavery Knowledge Network (AKN)*).
- **The experience of people with lived experience should be organically represented at the top level of the Commission** to avoid the tokenism that so many respondents cautioned against.
- **Costs of establishing and maintaining the Panel of Experts Qualified by Experience should be considered core** to the operation of the commission, along with ongoing costs associated with hosting off-site work of the commission in diverse regions and localities.

Chapter 8: Funding a Global Commission

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to consider how a Global Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking could be funded, informed by the funding models of comparable commissions, feedback from stakeholders, ethical considerations, and the recommendations in Chapter 6 about how the Global Commission should be designed.

It considers potential sources of funding for a Global Commission, and the ethical considerations relevant to whether certain sources of funding would be appropriate for such a Commission. Finally, it indicates how much funding is likely to be required to set up a Global Commission and to sustain it through different phases of its existence.

Possible sources of funding for a Global Commission

Most comparable commissions have been funded by a combination of donor governments and private or philanthropic funds. The table below shows the funding sources for comparable commissions where this information is publicly available.

Comparable Commissions Funders - Information from publicly available sources on comparable commissions' funding

Commission	Government	Private
The International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity	FCDO; Government of the Netherlands Government of Norway	Atlassian Foundation; Echidna Giving; Education Cannot Wait; Global Business Coalition for Education; Inter-American Development Bank; LEGO Foundation; Mastercard Foundation; Rockefeller Foundation; UNICEF; WISE.
WeProtect Global Alliance	UK Home Office (2014-2020)	2020 onwards: 'a range of private philanthropic foundations.'
Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development	None	10 Funding Commissioners provide funding to the commission: 1) ZTE Corporation; 2) Verizon Communications Inc.; 3) Nokia; 4) GRUPO CARSO & Carlos Slim Foundation; 5) Huawei; 6) Intelsat; 7) Es'hailSat; 8) KT Corporation; 9) Microsoft; 10) TDRA UAE

Global Commission on Drug Policy	Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs.	Open Society Foundation; Virgin Unite; Oak Foundation
Global Commission on International Migration	Governmental (no details)	Non-governmental (no details)
Global Commission on Adaptation	Government of Canada Government of Denmark Government of Germany Government of the Netherlands Government of the United Kingdom	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

The donor governments known to have supported comparable Global Commissions have been (in alphabetical order) Canada, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland and the UK.

A range of philanthropic foundations, including foundations established by businesses, have also funded comparable commissions.

The Broadband Commission has a category of “[Funding Commissioners](#)”, usually the CEO or Chair of businesses whose contributions support the Commission Secretariat and its work, including its communications and advocacy efforts.

In the case of commissions which had two distinct phases of their existence, an initial phase culminating in a flagship report, followed by an implementation phase, phase 1 funding typically came from a donor government or governments, rather than private or philanthropic sources, and this initial funding was generally considered easier to secure than Phase 2 funding. Donor governments were generally less willing to continue to fund comparable commissions beyond their set up and initial phase.

The comparable commissions that we spoke to agreed that securing early and full funding for phase 1 – including a period for publicising and disseminating the Commission’s flagship report following its publication – is fundamental and will mean that the Global Commission team doesn’t have to spend time during phase 1 fundraising, which would otherwise distract from the Global Commission’s task of producing its initial report. Support from more than one donor government will enhance the perception of the Commission’s independence.

Stakeholders expressed a general concern that funding for modern slavery and anti-trafficking work is small, particularly when the scale of the issue is taken into consideration. Some concern was expressed by modern slavery stakeholders that a Global Commission might potentially ‘cannibalise’ existing donor resources. They felt that a Global Commission should seek to grow available resource by drawing more funding into the modern slavery field, rather than approaching existing program-level donors for funding:

“A global commission needs to have clear targets and needs to demonstrate how these will be met, without sucking a whole lot of money of a sector that is already underfunded.” (NGO)

Ethical considerations

A Global Commission will also need to consider the ethical dimension of its funding model, including (a) the risks and benefits of different types of funding; (b) the principles and processes governing the acceptance of donations from any particular donor; and (c) how to manage donations to avoid real or perceived conflicts of interest.

Different types of funding

An initial question is whether there are any categories of funding that a GC is not prepared to accept. For instance, so-called “philanthrocapitalism” is a dominant form of philanthropy in the MSHT space. It incorporates market-based solutions to address global problems. The risks and benefits arising from this form of investment in modern slavery are well-covered in existing academic and media literature.¹⁰²

Specifically, risks include the tendency for venture philanthropy to prioritise quick and often tech-driven approaches, law-and-order responses, and victim ‘rehabilitation’, rather than prevention, justice, and human rights. It can tend to favour fast and quantifiable outcomes over structural change.

The benefits of this form of funding, on the other hand, can include having the freedom and resource to think long-term, to go against conventional wisdom, and try new approaches which may be potentially transformative. Venture philanthropy might also have a positive impact on wider donor mobilisation and collaboration, by encouraging new funders into the space.

All comparable commissions appear to have accepted a combination of government and private funding. The risks and benefits of different types of funding will need be weighed on a case by case basis, guided by expert advice where appropriate.

Principles and processes governing acceptance of specific donations

All funders of a Global Commission will inevitably come under public scrutiny for their human rights record in general, and their approach to tackling modern slavery in particular. The Global Commission will therefore need to develop an approach to due diligence governing decisions about the acceptance of funding.

In relation to donor governments, a Global Commission will want to have regard to the country’s record in relation to human rights and modern slavery, and whether they have ratified key international instruments on modern slavery and human trafficking.

In relation to business, appropriate due diligence will include consideration of a company’s sector of activity, and the steps they have taken to mitigate the risk of modern slavery and human trafficking in their supply chain.

¹⁰² Insights based on a summary of the thoughts, views and opinions expressed within: Various Authors (01/02/2021) DEBATE: How has philanthrocapitalism helped or harmed the anti-trafficking movement? Available at: [How has philanthrocapitalism helped or hurt the anti-trafficking movement? | openDemocracy](#)

The Global Commission may wish to develop an Ethical Funding policy, which would set out such considerations, together with specific forms of due diligence that will be undertaken.

Managing funding to avoid actual or perceived conflicts of interest

Once funding has been accepted by the Global Commission, risks of actual or perceived conflicts of interest would need to be addressed through robust governance structures: for example, a conflict-of-interest policy and an independent panel to manage such conflicts and to minimise the influence of funders on programming decisions.¹⁰³

How much funding will be needed?

The Scoping Study has sought to arrive at a realistic estimate of the amount of funding required to set up and sustain a Global Commission designed along the lines outlined in Chapter 5 and on the indicative timeline set out in that Chapter. It has done this by developing indicative budgets for Phases 1 and 2, modelled on the type of Global Commission recommended in Chapter 5, and informed by the costs of establishing and running comparable commissions.

The figures arrived at are inevitably approximate and they are expressed as “ballpark” figures rather than precise costings to reflect the fact that some design questions are left open by the options outlined in Chapter 5. However, the figures are underpinned by detailed modelling of likely costs and are therefore intended to provide a reasonably robust guide to the costs involved and therefore the level of funding required.

Phase 1

The result of this modelling is that the funding required to set up and run a Global Commission for its initial phase ranges between approximately **£1.9m and £4.4m**, depending on whether the Global Commission is hosted by an existing institution, or an independent start-up.

Independent Start-Up

The cost of setting up a Global Commission as an independent start-up and sustaining it to the end of Phase 1 is estimated to be in the region of **£4.4m**.

This covers:

- Travel and accommodation for 20 Commissioners and Secretariat (£180K)
- Core secretariat costs covering leadership, operations and administration (£1.4m)
- Commissioning budget for external expertise including research (£1.5m)

¹⁰³ Global Commission on Evidence (2022) The Evidence Commission report. Available at: [The Evidence Commission report: A wake-up call and path forward for decision-makers, evidence intermediaries, and impact-oriented evidence producers \(mcmasterforum.org\)](https://www.mcmasterforum.org/evidence-commission-report)

- Meetings, events and outputs (£700K)
- Overheads (£576K)

These costs have been calculated over a two year period and with a longer set up period (6 months) to reflect the fact that a start-up Commission will take longer to recruit its staff and get up and running. An independent start-up Commission will also have to recruit and provide all senior leadership and management capacity.

Hosted

The cost of setting up a Global Commission hosted by an existing institution and sustaining it to the end of Phase 1 is estimated to be in the region of **£1.9m**.

This covers:

- Travel and accommodation for 20 Commissioners and Secretariat (£140K)
- Core secretariat costs covering leadership, operations and administration (£540K)
- Commissioning budget for external expertise including research (£400K)
- Meetings, events and outputs (£580K)
- Overheads (£250K)

These costs have been calculated over an 18 month period (October 2022 to March 2024) and with a shorter set up period (3 months) to reflect the fact that a host institution will already have the infrastructure to support a Commission and it will take less time to expand that infrastructure to the extent required by the Commission than to recruit an entirely new secretariat. It has also been assumed that the host institution will make contributions in kind which reduce the overall cost of the Commission, for example by providing some of the senior leadership and management capacity to supervise Global Commission staff.

Phase 2

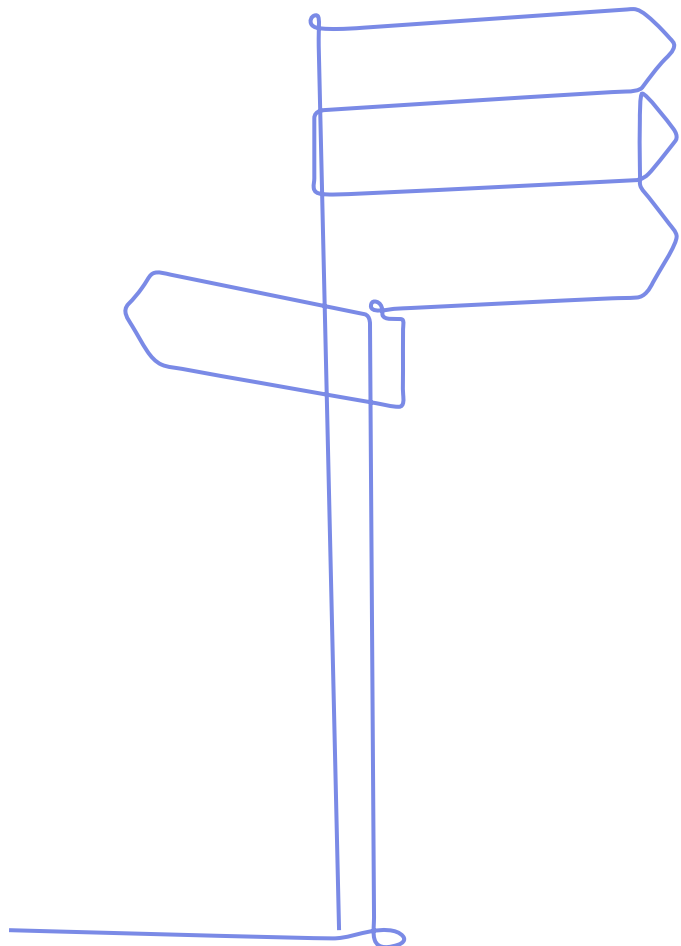
The funding required to sustain a Global Commission from the end of its initial phase through to the end of the period of the SDGs (six years from 2024/25 to 2030) is estimated to be in the region of **£13m to £14m**.

In calculating the approximate costs of Phase 2, no assumptions have been made about whether the Commission is independent or hosted in this second phase. Costs have been calculated to cover all the recurring elements in Phase 1, but with additional posts in the secretariat to lead implementation initiatives and additional costs related to implementation of the Phase 1 Report.

However, this Phase 2 estimate is inevitably less robust than the estimated costs in Phase 1, reflecting the much greater uncertainty about the Commission's activities following the completion of Phase 1.

Recommendations

- The funding model for the Global Commission should aim to be a mixed model of donor governments and philanthropic/private sector funding from the outset, but with a preponderance of donor government funding in Phase 1 to get the Commission up and running.
- Funding should be sought from more than one donor government for Phase 1 (Autumn 2022 to Spring 2024).
- The Global Commission should aim to transition to a preponderance of philanthropic/private sector funding in Phase 2 (2024-30).
- So far as possible, the Global Commission should seek to avoid approaching existing modern slavery programme-level donors and should seek to increase the resources available in the modern slavery and human trafficking space.



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