Legislating against Modern Slavery, Human Trafficking and Forced Labour

The Role of Parliament to Scrutinise & Raise Awareness
The sheer scale of modern slavery is frightening to behold. It is a truly global epidemic and I believe the biggest human rights issue of our time. The International Labour Organisation estimates that there are over 40 million people living in modern slavery today.

Modern slavery hides in plain sight in our towns and cities, our fields and factories and it reaches into every corner of our lives – in the clothes we wear, the food we eat and the services we pay for. Yet for many years it seldom captured the world’s attention which allowed those who trade in human misery to quietly continue their work.

As Home Secretary, introducing the Modern Slavery Act 2015 was a key priority in order to tackle the plight of the tens of thousands of people affected by modern slavery in Britain and in the supply chains of British businesses. I am proud that since its introduction there has been a considerable increase in tackling modern slavery offences: the police are referring more cases to be prosecuted, the Crown Prosecution Service is making more decisions to charge, and there are more convictions.

Modern slavery is international and we cannot be content with only making progress at home. This is why under my premiership, the UK played the leading role in getting the eradication of modern slavery into the Sustainable Development Goals and achieved the endorsement of 87 governments for the Call to Action on Modern Slavery including countries from the Commonwealth.

I want Britain to continue to lead this fight on the global stage so that the UN’s goal of ending modern slavery by 2030 is achieved. I want to see the UK strengthening and improving the transparency statements required of big businesses and expanding the law to cover the public sector. I want to see more governments around the world endorse the Call to Action on Modern Slavery and pass their own modern slavery legislation to defeat this abhorrent crime once and for all.

Download the online version of the e-Handbook at: www.uk-cpa.org/modernslavery
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Darren Jones MP
Member, UK House of Commons

I sincerely hope that this resource will prove informative, insightful and inspiring on the many paths to legislative change, critical in the global fight to combat modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour.

This e-Handbook is an excellent example of how collaboration across nations, fields, political divides, languages and cultures can culminate in an impassioned call to tackle human exploitation that is so prevalent across the world.

This resource would simply not have been possible without the overwhelming support of the many individuals and organisations who graciously volunteered their time, commitment and expertise to enrich the e-Handbook so comprehensively. I sincerely thank:


Thank you and congratulations to the CPA UK Modern Slavery Project team for their tireless efforts supporting parliamentarians, clerks and drafters to drive legislative change internationally. Thank you to Adeline Dumoulin, Mark Scott, Emily Dunn, Morgan Flynn, Rahel Kibru, Jon Davies, Ruth Pope and Anthony Pemberton who have managed the production of this e-Handbook alongside the excellent CPA UK Modern Slavery Project.

For their wonderful support as Expert and Legal Advisers to the CPA UK Modern Slavery Project, I also wish to thank Professor Parosha Chandran and R. Evon Idahosa.

Lastly, let me pay particular thanks to David Hanson, the former Member of Parliament for Delyn in North Wales for 27 years, who provided such important leadership as the UK Parliamentary Chair of the CPA UK Modern Slavery Project.

WITH THANKS TO THE FOLLOWING ORGANISATIONS

Parliaments:
- Parliament of Australia
- Parliament of Western Australia
- Parliament of Bangladesh
- Nigeria House of Representatives
- Parliament of Kenya
- National Assembly of Pakistan

Organisations:
- The Rights Lab, Nottingham University
- Pathfinders Justice Initiative, Inc.
- The Human Thread Foundation
- Minderoo Foundation, Walk Free Initiative
- Justice and Care
- Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART)

Parliaments:
- Parliament of Uganda
- Parliament of Ghana
- Parliament of Canada
- UK Parliament
- Senate of Pakistan

Organisations:
- The Office of the National Rapporteur for Trafficking in Persons (ONRTIP), Jamaica
- Christian Action Research and Education (CARE)
- International Organization for Migration, (IOM) Sierra Leone
- beSpokeSkills
- UK Home Office
- The Salvation Army Australia Territory
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*"When I first arrived, we went out to the lake for a quick look. I saw what seemed to be a family fishing on a boat. Two older brothers, some kids ... makes sense, right? Wrong. They were ALL enslaved. These young people are forced to work in boats on the lake — though they cannot swim."

Photo Credit: Lisa Kristine photography / The Human Thread Foundation*
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

One in 200 people is living in some form of modern slavery today. According to the latest figures published by the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation and the Walk Free Foundation, an estimated of 40.3 million people are living in some form of modern slavery. More than half of them are in forced labour, which means they are working against their will and under threat, intimidation or coercion. An additional 15.4 million people are estimated to be living in forced marriages.

Modern slavery is everywhere. It harms people in every country in the world.

Parliamentarians, supported by parliamentary officials, are uniquely placed to inspire, empower, encourage and lead the journey towards the eradication of modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour.

• As legislators, they participate in debates and vote on legislation. They are well-placed to strengthen their laws to better respond to the need of the citizens;
• As representatives of the people, and in some countries, leaders of their constituency, every day is an opportunity to raise awareness, educate constituents on the issues and protect them. Members of Parliament have a huge influence on the wellbeing of their people;
• As members of committees, they have the power to exert oversight over governments’ actions and decisions.

Building parliamentarians and parliamentary officials’ knowledge and skills on modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour issues is therefore paramount. They are drivers of positive change in their own constituency and country.

Building on the success of the first CPA UK e-handbook on Legislating against Modern Slavery, Human Trafficking, Forced Labour (2018), this second volume gathers knowledge and experience from Commonwealth parliamentarians and parliamentary officials on their key roles in:

Overseeing and Scrutinising Legislation and Implementation (Chapter One)
Committees are important and increasingly high-profile means by which parliamentarians scrutinise the work of Government and hold Minister and officials to account. They are forums for Members of Parliament to work across party lines to influence and inform policy and legislation.

Raising Awareness of Modern Slavery, Human Trafficking, Forced Labour (Chapter Two)
This chapter focuses on the importance of using parliamentary mechanisms to raise awareness of modern slavery related crimes among parliamentary colleagues. It also demonstrates the need to educate people by working collaboratively at constituency level and alongside experts and key stakeholders with the knowledge.

Working with the Media and Campaigns (Chapter Three)
The media has a vital role to play in shining a light on the plight of victims of modern slavery so the public are made aware of the truth and can hold governments to account on their efforts to combat these crimes. However, the media landscape is fast moving. Understanding and adapting to these changes is therefore crucial. This chapter demonstrates the importance for parliamentarians to engage with the media to raise awareness and enhance visibility of proposed bills and actions made at parliamentary and constituency level.

By utilising links between themselves and different organisations and public bodies, parliamentarians become the bridge between groups of society. They can champion actions to combat modern slavery and human trafficking. They have the power to empower others.

To parliamentarians and parliamentary officials, in the words of Margaret Mead: ‘Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it is the only thing that ever has’.

A note on definitions and views expressed:
CPA UK and expert contributors in this e-Handbook use the language of ‘modern slavery’ as an umbrella term for a range of criminal offences relating to human trafficking, forced labour and the holding of a person in slavery or servitude for the purposes of exploitation.

The UN defines these heinous crimes under the overarching language of human trafficking / forced labour / modern slavery. While preferred terminology may vary across the globe, this handbook seeks to arm legislators and parliamentary officials with the key information to effectively combat these crimes, irrespective of language used.

This document was produced by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association UK Branch in March 2020 to assist parliamentarians and parliamentary officials in the Commonwealth to improve national responses to addressing modern slavery and human trafficking. Whilst an important part of the publication draws on the UK experience, the views expressed in the document are those of the contributors and do not necessarily represent the official views of the British Government.
CHAPTER ONE: 
OVERSEEING AND 
SCRUTINISING 
LEGISLATION AND 
IMPLEMENTATION

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Parliamentary committees are an important tool by which parliamentarians can oversee, scrutinise and hold to account the work of governments and Ministers as it relates to modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour. Committees can utilise a diverse range of mechanisms when it comes to examining government performance on these issues, which include inquiries, pre- and post-legislative scrutiny techniques and reviews. In the fight against contemporary forms of exploitation, committees should deploy a wide variety of these.

Gathering appropriate evidence is at the heart of an effective inquiry. Written evidence can guide committees towards specific issues that require deeper examination and introduce a range of opinions on a subject. Additional evidentiary scrutiny can be applied during oral evidence sessions, the most effective of which see members deploy diverse questioning techniques. Both written and oral evidence form the basis of the committee's report, a formal record setting out its views, conclusions and recommendations. Following the publication of a report, it is vital that committees follow up with the government on its response to and implementation of said recommendations.

Another core oversight mechanism is pre- and post-legislative scrutiny. The former of these examines an early draft of a bill, assessing its likely impact. The latter occurs after a bill has come into force, looking at how it has worked in practice. Before a bill's passage into law, it may be useful for parliamentarians to consider adding a review clause, which would guarantee that an Act – or part of it – faces post-legislative scrutiny.

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Parliamentary committees are an important, and increasingly high-profile, means by which parliamentarians scrutinise the work of government and hold ministers and officials to account for their performance, priorities and spending.

At their most effective, they are forums for parliamentarians to work across party lines to influence and inform policy and legislation, committees also examine matters of public interest in much greater depth than is possible in other parliamentary contexts, drawing on evidence gathered from a wide range of stakeholders before reporting on their findings.

For issues as multi-faceted and complex as those related to modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour, this function of committees can be a vital tool for parliamentarians to discover what significant shifts need to be made to combat modern slavery-related crimes and protect victims.

Committees can fill a range of different roles when scrutinising government policy and reviewing legislation. As described by the UK Liaison Committee in 2019, their overall aim should be: “To hold Ministers and departments to account, and to investigate matters of public concern where there is need for accountability to the public through parliament.”

In delivering this aim, their core focus is:

- **Policy:** To examine the policy of the department, including areas of emerging policy or where existing policy is deficient, and make recommendations. This may include legislative scrutiny, post-legislative scrutiny, and scrutiny of delegated legislation where relevant.
- **Implementation:** To hold departments and arm’s-length bodies to account for implementation of committee recommendations.
- **Administration:** To examine the administration of departments and their associated public bodies, including scrutiny of their strategy and their performance and management information. This includes holding pre-appointment hearings with the Government’s approved candidates for important posts in government agencies.
- **Expenditure:** To inform and support the House’s control of public expenditure by examining the expenditure plans, out-turn and performance of the department and its public bodies, and the relationships between spending and delivery of outcomes, including effectiveness and value for money.
- **Matters of public concern:** To consider matters of public concern where there is a need for accountability to the public through Parliament, including the actions of organisations or individuals with significant power over the lives of citizens or with wide-reaching public responsibilities.

**Maximising impact**

Beyond a committee’s core aims, an effective committee will also seek to maximise the impact of their scrutiny by implementing other strategies, including:

- Writing to Ministers and departments requesting information or raising concerns;
- Publishing correspondence and documents that they receive;
- Issuing press releases or public statements; and
- Asking questions of Ministers in the main Chamber of the House.
Under the UK system, committees are given special powers to allow them to effectively scrutinise the work of government. These powers include summoning people to give oral evidence or provide documentation, to report whenever they wish, and to travel and meet away from Parliament in order to see people or places as part of an inquiry.

In the fight against modern slavery, committees should strive to employ a wide variety of these tactics and efforts to ensure a better chance of effective and impactful work. Applying pressure on those responsible for implementing policy and the law can ensure stronger protections for both those already affected and potentially affected by exploitation. Additionally, if greater awareness about modern slavery can be achieved through committee work, that can bring an extra level of scrutiny from the wider public and other bodies working to combat such crimes.

There are several important factors I would consider when forming a committee, the first being timing, which is key to ensuring the committee is able to achieve the greatest impact. With our Parliament due to prorogue for an election in early 2021, releasing a committee report in the run-up to this period risks its recommendations getting lost amid the cycle of electioneering, so in this case proposing the committee in the subsequent Parliament might enable it to achieve more lasting results.

It is also necessary to build support among parliamentarians for the formation of the committee, particularly by talking to MPs from across political parties. It’s important to look for people who are interested in the subject. You wouldn’t just look for people from your own political party; to the contrary: you would be looking to build a cross-section of support because having a consensus report from a broad base of political parties is very powerful. Our Parliament has a strong culture that when we are on a committee we are working together and not representing our political parties: you are there as a parliamentarian, not a politician.

Another important aspect when establishing a committee is in the drafting of the terms of reference, where speaking to interest groups and experts, as well as clerks and senior parliamentarians, is key to defining the inquiry’s scope and prevent it becoming too broad.

On global issues as complex as modern slavery, it is always important for parliamentarians to remain mindful of both the national and international context even when examining local issues. Western Australia has many guest workers and it is important to recognise that where they are being abused or taken advantage of, the steps taken to assist them may have the perverse consequence of making it difficult for them to stay and work in Western Australia, and may potentially result in severe consequences for them and their families back home.
EFFECTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Role of the chair
The chair is influential in setting the agenda and tone for the committee’s deliberations. A core part of this role is building consensus amongst members, acting as spokesperson for the committee in the media or during debates in parliament, as well as running meetings and evidence sessions to ensure they address the key issues, to accommodate the interests of members and work with staff in planning the committees work programme. In the UK, chairs receive a payment in addition to their salary as an MP, in recognition of the extra work involved in this role.

Role of a Member
In their role as committee members, parliamentarians must firstly commit the time necessary to understand a topic, familiarise themselves with the evidence, as well as prepare and attend meetings and visits. Being able to get the most out of witnesses and effectively ask questions to get the information they need is also an important part of a member’s role, alongside organising appropriate follow-up to keep the pressure on government and ensure delivery of their commitments once they have responded to the committee’s recommendations.

Committee staff
In the UK, committees are also supported by a small team of staff, who work closely with the chair in particular to ensure the smooth running of an inquiry. In the UK Parliament, this team would typically include the clerk who is the main procedural adviser, a second clerk who analyses evidence, committee specialists who provide policy advice and write reports, and administrative staff who arrange meetings, send out papers and organise committee visits and witnesses.

CASE STUDY

BUILDING CONSENSUS: THE ROLE OF THE CHAIR

Having had 15 years’ experience in chairing committees, I have found that it is far better to work assiduously with a committee to ensure reports are unanimous, so that when the report and recommendations go to Government they are unanimously backed by MPs from all sides of the Parliament. It is invariably those recommendations that find their way into legislation. In the role of Chair, all party-political differences are put aside to ensure the process of committee work is preserved.

In ensuring all members feel comfortable expressing their point of view, I meet all members to get to know them better and to understand their perspectives, canvass their views and suggest sources of further information. This in turn strengthens the committee’s recommendations and ensures they are based on what is possible rather than just the party line.

It’s always good if I can get everyone's fingerprints on the document, that way everyone knows that they have bought into it and can take ownership of it. I find that this approach also helps for future inquiries because most people know the way I operate, they understand that I strive for consensus and making sure everyone gets a fair go.
**EFFECTIVE COMMITTEE STAFF**

Michael Aniekan  
Social Work Expert  
Modern Slavery Project Clerk, Parliament of Nigeria

A parliamentary or committee clerk are often the core staff to a committee. They can play a substantial role in the process of a bill's passage, gathering support for legislation or scrutinising legislation as it relates to modern slavery. Some of the key ways in which clerks and committee staff can effectively support a committee’s work in doing these things are:

**Knowledge**
- Identifying the effect of modern slavery related issues on the economy as it affects the country of focus.
- Carrying out an assessment on the effectiveness of existing legislation and regulations that are currently in place to combat modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour and how relevant they are to the work at hand.
- Raising questions to know if the trafficking in persons law in your home country sufficiently addresses modern slavery issues in the present time.
- Identifying if the agency or ministry responsible for modern slavery consciously monitors evolving trends; in their role, clerks can ensure that they remain ahead of developing trends through research and fostering the key relationships identified and relaying this information to committee members and responsible agencies and ministries.
- Communicating well with committee members who are generally busy with other work and who may not be experts on the subject of modern slavery-related issues.

**Relationships**
- Establishing robust and amicable relationships with government, civil society groups, the media and other stakeholders involved. This is not just the purview of committee members as clerks can also play a role on relationship building and management.

**Offering impartial advice on procedural, policy or administration**
- Establishing how realistic the end report is after the evidence gathering process.
- Identifying possible drawbacks when considering working within your wider parliamentary structure.
- Attaching a time frame to the whole end report; modern slavery is a complex issue and is not solved overnight. Clerks can have a responsibility to manage the time of a committee. Being clear about what can be achieved by a committee and in what time frame will support the overall work flow.
- Encouraging engagement and consultation on the views of the public. Committees and their members should seek to consult citizens so that they can express their position on a subject matter and provide feedback for later decision-making. Clerks are well-positioned to support members on particular communities or areas where there are acute or growing problems to do with modern slavery.

**CONDUCTING INQUIRIES**

**Scoping a Subject**
In most systems, committees meet at the start of a parliament to agree on the inquiries they intend to run over the following months. The chair and members may have ideas for these, which could be based on their interests or debates held in their legislature about a particular area of the Government's work. One innovative method applied by committees in the UK is the use of social media, to invite a wider range of views on their selection of inquiries.

In selecting a subject for an inquiry, a committee may consider the following:
- What existing legislation, or recent government policies and announcements, require greater scrutiny?
- When did the committee last look into this, or a related, issue?
- Are there sectors or issues under the department’s remit that the committee has not considered for a while?
- Is this an appropriate topic for the committee to look into under its remit?
- When should an inquiry be run to have the most impact? For example, will it coincide with the end of a major government project or key stage in the spending cycle?
- How can this inquiry contribute to the existing evidence-base or public/parliamentary debate about a topic?

Once the collective decision to hold a particular inquiry has been made, the committee and its staff research specific questions that the inquiry could address. With the aim of familiarising themselves with the key issues around the topic, committee staff might talk to trusted experts working on the topic, read publications by academics, think tanks or campaign organisations (while being mindful of any bias) or look at government policy papers to understand its position.

**Practical Considerations**

- **What is the purpose of the inquiry and how will those objectives best be met?**
- **What work has already been done on the subject and where can this inquiry add value to avoid overlap?**
- **How much time does the committee have to conduct this inquiry? How many evidence sessions are needed and are there any particular dates or events that will be important to align with?**
- **What expertise does the committee already have access to and who might it engage with in order to scrutinise the issue effectively?**
**Terms of Reference**

Terms of reference set out the aspects of the topic the committee is most interested in and the key questions it wants to answer.

When developing terms of reference for an inquiry, they must firstly be relevant and specific in order to ensure high quality evidence submissions are received. Where terms of reference are concise, this should encourage submissions that focus on potential outcomes and solutions, as well as improve understanding of an issue. It is also important to phrase terms in a balanced and neutral way, so as to not favour a certain viewpoint or pre-empt a conclusion.

Although terms of reference serve as a guide for the direction of an inquiry, committees are not bound by them. A committee may decide to pursue a different angle to the inquiry after receiving evidence or following a policy announcement.

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**CASE STUDY**

**TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE UK MODERN SLAVERY INQUIRY**

Three years after the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015 came into force, the UK Home Affairs Committee issued a call for evidence when looking into what progress has been made and what remains to be done since its enactment.

“The Committee invites written evidence on, but not limited to, the following issues:

- The current scale and nature of modern slavery
- The impact of the Modern Slavery Act 2015
- How to increase understanding and reporting of modern slavery offences
- The impact of ‘county lines’ [a term used to describe drug trafficking into rural areas and towns], and how this issue can be tackled
- What success in tackling modern slavery would look like, and what benchmarks should be used to measure progress
- Current levels of support for victims, and how it can be improved
- How the police and immigration system’s response to modern slavery offences could be improved
- What the priorities for the new Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner should be.”

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**LESSONS FROM THE AUSTRALIA MODERN SLAVERY ACT**

Parliamentarians who have led in support of strong legislative responses have largely had to do so without extensive detailed country data. They have relied upon victim testimony and the evidence of police and civil society groups to reveal the truth of the reality of over 40 million people. Experience has shown that by exposing these issues, public awareness and increased reporting begin to uncover the true extent of the exploitation.

**The Making of the Australian Act**

The Australian Parliament’s passing of the Modern Slavery Act in December 2018 was an example of individual parliamentarians and the Parliament operating at their best.

By 2017 a small number of MPs had begun to realise that forms of modern-day slavery existed within Australia and in the supply chains of our businesses. The predominant thinking had been, as is the case in many countries, that modern slavery existed in other countries but not our own.

The concerned MPs began to champion the enactment of an Australian Modern Slavery Act. This led to what would become a year-long parliamentary inquiry probing a broad range of issues that included victim experiences, their need for support, law enforcement responses, victim compensation and requirement on large businesses to examine and report on the risk of modern slavery in their domestic and international supply chains.

As the public parliamentary inquiry progressed and public debate and media coverage increased the Government and Opposition were both prompted to update their Party policy positions.

The Government, conscious of Australia’s reliance on business supply chains in high risk industries within Asia and Africa, began to grapple with the role of business in combating modern slavery. It commenced its own processes of parallel government consultations focused solely on the business reporting requirement which led to draft legislation.

At the conclusion of their Inquiry, the parliamentary committee released their unanimous, bipartisan report. That report provided a comprehensive chronicle of the experience of modern slavery in Australia and laid out an agenda for the Federal Government to vastly improve its legislative and policy responses.

While the Modern Slavery Act was centred on introducing the business supply chain reporting measure, some of the other Committee recommendations are being implemented administratively and both major parties are
committed to further action, particularly in response to a legislated review of the Act mandated for three years from the date of its passage.

Lessons from the Experience
There were many important lessons from the experience of the development of the Australian Modern Slavery Act for all of those involved.

Australian Society
There was very little public awareness in Australia of the existence or extent of modern-day slavery prior to the instigation of the Parliamentary Inquiry. The commitment of the committee members to consult widely, to engage with all sectors of Australian society - victims, police, the legal profession, universities, civil society groups, business, farmers and international organisations - produced great dividends.

The parliamentary process yielded a national conversation on the issue. It also confirmed that the extent of exploitation was severely under-represented in official statistics and that our society was failing its obligation to resident victims and those enslaved overseas who are making our clothes, food and manufactured goods. The learning for MPs, the media, policy makers, business and members of the public was transformational. The authors believe that an outcome of the parliamentary process, almost as important as the Act, was the raising of public awareness of the issues and the acceptance of the role business must play in eliminating this crime.

Business
Australian business, like business the world over, are wary of increased government regulation of their activities. Additional government reporting requirements are generally resisted by business as an unwelcome cost imposition. For some businesses this was their first reaction to the idea of being required to examine, report, and remediate the risks of modern slavery occurring in their supply chains. However, many large leading businesses recognised their responsibility for human rights in their supply chain and welcomed leadership and direction from Government on how to manage their exposure to modern slavery.

WHAT ARE THE BUSINESS SUPPLY CHAIN REPORTING MEASURES IN THE MODERN SLAVERY ACT (2018)?

“"This Act requires entities based, or operating, in Australia, which have an annual consolidated revenue of more than AU$100 million, to report annually on the risks of modern slavery in their operations and supply chains, and actions to address those risks. Other entities based, or operating, in Australia may report voluntarily.

The Commonwealth is required to report on behalf of non-corporate Commonwealth entities, and the reporting requirements also apply to Commonwealth corporate entities and companies with an annual consolidated revenue of more than $100 million.

Reports are kept by the Minister in a public repository known as the Modern Slavery Statements Register. Statements on the register may be accessed by the public, free of charge, on the internet.”

– Modern Slavery Act (2018), page 3

The Government and many parliamentarians completely underestimated the willingness of many businesses to accept their responsibilities for helping eliminate modern slavery. Political timidity born of fear of strong negative business reactions proved unwarranted and leading businesses and the Business Council of Australia publicly supported legislation.

By engaging business early and being open and available, the Parliamentary Committee was able to create a sense of common purpose and a search for practical outcomes which prevented the development of the all too familiar battle lines between civil society and business.

Non-Government Organisations
Whilst the Parliamentary Inquiry into establishing a Modern Slavery Act marked the first direct formal consideration of a corporate reporting requirement, many non-government organisations had been active on this issue, lobbying and advocating over several years.

During their preparation and drafting of submissions to the Inquiry, civil society displayed a coordinated, mature and pragmatic approach to achieving real progress.

Their consolidated efforts in support of a broadly agreed agenda meant that the Government and Parliament were responding to a very clear and widely supported proposition. The coalition of groups in which the authors participated included NGOs, businesses, trade unions, and academic researchers.

There was, of course, some diversity in priorities and policy views among the groups, but the core agenda was articulated by all and there was a determination, almost without exception, to ensure that the perfect wasn’t the enemy of the good.

A positive outcome of the parliamentary and Government consultation processes was the development of a much more sophisticated understanding by civil society actors of the challenge businesses confront in successfully identifying exploitation that exists in their complex supply chains and then achieving good outcomes for those workers.

Parliamentarians
The development of the Modern Slavery Act was a tremendous exemplar of the capacity for a small group of MPs to develop and drive a policy agenda that led to major bipartisan legislation. At the commencement of their work and the Parliamentary Inquiry, the mainstream parties were not seriously focussed or engaged on the issue of modern slavery.

The parliamentary inquiry processes introduced other MPs to the issues and built understanding and commitment within the Parliament. The committee members consulted widely and made themselves available to civil society and business to discuss the issues, hear concerns and draw out solutions in a collaborative manner. The MPs developed their proposals in a consensual manner and the Committee Report was unanimous. While the parliamentary debate saw disagreement over some proposed amendments the debate progressed in a positive manner with MPs unwilling to undermine the essential agreed aspects of the Bill.

Conclusion
The bipartisan approach of the leading parliamentarians has driven both business and civil society, as well as political parties, to adopt a similarly constructive approach to an issue over which there can be no moral disagreement.

Apart from the strong response across the Parliament to fighting modern slavery, one of the most striking lessons of the process has been the reaffirmation of the power of individual MPs to lead their community, their colleagues and the government to achieve human rights advances.
Publicising the Call for Evidence

Once the terms of reference have been agreed, a committee can launch the inquiry by publishing and publicising the call for evidence.

In order to ensure all stakeholders are aware of calls for evidence, and have the opportunity to respond, committees in the UK use different social media platforms, as well as mainstream newspapers and radio, and send calls directly to relevant individuals or organisations.

Committees should set a deadline for receiving evidence, in order to keep their workload manageable – in the UK this is typically between four to six weeks from publication of the call, which gives those submitting evidence time to prepare high-quality responses. Submissions are also usually limited to approximately 3,000 words to ensure that submitters focus on the most important issues.

Committees typically consider written submissions and oral evidence given, although other forms such as visits or outreach events may be considered in order to hear from those working directly on the issues and engage a wider audience.

Assessing Written Evidence

Written evidence helps committees to understand which specific issues the inquiry will need to examine in more depth as well as the range of opinions there are about the topic. In order to ensure transparency in the inquiry process, it is also standard practice for committees to publish any written evidence received.

In assessing the evidence, committee staff must consider its usefulness by examining aspects such as the source, potential biases and how authoritative they are on the subject; its robustness and whether it is based on opinion or fact; its relevance to the terms of reference or any new issues raised that the inquiry should consider; and the balance of views received.

Once assessed, written evidence should be referred to throughout an inquiry and in the final report. In many cases, evidence is referred to directly however, where it is paraphrased, this must be done carefully in order not to misrepresent the information provided. Evidence should also be properly referenced to allow readers to refer back to the source.

Oral Evidence Sessions

Another source of evidence used in inquiries are oral evidence sessions, during which people with expertise or a particular perspective on the topic, known as witnesses, are questioned by the committee. Hearing directly from individuals or organisations gives a committee the opportunity to scrutinise their evidence in more detail in a public forum.

In ensuring the most appropriate people are brought before the committee, staff should research and prepare a list of suggested witnesses. An effective witness would have knowledge on the issue, either as a representative of organisation or as someone with lived experience and be able to offer solutions to help inform the committee’s recommendations. Witnesses should also be diverse in their views and backgrounds so that the committee receives balanced evidence.

In the UK, it is common for committees to also hear evidence from the Minister with responsibility for the inquiry focus, giving the Government an opportunity to respond to the evidence gathered.

Witness sensitivities and effective approaches in Oral Evidence Sessions

Although hearings are typically public, committees may need to consider certain sensitivities, particularly when speaking with people with lived experience of modern slavery-related crimes:

- Evidence may need to be heard in private
- Additional considerations for a committee could include anonymising evidence to protect the identities of witnesses
- Working closely with specialist organisations to ensure the right support is in place for survivor testimony
- Adapting the inquiry’s media strategy to respond to the needs of witnesses who are survivors

The effectiveness of an evidence session is also reliant on the questioning techniques employed by the committee. Members are able to use different styles of questioning to prompt different responses. For example, the use of open questions will lead to a longer answer whereas closed questions might prompt a yes or no answer, both of which can be useful depending on what the member intends to draw out.

Considering the type of witness before the committee is also important in deciding which approach to take. This is especially important when questioning survivors as they may shut down or give incomplete answers because of trauma. Preparing possible follow-up and supplementary questions by anticipating possible answers would also allow a committee to clear up any inconsistencies identified or explore a response in more detail.
ENGAGING STAKEHOLDERS WHEN GATHERING EVIDENCE

Senator Muhammad Javed Abbasi
Senate of Pakistan

Whilst Chair of the Standing Committee on Law and Justice, we were tasked with scrutinising a Bill proposing to raise the minimum age at which children can work, from 14 to 16. I was of the belief that in this process it would be important to hear the views of not just other politicians but also members of the public and others who would be affected by any changes.

We held public hearings across the country, in which I would explain the Bill, why it had been proposed, as well the potential benefits and consequences of this. In attendance were representatives of civil society, lawyers, trade organisations, NGOs and journalists, who also participated in debates and contributed their position on the Bill.

The impact of hearing from the public and stakeholders was wide-ranging; the public welcomed being consulted, we were able to gather views to inform the Committee's scrutiny and enhance the legitimacy of the Committee's final recommendations. I wanted to go to the public to mobilise support and convince them of my Bill, because if the public are on side, then I knew the Bill was likely to pass.
COMMITTEE FOLLOW UP

Follow up is often one of the most effective scrutiny tools available to a committee. It can ensure that following the publication of a report, its findings are acted upon. It is vital that a committee is consistent with the long-term follow up, ensuring government progresses in implementing any accepted recommendations.

There are several tools that committees are able to employ for this, namely through consistent correspondence with the relevant ministry through published letters seeking clarifications and pushing important points, holding follow up evidence sessions and reporting on the new evidence heard, and even considering the subject for a future inquiry focusing on one particular area.

Continued collaboration with relevant stakeholders will also ensure that as a parliamentarian engaged in tackling modern slavery, they are up-to-date with trends in exploitation, and that they are best using the expertise of those directly involved who can inform policy development and legislative implementation more widely.

Ensuring a clear follow-up plan can help in all of this, as well as securing the necessary resources are set aside for this work.

CASE STUDY

PRE-LEGISLATIVE SCRUTINY OF THE UK MODERN SLAVERY BILL

Appointed to scrutinise the Government’s draft legislation in 2014, the Joint Committee on the Draft Modern Slavery Bill received evidence from lawyers, researchers and NGOs working in the field – looking specifically at its likely effectiveness, the contribution it would make to tackling modern slavery and proposals for alternative wording.

The Minister for Modern Slavery and Organised Crime provided oral evidence, and this was followed up with further details from the UK Home Office, the department responsible for tackling modern slavery, on statistics cited.

The Committee’s report recommended specific changes to the draft legislation, alongside reasoning for these proposals and included a text of the revised Bill to illustrate the ways in which these recommendations might be translated into the piece of legislation. The UK Government accepted many of the recommendations made, and the Bill was amended accordingly before being introduced.
Post-Legislative Scrutiny
In the UK, a review of legislation typically occurs between three to five years since the legislation has come into effect.

The formal process for reviewing laws is initiated through a government produced memorandum for the relevant committee. This would normally cover information on the provisions of the Act brought into operation, provisions which had not been brought into force, explaining why not; guidance documents or other relevant material connected with the Act; legal or drafting difficulties of public concern; and a short preliminary assessment of how the Act has worked out in practice.

It is upon the basis of this memorandum that a committee may decide to conduct an inquiry on any issue they think may need to face parliamentary scrutiny.

Legislative scrutiny is commonly conducted during the course of an inquiry into a broader policy area, with the relevant committee examining the principles of the proposed legislation or enacted law, rather than under a separate post-legislative workstream. The terms of reference for an inquiry may refer to the committee’s interest in the effectiveness of legislation and this could also be incorporated into the inquiry at any stage.

CASE STUDY

POST-LEGISLATIVE REVIEW OF THE MODERN SLAVERY ACT

Vince Connelly MP
Member, House of Representatives
Parliament of Australia

The Modern Slavery Act 2018 requires the Australian Government to conduct a review three years after the Act came into force in order to determine how the Act is operating, identify issues with compliance, as well as whether it should be amended or reviewed further.

When conducting a post-legislative review, it would be important for me to meet with relevant stakeholders - the ones that are impacted by the legislation. In our case this would include Australian Government agencies, which would be easy, and NGOs, which could become more difficult as they are not obliged to meet.

Meeting with international stakeholders and people at the other end of the supply chain might almost be impossible unless you go and visit on the ground where the practices we are looking at occur.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO SCRUTINY

Professor Baroness Lola Young of Hornsey OBE
Member, UK House of Lords

Peers in the UK House of Lords, the upper house of the UK Parliament, are able to establish ad-hoc committees, tasked with considering a specific issue to look into a particular subject and normally dissolved once they have reported. These are however limited to only a few committees at any one time, and so in managing this constraint I have adopted alternative approaches to ensure effective means of scrutinising the modern slavery agenda.

All-Party Parliamentary Groups
One such way is through all-party parliamentary groups. I co-chair the Sport, Modern Slavery and Human Rights APPG. In this we hold hearings, gather written evidence and produce reports. One benefit of this model is that it is not dependent on Government to conduct its work.

Hosting Roundtable Discussions
Additionally, creating opportunities to host roundtables, which encourage people working in different sectors to think about the provisions of the Act has proved useful. I have held roundtables looking at demands of the legislation concerning transparency in supply chains in particular, and how businesses can move beyond compliance with the Act, towards a more holistic approach.

Having such discussions also supports the case in my dialogue with ministers, in that it opens up the profile of the issue as I am able to say I have spoken to a number of people on this, and I am not just doing my own thing.

As a peer who sits independently of any political party, I do not have many formal structures to work with, meaning I have to create them. In some senses this is advantageous because it means I can design things that I think will work but it does also mean working out how I will resource these initiatives.

As part of the UK House of Commons knowledge-exchange efforts, a practical handbook on ‘Guidance on the UK Committee System’ is available by request. For more information, please email CPA UK: cpauk@parliament.uk
REVIEWS

Rt Hon. Baroness Butler-Sloss GBE
Member, UK House of Lords

When an important piece of legislation has been passed by Parliament it is useful to consider how effective it has been and the extent to which changes to it are required. The UK Modern Slavery Act 2015 was an entirely new piece of legislation with major new sections, although it also incorporated earlier individual sections of previous Acts. After four years, in 2019, the Home Secretary asked three members of the UK Parliament to review the 2015 Act.

In setting up a review of legislation, the reviewers should seek to establish by written and oral evidence how far the provisions of the Act have been applied; how successful they have been; where are the gaps; and to what extent the Act should be improved to carry out the intentions of the legislation.

The review should focus on the most important parts of the Act and not seek to range too widely. The review team should ask a wide selection of stakeholders for written evidence. That should include, where appropriate, judges, lawyers and police on the criminal issues. Government departments and local Governments should be involved and the non-governmental organisations who help victims.

If there is a requirement in the Act for business to be regulated, then businesses should be asked to provide evidence, as should any other groups that are involved in aspects of the Act. It may not be necessary to have oral evidence except where the written evidence may not be sufficiently clear. It is important that the review does not become bogged down. It should be presented to parliament or to the government department which organised it within 6 to 9 months, otherwise it may be overtaken by other events and consequently less useful.

For the review to be listened to and, if possible, acted upon by Government, it is essential that the members of the review team are senior, well regarded and well respected. In principle, they should be Members of Parliament of different political parties. A team of three seems the ideal number with, if possible, at least two members with previous knowledge of the subject.

“For the review to be listened to and, if possible, acted upon by Government, it is essential that the members of the review team are senior, well regarded and well respected. In principle, they should be Members of Parliament of different political parties.”

The review team does not require large resources. It needs an efficient secretariat, preferably paid for by government but acting independently to the requirements of the review team. Members of the review team should not expect to be remunerated and only get modest expenses. Oral evidence should be kept to the minimum thereby reducing the expenses of witnesses.

The review team should make recommendations which are moderate and recognise the limitations of parliamentary time, potential adequacy of resources to carry out their proposals and how far the government can be persuaded to implement them. Some recommendations may be capable of being implemented without primary legislation, either by subsidiary legislation or by statutory guidance. Changes to primary legislation are obviously more difficult to achieve.

During the review process, public engagement and transparency in the matter should be considered. Transparent review activities such as public committee hearings, public consultation and the report produced at the end of the overall review should be, if possible, openly accessible by the public to enhance credibility of the review and its findings.

The review team must not, however, relax after presenting their review. They should keep up the pressure in Parliament and with ministers to achieve the implementation of the most important changes they consider necessary. They may have to be patient but should not give up the pressure. From my experience, the effort will be worthwhile if they can see real improvements in subsequent legislation.

REVIEW CLAUSES

Before a bill’s passage into law, it could be useful to consider including a review clause in the bill to guarantee that an Act or certain parts of it will face parliamentary scrutiny on its implementation. The path a parliamentarian chooses to go down to ensure scrutiny of government implementation of legislation will depend on the different parliamentary systems. Exploring a mechanism of accountability in which the government commits to provide information to parliament makes clear what the expectations from the process are between parliaments and executives. With such information, parliamentary committees can then decide to launch inquiries or review legislation or provisions.
CASE STUDY

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW OF THE UK MODERN SLAVERY ACT

In June 2018, I was invited by the then Prime Minister Theresa May to chair a review into the effectiveness of the 2015 UK Modern Slavery Act, along with Maria Miller MP and Baroness Butler-Sloss. Four years before, I had lobbied for a Modern Slavery bill and then chaired the scoping inquiry on what that bill should contain and the Joint Select Committee of both the Houses of Lords and Commons when we had a draft bill to consider. I had worked with Baroness Butler-Sloss on these previous inquiries, but Maria Miller MP was a new and incredibly valuable addition, making us a truly cross-party team.

We were invited to consider particular provisions in the Act: the role of the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner, transparency in supply chains provisions, Independent Child Trafficking Advocates, and the Act’s legal application. To assist with our review, the UK Home Office seconded a secretariat to us, but because we were keen to ensure our independence from the Government, we also invited a former clerk from the House of Commons to attend our weekly meetings and scrutinise the work of that secretariat.

Collaboration and inclusion: the role of expert advisors
To collect evidence, we employed expert advisers who were best positioned to assess the lay of their land as seen from their respective specialist areas. The areas were: civil society, faith groups, parliamentarians, the criminal justice system, the international community, the business community, (from which we received a submission for our report on supply chains), and one advisor made a most important submission on the role of child trafficking advocates, based on his evaluation of this service for the Government.

These advisors received evidence through a combination of roundtables, inviting specific individuals or organisations to give written or oral evidence and open calls for written submissions. The six main advisors then drew up reports on each of the four themes, and we met with them individually to discuss their findings. This process allowed us to work to a tight timescale, as we were given from July 2018 to March 2019 to complete the Review, and instead of being inundated with submissions, we heard from those with the greatest expertise and experience.

After considering the reports presented by the expert advisors, we then produced our own four interim reports, with a series of recommendations to the government in each. The total 80 recommendations for improving and strengthening the Act then formed the core of our final report, which was submitted to the Government on 30 March 2019.

To raise awareness of our work amongst MPs and to pressure the Government to give us a timely and positive response, I hosted a Westminster Hall debate on our report and was delighted by the number of thoughtful contributions made by fellow MPs.

Applying continued scrutiny
Thankfully the Government accepted the majority of our recommendations. But acceptance on paper is very different from enforcement in reality, and, therefore, Maria Miller MP, Baroness Butler-Sloss and I decided to continue working together as an ‘implementation group’, to check on the Government’s progress in acting on our recommendations. We are doing this through writing to ministers and tabling parliamentary questions, continuing to campaign for those recommendations which were not accepted by the Government but which we consider to be especially important, and bringing to light other issues relating to the Modern Slavery Act which were not included in our review.

As soon as the Government response was received, we began work on a follow-up inquiry, looking at trafficking for sexual exploitation. We have set up our own secretariat to replace the one seconded to us from the Home Office to support the Act’s review. I imagine this will be the first of a series of similar inquiries as we learn of areas which require urgent action from the Government on modern slavery which need to be remedied.

Along the way, it is vital that we engage with the media as press and TV coverage is the most effective way to raise awareness and concern amongst the general public, and that concern is vital if we are both to identify victims of modern slavery and end the demand for products and services which are entangled with this most heinous form of exploitation.
ROLE OF A PARLIAMENTARIAN AS AN EXPERT ADVISOR TO A REVIEW

Professor Baroness Lola Young of Hornsey OBE
Member, UK House of Lords

The Independent Review of the UK's Modern Slavery Act (2015) was a timely assessment of the application of the Act since its passage into law. I was invited to be an Expert Advisor (EA) by the Independent Review, along with a colleague, John Studzinski, to consult with key stakeholders concerned with Section 54 of the Act on Transparency in Supply Chains (TISC). We were not, however, confined to TISC as the EA’s terms of reference enabled us to go wider than this specific area, if we chose to do so. One of the areas in which I am most interested is the potential of bringing public bodies within the scope of Section 54 of the Act, and consulting on this subject was also part of our remit.

My role of EA involved participating in and prompting discussions on specific areas of interest. Several different workshops and consultation meetings were held at various venues and a remarkable consensus on the key issues emerged. For example, concerns about the operation of Section 54 provisions were frequently expressed relating to the quality of businesses’ supply chain reporting; there was a widespread feeling that the nature of the content of modern slavery reporting should be mandated by law; many felt that the threshold for companies to come in scope of the Act should be set lower to be more inclusive; and there was vocal support for the establishment of a central registry. In short, our task was to examine the clarity, scope and effectiveness of the Act as it stands.

So that the Independent Review would be as comprehensive as possible, the consultation process included a wide range of stakeholders: we worked with various business/industrial sectors, civil society, trades unions, NGOs and consultants with experience working in the TISC sector.

The organisation of the meetings was undertaken by a secretariat comprising a small group of people, originally Home Office officials but for the purpose of this exercise, they moved out of their building and operated as an independent unit for the duration of the Review.

All the areas we looked at during the consultation process were included in the final report in the form of recommendations that were submitted to the three parliamentarians under whose auspices the Independent Review took place. A major part of their role was to ensure that each section of the report was consistent in tone and format with the others. It wouldn't have been an effective report if the section on which we worked was different in format and tone to that of, for example, the section on the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner’s role. The report was then sent to the Home Office as a draft submission. The Government response to most sections of the report overall was largely positive. Last year, the Government put some of the recommendations out for further, wider consultation, and a good number of written responses were submitted. We await publication of the results and the Government’s conclusions however, the process was interrupted by the dissolution of parliament and a general election.

Participation in the Independent Review as an EA was a very important process in which to be involved. To carry out such a role, there is a need to check any impulse to steer conversations towards the outcome you desire. Of course, I had a strong set of views about what should happen to improve the effectiveness of Section 54 of the Modern Slavery Act, however I understood my role as one to listen to what participant stakeholders were saying during the course of the consultation process. I was invited to participate in the Independent Review because of the experience and knowledge I have gained by listening, building trust, and developing close working relationships in this area of work.

What I would hope is that the Government will seriously consider the recommendations and publish a strategy to strengthen the Modern Slavery Act. Such a strategy may include primary legislation, but it doesn’t have to – statutory instruments, Home Office guidance, further reviews and consultations in the future, participation in conferences and seminars – all these tactics may be employed as part of an iterative process, involving policy-makers, business sectors, legislators and other key stakeholders to look at how modern slavery legislation is being implemented and, when necessary, identify where modifications are needed. It is also important to pay attention to what is happening internationally regarding modern slavery as a source of inspiration and learning, so that all jurisdictions can build on what works elsewhere. Australia is an excellent example of this way of working; their Modern Slavery Act entered the statute books in 2018.

“What I was invited to participate in the Independent Review because of the experience and knowledge I have gained by listening, building trust, and developing close working relationships in this area of work.”

Professor Baroness Lola Young OBE shares with parliamentary colleagues from the Asia-Pacific during a CPA UK workshop
The World Trade Organization estimates that Government procurement accounts for an average of 15% or more of a country’s GDP. This provides a valuable opportunity to harness this spending power to improve conditions for workers and reduce risks of exploitation in public sector supply chains. Public bodies often share the same supply chains as business and therefore often exposed to the same risks of modern slavery as those within the private economy. Parliamentarians can play an important role in encouraging public bodies to mitigate modern slavery risks by taking a long-term targeted approach to human rights due diligence.

It’s important that public bodies receive guidance and support because of how complex modern supply chains are. The UK has launched range of resources to support public bodies:

1. The Cabinet Office has published a Procurement Policy Note (PPN) and guidance which sets out how UK Government departments must take action to ensure modern slavery risks are identified and managed in government supply chains.
2. The Modern Slavery Assessment Tool, which UK public sector organisations can use with their suppliers to identify and assess modern slavery risks through an interactive questionnaire that provides suppliers with tailored recommendations on how to improve their anti-slavery practices. Public bodies can then work with their suppliers to decide what recommendations to take forward and provide implementation support.
3. The Chartered Institute of Procurement & Supply e-learning on Ethical Procurement and Supply provides introductory training on modern slavery and other ethical procurement issues.
4. Home Office guidance on producing a modern slavery statement, including good practice and links to further information.

The UK published the first Government Modern Slavery Statement which set out the steps taken by central government to use these resources and make sure our supply chains become more resilient to modern slavery: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/uk-government-modern-slavery-statement.

We are also taking steps to use Government procurement opportunities to incentivise responsible business conduct and help level the playing field. In April 2020, the Government will extend the requirements of the Social Value Act to ensure major procurements in central Government explicitly evaluate social value (such as how a bidder is reducing modern slavery risks), and placing a minimum weighting of 10% for social value.

To drive this forward internationally, the UK launched the ‘Principles to Combat Human Trafficking in Global Supply Chains’ with the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand at the UN General Assembly in September 2018. These Principles commit governments to implementing a range of measures that help address modern slavery in global supply chains, including taking steps to prevent and address human trafficking in Government procurement practices. The UK encourages other governments to use the Principles as a framework to prioritise action to tackle modern slavery in supply chains.
CHAPTER TWO:
ROLE OF THE
PARLIAMENTARIAN IN RAISING
AWARENESS OF
MODERN SLAVERY, HUMAN
TRAFFICKING AND FORCED
LABOUR ISSUES

Photo credit: Lisa Kristine photography / The Human Thread Foundation

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Raising awareness of modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour is an essential component of the fight against it. Parliamentarians can leverage their unique positions within their legislatures and in their constituencies.

Within parliament, individual parliamentarians can participate in and stage debates on modern slavery and pose oral and written questions to the executive. Cooperation with fellow MPs on a cross-party basis is also essential, whether through the formation of All-Party Political Groups or the organisation of educational workshops designed to equip parliamentarians with the necessary tools and knowledge. It is also vital that parliamentarians engage with external actors, which can include MPs from other countries, national rapporteurs, civil society, NGOs and academics, the latter of whom can often provide vital expertise.

Working collaboratively with external stakeholders is even more important when it comes to parliamentarians raising awareness in their constituencies. Whilst the individual actors will differ according to context, parliamentarians should engage with law enforcement agencies, local governments, businesses, trade unions and civil society, including victim support organisations. In doing so, they will be better equipped to advise constituents, including those who may be directly impacted by modern slavery crimes.

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I. GAINING SUPPORT AND RAISING AWARENESS IN PARLIAMENT

PARLIAMENTARY MECHANISMS TO RAISE AWARENESS OF MODERN SLAVERY

One of the key roles of a parliamentarian is to ensure that what the government says and what it does correspond. It is vital that legislators are ready and able to monitor the passage of legislation, but also follow a law once it has passed to ensure that it is fulfilling the ambitions of the government.

There are a number of ways in which parliamentarians can undertake these duties, including: oral and written questions; the securing of debates in the main chamber or supporting debating chambers; and using parliamentary groupings on a cross-party basis to demonstrate that issues, such as modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour go beyond party political divides.

By using oral and written questions to the executive, the legislature will be able to uncover failings and successes within laws. These can be used to pass supporting legislation which can tackle the inadequacies identified. The use of information, and the exchange of it, between all actors involved will greatly improve the chances of ending modern slavery-related crimes.

Uncovering the questions that need to be asked of a government is key for securing answers that shine light on any potential issues contained within the executive’s policies. The best way of creating the probing questions is to work collaboratively with external bodies. Non-government organisations are key in this role.

Throughout all of this it is vital that the executive gives clear answers and commitments. The chances of this are improved if a cross-party approach can be achieved. Although different parties may vary on the route to ending modern slavery-related crimes, many, if not all, will agree with the destination. A unified method of questioning will improve the outcomes.

“The best way of creating the probing questions is to work collaboratively with external bodies. Non-government organisations are key in this role.”

Case Study

COLLABORATIVE APPROACHES BETWEEN CIVIL SOCIETY AND PARLIAMENT FOR VICTIM SUPPORT IN KENYA

Stop the Traffick Kenya (STTK) is an NGO coalition established for the purpose of promoting collaboration among counter-trafficking stakeholders. STTK brings together individuals, NGOs and private sector to address the issue of human trafficking. One of the things that we recognised as vital before working with the Kenyan Parliament was developing our own strategy. This involved mapping out our needs, strengths and cross-cutting issues where the parliament would be helpful. We identified several ways that the MPs could be able to assist, and the areas of collaboration identified included: 1) awareness creation, 2) policy development and 3) advocacy.

We decided to start with advocacy because we felt that it was the low hanging fruit. However, it was agreed that an overall STTK advocacy strategy would help us in engaging with the parliamentarians from a point of knowledge. We also agreed that it would be important for one of us to do research on the current parliament to understand how it operates so that we were more effective by ensuring that we knew how to engage with the MPs.

One of the things that we found out immediately was that working with a caucus might be the most impactful approach to take for us because membership of the caucus was voluntary and the specific issues that the MPs represented in those caucuses, they believed in quite firmly. We chose to work with the SDG caucus because we felt that communicating modern slavery as an SDG issue would benefit both the MPs who thought the SDGs were important and NGOs that also were quite keen on the realization of the SDGs. We organised meetings with MPs and saw that our respective goals were quite similar, but our tools and ways of operation were different.

We agreed to prioritise one issue and work with the MPs to ensure that they had the information that they needed to be able to address modern slavery and its related issues on the floor of the House. We helped them draft a question that was to be asked on the floor of parliament by addressing Kenya’s commitment to the realisation of the SDGs and its failure to implement policy that addressed the issue of human trafficking. Our work with the parliament led to the following:

1. The government appointed and announced the names of the members of the Advisory Committee
2. The government validated the guidelines of the Counter-trafficking in Persons Act and Victims Trust Fund
3. The government appointed and announced the names of the members of the Victims Trust Fund Board.

The main goal for advocacy has been to see that the operationalisation of the Victims Trust Fund happens very soon and all the above were steps that needed to be accomplished to fulfill that. There are benefits to working with parliament because they have the ability to hold the government accountable in a way that NGOs cannot. The discovery that our goals align and it is only the ways of operation that are different, made working together easy.
WORKING ON A CROSS-PARTY BASIS

Vince Connelly MP
Member, House of Representatives
Parliament of Australia

The level of support in the Parliament of Australia for a Modern Slavery Act was considerable and encouraging – nobody disagreed that modern slavery was an egregious human rights abuse and that lawmakers had a responsibility to act. However, a plurality of views existed over the form and content of the potential legislation. Under such circumstances, reaching consensus can be a challenge.

Differences of opinion over the Act’s effectiveness were significant and difficult to reconcile, particularly where there was no obvious middle ground. For example, many considered that the law would be ‘toothless’ without provisions for civil or criminal penalties for non-compliance. Others believed that penalties would create a disincentive for companies to take anything more than a token look at their global supply chains.

Some wanted the definition of a ‘reporting entity’ to be risk rather than revenue based, and some wanted the revenue threshold lower, and others higher. Some wanted an independent statutory officer, while others supported the modern slavery engagement unit that was eventually created under law.

Members and Senators from all parties were able to participate in the committee review process and make sure that all arguments were heard and considered. This assisted in building a consensus and the Bill was ultimately passed into law.

The requirement for a statutory review of the effectiveness of the legislation was included in the law and these provisions were subsequently strengthened by amendment to specifically include consideration of the most contentious issues. This created the future opportunity for parliament to reconsider and debate these provisions with at least two years of reporting evidence.

The story of the Modern Slavery Act is an exemplar of the Westminster parliamentary system methodically dealing with contentious and complex issues. It shows how parliamentarians are central in ensuring the initial case for action is made, that momentum is built and that positive outcomes then emerge.
THE POWER OF CROSS-PARTY EFFORTS TO COMBAT MODERN SLAVERY: SETTING UP A MODERN SLAVERY ALL-PARTY PARLIAMENTARY GROUP IN CANADA

Arnold Viersen MP
Member of Parliament, Canada

In Canada, the overwhelming majority of human trafficking victims are female and young. While those who are most at-risk include Indigenous women and youth, we know that anyone can become a victim of human trafficking. It is an issue that affects every corner of our vast country.

As a Canadian Member of Parliament working to combat human trafficking, I began to notice the success of the UK’s All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Human Trafficking and Modern Slavery in combating human trafficking and changing laws. After meeting with members of the UK’s APPG in 2017, it was clear that Canada would benefit from a similar cross-party association.

I started by identifying and building relationships with politicians in other political parties who shared a desire to combat human trafficking. Then in April of 2018, I led the launch of Canada’s APPG to End Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking with thirty-four Senators and Members of Parliament from across five political parties.

Our APPG is led by an executive committee comprised of four co-chairs, one from each official party in Parliament. Instead of the usual chair and vice-chairs, our goal is to lead the APPG by unified consensus.

The primary functions of the APPG are to:
• Ensure that the Government of Canada does all that it can to prevent and protect civilian populations from modern slavery, increase prosecution of traffickers, and build partnerships with various organisations;
• Increase the flow of information and analysis to parliamentarians about modern slavery;
• Promote understanding of the importance of long-term approaches to prevent slavery; and
• Engage in communication and collaboration with like-minded bodies in civil society and other parliaments in order to:
  1. Exchange information about strategies for the prevention of modern slavery;
  2. Work in conjunction with the United Nations, the International Criminal Court, and other organisations working in the field of slavery prevention.

During our first year, the APPG to End Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking has been quite active, including:
• Holding regular briefings for parliamentarians on modern slavery;
• Meeting with regional and national anti-human trafficking organizations;
• Providing monthly human trafficking news reports to our members; and
• Encouraging the federal government to take additional steps to combat human trafficking.

The activities of the APPG are supported by a partnership with the Allard School of Law’s International Justice and Human Rights Clinic at the University of British Columbia which has been developing legislation to prevent forced labour in supply chains and researching sex trafficking in indigenous communities. The APPG plans to introduce this supply chain legislation in the upcoming parliamentary session.

Modern day slavery and human trafficking is extremely profitable, and it’s growing in Canada and around the world. We believe that by working across party lines on such a critical issue, we can foster significant advances to end this horrific form of injustice across our country and abroad. In Canada, it’s making an impact.
If parliamentarians are to make a substantial contribution to the eradication of modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour, then being equipped with knowledge on the issues is paramount. In my role as a member of the National Assembly of Pakistan, I have taken it upon myself to build and expand my own knowledge of modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour so that I can be a credible champion on these issues. I have done this by seeking opportunities to attend workshops, conferences and trainings to learn about and represent modern slavery-related issues either related to Pakistan or on a more international level. Through my advocacy and awareness raising in the National Assembly of Pakistan, a group of concerned MPs has successfully come together, and through a commitment to regular meetings and dialogue, we have become focused on the importance of the education and awareness of other parliamentarians’ knowledge on modern slavery-related issues.

As I sit on the board of governors for the Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services (PIPS), the Parliament of Pakistan’s exclusive seat of learning, I have used my influence to seek a collaboration with them to begin the training and orientation of MPs, standing committees, civil society and government functionaries in issues of modern slavery, particularly bonded labour, Pakistan’s primary issue. PIPS will also work jointly with the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (IMPCD) based in Austria and will provide special insight into the intersection of modern slavery and migration. PIP’s services are also provided to the six provincial (state) legislatures in the country, and the idea I, along with my parliamentary colleagues, are working towards is to ensure these trainings are delivered to parliamentarians in provincial legislatures.

What I hope from championing this knowledge-building initiative is that it will support fellow MPs in their work on committees as they exercise parliamentary scrutiny of the Executive, as well as when they look at various legislative proposals to curb the menace of modern slavery. I also hope that it supports the fight against modern slavery locally; provincial parliamentary structures who are more connected to communities can play a vital role in supporting grassroots stakeholders and are a link to national-level parliament.

“Through my advocacy and awareness raising in the National Assembly of Pakistan, a group of concerned MPs has successfully come together, and through a commitment to regular meetings and dialogue, we have become focused on the importance of the education and awareness of other parliamentarians’ knowledge on modern slavery-related issues.”

National parliamentarians like myself are in a position to leverage their connections and influence to provide these opportunities for others to gain knowledge in the area. What is clear is that if parliamentarians, either national or local, are to make a substantial contribution to the eradication of modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour, then being equipped with appropriate knowledge on the issues specifically happening in their country will ensure that they can participate in the process as legitimate and effective actors, making important work such as awareness raising, collaborating and coalition building easier to achieve.

**Enhancing the knowledge of agencies: Bridging the legislation-implementation gap**

Equally, parliamentarians can play as vital a role in promoting the effective implementation of legislation, through engagement with those entities who are responsible for applying the law. One initiative that I have pursued is to bridge the gap between legislation and implementation with the Pakistan Federal Investigations Agency (FIA). I have used my knowledge of Pakistan’s current human trafficking laws: “The Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act, 2018” and “The Prevention of Smuggling of Migrants Acts, 2018” to conduct training sessions for officials in the FIA. The aim was to ensure that FIA officials understood the laws they were implementing and that they had the knowledge to correctly use their powers in cases they investigate. I gave special focus to the menace of bonded labour in these sessions given the relevance of this crime to the context of Pakistan.
CASE STUDY

COLLABORATING WITH EXPERTS: ORPHANAGE TRAFFICKING IN THE AUSTRALIAN MODERN SLAVERY ACT

Working collaboratively to end orphanage trafficking
In 2018, the Australian government was the first country in the world to recognise orphanage trafficking as a form of modern slavery. This recognition was made possible by a strong collaboration between Minister Linda Reynolds and ReThink Orphanages Australia, a network of organisations aiming to prevent the unnecessary institutionalisation of children by shifting the way Australia engages with aid and development.

The collaboration
My collaboration with Minister Reynolds began in 2015. Minister Reynolds had visited Cambodia with Save the Children Australia and become aware of how Australian volunteers and tourists were potentially contributing to unnecessary separation of children from their families through visiting and volunteering in orphanages. As an academic researching the issue of orphanage trafficking, I and others from ReThink Orphanages Australia met with the Minister to discuss the issue. The Minister expressed a great interest in working to curb orphanage trafficking and our mutual expertise formed the basis for a strong collaboration.

Since then, I have collaborated extensively with Minister Reynolds, both as part of ReThink Orphanages Australia and as an academic who specialises in orphanage trafficking. The collaboration has involved working with the Minister to identify relevant forums and opportunities to raise awareness of orphanage trafficking. A key forum was the Modern Slavery Inquiry in 2017 where the Inquiry Committee heard a full day of evidence on orphanage trafficking and associated issues for children without parental care which resulted in the Australian Government recognising orphanage trafficking as a form of modern slavery.

We have also worked with Minister Reynolds to approach government departments to address policy issues, to raise public awareness through events, and to discuss orphanage trafficking at international forums such as a CHOGM side event in 2018.

Impact of the collaboration
The impact of our collaboration has been wide ranging. Our biggest achievement thus far is the formal recognition of orphanage trafficking by the Australian Government. Orphanage trafficking was extensively considered as part of the Inquiry into whether Australia should have a Modern Slavery Act in 2017. In the final report, the Committee recommended that the Australian Government regard orphanage trafficking as a form of modern slavery. Subsequently, the Explanatory Memorandum to the Modern Slavery Bill in 2018 stipulated that child exploitation and trafficking to orphanages was considered a form of modern slavery for the purposes of the Modern Slavery Act 2018 (Cth). In addition, the Australian government has launched a Smart Volunteer campaign aimed at educating Australian tourists about the harms of volunteering in orphanages, has changed government aid funding guidelines to make orphanages ineligible, and has developed new External Conduct Standards for charities funding aid overseas which impacts orphanage funding.

While Minister Reynolds and I have achieved government recognition of orphanage trafficking, we continue to work on policy and legislative amendments in order to curb Australia’s potential participation in orphanage trafficking.

WHAT IS ORPHANAGE TRAFFICKING?
Orphanage trafficking is where children are recruited or transferred into orphanages, or institutional care, for the purpose of exploitation and profit. Orphanage trafficking is driven by foreign funding and volunteering. Traffickers often recruit children into orphanages by offering families an opportunity for their child to go to school, have access to medical care or the chance for a better future. Families accept these offers, believing that their child will have access to better opportunities in life. Once in an orphanage, tourists and volunteers come to visit and donate, creating an income stream for the organisation. Many orphanages are located in popular tourist destinations for this reason. Children may be kept in poor conditions in the orphanages in order to attract more sympathy and more funding. In some orphanages, children are kept out of school so that tourists may visit with them.
To tackle the transnational nature of human trafficking, parliamentarians should be considering what they can do to work regionally or internationally with other countries, especially countries that serve as destination countries which citizens are trafficked to. Recognising the link between migration and human trafficking is crucially important for parliamentarians to begin to engage in this work. In the Parliament of Bangladesh, I chair the Parliamentary Caucus on Migration and Development, which exists to advocate and protect the rights of Bangladeshi migrant workers. It is a serious issue in Bangladesh given that there are currently more than 10 million migrant workers who are overseas and often migrant workers are recruited into work where they end up in situations of exploitative or forced labour, they have no rights and their status is illegal.

A group of members from the caucus and I have already done some of this important work internationally to improve the situation of migrant workers in Bangladesh. Noting the need to connect and build relationships with parliaments abroad, we actively participate in the Migrants Forum of Asia to connect and build relationships with other parliaments on a bilateral basis. Through this forum, the caucus managed to establish a relationship with the Parliament of Malaysia, a country which a lot of Bangladeshi migrant workers travel to or are trafficked to. This connection led the caucus members to conduct a fact-finding mission to Malaysia in 2018, whose objective was to try to draw their attention to the illegality and exploitation of Bangladeshi workers in Malaysia. The trip engaged trade unions, lawyers and the Head of the Malaysia Human Rights Commission to discuss these issues. Any action of such kind conducted by parliamentarians should always consult with experts and consider the voice of stakeholders. Before the caucus travelled to Malaysia, it invited migration experts and campaigners for migrants’ rights to provide their suggestions for our negotiations and discussions.

The fact-finding mission produced some recommendations that we submitted to the Government. Among these was that the Government establish a dialogue with the Government of Malaysia to work to either regularise situations of exploitation and lack of access to rights. The Government was positive in their response, and 80% of migrant workers now have regular status.

The fundamental responsibility of parliamentarians is to serve their constituents and parliamentary groups such as the caucus is one that can drive change to free Bangladeshis from forms of slavery and exploitation abroad.

Justice and Care Bangladesh has been strongly and successfully advocating for effective prosecution supported by victim protection. We deem this central to fighting trafficking given that only 0.5% of cases in Bangladesh to date have resulted in conviction. 16 video conferences have been organised between Bangladesh authorities and Indian courts to record evidence from 16 repatriated victims in cross border prosecution cases which led to convictions in several cases in India. We, jointly with Ministry of Home Affairs, have taken up a project to increase the rate of convictions by improving prosecution processes in human trafficking cases.

Justice and Care Bangladesh was chosen by the Ministry of Home Affairs Bangladesh to serve as a member of the drafting and technical committee for the National Plan of Action (NPA) for Combating Human Trafficking. The main objective of this Committee was to align the anti-trafficking actions with the relevant Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) implemented by different ministries, so that the NPA could become an integral part of national development programmes. We focused the action plan on the dimensions most particularly needed for combating human trafficking including social awareness, victim protection and effective prosecution of human traffickers.

A parliamentarian’s involvement is significant to combat human trafficking as NPA-related development programmes under the SDGs are being implemented with their oversight, so engagement of parliamentarians will ensure efficacy of programmes. Parliamentarians can improve the prosecution process by creating a coordination forum to ensure accountability of stakeholders involved in the process. Political commitment is imperative to identify and prosecute the criminals who are often shielded by local political influence in constituencies prone to human trafficking. Parliamentarians in Bangladesh can play a particularly pivotal role in the implementation of the 19 activities planned in the NPA, in addition to programmes under the SDGs in their constituencies to reduce crime on a large scale.
Though Jamaica has fully adopted the definition of human trafficking in its national legislation as articulated in the Palermo Protocol, for many Jamaicans at all levels of society, there is still reluctance in believing that it is of any significance within the Jamaican context. As the National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons for Jamaica, it is my job to engage nationally with a wide range of stakeholders to drive forward efforts to tackle human trafficking and change this current mindset.

Working with parliament
Within the ambit of my role as Rapporteur, I report to the Jamaican Parliament on the scale and nature of human trafficking in Jamaica and to provide an assessment on the efforts that are being made to combat human trafficking. I do this through the tabling of an annual report to Parliament, and if necessary, any other effective means that shed light on the state of human trafficking in Jamaica. For example, in 2018, in addition to my annual report, I commissioned a research report on the Jamaican reality with regard to human trafficking which was entitled “The Underbelly of Human Trafficking: The Jamaican Reality 2018.”

Working with agencies
Though it is one of my main responsibilities to report on human trafficking to the Jamaican Parliament, the National Taskforce Against Trafficking in Persons (NATFATIP) is the lead multi-departmental government agency implementing anti-trafficking efforts in Jamaica. As National Rapporteur, I have the authority to obtain information from the Taskforce so that I can report on what the Taskforce does to ensure its various strategies are being pursued effectively and recommendations can be made, where relevant. The information that I learn through my work with the Taskforce allows me to be an advocate and increase awareness on human trafficking issues in Jamaica.

Working with stakeholders
The close relationship I keep with the Taskforce and other players is underpinned by a keenness and importance to collaborate. My office, the Office of the National Rapporteur for Trafficking in Persons (ONRTIP), has a consultative approach and invites participation in any focus groups or working committees that we may convene. In one such initiative, I led an inter-ministerial and sectoral working group, with the support of the British High Commission in Kingston, for the publication of a Human Trafficking Survivors’ Handbook – A Guide to Rights and Support Services in Jamaica. The information in this Handbook supports victims of trafficking along their path to recovery and healing through services they can access, informing them of their rights and tackling the stigma survivors of trafficking experience. The Handbook also incorporated contributions from an actual survivor of trafficking from Jamaica who was trafficked while she was a student in the United States of America.

While working on trafficking in persons across all stakeholders in Jamaica remains a work-in-progress, primarily because the relevance of trafficking in persons to Jamaica where with others it eludes them, it should not take away from the receptiveness of the Jamaican Parliament to make noteworthy legislative amendments, including:

- Extending prison sentences from 10 to 20 years;
- Granting the court the ability to award restitution to a victim;
- Awarding a role in sentencing to the prosecution where previously this was the purview of the judge and defence;
- Recognising debt bondage as a form of human trafficking; and
- Establishing a trafficking in persons shelter funded by the Government.

My office’s activities will continue to focus on efforts to inform, cooperate, advocate and raise awareness of human trafficking in Jamaica. Again, with the support and collaboration from the British High Commission, I am working towards the finalisation of a comprehensive capacity building e-learning tool for implementers working in the human trafficking space that features short comic book-type narratives that highlight different situations and illustrate how these may morph into trafficking. It is also currently being considered for roll out not only within Jamaica but also in the Caribbean as a region. My work also continues with Government; I am working closely with the Jamaican Minister for National Security to identify funding to be supplied by the Ministry of Finance for diverse anti-trafficking activities.

“My office’s activities will continue to focus on efforts to inform, cooperate, advocate and raise awareness of human trafficking in Jamaica.”
Enveloped in temperatures of 130 degrees, men, women, and children — whole families in fact — were cloaked in a heavy blanket of dust while mechanically stacking bricks on their heads — up to 18 at a time — carrying them from the scorching kilns to trucks hundreds of yards away. So pervasive was the heat and dust, my camera became too hot to touch and stopped working. I had to sprint back to our vehicle to clean my equipment and run the camera under the air conditioner every 20 minutes.

As I sat waiting for my equipment to cool, I thought: My camera is getting better treatment than these people.

Photo credit: Lisa Kristine photography / The Human Thread Foundation

Outside of the legislature, parliamentarians also need to use their positions within their local communities to raise awareness and support those who are facing modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour situations. This can be achieved in a number of different ways.

**Working with the police**

The most important is working closely with the local police services. Their knowledge and experience within constituencies ensures that elected representatives have access to information. When undertaking constituency duties, elected representatives may be approached by constituents who are vulnerable and in need of support. Helping them to connect to enforcement agencies is vital in the protection and preservation of resident’s rights and responsibilities.

**Working with local governments and civil society**

Modern slavery-related legislation should be all encompassing. This means that local government authorities should also hold some responsibilities towards their communities. Parliamentarians should be able to use their standing within their constituencies to highlight the need for action in areas covered by the laws enacted. Be it through discussions with local elected representatives, local civil servants or third sector bodies working with local government, a parliamentarian should be seeking out opportunities to raise their concerns.

**Speaking with constituents**

Many, if not all, parliamentarians will hold open advice surgeries for their constituents. This allows them to be approached by their electors to raise issues of concern. In some cases, constituents may indicate that they are faced with crimes of modern slavery or have suspicions of those committing modern slavery. In these situations, a parliamentarian should be ready and able to bring together police, local government and non-governmental organisations to help and support those affected.
GAINING A WIDER UNDERSTANDING LOCALLY

One of the powers of a parliamentarian is the power to convene. This is vital in gaining an understanding of modern slavery-related issues locally within one’s own constituency and it also helps raise the profile of the issue with a wider group of stakeholders.

In Bristol, that has meant hosting meetings on modern slavery with the business community alongside our police constabulary, non-governmental organisations, local government leaders and the voluntary sector. Who the most relevant stakeholders are, will, of course, be different in different jurisdictions, but the categories will almost always be the same. For an impactful local meeting, parliamentarians should look to engage:

1. Potential places of modern slavery: local businesses, supply chain leaders, trade unions
2. Modern slavery enforcement bodies: police and governmental agencies
3. Victim support organisations: voluntary sector and local authorities
4. Political and public leaders: councillors, mayors, other parliamentarians and the local media

Potential places of modern slavery
Trade union representatives will be able to share what work they do to ensure that workers are best represented and how supply chains are transparent, or not. Trade union officials are helpful in identifying businesses or sectors which prevent union organisation and, as such, reduce the transparency of their workforce supply. You might find, for example, that certain developments in your constituency are being built using umbrella organisations or contractors where proper checks are not being implemented. I, for example, met with Unite the Union in Bristol who were acting as the main union representatives in the construction of Hinckley Point C, Britain’s new nuclear power station. Union officials were able to illustrate day-to-day work on site and make the links to national construction and pay bargaining policy, to help me best represent my constituents both nationally in Westminster and in Bristol.

Modern slavery enforcement bodies
The police and government enforcement bodies can provide useful statistics and insights into enforcement actions, local sectors and current concerns about the landscape of modern slavery. You might find, for example, there are particular concerns in certain sectors – such as construction – in your local area. You can then use this information to speak directly to senior stakeholders in that sector. The Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority met with me in Westminster to brief me on their engagement with government about, for example, licensing of workplaces most at risk of human trafficking. I was able to use this information in promoting similar schemes locally in partnership with the police.

Victim support organisations
Victim support groups and the local authorities, where applicable, will know first-hand what the causes and places of modern slavery are within their geographical area of work. They will be able to give parliamentarians a vital insight into the effectiveness of government support programmes and processes and identify gaps that might need filling. You might find, for example, that the time it takes for identity papers to be issued which note the status of being a victim of modern slavery is longer than the time which support packages – such as housing and income support – are available. Unseen, the UK charity providing the national modern slavery hotline, is based in Bristol. This organisation also provides victim support on the ground, providing a unique insight into constituency-related matters as well as national trends. This was useful in informing the debate in the House of Commons about amendments to existing legislation to improve the processing of support for victims of modern slavery.

Political and public leaders
Political and public leaders are then crucial to giving wider impact to the issue. I, for example, had no idea of the types or quantity of modern slavery-related issues happening around my home city of Bristol until I was elected to public office. Having advocates who ask the right questions of the right people and keeping the issue on the agenda is vital. Ensuring that the public understand it’s an issue, and what the key signs are, is also important: especially when, as consumers, members of the public can privately tip off the authorities where they’re concerned a nail bar or a car wash or another consumer facing service is being staffed by vulnerable workers.

Having put together this engagement and connected the relevant stakeholders, it’s then a vital role for a parliamentarian to challenge businesses and organisations to step up to the mark in ensuring transparency and checks in their supply chains, as well as making sure that government funding, enforcement agency resource and victim support measures are being properly funded, used and embedded. Any failures or concerns can then be raised at a national level through the parliamentary system.

“Having advocates who ask the right questions of the right people and keeping the issue on the agenda is vital.”

Darren Jones MP
Member, UK House of Commons
In my Parliamentary constituency of Nottingham North, and across the UK, many people are unable to properly explain what Modern Slavery is or spot the related issues. The national numbers are stark - 1 in 5 people don't know what it is, while two-thirds don't know how to spot the crime. Perhaps most strikingly, 1 in 10 people believe they may have come across a victim of this heinous crime - yet half of these wouldn't know what action to take if they did. We all have a role to play to improve these figures locally - to educate, inform and enable people to take a stand against modern slavery. And I am committed to taking a lead in my community. Local councils are central to this work, and I've worked very closely with councillors in my part of Nottingham; but it's the council leadership who can really drive change. Transparency of procurement is one area where I think we can make a big difference, to ensure the available resource is being used as effectively as possible.

Similarly, outside of statutory services, I've worked on innovative employment programmes like the one run by Co-operative Group and City Hearts, an anti-trafficking group. It offers proper work to victims of modern slavery, enabling them to get their lives back to normal, while combating the impact that a lack of awareness can have on those impacted by modern slavery.

Technology can also play a crucial role. That's why I met analysts at the multinational credit reporting company, Experian, to examine how their data can be used to visualise modern slavery at a constituency level. We need to be bold and think big, using every weapon at our disposal to fight the scourge of modern slavery.

The fight against modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour must not only be conducted within the chambers of parliament but also beyond them. After helping to transform the law, the parliamentarian’s priority must shift to working with constituents to ensure effective implementation of new and existing legislations. This is because, in Africa, as in other parts of the world, there are several factors that constrain policy choices and implementation, and the parliamentarian has an additional responsibility to help in moderating the challenges that may threaten effective implementation of anti-modern-slavery legislations.

In my constituency of Ejigbo, Osun State, Nigeria, where human trafficking has thrived for years, often under the guise of seeking greener pastures in foreign lands, my core priorities, at the constituency level, have remained multi-faceted and targeted at different stakeholders (victims and their relations as well as traffickers and their sponsors). These have and will continue to include:

- Raising awareness among the constituents, through liaising with and advocacy visits to traditional rulers and other opinion leaders, for deeper appreciation of the issues involved in the campaign against modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour;
- Sponsoring of public enlightenment programmes in collaboration with youths, women and other community-based organisations to speak with one voice against the evils inherent in trans-border illicit movement of persons and take practical steps to prevent modern slavery crimes from taking place within communities;
- Provision of education support in form of cash grants and distribution of empowerment items, such as tricycles, motorcycles, vocational training equipment and farm implements, to potential victims of human trafficking to enhance their living standards and discourage illegal migration through false promises of good life. This has helped to get some of them settled for meaningful living, but the resources available are insufficient to continue with the efforts on a sustainable basis;
- Organising such social activities as ‘watch parties’ through which audio-visual images and films highlighting the menace are watched in a relaxed atmosphere. This also includes sponsorship of television, radio and drama programmes to highlight the ills and dangers inherent in criminal activities bordering on modern slavery;
- Production and mass circulation of synopses of existing legislations against modern slavery, highlighting the criminal provisions and the penalty for offenders; this serves to deter potential traffickers.

The essence of all these activities is to reduce poverty and illiteracy, two core challenges that have tended to obstruct the ongoing efforts, as our review of human trafficking legislations is backed by other laws aimed at reducing poverty, improve education particularly in the rural communities, and add value to the socio-economic life of the average Nigerian.
ENCOURAGING ACCOUNTABILITY

The Modern Slavery Act (MSA), which became law in the UK in 2015, is a piece of legislation worth celebrating. We should celebrate the protections for individuals it puts in law; celebrate the obligation for business transparency about the risks of modern slavery and celebrate the greater legal powers for the authorities to catch and punish the perpetrators.

But the effectiveness of any legislation is limited to how well it is used – and there is still a long way to go with regard to the MSA. Nonetheless, I have campaigned hard in my constituency to ensure that local organisations fulfil their legal obligations.

One way of doing this is by talking to business directly. The Act requires businesses with a turnover of £36 million or over to ensure that their business and supply chains are free from modern slavery. There aren’t many organisations working out of my constituency with a turnover like that, but one that does is the energy company, E.ON. I have discussed the mechanisms they have in place to meet their obligations, and their Modern Slavery statement, which must be included in every Annual Report. I can’t enforce the law myself – but simple discussions like this can make a big difference in making sure the law is taken with the seriousness it deserves.

More prevalent are businesses which meet the reporting criteria and either operate in my constituency or employ my constituents. While this doesn’t give me the same scope to talk directly to the business leaders, I am still able to have an impact as a Member of Parliament, in spreading awareness but also making sure that all levels of the business are aware of the legal obligations, why they’re important and how they can do their part to ensure they’re fulfilled.

A recent event led by Nottingham City Council did just this. Engaging with many local businesses, particularly from high-risk industries like agriculture, they also welcomed representatives from the Gangmasters & Labour Abuse Authority, whose responsibility it is to enforce the law in the UK.

We’re also lucky that in Nottingham we have the University of Nottingham’s Rights Lab. They’re bringing their world-class research techniques to bear locally, in the UK and around the world.

But the effectiveness of any legislation is limited to how well it is used – and there is still a long way to go with regard to the MSA.”

CASE STUDY

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE ANTI-SLAVERY PARTNERSHIP

Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Modern Slavery Partnership was established in late 2016 as a subgroup of the Safer Nottinghamshire Board. It is chaired by the Chief Executive of Newark & Sherwood District Council, with the secretariat now provided by the University of Nottingham’s ‘Rights Lab’. The partnership includes representation from the Police, Fire and Rescue, Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority (GLAA), County, District and City Councils, the local Chamber of Commerce, Red Cross, the National Health Service (NHS), Her Majesty’s Revenue and Customs (HMRC), Department of Work and Pensions (DWP), Salvation Army, the Diocese of Southwell and Nottingham, Migrant Help, the Office of the Police & Crime Commissioner, and University of Nottingham. The partnership also receives updates from Nottingham’s city-based Modern Slavery Forum, which raises awareness with the local voluntary and community sector.

The partnership shares the aspiration of creating a ‘slavery-free’ Nottingham and Nottinghamshire. This has been developed through work on multiple fronts, including: joint enforcement activity; engaging local civic and community leaders through a pledge and full council debates; raising public awareness; training frontline staff; working towards slavery-free supply chains (including statements and in-depth research by a number of the public sector partners); and developing clearer pathways for support of victims and survivors. The 2017 Nottingham pledge encompassing these aims (below) has since been adopted in other localities including Birmingham and Sandwell.

The partnership has supported this activity by building collaborative relationships and assisting in coordination. Successes include a 2017 city-wide media campaign, which had a positive impact on the volume and quality of press coverage. There have also been numerous awareness-raising events including a year-long campaign for a slavery-free University campus, events targeted at volunteers running food banks and night shelters, business engagement workshops and a special event for health-service staff. Nottingham Citizens (the local branch of Citizens UK) championed the ‘slavery-free’ pledge at their Citizen’s assembly (attended by 800 people), and developed a website (slaveryfreenotts.com) which helps to raise awareness and provide local referral information. Local Churches are supporting the campaign in 2019 via a specially commissioned film for Freedom Sunday. Nottingham city has also pioneered improved standards in car washes through a Responsible Car Wash Scheme and piloted a local-authority survivor care pathway. Throughout, local Members of Parliament have supported the work of the partnership by publicising events, attending and speaking at key meetings such as the Citizens assembly, and highlighting significant issues, such as the need for improved survivor support, in Parliament.
Pledge to become a slavery free community
As leaders in Nottinghamshire we, the undersigned, commit to doing everything in our power to make our City and County free of modern slavery. We will work proactively with national and local government, law enforcement agencies, businesses, the voluntary and community sector, faith bodies and our local communities to:

• Demonstrate strong local leadership for anti-slavery initiatives;
• Raise awareness amongst our staff, associates and the people we serve on a daily basis;
• Train our staff to recognise and respond appropriately to potential signs of slavery;
• Support victims and survivors in our communities;
• Remove slave-based labour from our supply chains;
• Contribute to building a prosperous and slavery-free local economy.

In this way, Nottinghamshire stands in support of the United Nations Global Sustainable Development Goal 8.7, to take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour by 2030.

As well as raising concerns with the bodies that help protect people from modern slavery and hold those to account for committing acts of modern slavery, a parliamentarian’s duty is to raise awareness of modern slavery.

By utilising links between themselves and different organisations and public bodies, a legislator can become the bridge between groups which may not normally converse and cooperate. This will prove to be vital for delivering holistic policy development on a local and regional level.

Another role a parliamentarian can undertake in their constituencies is raising awareness on a broader basis. Modern slavery is still a term that many outside the area do not fully comprehend and appreciate. That is why legislators need to use their knowledge and understanding of the laws passed, complemented by the local knowledge shared by the local bodies mentioned above, to undertake outreach programmes with constituents so they know what they should be looking for and how they can report it.

All too often people purchasing goods and services do so with little attention to how the businesses they are interacting with operate. In many situations people will choose the business they would like to interact with based on price, failing to question how a business can provide at such a low price to the consumer. A legislator would be well placed to identify the key causes for low prices and notify constituents about the ethical dimension to their purchase. This ensures that the public become more aware of supply chains and the impact of their purchasing behaviour.

Indirect action of this type ensures that we can tackle cross-border modern slavery. Although our constituents may not be contributing to modern slavery in their community, supply chains can be contributors to this heinous act. A more informed society will be less likely to partake in activities that fund modern slavery and therefore undermine its long-term profitability and ensure that human rights are extended to everyone.

Informing the wider public of modern slavery is vital in our long-term campaign against it. A parliamentarian is well placed to use their links, knowledge and skills to achieve this and it should be one of their priorities.
One of the forms of exploitation that has become of concern to me as a parliamentarian in Kenya is the exploitation of young children in sport, particularly football, otherwise known as football trafficking. In many parts of Africa, unsuspecting young boys are approached by “recruiters” who delude them into believing that they can offer them a football contract in a club abroad. Usually, the young boys’ families pay money for registration, a foreign visa, flights and other logistics. Their main motivator is often the desire to give their children a chance to get out of poverty to have a better life. However, what happens is that once recruited and transported abroad, the traffickers abandon them, leaving them vulnerable to other forms of abuse, or, at best, they place them in a different club who do not pay as promised.

I have discovered that not only does my own country of Kenya have a problem in this regard, but there are young boys in my constituency in the region of Nyando that have been victims in football trafficking. Generally, in Kenya, stringent enough laws exist to punish traffickers, but what a parliamentarian who is concerned by issues of human trafficking must realise is that the mere fact that a law exists does not necessarily provide people with the civic education necessary to protect themselves from falling victim to such heinous crimes. A parliamentarian can make a difference by maximising their role as an awareness raiser in their constituency and parliament. This is why I have chosen to champion the issue of football trafficking to raise awareness and take this message to the people of my region as well as in the Kenyan Parliament.

In August 2019, I organised a football tournament that brought together 88 teams across my region. The football tournament allowed for many conversations to take place and I made a focus on providing footballers with the knowledge of the tactics of recruiters, how it’s done and relevant questions to pose if approached by recruiters. I am continuing to use my position as a parliamentarian to organise another tournament planned for April 2020, covering the entire Western region to pass this most critical information on the dangers involved of football trafficking.

As legislators, it is vitally important to be able to identify gaps and loopholes in the law that allow traffickers to exploit and thrive. However, parliamentarians’ broader place in the combat against modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour is to inform his or her community about the dangers of falling victim to these crimes.
When MPs work directly in their own, or other communities, they are able to understand specific issues and dynamics that they were unaware of before and identify where they may be able to contribute in their role as an MP. As a champion MP in the Parliament of Ghana, I have embarked on a number of activities to represent and bring attention to modern slavery-related issues. I have been working together with field officers from my NGO, Pro-link Organisation to create awareness about the dangers of human trafficking in some ‘sending’ communities in the Central Region of Ghana. A campaign we did took us to Srafa Abuanu, a fishing community in the Agonaman District of the Central Region of Ghana. Using music, puppetry and drama, Pro-Link’s Suprudo Drama and Puppetry Troupe staged performances at the community centre on the roles of parents in protecting their children against modern slavery and the plight of trafficked children. At the end of each presentation, community members were given the opportunity to share their experiences and ask questions. Some women whose children have been trafficked to Yeji, a fishing community on the Volta Lake shared the stories of how they were lured into letting their children go.

When I went to the community of Abuanu, led by its Chief and the Community Child Protection Committee (CCPC), who are mainly responsible for monitoring children who have been rescued from child labour, they seriously resolved to ensure that no child from the Abuanu community is ever trafficked again. What I discovered was that the CCPC members do not have the legal authority and powers to arrest traffickers. I saw a way in which I could support this community and the next stage of my work in there is to assist the CCPC to obtain this legal backing. This will enable them to arrest traffickers entering their community, making a huge difference to the safety and security of the people there. Though the response has been positive and my interaction with the community has led me to an entry point for further cooperation, ending endemic poverty must also be part of the battle as this remains a large push factor on many of the parents in ‘sending’ communities.

Finally, the use of the media can be a powerful tool for parliamentarians to raise awareness about modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour issues in their country. I have found that it has enabled me to talk widely about the occurrence and the consequences of modern slavery crimes on individuals, families and Ghana as a nation. When coupled with a partnership approach, parliamentarians have a powerful platform from which to spread this message. I did an exciting 45-minute documentary with International Justice Mission (IJM) on the state of modern slavery in Ghana and ways to combat the menace.
PROVIDING LEADERSHIP TO LOCAL STAKEHOLDERS

Hon. Agnes Kunihira MP
Member, Parliament of Uganda

In Uganda, many people are trafficked as a result of desperation to find employment without knowledge of the unforeseen risks of exploitation and abuse that befall them when they arrive in their destination country. It is the role of leaders in all positions to guide young people and others on these dangers. It is vital that parliamentarians take centre stage as leaders in this process and work to mobilise leaders in communities who can tackle what is going on directly in their communities.

The types of leaders will vary depending on the communities, but notable figures such as cultural leaders, opinion leaders, church leaders and border communities can all embrace efforts to create the conditions to reduce modern-day slavery.

In the process of taking on this leadership role for creating awareness, I have carried out sensitisation meetings with members of my constituency. These people are multi-sectoral and include workers leaders, political leaders and key officers in central government drawn from different districts. I have held four regional meetings with an average of 60 persons per meeting.

Migrant workers a key issue in Uganda
The key issues often discussed in the meetings I have had are about migrant workers. Young people from Uganda are increasingly seeking employment overseas, especially in the domestic sector, where their safety cannot be guaranteed once they are in the premises of foreign employers in such countries.

In Uganda, the process of acquiring travel documents to go abroad goes through a number of key offices. It starts with the Chairman of the Village Council, the Sub-county Office, the District Security Office, the Resident District Commissioner and ends with Passport Control Office. For me, these people are critical stakeholders who are part of the overall migration process and can be vital in identifying the signs of someone getting themselves into a potentially dangerous situation. They should be engaged and empowered by knowledge and awareness so that they can stem off those intending to travel so that they are able to make an informed choice before endorsing their documents. At this level, these persons must be given the insight into the risks of the exploitation people may face.

Lobbying for support for legislative amendments
It is often in instances like this when MPs speak with their communities that they can identify the key issues and then lobby for legislative change in their parliaments. In response to what I have found out about the issue of migrant workers, I spearheaded a Private Member’s Bill in 2019 named “The Employment Amendment Bill 2019” which entails strengthening the protections for migrant workers both coming into and leaving Uganda.
As a result of the event, the take-home message for many parents was the absolute need to curb trafficking young people for the purposes of bonded labour. Similarly, the police force in the area became more aware of the support available to them from NAPTIP and other agencies they could for information and referrals. The campaign’s successful efforts to reach the communities was also doubly successful in raising awareness among MPs in the Parliament of Nigeria. As part of my pledge alongside other champions in the CPA UK Modern Slavery Project, I had the opportunity to also lobby and sensitise more legislators on the many dangers associated with human trafficking and forced labour in Nigeria.

In 2018, Pathfinders Justice Initiative (Pathfinders) launched the #Not4Sale anti-trafficking awareness raising campaign in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria to educate communities, particularly girls and young women aged 15 to 19, on the dangers of trafficking for sexual exploitation.

In collaboration with ‘The Voice,’ Pathfinders’ Think Tank, we worked with sex trafficking survivors, successfully and unsuccessfully recruited young women and former recruiters and traffickers as confidential informants whose intelligence on trends in traffickers’ modus operandi and knowledge of “push” and “pull” factors helped design the campaign. In this design phase, we also broadened our engagement to include the perspectives of state and non-state actors, primarily the Edo State Government and local CSO stakeholders, both of whom we believed critical to our campaign and the framing of its messaging.

With an engaged government, an empowered CSO community, including the faith-based community and traditional rulers, and our credible messengers, Pathfinders was able to formulate and implement a holistic campaign message and activities. We incorporated relevant “push” and “pull” factors and aligned available resources with our anti-trafficking messaging, which survivors told us would have reduced their vulnerability to traffickers and kept them from embarking on unsafe migration. These resources included free vocational skill centres, education campaigns, vetted job placements and start-up capital.

What we realised was that it was not enough to simply empower communities against traffickers and their tactics; it was imperative that potential victims were also informed of real time paths to sustainable economic alternatives, the absence of which increases vulnerability to trafficking in the State of Edo.

The campaign utilised social media and radio, the two forums which survivors and recruiters informed us would be most effective in reaching our target population. Ultimately, we sensitised millions of people in Edo State on the dangers of trafficking and were able to connect potential victims to available economic resources.

The role of parliamentarians in these campaigns cannot be discounted, as they ultimately link the voices of their local community to government where awareness of the on-the-ground reality needs to be raised. In the community, however, they can also amplify campaigns with their voices and support in a way that most smaller NGOs endeavouring to push targeted messaging cannot.
Within any criminal justice procedure, we recognise the critical role of the victim. As a witness they bring strength to an investigation and compelling evidence for prosecution. The testimony of victims and witnesses are key to the success of human trafficking investigations and prosecutions.

Parliamentarians must ensure that legislation, procedure and representation of the judiciary does not reinforce bias and does not discriminate against the needs and rights of victims.

In lobbying for better support for victims, parliamentarians must understand the need for victims to start a healing and recovery process immediately after their rescue or release from the criminal acts and control of others. Recognising that investigations and prosecution can be protracted over time, there is a need to consider how victims can access counselling, suitable shelter and medical support without harassment and exclusion. The absence of such support mechanisms creates a vulnerability for the victim to be further exploited.

A victim-centred approach will ensure better outcomes for all components of the justice process. This approach must seek to minimise further harm whether through re-traumatisation or reinforcing the physical and emotional control experienced during the criminal activity.

A victim of human trafficking or modern slavery may present unique characteristics and behaviour in response to law enforcement and the judicial process. To ensure an effective approach, all parties must consider how these behaviours might be played out and how they might influence or inform a response. Fear of law enforcement and the culture of a judicial process, particularly within a court setting, may create a reluctance to engage and suggest an apparent lack of respect. It is important to consider the cultural and societal background of the victim, their experience at the hands of traffickers and the environment that they are now being expected to engage and support prosecution.

Many victims will not relate to the language and terminology of the legislation and may not recognise themselves as victims of modern slavery or human trafficking. Everyone effort must be taken throughout the investigation and prosecution to explain to the victim and to witnesses the use of technical language and legal definition. Whilst their testimony must not be manipulated to meet evidential criteria and proof, investigators and prosecutors must consider carefully how they can protect the interests of the victim and best interest of justice to ensure effective and fair interpretation.

It is important that all actors within the judicial process recognise that investigation and prosecution is not simply for the benefit of an individual, but that effective prosecution of all human trafficking and modern slavery is for the benefit for society as a whole. This mindset will offset the pressure and burden placed on any one individual and create a more holistic approach to defining successful prosecution. The judiciary must ensure that standards are in place to prevent undue delays and coercive procedures by the defence to undermine the victim and witnesses.

Wherever possible investigating officers must seek independent evidence to support the claims of the victim or to present the context or facts of a case. There should not be a reliance on the testimony of the victim without extensive and thorough investigation. They must be prepared to present the victim’s perspective which may differ significantly to the perspective of the judiciary informed by culture, tradition and societal norms.

Parliamentarians must consider the undue influence of corruption and exploitation within all stages of the judicial process. Where victims of crime are expected to incur financial costs for any stage of the criminal investigation; medical examination fees or securing reports to support the prosecution, this will undermine justice. Delays and adjournments to the trial impose financial burdens upon the victim and witnesses through lost income as well as incurring additional costs.

Parliamentarians should consider defining the rights of victims of human trafficking and modern slavery, which might include;

- Special protection where they might be vulnerable to further crimes;
- Protection of privacy and identity;
- Legal assistance to allow the victim to realise their rights;
- Access to information in their native language;
- Information and consular assistance on repatriation or leave to stay within the country;
- Access to psychosocial and medical service.

Where the victim is a child or from a category of vulnerability, those rights should afford greater protection and address specific needs.
SUCCESSFUL COOPERATION WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES IN COMMUNITIES

Mohammed Tariqul Islam
Country Director, Justice and Care Bangladesh

Effective coordination between border guards and police is crucial to tackle crimes like human trafficking in bordering districts.

In the communities in which Justice and Care work in Bangladesh, we brought police and border guards to a single platform to bridge the coordination gaps on sharing of intelligence and framing cases against traffickers apprehended by Border Guards. Our learning from the coordination platform led us to train Border Guard officials on victim identification processes. Border Guards used to charge all intercepted individuals under passport acts for illegal border crossings including potential victims of human trafficking.

However, the training influenced a systemic change in practice of handling intercepted individuals and led to identification of 86 women and children who were treated as victims and reunified with their legal guardians through Justice and Care instead of being treated as a guilty party to the crime.

In response to recommendations from the Border Guards, Justice and Care initiated a partnership for raising awareness among the bordering communities who, at times, were unknowingly harbouring potential victims of human trafficking. Bordering communities were being paid by traffickers without knowing that they would be found liable of abetting trafficking under anti human trafficking laws.

The Justice and Care awareness events involved residents (including brokers) and resulted in reducing the prevalence of potential victims being sheltered by bordering communities. The criminal networks in the borders have been perceived to be sustained by their links with local politics; therefore, parliamentarians’ engagement with bordering communities to find ways in which to strengthen the responses to human trafficking may disrupt this criminal and often politically-supported network. Political commitment from the parliamentarians also enables the law enforcers to dismantle the criminal networks active across the bordering communities without being impeded by political influences.

KEY POINTS FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS

- Parliamentarians can use oral and written questions, debates in the main or supporting chambers and parliamentary groupings to raise awareness of modern slavery issues. Legislators should collaborate with external bodies, including NGOs, who have the knowledge and experience to aid parliamentarians in formulating probing questions.

- Reconciling cross-party differences can sometimes be a challenge, even when there is broad agreement that legislative action should be taken to tackle contemporary forms of exploitation. Parliamentarians can reach a consensus by ensuring all arguments and views are considered.

- All-Party Parliamentary Groups (APPG) are an effective way of drawing attention to modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour issues within Parliament and increasing parliamentarians’ knowledge on the subject. When creating APPGs, parliamentarians should build relationships with politicians from other political parties who share a commitment to tackling these crimes.

- The transnational nature of human trafficking means politicians should work with their regional and international parliamentary colleagues on a bi- and multi-lateral basis.

- Parliamentarians have a key role to play in supporting constituents impacted by modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour situations. It is important for representatives to engage with a variety of local stakeholders. Whilst these will vary according to local context, they include the business community, police services and other law enforcement agencies, local government representatives, religious organisations, civil society groups and the voluntary sector.

- When convening meetings on modern slavery-related issues in their constituencies, parliamentarians should engage stakeholders, such as:
  - Supply chain leaders or trade unions;
  - Enforcement bodies;
  - Victim support organisations;
  - Political and public leaders, including mayors, councillors and the local media, among others.

- Community involvement is key. Parliamentarians should raise awareness of and educate constituents on these issues; especially among those who are most vulnerable to exploitation. Informing the public on modern slavery is vital for a long-term campaign against it.

- Parliamentarians can support work being done to tackle these crimes in their constituencies by engaging with local initiatives, using their platform to publicise events, attending and speaking at meetings and highlighting relevant issues at a parliamentary level.

- Parliamentarians should advocate for a victim-centred approach at all levels, which includes considering how victims access support services and ensuring that legislation does not discriminate against the needs and rights of victims.
CHAPTER SUMMARY

Successful engagement with the media can be a powerful tool for parliamentarians who want to tackle modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour, as all media forms are able to shine a light on what are predominantly hidden crimes. However, parliamentarians should be careful to tailor their media strategy to the medium being used. In the case of digital media forms, a direct approach should be favoured, with representatives utilising quick photos, videos and content that communicate a clear message straight to their audience. Where traditional media forms are concerned, parliamentarians should engage with trusted journalists, keeping them updated of all actions in their legislatures and engaging through interviews where appropriate. Another factor for parliamentarians to consider is their individual country context and, in particular, which media platforms are most prevalent.

Digital and traditional media engagement is also an important component of a successful campaign. Effective campaigns will mobilise the general public, articulate a clear and specific message and bring stakeholders together to work towards a common goal. Uniting all relevant stakeholders is particularly important because this can amplify a campaign’s message to the general public, parliamentarians and in the media.

Campaigns are also powerful because they can provide a platform for the voices of victims to be heard. However, whilst victims’ stories are an important part of advocacy, it is crucial that they are told in an ethical way.

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   Being an advocate in the digital age
   The importance of engaging with the media for enhanced visibility of modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour issues
   Telling victims’ stories

ii. The power of a campaign to promote and enhance visibility and support for a bill
   Enhancing the visibility of a Private Member’s Bill on Victim Support
   Toolkit for creating a successful campaign
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I. THE IMPORTANCE OF ENGAGING WITH THE MEDIA

BEING AN ADVOCATE IN THE DIGITAL AGE

The media landscape that parliamentarians occupy is rapidly changing. Understanding and adapting to these changes is crucial if representatives and lawmakers hope to champion issues of great importance, such as the fight to end modern slavery and human trafficking.

The digital revolution

Research from 2019 found that 45% of the world’s population - 3.5 billion people - are active social media users, the vast majority of which is done through mobile devices. And that figure is on the rise with a million new people coming online every day.

Within this context, the way people get information and their news is evolving. Traditional means of communicating your message to your audience, such as the printed press, radio and television, is giving way to the digital giants of Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, YouTube, Instagram and others.

In Nigeria, views of video content on mobile devices through social media has recently surpassed television. A study in India found that 75% of respondents use Facebook and 82% use WhatsApp with over half getting their news primarily from these platforms.

Increasing distrust

At the same time that the channels of communication shift, there is a growing distrust in news and its sources. The emergence of ‘fake news’ and disinformation has meant that people are increasingly wary of what is presented to them as fact. Hyperpartisan content or poor journalism are seen as endemic of the current news cycle.

On top of this, parliamentarians trying to navigate social media often find themselves subject to online abuse and trolling, which is damaging political debate.

“The emergence of ‘fake news’ and disinformation has meant that people are increasingly wary of what is presented to them as fact. Hyperpartisan content or poor journalism are seen as endemic of the current news cycle.”

Within this context of the digital takeover and the epidemic of distrust, how can parliamentarians be positive advocates with a clear message that cuts through?

Lo-fi storytelling

One way that experts recommend communicating in this new context is through ‘lo-fi storytelling’. In essence, this is quick photos, videos and content that communicate what you are doing and why. The message is direct. Audiences want to hear straight from the source, cutting out the middle man that might spin or misinterpret the message.

One example of a politician using this tool is Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who became the youngest woman to be elected to the US Congress at the age of 29. She offered her audience a candid glimpse into her first experiences in the halls of power through a series of videos she named “Congress camp” and continues to use her social media channels to reveal the ‘behind the scenes’ life and work of a politician.

Communicating your message

Using lo-fi storytelling as a means of advocating for a particular issue isn’t difficult. That is the strength of social media. You can create acceptable content on basic equipment such as a smartphone or tablet.

When it comes to communicating on social media there are some important things to remember:

- Be realistic about a casual audience’s attention span - 30 seconds is a good length;
- Stress key messages that you want your audience to remember;
- Language matters. Keep it punchy and to the point. Avoid needless complexity and acronyms – not everyone is an expert;
- Consider location and backdrop – will it support or detract from your message?
- Project confidence with your tone of voice and body language;
- Keep videos on topic and issue a clear call to action – for example, what the government must do to address your concerns.
THE IMPORTANCE OF ENGAGING WITH THE MEDIA FOR ENHANCED VISIBILITY OF MODERN SLAVERY, HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND FORCED LABOUR ISSUES

Professor Parosha Chandran
Leading UK Anti-Slavery Lawyer

• How media can play a role in bringing important attention to specific laws, cases or issues to raise awareness
• How media engagement can be useful to galvanise public support for modern slavery issues
• Advice for Parliamentarians engaging with the media
• How Parliamentarians can effectively support the cause of modern slavery via media engagement

Contributions have been received from The Sunday Times Newspaper and the Thomson Reuters Foundation.

The media has a vital role to play in shining a light on the plight of victims of modern slavery in countries across the world, including in supply chains, and the media can undoubtedly galvanise public support to assist in holding individuals, governments and companies to account for their efforts to combat modern-day slavery.

For example, journalism can hugely boost the public’s awareness and engagement with modern slavery by exposing real-life cases that are taking place in local communities and by communicating these to wide audiences. This is particularly poignant when such cases involve local cases of slavery, servitude, forced labour, human trafficking, the sale of human beings and child exploitation.

Important areas that the media can also highlight and that can lead to public interest and transformative change include reporting on cases of slavery that exists in national and global supply chains, involving the forced labour of children and adults in industries and geographical locations.

Commonwealth Parliamentarians can engage in the communication of these important matters by the media to the public by engaging with journalists and working together with them to raise and illustrate modern slavery issues in their countries, by working together to encourage balanced, fair and sensitive approaches to reporting and by engaging other Parliamentarians from across the political divide to disclose and highlight matters concerning modern slavery cases in their constituencies too.

These partnerships can lead to lasting, positive impact.

Examples of media engagement in modern slavery issues

The Sunday Times Newspaper

The Sunday Times has campaigned since 2013 on the need for better protection against modern slavery and its reporting on modern slavery in Britain influenced parliamentarians, the public and also big business during the introduction of the Modern Slavery Bill 2013, later enacted as the Modern Slavery Act 2015.

George Arbuthnott, from the Sunday Times writes:

“The fact that slavery not only still exists but is actively flourishing is one of the world’s greatest scandals. Yet the authorities and big business often find that hard to accept because the exploitation invariably takes place in the shadows rather than in plain sight. So shining a light on the problem is critically important so the public are made aware of the truth and can then pressure those in power to take action. This philosophy lies behind a long-running campaign in The Sunday Times newspaper to highlight modern slavery in Britain... We are thrilled that the genuinely world-leading [Modern Slavery] bill, which is now enshrined in British law, is being used to jail the slave-masters and save and support victims. It hopefully shows that when politicians and the media work together to tackle real progress can ensue.”

In terms of the newspaper’s involvement in supporting the introduction of modern slavery legislation, in 2013 Theresa May, then Home Secretary, expressed her “shock” at the Sunday Times’ exposé revealing the plight of Vietnamese girls in Britain who were being forced to work as manicurists by day in nail bars and prostitutes by night. A week later Mrs May announced she would be introducing a Modern Slavery Bill, whilst praising the campaign.

The Sunday Times campaigned towards wide-ranging victim protection, for example by revealing the many ways in which people were being subjected to modern slavery in the UK, both by private actors and in the supply chains of big business. This included reporting on how Filipino migrants in the UK's fishing fleet were being systematically exploited and the fact that slaves were working in English factories and farms that were supplying produce to major supermarkets. The newspaper also assisted the politicians drafting the new legislation to find trafficking victims willing to provide testimony to its evidence-gathering taskforce.

The Sunday Times’ reports that supported the introduction of the Modern Slavery Bill 2013 include the following: Beauty and the Beasts: Modern slave masters are luring Vietnamese migrant workers into Britain with the promise of well-paid jobs. Instead, they're forced to paint nails by day, and work as prostitutes by night
https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/beauty-and-the-beasts-z0vl6t2z0rk

The slaves in your weekly shop: They're the invisible army — modern-day slaves, trafficked into Britain to work in the food factories and farms that supply our leading supermarkets. They live in squalor, are paid next to nothing and are often physically abused.
https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/the-slaves-in-your-weekly-shop-swphpxhxpx25

The Thomson Reuters Foundation

The Thomson Reuters Foundation's international news team covers modern slavery and human trafficking with journalists across many countries reporting on major developments, breaking exclusives and producing hard-hitting investigations.
Their international coverage has exposed corporate malpractice or wrongdoing or government failings that would otherwise go underreported given the complex and hidden nature of modern slavery.

In one story they revealed how major companies in Brazil have used court injunctions to avoid being added to the country’s slave labour ‘Dirty List’: [https://news.trust.org/item/20190617004224-fpwnq/](https://news.trust.org/item/20190617004224-fpwnq/)

In another they reported on a rising number of slavery victims being deported from Britain despite fears over their safety: [https://news.trust.org/item/20190805233940-tryd8/](https://news.trust.org/item/20190805233940-tryd8/)

In another they uncovered how Indian slavery survivors have been forced back into bonded labour due to compensation payments being delayed: [https://news.trust.org/item/20190328074747-kmhd3/](https://news.trust.org/item/20190328074747-kmhd3/)

Their journalism has boosted public awareness and engagement with modern slavery by exposing forced labour, worker exploitation and child labour in supply chains, including coffee in Brazil and the mica in India, the mineral that puts the sparkle in car paint and cosmetics: [https://news.trust.org/shorthand/mica/](https://news.trust.org/shorthand/mica/)

Kieran Guilbert, of the Thomson Reuters Foundation writes:

“TRF believes in the power of accurate, impartial and independent journalism in informing societies, holding power to account, and contributing to economic and social development – which is why it also runs journalism training courses all over the world on how to report on human trafficking and slavery.”

He continues, “The Foundation's Stop Slavery Award initiative, which rewards companies leading the way in efforts to improve working conditions in their operations, has generated significant media interest, as well as providing a platform to share expertise in supply chain transparency and operation management. By creating a race to the top, TRF is driving companies of all sizes to actively address the issue of modern slavery across their business operations.”


Advice for Parliamentarians engaging with the media

- Parliamentarians should encourage the media to report accurately, to refrain from sensationalist reporting and to prepare stories on modern slavery with a balanced, victim-sensitive approach;
- In doing so Parliamentarians should encourage the media to protect the disclosure of victims’ identities in any press reports;
- Parliamentarians should keep trusted journalists abreast of issues relating to modern slavery that are raised by their constituents and in their constituencies;
- Parliamentarians should try to ensure such journalists are informed of goings-on in Parliament from proposed bills, to stakeholders’ meetings to important hearings including consultations and other evidence-gathering hearings;
- Parliamentarians should try to offer such journalists interview opportunities on modern slavery matters whenever possible.

How can Parliamentarians effectively support the cause of modern slavery via media engagement?

- Engage with trusted journalists on a wide range of legal issues that are needed to better combat modern slavery, from the need for more effective modern slavery criminal laws, to enhanced laws and policies on victim identification, from issues concerning victims’ rights to criminal and civil compensation, to laws on corporate liability for modern slavery and also on supporting supply chains due diligence;
- Champion and work with survivors and civil society and where appropriate attempt to work on the issues with media engagement, ideally in a cross-party manner.

Further reading

A relevant new publication, that may be of interest for any Commonwealth Parliamentarians dealing with the media, is the publication, “Media and Trafficking in Human Beings Guidelines”, 2019, published by the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) and based on Danish-led research.

Whilst focussed on human trafficking reporting, the content and scope of the guidelines may apply equally to media reporting on all forms of modern slavery, including slavery, servitude and forced labour as well as trafficking. Moreover the guidelines are not geographically restricted in terms of their overall relevance and are a helpful resource. [https://www.cbss.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/CBSS-trafficking-in-human-beings-media-guidelines.pdf](https://www.cbss.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/CBSS-trafficking-in-human-beings-media-guidelines.pdf)

The Guardian newspaper’s modern slavery hub: [https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/series/modern-day-slavery-in-focus](https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/series/modern-day-slavery-in-focus)
THE SIERRA LEONE JOURNALISTS NETWORK TO COMBAT TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS

Alfred Fornah
Communications Associate, IOM Sierra Leone
Member, Sierra Leone Journalists Network to Combat Trafficking in Persons

The Sierra Leone Journalists Network to Combat Trafficking in Persons was established in March 2019 out of a collaboration between the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Sierra Leonean Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children’s Affairs (MSWGCA). The Network represents a group of 27 media practitioners, mainly radio journalists from major radio stations across the country, all inspired to help raise awareness and complement the efforts led by the IOM and MSWGCA in the fight against human trafficking in Sierra Leone. The unique kind of work that the Network is leading on at the national level, to warn against the threat of trafficking in persons in Sierra Leone, has been made possible with funds from the United States Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) and IOM-led programme on Communication for Development (C4D).

Since the Network was established, a WhatsApp forum has been created in order to establish a collective conversation among members and to share information relating to trafficking in persons. Some of the most important work of the Network has been the intensification of member journalists’ reportage regarding human trafficking issues in Sierra Leone. Trafficking in person topics are now featured on the news and current affairs programmes of some radio stations across the country. These stations now also produce discussion programmes; inviting civil society and Government officials who have also gone through IOM capacity building training to discuss human trafficking issues. One of the initiatives that members of the Network have carried out has been to develop a radio jingle that raises awareness of the topic of trafficking in persons and has now been played on sixteen local radio stations.

Through radio broadcasts, the Network is now contributing to educate Sierra Leoneans on both domestic and transnational trafficking, including identification of fake overseas job offers, domestic servitude and other related human trafficking issues. Network members also serve as moderators and panelists on the popular IOM Human Trafficking Hour Programme on the Sierra Leone Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC). This programme is aired by SLBC Radio in Freetown and simulcast by other SLBC stations in the other provinces of Sierra Leone. The Network has also expanded to include print newspaper journalists who have published news stories to shine light on issues of trafficking, including public court cases.

The power of what the Network has been doing through its radio programmes and increased reporting about trafficking in persons is evidenced by the numerous telephone calls we received during our weekly radio programme on human trafficking.

TELLING VICTIMS’ STORIES

Sophie Otiende
Programme Consultant and Anti-Human Trafficking Advocate
Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART), Kenya

There is no doubt that there is power in survivors telling their stories. Their stories make the issue of modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour more familiar and give a face to a complex issue that we are still trying to understand. Therefore, using their stories, especially in creating awareness or advocacy in the movement, is extremely important. However, as we do this it is important to acknowledge that survivors are more than their stories and there is a very thin line that separates being effective in using survivors’ stories and abuse.

In the past, survivors’ stories have been sensationalised and survivors made to feel like the only way that they can contribute to the movement is by telling their stories. Notably, images used and videos have also not shown the dignity of survivors and have gone as far as endangering the lives of survivors by not being cautious about their privacy. Storytelling is a powerful tool but survivors should not have to pay the price of re-traumatisation to educate the public. This is why ethical storytelling is important. Ethical storytelling goes beyond information and ensures that stories that are told empower survivors.

There are a few simple ways to ensure that stories of survivors are told correctly. Some of the things to note include:

1. Survivors are more than their story: it is not ethical to demand that the only way survivors can contribute is by narrating stories of their abuse. We can tell other stories about survivors and still be impactful.
2. Informed consent: consent is not an event, it is a continuous process when doing storytelling. The only way to give the survivor agency is by ceding control to them throughout the process. They also need to know how the story is going to be used, the implications it will have on their lives and for how long the story will be used.
3. Avoid sensationalisation of the subject and the survivor’s story.
4. Constantly establish safety of the survivor: in some cases anonymity might be needed because revealing their identity might endanger them.
GOLD: Mounds of Gold

When the miners came out of the shaft they were soaking wet from their own sweat. I remember looking into their tired, bloodshot eyes. Some had been underground for more than 72 hours.

While documenting illegal gold mining, I remember driving down a road in Ghana with fellow abolitionists. When a fellow on a moped suddenly sped up to our cruiser and tapped on the window, he told us to follow him down a dirt road into the jungle. At the end of the road, he urged us out of the car, and told the driver to quickly leave. Then he pointed toward this barely visible footpath, and said, “This is the path, this is the path. Go.” As we started down the path, we pushed aside the vines blocking the way, and after about an hour of walking in, found that the trail had become flooded by recent rains, so I hoisted the photo gear above my head as we descended into these waters up to my chest. After another two hours of hiking, the winding trail abruptly ended at a clearing, and before us was a mass of holes that could fit into the size of a football field. Each hole was full of enslaved people labouring. Many women had children strapped to their backs while they were panning for gold, wading in water poisoned by mercury. Mercury is used in the extraction process.

Photo credit: Lisa Kristine photography / The Human Thread Foundation

The Free for Good Campaign has united many charities, organisations and individuals from across the UK and beyond under the banner of providing more support to some of the most vulnerable people in our society. The success of the campaign comes in part from the simplicity of the message. Give victims the support they need to recover: a minimum of 12 months support along with leave to remain. I believe that no one, upon hearing the plight of victims of modern slavery, can say that more cannot be done.

Many of the groups involved in the Free for Good campaign work directly with victims and walk with them along their often long, circuitous and difficult road to recovery. What has been made clear by these groups is that the current provision is not enough and many victims face destitution, homelessness and re-trafficking. The need to ensure the best possible chance of recovery for victims, coupled with the expertise and experience of Free for Good members, was crucial in formulating the content and direction of my Modern Slavery Victim Support Bill.

Modern slavery is a largely hidden crime, it goes on right under our noses. This campaign provides a platform through which the voices of victims can be heard.

Private Member’s Bills can often go unnoticed by the press and general public, no matter how important they are. I believe the campaign efforts of the Free for Good coalition have brought the plight of victims to light. Many national newspapers published stories about the Bill including the Times, the Guardian and the Sun.

The visibility of the Bill is due to those groups who champion it, and the MPs and Peers who support it. Without the support of the coalition I believe we would not have made as much progress. I hope very much that my Bill will receive the support it merits in the current session, on behalf of the victims who so desperately need the additional support it requires.

"Modern slavery is a largely hidden crime, it goes on right under our noses. This campaign provides a platform through which the voices of victims can be heard."
Central to the success of the campaign in achieving these aims has been a having clear message, accessible campaign tools, a campaign coordinator, good connections with the lead parliamentarians and keeping up the momentum.

**Having a clear message**

Focussing the campaign on a particular Private Member's Bill provided clear parameters for the campaign message. Combined with a simple slogan “Free for Good”, these gave us a clear and simple message which could be shared in the press, in interviews, on the website and in letters to parliamentarians.

**Accessible campaign tools**

For our context in the UK, an effective campaign needs to be able to engage in social media and online platforms. Our website provided a central place to educate and inform the public about the Bill and what it was trying to achieve. It also enabled us to share the testimonies of some survivors without putting them through the difficult experience of a press interview. The website also acted as a platform for the general public to take action. A core part of the site was a mechanism through which people could email their MP (or later the Prime Minister) using a template letter. These could then be shared on Twitter and by campaign supporters to their networks.

**Good connections with parliamentarians**

The campaign benefitted from having a close relationship with Lord McColl and the Commons sponsors of his Bill. Through consultation with these parliamentarians we were able to ensure that our campaign actions were timed to support what they were doing to promote the Bill. Lord McColl also agreed to give us a video interview about the Bill for the website which gave added credibility to the campaign.

**Keeping up the momentum**

Keeping up the momentum of the campaign was vital to its sustained impact. Regularly refreshing the text in the template email enabled us to respond to recent developments, encouraging the public to write to their MP more than once, and also ensuring that the correspondence MPs received was relevant and up to date. We looked for opportunities to raise the profile of the Bill and the campaign at regular intervals, including writing letters for publication in newspapers or letters to the Prime Minister at key dates or in response to new developments.

Having someone to drive the campaign to initiate these actions and take responsibility for driving things forward – a campaign coordinator – was what avoided the campaign losing energy and helped to encourage other organisations involved in the campaign to continue taking their own actions alongside the campaign. Our experience with the Free for Good campaign has shown that civil society campaigns can be an effective way to keep attention on an issue and raise the profile of a legislative initiative, both in the public domain, and also among other parliamentarians and the Government. It also provided a great focal point to unify and enhance the actions of individual civil society organisations and members of the public. With the right strategy and tools, these campaigns can add momentum towards positive changes in laws and policy on modern slavery.

**THE FREE FOR GOOD CAMPAIGN**

**THE UK VICTIM SUPPORT BILL**

The Free for Good campaign (freeforgood.org.uk) was launched in January 2018 to promote and support the Modern Slavery Victim Support Bill, a Private Member’s Bill brought by Lord McColl to the UK Parliament. The campaign was initiated by CARE following our close support of Lord McColl in the early stages of bringing forward his Bill. The reflections from this experience demonstrated that the two main aims for the campaign: a) mobilising support for the Bill among the general public and b) bringing together a strong civil society voice, both proved key to the campaign’s success and hold valuable lessons worthy of consideration by parliamentarians seeking to garner support for a modern slavery-related issue in their parliament.

**Mobilising the general public**

One of the aims for the campaign was to educate members of the public about the difficulties faced by survivors of modern slavery and to enable them to show their support for the Bill in a way that would directly raise the profile of the Bill among parliamentarians. We established a dedicated website containing lots of simply explained information about why the Bill is needed and built into the website a function through which members of the public could email their MP (and more recently the Prime Minister) about the Bill. By enabling this process, we were able to generate over 5000 emails, reaching almost every single UK MP at least once.

**Bringing together a strong civil society voice**

After the Bill was tabled in parliament, it became clear that the Bill had the support of a large number of NGOs and some business groups. By bringing all these different organisations together in support of one campaign we were able to amplify the message to parliamentarians and in the media and demonstrate that the Bill had the support of a significant number of civil society organisations. Working together as a campaign also enabled smaller organisations to engage in campaigning to promote the Bill, which they would otherwise not have had the capacity to do.

Having established the campaign and gathered a group of supporting organisations, we could then take various collective initiatives to promote the Bill more quickly than if we had sought to gather support for each action afresh, without the prior shared understandings. These initiatives included private letters to the Prime Minister, letters to newspapers or briefings for parliamentary debates. The campaign also provided a forum for sharing information about activities related to promoting the Bill whether done under the ‘Free for Good’ name or not.
LEGISLATING AGAINST MODERN SLAVERY, HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND FORCED LABOUR

Photo credit: Lisa Kristine photography / The Human Thread Foundation
TOOLKIT TO CREATE A SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN

Kate Faragher
Communications Coach, Facilitator & Consultant
beSpoke Skills

This chapter has highlighted the differences that effective campaigns can make in the fight against contemporary forms of exploitation. This next section looks at how parliamentarians can create campaigns themselves, offering advocates tools and tips to help maximise their impact. By the end of this section, parliamentarians will have a clear idea of what makes a campaign effective and be able to apply this knowledge practically to their own context.

Whilst there is no one model for success when it comes to creating effective campaigns, one aspect that they share is a strategy. Although strategies will naturally differ according to country context, they should all be informed first and foremost by an aim. To realise this aim, parliamentarians should create a powerful message, enlist the support of key advocates and plan events and activities that increase engagement with the campaign. Campaign messages can also be amplified by the media, so it is essential for any strategy to consider how best to engage these actors. Similarly, it is important for parliamentarians to consider potential challenges and plan how to navigate these. A final aspect for parliamentarians to keep in mind is the value of reviewing a strategy. Only by reflecting on successes and failures can parliamentarians sustain momentum.

Context

What are you trying to achieve?
When we want people to listen and engage in a campaign, the first step is to work out what you’re trying to achieve. This will differ in each country so it’s important to create your own campaign that relates to the reality of your country.

What is your unique message?
Understanding the complexity and creating some key messages around forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking will be one of the challenges you might face. Once you have that clear direction and language you can then start to grow your campaign.

What is your campaign strategy?
The second step is to plan the campaign and there will be different approaches about how to do that. You need to look at the things you’re going to do, the people you need to engage with and navigate the barriers you will face.

How will you keep momentum?
Part of creating momentum is about reviewing what is working and what is not. Parliamentarians are busy people and creating a strategy and keeping to it can be tricky – especially if there are a lot of other things taking up your time. A great way to keep motivated is being clear WHY you are doing this. Jot it down and keep it in a place where you can see it. When things get tough you may need a reminder.

Also look at ways to collaborate, not just with your advocates in country, but also across the world.

How to create a campaign context

1. Know your aim. Try to make your aim clear and specific. If you are early in your thinking, you may need to go out and speak to people to make sure you are keeping the survivor at the centre of the legislation. If you are further down your thinking, make sure your aim is also Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and with a clear Timeframe (SMART).

2. Be aware of the impact you want. Don’t stop at what change you want, think how the change will impact all people involved and make sure you “Do No Harm” to those involved.

3. List your advocates. Think who are the key influencers that can make an impact to your campaign aim. We believe there are about 6 people in between who you know and a key influencer. As parliamentarians, this link may be a lot shorter. If you think about who you know, you often realise you know the best people that can help you achieve the aim. Think how you can speak to the key people that can impact your outcomes.

If you know the key influencers already, it is often a case of starting the conversation and getting them on board. A great action would be to make a list of advocates. To build momentum, we often start with the most important influencers that we know will engage. Then we move to the more challenging until we have created a strong and powerful group of influencers.

4. Know the best activities to increase engagement. Different countries require different approaches. Some of the activities are speaking at townhalls, press conferences, going out to key areas, speaking at big events, attracting TV documentaries or creating adverts. Think of the best activity to engage the people you want to talk to. The right context can help frame a better response.

An example could be that you create a video or build a keynote speech to deliver the message. It may be that you create a leaflet that you take out to key influencers. You want to make things easy to share the message.

Sometimes you will want to build on the conversation more gently because if you are too explicit it might put them off. Think of ways to help build the narrative.

5. Match the best activity to the influencers. Think how you can best attract the key people to your topic. Find ways to chat and discuss the important areas and share your understanding of the issues. Use their language. Speak in a way that they understand.

6. Create a powerful message. People tend to remember short phrases or sound bites. We need to take complex ideas and be able to say them succinctly. How can you summarise your message into a few words?
Here are three ways to create a powerful message.

**Messages in threes** using three key ideas, writing them in the same format and ideally using a powerful verb. Here is an example:

- **Strengthen Legislation**
- **Increase Business Engagement**
- **Keep Survivors at the centre**

**Terrific twos**: use opposite words to help us remember the message

- **Increase Sentences**
- **Decrease Crimes**

**The power of one:**

**Champions make change**

1. **Think of the barriers** that could get in your way and how you could overcome them or navigate them. Try to think of this before you come up against them so you have a plan.
   
   For some people this might seem a futile exercise, but through the discipline of thinking of challenges quite often new ideas or opportunities arise.

2. **Think of your key motivators.** Who are you trying to help? Why? How will you measure your own personal success along the way? Sometimes the going gets tough. What strength do you have that will ensure you keep going?

3. **Plan the timeline.** Planning is key to outcomes. If you put a date next to your action you will be more motivated to achieve it. Think of your short, medium and long-term goal. What are the easy wins and what do you need to plan for? The more you plan, the more likely you will be disciplined to achieve it.

4. **Reflecting on success and challenges is also key.** Sometimes our ideas need to change when we start putting things into practise. What is realistic? What do you need to do to make sure you get an outcome that will have impact? After you have come up with a strategy, it is important to leave it for a while. Then come back to it with fresh eyes and see how you can improve it. Get as many minds as you can to think about the strategy.

**Locally and Nationally**

You may need different approaches locally and nationally. Who could you target in the communities that have influence? What could you get them to do to start spreading the word?

Think about what people know at the moment about modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour. How could you help them understand it and want to make a change? What stories could you share? What people stand out that could speak up?

Nationally you may want to get the message out to more people by using the broadcast media or social media. Who are the media influencers that people engage with?

**How to deal with the media**

The media are always looking for a story. The way media operate differs from country to country. You need to find a way to get them interested in a story so they come to you – rather than the need to go to them.

Create a news story. This can be difficult to do. If you hear of a story that you think people would want to know about then it might interest a journalist. Try it out with friends. If they want to share it with others it may get interest.

Link to an existing story. This is an easier way to get interest. If there is a story or type of story that they are already reporting on they may be more likely to report on another similar story.

Show facts or statistics around a story. If there is a report out or if you have done a survey of a large number of people and want to share the statistics this is a great way to engage. You could use the many survey applications – like survey monkey to create one yourself.

Create an event for them to cover. If there is a group of people meeting invite the media along. If you know someone who is quite famous that will attract the media this is another great way of getting their attention.

**The importance of campaigning**

Raising awareness around forced labour, human trafficking and modern slavery is the key to change. People's perceptions of what it is can be changed through stories, messages and key influencers. People don't remember after hearing a story only once. They may need to hear it up to 7 times – possibly in different ways – to make them remember it. So, persistence is the key to success.

**Next steps**

- **Change takes time**
- **Becoming a ‘Champion for Change’ takes a moment**
- **What is your toolkit and first step to action?**
YOUR CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

AIM:

ACTIVITIES:

PEOPLE:

MESSAGE:

BARRIERS:

MOTIVATIONS/WHY:

KEY POINTS FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS

- Digital platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp, are increasingly important means of communication and news sources. If parliamentarians are to be effective advocates in the fight against contemporary forms of exploitation, it is important they successfully navigate this new media landscape. One way of doing this is through 'lo-fi storytelling'. This is a direct message from parliamentarians to their audiences through quick photos, videos or content that communicates what they are doing and why.

- Traditional media coverage and investigative journalism continues to play a vital role in exposing exploitation, boosting public awareness and holding governments to account on their responses. When engaging with the media, parliamentarians should ensure that key, trusted journalists are continuously informed of parliamentary action and, where appropriate, offer interview opportunities.

- The media also has the potential to be a powerful educational tool in the fight against contemporary forms of exploitation. In the case of Sierra Leone, sustained engagement with the appropriate local and national actors yielded increased reportage, coverage of legislative and policy action and specific programmes tailored towards educating the general public.

- Whilst survivor stories are a powerful way of raising awareness, it is essential that parliamentarians do not abuse them. Ethical storytelling is an important tool for ensuring that survivors' stories are told correctly. It ensures that survivors are seen as more than 'their story', give informed consent throughout the storytelling process, are not sensationalised and are kept safe at all times.

- Partnering with civil society to create a campaign is an effective way of keeping attention on an issue or a bill and raising its profile among the public, parliamentarians and the government. The key to a successful campaign is to educate and mobilise members of the public, bring together different civil society actors, articulate a clear message through appropriate media channels and keep up momentum.

- When creating successful campaigns for action on modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour, the following points are important to keep in mind:
  - campaigns should have a clear and specific aim;
  - campaigns should be tailored towards local context and the issues faced within each country;
  - drawing up a list of key influencers who can advocate for your campaign can help initiate and sustain momentum;
  - campaign activities should aim to clearly articulate its message and increase key influencer engagement with the campaign;
  - campaign messages need to summarise complex ideas in a succinct and powerful way.
GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

All Party Parliamentary Groups (APPG): In the UK, these are informal cross-party groups run by Members of House of Commons and Lords, that focus on a specific issue, policy area, region or country. They often involve individuals and organisations from outside Parliament in their administration and activities. (https://www.parliament.uk/site-information/glossary/all-party-groups/)

Child forced labour: Closely linked to ‘forced labour’, the International Labour Organization defines child forced labour as “work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children and interferes with their schooling by: depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; obliging them to leave school prematurely; or requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.” The worst forms of child labour involve children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards or illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets. (https://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/lang--en/index.htm).

County Lines: A term used in the UK to describe when drug gangs from big cities expand their operations into smaller towns, often using violence to exploit children and vulnerable people into selling drugs. In most instances, the drug users and customers live in a different area to the dealer network, so drug runners are needed to transport the drugs and collect payment. (https://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/what-we-do/crime-threats/drug-trafficking/county-lines).

Debt bondage: Also known as ‘bonded labour’ or ‘debt slavery’, it occurs when a person is required to perform work or services in order to pay off a debt. Most or all of the money they earn goes to pay off their loan. The value of their work becomes greater than the original size of the loan.

Domestic servitude: Domestic servitude refers to the forced labour of an individual (adult or child) that is performed in someone else’s private home, where the individual may also be required to live in that home. Whilst usually only associated with childcare or domestic chores, domestic servitude also includes other types of labour and services, including care for the elderly, disabled or ill and maintenance of the house or grounds.

Football trafficking: Refers to the process by which individuals, often young men and boys, are recruited and subsequently exploited by intermediaries claiming to be football agents or talent scouts. These agents offer players the opportunity to be signed by a foreign club and ask for money in exchange, akin to a ‘finder’s fee’. Players usually arrive in the destination country on a short-term tourist visa and often have their travel documents taken by the intermediary. Some players are immediately abandoned by agents upon arrival, whilst others are taken to multiple trials until a contract is offered. These contracts are typically exploitative and contain unfavourable terms for the player. If no contract is offered, the intermediary will abandon the player, often taking their ‘finder’s fee’, documentation and any money with them.

Forced labour: A situation in which an individual involuntarily performs any type of work or service. The involuntary nature of the situation means that the person is required to work under some form of threat, which can be real or implied. The two key elements of forced labour are the exercise of coercion and the denial of freedom.

Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority (GLAA): The agency in the UK that is responsible for protecting vulnerable and exploited workers. They investigate reports of worker exploitation and illegal activity, including human trafficking, forced labour and illegal labour provision. (https://www.gla.gov.uk/who-we-are/what-we-do/)

Human trafficking: The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. (Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, Article 3 paragraph a)

Modern slavery: A catch-all term used to encompass all contemporary forms of exploitation, including forced labour and child forced labour, debt bondage, human trafficking and forced marriage.
Orphanage trafficking: The active recruitment or transfer of children into orphanages, institutional care or residential institutions for the purpose of exploitation and profit. Once in these institutions, children are often held in slavery-like conditions and/or subject to a range of exploitative behaviour and abuse - sexual, physical, psychological and forced labour. Under international law, this qualifies as trafficking. (Kathryn E. van Doore, ‘Paper Orphans: Exploring Child Trafficking for the Purpose of Orphanages’ (2016) 24(2) International Journal of Children's Rights 378)

Orphanage voluntourism: A term used to define activities related to the support of orphanages and children's institutions by individuals who are primarily, or were initially, tourists on vacation and wished to include an element of social work-oriented in their vacation. This often involves volunteering their time and sometimes financial or material support to the institution. Tourists commonly pay for this experience, either directly to the orphanage, or through a volunteer agency or tour company. (https://nextgenerationnepal.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/The-Paradox-of-Orphanage-Volunteering.pdf page 9)

Palermo Protocol: Officially known as the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish the Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000), the Palermo Protocol is a United Nations convention that forms the basis of the internationally accepted definition of human trafficking.

Parliamentary caucuses: Similar to APPG's, caucuses are non-party affiliated groups made up of cross-party parliamentarians with a shared interest in a specific issue or policy area. Membership is voluntary.

Private Members Bill (PMB): Bills introduced by individual MPs rather than by the Government. Whilst few PMB’s become law, they can create publicity or raise awareness of an issue and may affect legislation indirectly. (https://www.parliament.uk/site-information/glossary/private-members-bills/)

Sexual exploitation: Sexual exploitation is the abuse of an individual in a sexual manner. This can be through forced prostitution, forced marriage, rape and forced pornography, including online. Men, women and children can all be victims of sexual exploitation. Sexual exploitation can also take place as part of other forms of exploitation and trafficking.

Supply chain exploitation: A supply chain is the journey a product makes from being a raw material to the shop it is sold in, including its manufacture, production and physical movement. Human exploitation can occur at any stage of the supply chain. Due to the increasingly complex and global nature of supply chains, it has become harder to trace and monitor abuse in them.

Abbreviations:
APPG: All Party Parliamentary Group
C4D: Communication for Development
CCPC: Community Child Protection Committee
CHOGM: The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CIPS: The Chartered Institute of Procurement & Supply
CPA UK: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association UK Branch
CSO: Civil Society Organisations
DWP: Department of Work and Pensions
EA: Expert Advisor
FIA: Pakistan Federal Investigations Agency
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
GLAA: Gangmasters & Labour Abuse Authority
HMRC: Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs
IJM: International Justice Mission
IMPCD: International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IOM: International Organization of Migration
MSA: Modern Slavery Act
MSWGCA: Sierra Leonean Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs
NAPTIP: National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons
NHS: National Health Service
NPA: National Plan of Action
ONRTIP: Office of the National Rapporteur for Trafficking in Persons
PIPS: Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services
PMB: Private Members Bill
PPN: Procurement Policy Note
PRM: United States Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration
SDG: Sustainable Development Goals
SLBC: Sierra Leone Broadcasting Corporation
TISC: Act on Transparency and Supply Chains
UK: United Kingdom
UN: United Nations
RESOURCES

The CPA UK Modern Slavery Project has released communications materials to assist parliamentarians in raising awareness of modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour in their communities.

The pack of materials includes posters, flyers and infographics to equip representatives with the information and tools they need to help educate and assist their constituents, as well as their colleagues in parliament.

In this section of the handbook you can cut out and use the resources directly. In the following pages you will find:

• Understanding Modern Slavery, Human Trafficking & Forced Labour | POSTER
• Spotting the Signs of Modern Slavery, Human Trafficking & Forced Labour | POSTER
• Tackling Modern Slavery, Human Trafficking & Forced Labour: Your Role as a Parliamentarian | FLYER
• Understanding Modern Slavery, Human Trafficking & Forced Labour: And How to Stop it | FLYER

Further resources can be found at www.uk-tpa.org/modernslavery

Photo credit: Lisa Kristine photography / The Human Thread Foundation

UNDERSTANDING MODERN SLAVERY
HUMAN TRAFFICKING & FORCED LABOUR

Commercial Sexual Exploitation
is when a person is abused in a sexual manner. This can be through forced prostitution, forced marriage, rape, or forced pornography.

Debt Bondage
is also known as 'bonded labour' or 'debt slavery'. It occurs when a person is required to perform work or services in order to pay off a debt. Most or all the money they earn goes to pay off their loan.

Forced Labour
is a situation in which an individual involuntarily performs any type of work or service under some sort of threat. The threat can be real or threatened, but the individual feels unable to refuse.

Domestic Servitude refers to the forced labour of an adult or a child that is performed in someone else’s private residence, where the individual may also be required to live in that home.

Human Trafficking
is the recruitment, transportation, holding or obtaining of persons typically for the purposes of forced labour or commercial sexual exploitation.

Virtual Trafficking
is when traffickers and child abusers use online platforms to solicit and manipulate children into performing sexual acts in front of a webcam. Children’s images and videos are then transferred, held and received for the purposes of further exploitation and abuse.

#ENDTRAFFICKING
SPOT THE SIGNS OF MODERN SLAVERY, HUMAN TRAFFICKING & FORCED LABOUR

Physical marks
They have marks on their body (burns, bruises, cuts) that show they might be physically abused.

Fearful, timid or submissive
They're afraid of speaking to anyone, especially authority figures.

Lack of formal ID
They don't have any form of identification (ID or passport) or they say someone else has their ID/passport.

Lack of freedom
They have a limited freedom of movement.

Someone always nearby
There is always someone near them and they seem afraid of that person. This could be their trafficker.

Unsure of surroundings
They're afraid to talk about where they live or don't seem to know their surroundings very well.

Substance abuse
They abuse some form of substance such as drugs or alcohol.

Different transportation
You often see them getting in and out of different vehicles.
FIND OUT MORE

WORKING INTERNATIONALLY

YOUR ROLE AS A PARLIAMENTARIAN

FORCED LABOUR & TRAFFICKING & HUMAN SLAVERY, MODERN

TACKLING MODERN

Katharine Legg
CPA UK's Modern Slavery Project supports parliamentarians who want to become champions in the global fight against modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour. Please contact us if you are interested in becoming involved in CPA UK's Modern Slavery Project.

Modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour are international issues - and therefore require an international response. As parliamentarians, you have the opportunity to engage with key international stakeholders and colleagues.

The Network of Parliamentary Champions is one way of achieving this. The Network is a group of parliamentarians and clerks seeking to combat modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour by:

• Lobbying at regional fora for greater regional collaboration and data-sharing.
• Work towards gathering high level political 'buy-in' for prioritising these issues in the legislatures of the Network members.
• Be spokespeople as parliamentarians across the Commonwealth.
• Share stories, actions, parliamentary motions / bills relating to these issues and support one another through challenges and providing expertise.
• Engage additional countries/neighbouring parliaments on how they might also prioritise these issues and recruit new parliamentary champions from these legislatures.
• Recruit additional 'anti-trafficking champions' from within your own legislature.

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PROGRESS

By winning the support of Parliament, it is likely that the
- Government will be more likely to adopt the
- NGO\’s recommendations!
- Media coverage of the issue will increase,
- More individuals and organisations will become involved
- The Government will be more likely to take action

Intervening
- Members of Parliament should work to bring attention to
- The links between modern slavery, forced labour and
- Human trafficking.
- Work to promote legislation and
- To hold the Government to account on this issue.

Coalitions
- Working with other organisations on
- Common goals
- With the aim of creating a
- Stronger voice for change

You can find out more about the CPA UK’s Modern Slavery Project here:

www.uk-cpa.org/modernslavery
YOUR ROLE AS A PARLIAMENTARIAN

LEGISLATING AGAINST MODERN SLAVERY, HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND FORCED LABOUR

1. Domestic Servitude: A person is abused in their role as a domestic worker in someone's house or property. They have no or little contact with their family; and/or may not be paid; experience violence or threats; have their identity documents taken; are robbed of the chance to use their talents to contribute to the development of their country in a fair and secure environment.

2. Human Trafficking: A person is recruited, kept or transported into a situation of abuse. Victims may be seen as low risk, high reward crimes, with an opportunity to pay off a debt. They work for little or no pay, with no control over their debt and with little to no realistic chance of paying the debt off. In some cases this debt is transferred from one generation to the next.

3. Modern Slavery, Human Trafficking and Forced Labour: Victims of these crimes are unable to contribute to their country's economy and are judged and excluded from their society. They are robbed of the chance to use their talents to contribute to the development of their country in a fair and secure environment.

4. Sexual Exploitation: A person is abused in a sexual manner. This can be through forced prostitution; punishment; debt bondage; forced marriage, rape, and forced pornography. Some examples of this abuse include: a person is abused in a sexual manner. This can be through forced prostitution; punishment; debt bondage; forced marriage, rape, and forced pornography.

5. Debt Bondage: A person is forced to work against their will. If they do not work, they are threatened or punished. Often they are not paid, or paid very little.

WHY COMBAT MODERN SLAVERY, HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND FORCED LABOUR?

1. A person is forced to work in order to support and save people not only in your area, but around the world. You have many effective tools and strategies at your disposal as a parliamentarian.

2. As a parliamentarian, you are in a unique and powerful position to tackle this global menace. There are actions you can take to help stop modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour.

3. Making a statement, asking a question or launching a debate on the floor of the parliament; joining or creating a relevant parliamentary committee; engaging with neighbouring and regional parliaments; and/or cross-party interest group on the issue; raising awareness; and/or participating in the public, private and voluntary sectors; are just a few actions you can take to help stop modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour.

4. It is estimated that 40.3 million people are victims of modern slavery worldwide.

WHAT IS MODERN SLAVERY, HUMAN TRAFFICKING & FORCED LABOUR?

Modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour to refer to situations of exploitation involving violence, coercion, deception and/or abuse of power. It is estimated that 40.3 million people are victims of modern slavery worldwide. The UN uses the terms modern slavery, human trafficking & forced labour to refer to situations of exploitation involving violence, coercion, deception and/or abuse of power. It is estimated that 40.3 million people are victims of modern slavery worldwide.
There are a number of ways in which you can help in the fight against modern slavery, human trafficking and forced labour:

• Learn to spot the signs of these issues. If you suspect that someone may be a victim, alert the authorities.

• Educate your local community about this issue and how it can affect them. Knowledge is power - if people are aware, they can better protect themselves. You can do this by speaking to your family and friends, or by organising a larger meeting for your whole community.

• Engage your local faith, business and political leaders on the issue. Talk about what has already been done to tackle this problem and what further steps should be taken. You will be stronger if you work together.

• Engage with charities and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on the issue. They often have the skills and expertise needed to tackle the problem directly.

• Make sure that you and your community welcome back and support people who have been victims. If they were forced to do illegal and immoral work, you must remember that this was not their fault. Their freedom was taken from them and they did everything they could just to survive.

• Set up a group of community representatives on this issue. Your group could meet regularly to monitor the well-being of the community, as well as represent the community by working with charities, politicians and other relevant groups or individuals.

WORK WITH YOUR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

Your Member of Parliament's job is to represent you and your community. By working together to fight these abuses, you can improve the lives of many people. You can do this by:

• Asking your Member of Parliament to discuss the issue in Parliament. This will encourage other politicians to act and fight against these abuses;

• Requesting your Member of Parliament to talk to your community. As a leader, they will be respected and listened to on the issue;

• Informing your Member of Parliament of any local victims or incidents. They can help to solve the issue and gather more support from other politicians and organisations;

• Setting up an interest group with your Member of Parliament. This group can include charities, businesses, other politicians and members of your community. Together you can discuss how to best protect the community.

SPOT THE SIGNS OF MODERN SLAVERY, HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND FORCED LABOUR?

Physical marks
They have marks on their body (burns, bruises, cuts) that show they might be physically abused.

Fearful, timid or submissive
They're afraid of speaking to anyone, especially authority figures.

Lack of formal ID
They don't have any form of identification (ID or passport) or they say someone else has their ID/passport.

Lack of freedom
They have a limited freedom of movement.

Someone always nearby
There is always someone near them and they seem afraid of that person. This could be their trafficker.

Unsure of surroundings
They're afraid to talk about where they live or don't seem to know their surroundings very well.

Substance abuse
They abuse some form of substance such as drugs or alcohol.

Different transportation
You often see them getting in and out of different vehicles.