

CHRI 2018

# THE COMMONWEALTH ROADMAP TO SDG 8.7

**FOREWORD BY URMILA BHOOLA  
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INCLUDING ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES**



**CHRI**

Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative  
working for the *practical* realisation of human rights in  
the countries of the Commonwealth

# Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative

The Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI) is an independent, non-profit, non-partisan, international non-governmental organisation, mandated to ensure the practical realisation of human rights in the countries of the Commonwealth. In 1987, several Commonwealth professional associations founded CHRI, with the conviction that there was little focus on the issues of human rights within the Commonwealth although the organisation provided member countries a shared set of values and legal principles from which to work.

CHRI's objectives are to promote awareness of and adherence to the Commonwealth Harare Principles, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other internationally recognised human rights instruments, as well as domestic instruments supporting human rights in Commonwealth member states.

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# Definitions

We use the term “contemporary forms of slavery” and SDG 8.7 as synonyms. SDG 8.7 explicitly names a set of phenomena it aims to eradicate including “modern slavery” – an umbrella term that encompasses all forms of exploitation in which a person is under the control of another person and is not able to freely choose to remove themselves from such control. Thus, when this report refers to SDG 8.7 or contemporary forms of slavery it is referring to:

- **Forced labour** – Defined by the International Labour Organization Convention on Forced Labour (1930) as “all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily”. Victims may be forced to work long hours for little or no pay in poor conditions under verbal or physical threats of violence to them or their families. Victims may be adults or children. Forced labour includes that which is the result of forced marriage but does not include compulsory military service, or court-mandated community service.
- **Domestic servitude** – This involves a victim being forced to work in predominantly private households, usually performing domestic chores and childcare duties. Their freedom may be restricted and they may work long hours often for little or no pay, often sleeping where they work.
- **Human trafficking** – The UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol defines it as “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. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs”. Human trafficking may be either international (removal from one country to another) or domestic (from one area to another of the same country). Victims may be adults or children.
- **Slavery and Slavery-like Practices** – Slavery is defined as the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.<sup>1</sup> Slavery-like practices include multiple forms of exploitation, in particular:<sup>2</sup>
  - **Debt bondage** – The status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined.<sup>3</sup>
  - **Serfdom** – the condition or status of a tenant who is by law, custom or agreement bound to live and labour on land belonging to another person and to render some determinate service to such other person, whether for reward or not, and is not free to change his status.

1 Article 1, International Convention to Suppress the Slave Trade and Slavery. Available at: < <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/treaties/1927/11.html> >.

2 Slavery, Slavery-Like Practices and Forced Labour. Available at: <https://internationallaw.uslegal.com/international-human-rights/universal-human-rights-instruments/slavery-slavery-like-practices-and-forced-labour/>.

3 Ibidem 2.

- *Forced marriage and Servile Forms of Marriage*<sup>4</sup> – Strictly defined, it means a woman, without the right to refuse, is promised or given in marriage on payment of a consideration in money or in kind to her parents, guardian, family or any other person or group; or the husband of a woman, his family, or his clan, has the right to transfer her to another person for value received or otherwise; or a woman on the death of her husband is liable to be inherited by another person. However, in recent years the UN and others have taken a broader view of forced/servile marriage, which we adopt for the purposes of this report. In sum, forced or servile marriage is any situation in which people – regardless of their gender or age, are married without their consent.
- *The exploitation of children and adolescents* – Any institution or practice whereby a child or young person under the age of 18 years, is delivered by either or both of his natural parents or by his guardian to another person, whether for reward or not, with a view to the exploitation of the child or young person or of their labour.
  - *Worst forms of child labour* – Defined by Article 3 of ILO Convention No. 182 as: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.
  - *Child labour* – Defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. It refers to 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 recruitment and use of child soldiers* – In 1977, the Additional Protocols to the 1949 Geneva Conventions prohibited the military recruitment and use of children under the age of 15, which is now recognised as a war crime under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (2002). It applies to both government-controlled armed forces and non-state armed groups. The standard was raised again by the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict, also known as OPAC (2000). OPAC was the world’s first international treaty wholly focused on ending the military exploitation of children. The treaty prohibits the conscription of children under the age of 18 and their participation in hostilities. It also prohibits the voluntary recruitment of children by non-state armed groups, although it allows state armed forces to recruit from age 16, as long as the children recruited are not sent to war.<sup>5</sup>
- *Descent-based slavery* – People are born into slavery because their ancestors were captured into slavery and their families have “belonged” to the slave-owning families ever since. Slave status is passed down the maternal line.<sup>6</sup>

4 While the UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956) defines this strictly in terms of the victimisation of women because they are the vast majority of victims; we acknowledge that persons of other genders may fall victim as well. See: <https://www.freedomunited.org/news/forgotten-male-victims-forced-marriage/>.

5 Child Soldiers International, International laws and child rights. Available at: <https://www.child-soldiers.org/international-laws-and-child-rights>

6 Anti-Slavery International, Descent-based slavery. Available at: <https://www.antislavery.org/slavery-today/descent-based-slavery/>

- *Sexual exploitation* – This includes, but is not limited to, sexual exploitation and sexual abuse, forced prostitution and the abuse of children for the production of child abuse images/videos.
- *Criminal exploitation* – This can be understood as the exploitation of a person to commit a crime, such as pickpocketing, shoplifting, cannabis cultivation, drug trafficking and other similar activities that are subject to penalties and imply financial gain for the trafficker.
- *Other forms of exploitation* – Organ removal; forced begging; forced benefit fraud; forced marriage and illegal adoption; early and forced marriage.

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Lastly, we would like to acknowledge the WalkFree Foundation's ground-breaking contribution to the global fight against contemporary slavery, especially the work of Katharine Bryant and the wider Global Slavery Index team.

# Executive Summary

The overarching cause and driver of contemporary forms of slavery is greed, economic opportunism and weak regulation. As long as the enslavement and exploitation of other human beings drives profits up and the costs of economic activity down with impunity, there will be slavery in the world. It is estimated that the economic value of human trafficking alone is upwards of USD\$150 billion annually. The *2018 Global Slavery Index* identifies a series of factors that interrelate to create vulnerability and opportunities for contemporary forms of slavery: governance issues, lack of basic needs, the effects of conflict, inequality, and disenfranchised groups. We have added to these the effects of climate change – the most serious contemporary challenge to governance, prosperity, and human rights.

Meeting the ambition of Sustainable Development Goal Target 8.7 (SDG 8.7) is intrinsically linked to the eradication of all forms of exclusion, exploitation, and human rights abuses which in turn requires societies that are more equal, more resilient, and more tolerant, with real pathways to upwards social mobility. The Commonwealth Heads of Government recognised this fact and so, included ending contemporary forms of slavery in the CHOGM 2018 Communiqué. This will require significant and sustained progress across the entire SDG framework because the human rights abuses connected to SDG 8.7 stem from a set of practices that sit at the root of the current global social, economic and political systems – they are even connected to climate change which affects livelihoods, creates instability and the conditions for conflict, and therefore incentivises exploitation and abuse. We have identified four areas of action to meet the ambition of SDG 8.7: change social norms, attitudes, and behaviours; improve laws and policy frameworks; strengthen social and economic assets and safety nets; and collect robust data for evidence-based response.

Commonwealth states have shown a strong commitment to action under SDG 8.7; especially in terms of ratifying relevant international instruments and strengthening domestic legal frameworks. However, much remains to be done. There has been an uncoordinated response across all areas of action. The key response gaps identified are: ensuring effective implementation of the legal frameworks; strengthening legislative and policy obligations for the prevention and eradication of contemporary forms of slavery in supply chains; developing National Action Plans; data gathering and evidence-based policy and response; decision-making; and monitoring and evaluating the quality of the government's response. In addition, we found that there are gaps in protection of the most vulnerable populations, such as women and girls, people working in the informal sector, migrant workers, asylum seekers, refugees, and internally displaced persons who are susceptible to exploitation and modern slavery.

The official UN indicator for SDG 8.7 only measures the proportion and number of children aged 5-17 engaged in child labour; in line with the vulnerability factors and the areas of action identified, we argue that a much more comprehensive set of indicators need to be measured, in order to effectively track progress towards meeting SDG 8.7.

We have developed an indicator framework that tracks and evaluates government response to contemporary forms of slavery through looking not only at legal and policy frameworks but their actual implementation and effectiveness, as well as the pervasiveness and quality of social protection mechanisms which reduce the risk of victimisation. This indicator framework measures two things:

1. Whether action has been taken under each of the areas of action identified, and
2. What the outcome of said action has been so far; for example, the number of judicial convictions for cases of contemporary forms of slavery and the proportion of people (including children) in forced labour.

The overarching aim is to build a picture that showcases not only what action governments are taking to meet SDG 8.7 but to provide an indication of whether government response is in fact contributing to reducing the prevalence of contemporary forms of slavery. This indicator framework builds on the one developed by the WalkFree Foundation in the *2018 Global Slavery Index*.



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## Foreword

With its 53 members, the Commonwealth is an immensely diverse, vast and powerful intergovernmental organisation which spans across five regions. It faces multiple challenges, including contemporary forms of slavery which continue to affect a large number of women, men, girls and boys in countries such as Pakistan, Rwanda, Papua New Guinea, the UK and Australia.

At the Commonwealth Summit held in April 2018, a firm commitment was made to achieve SDG 8 by “eradicating forced labour, ending modern slavery and human trafficking, and securing the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour in all its forms by 2025”.

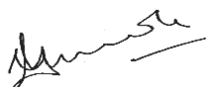
Since the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals in September 2015, much has been written about how best to implement the goals’ ambitious targets, including target 8.7 which aims at eliminating contemporary forms of slavery, trafficking in persons, forced labour and the worst forms of child labour. The present report published by the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI) adds significant value to previous publications, as it is tailored to the specific challenges and potentials of the Commonwealth in preventing and ending the scourges listed in only seven years, by 2025.

In order to achieve a target effectively, the specific features of the problem must be known. The present report clearly identifies the persisting root causes of contemporary forms of slavery, existing response and protection gaps which are based on evidence reflected in data: Only three Commonwealth countries, for example, have labour laws which include the informal sector, and this should ring alarm bells.

The report uncovers the barriers and difficulties in measuring the response to contemporary forms of slavery and introduces a comprehensive, innovative indicator framework that tracks and evaluates government response to contemporary forms of slavery. It measures not only whether relevant action has been taken by governments but also the specific results of the measures. In this way, the effectiveness of the actions taken can be measured, which is exactly what is needed to assess if States are on the right path in ending contemporary forms of slavery.

Tracking progress against the proposed ambitious indicator framework will not be easy, particularly in countries where data is limited. I commend the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative and the WalkFree Foundation for their promising efforts which have the potential to make a real difference at the national and the community levels. I have no doubt that in this way, the Commonwealth Roadmap to SDG 8.7 will contribute to positive change by promoting communities to be more inclusive, more equal, wealthier, and therefore more resilient to contemporary forms of slavery.

I wish you well in this journey and stand ready to support this important effort in my capacity as the UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences.



UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery,  
including its causes and consequences

November 2018

# Introduction

In 2015, the world adopted the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda. Its core elements are economic growth, social inclusion, and environmental protection, with the underlying ambition to “end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity for all by 2030”. The Agenda proposes 17 interlinked Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which countries have agreed to integrate into their policies, practices, plans, and programmes<sup>7</sup>.

Since 2016, CHRI has been advocating for the Commonwealth to commit itself to global leadership towards achieving SDG 8.7 because it covers issues that disproportionately affect its citizens. SDG 8.7 urges all states 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, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms.*<sup>8</sup>

Throughout the Commonwealth’s lifetime, the ill effects of colonisation, rapid population growth, globalisation, and climate change have fuelled poverty and instability, as limited resources have been stretched leading to rising inequality. In this environment, multiple forms of exploitation and contemporary forms of slavery have thrived.<sup>9</sup>

We believe the Commonwealth has a historical, political and moral responsibility to act. We also believe that as a network of states linked by long-standing cultural, political, historical, and economic ties, the Commonwealth is uniquely positioned to drive swift, coordinated, and impactful action to meet the ambition of SDG 8.7.

This report provides a roadmap for effective action towards eradicating all forms of contemporary slavery in Commonwealth countries and proposes an indicator framework to measure progress.

<sup>7</sup> “UN Sustainable Development Summit.” United Nations, United Nations. Available at: [www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/summit/](http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/summit/).

<sup>8</sup> SDG 8.7 lists specific practices it aims to eradicate, including the term “modern slavery”; although not all of the practices explicitly listed under 8.7 constitute forms of slavery (e.g. child labour). The common thread is the exploitation of human beings who are under the control of another person and cannot freely choose to leave it. Thus, we include them all under our definition of contemporary forms of slavery and our interpretation of SDG 8.7.

<sup>9</sup> Seidman, Gay W., and Kevin Bales. *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*. Contemporary Sociology, vol. 29, no. 2, 2000, p. 355. doi:10.2307/2654399.

# Contemporary Forms of Slavery in the Commonwealth

Contemporary slavery takes many forms across the Commonwealth, including: exploitation of migrants in the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; trafficking of women and girls from West African countries to Europe where they are exploited in the sex industry; trafficking for forced labour from countries in South East Asia to Australia and New Zealand. Child exploitation

in Commonwealth countries includes the use of child soldiers in armed forces in Nigeria and in non-state armed groups in India and Pakistan. Child commercial sexual exploitation also occurs across the Commonwealth. In particular, countries in the Caribbean experience high levels of sex tourism, where demand has created a trade in children for tourists from North America and Europe. Children are exploited at work throughout the Commonwealth, from fishing boats on the coast of Lake Volta in Ghana, to Cameroonian gold mines, in Bangladesh's garment industry, and in cannabis farms in the UK.<sup>11</sup> In Bangladesh, Rohingya refugees who have fled Myanmar are vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation, with reports that men, women and children are being recruited with false promises of paid work in fishing, begging and domestic work. Some refugees report being forced into sex work, forced to work long hours, abused, and unable to leave their work premises or contact their family. Women and girls are particularly vulnerable; forced marriage and sexual slavery have been used as a weapon of war in Nigeria and other countries.<sup>12</sup>

According to the *2018 Global Slavery Index*,<sup>13</sup> Commonwealth countries present a broad distribution of prevalence rates. However, contemporary forms of slavery are a serious issue across the entire Commonwealth. As at the time of writing, the Commonwealth countries with the highest estimated prevalence of contemporary forms of slavery relative to their respective populations are:<sup>14</sup> Pakistan, Rwanda, Brunei Darussalam, Papua New Guinea, Kingdom of eSwatini.

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**40.3 million people in the world are estimated to be living under contemporary forms of slavery; 71% of those are female. Africa, Asia Pacific and Arab States have the highest prevalence rates.<sup>10</sup>**

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## Root Causes and Drivers of Contemporary Forms of Slavery

The overarching cause and driver of contemporary forms of slavery is greed or economic opportunism. As long as the enslavement and exploitation of other human beings drives profits up and the costs of economic activity down with impunity, there will be slavery in the world.<sup>15</sup> It is estimated that the economic value of human trafficking alone is upwards of USD\$150 billion annually.<sup>16</sup> The *2018 Global Slavery Index*<sup>17</sup> identifies a series of factors that interrelate to create vulnerability and opportunities for contemporary forms of slavery: governance issues, lack of basic needs, the effects of conflict, inequality, and disenfranchised groups. We have added to these the

<sup>10</sup> *2018 Global Slavery Index*. Available at: [www.globalslaveryindex.org](http://www.globalslaveryindex.org).

<sup>11</sup> Walk Free Foundation. *Towards a Common Future. Achieving SDG 8.7 in the Commonwealth* (2018). Available at: <https://www.walkfreefoundation.org/news/resource/achieving-sdg-8-7-in-the-commonwealth/>.

<sup>12</sup> Council on Foreign Relations. *Modern Slavery: an exploration of its root causes and the human toll*. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/interactives/modern-slavery>.

<sup>13</sup> Available at: <https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/>.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem 10.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem 11.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem 11.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem 10.

effects of climate change – the most serious contemporary challenge to governance, prosperity, and human rights.<sup>18</sup>

Commonwealth countries present varying levels of vulnerability across these factors. However, the highest levels are related to governance issues, inequality, and disenfranchised groups. According to the data available, the Commonwealth countries with the highest levels of overall vulnerability to contemporary forms of slavery are:<sup>19</sup> Pakistan, Nigeria, Kenya, Cameroon, Kingdom of eSwatini.

## What Will It Take to Meet the Ambition of SDG 8.7 by 2025?<sup>20</sup>

Meeting the ambition of SDG 8.7 is intrinsically linked to the eradication of all forms of exclusion, exploitation, and human rights abuses which in turn requires societies to be more equal, more resilient, and more tolerant, with real pathways to upwards social mobility. The Commonwealth Heads of Government recognised this fact and so, included ending contemporary forms of slavery in the CHOGM 2018 Communiqué setting themselves the goal of eradicating contemporary slavery by 2025. This will require significant and sustained progress across the entire SDG framework because the human rights abuses connected to SDG 8.7 stem from a set of practices that sit at the root of the current global social, economic and political systems – they are even connected to climate change which affects livelihoods, creates instability and the conditions for conflict, and therefore incentivises exploitation and abuse.

We have identified four areas of action: change social norms, attitudes and behaviours; improve laws and policy frameworks; strengthen social and economic assets and safety nets; and robust data collection for an evidence-based response.<sup>21</sup>

### *Change social norms, attitudes and behaviours:*

Social cohesion, tolerance, and inclusivity are the essential building blocks of communities that are better able to offer protection from vulnerability to contemporary forms of slavery as well as support and redress for victims. Promoting positive attitudes, behaviours and practices based on tolerance and non-discrimination towards

all people, in conjunction with rights education (awareness-raising) helps develop community members' self-reliance, resilience vis-à-vis shocks and crises, empowerment to claim rights, skills needed to succeed in life, and active participation in social and political decision-making.<sup>22</sup>

Social norms, attitudes and behaviours that strengthen social cohesion within and across communities, help challenge the current structures of power based on patterns of exclusion and discrimination that create vulnerability to and opportunity for contemporary forms of slavery.<sup>23</sup>

### Milestones:

1. National awareness campaigns support the public's understanding of contemporary forms of slavery and ways to identify and report suspected cases.

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**Combined action is needed, and a range of approaches, to tackle the issue of modern slavery and promote equality of opportunity. This includes attention to legislation, enforcement and political mobilisation, and on public awareness and education, with community approaches that include religious and cultural leaders.**

– Commonwealth Secretary-General, RH Patricia Scotland QC (2017)

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<sup>18</sup> See Appendix 1 for a detailed narrative of these vulnerability factors.

<sup>19</sup> Vulnerability estimates are based on the 2018 Global Slavery Index. Available at: <https://www.globallslaveryindex.org/> and the University of Notre Dame's Global Adaptation Initiative's Country Index (2016). Available at: <https://gain.nd.edu/our-work/country-index/rankings/>. See Appendix 3 for a vulnerability estimates table.

<sup>20</sup> Based on CHRI's Theory of Change. Available at: [www.humanrightsinitiative.org](http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org).

<sup>21</sup> The areas of action have been developed based on current international human rights instruments related to contemporary forms of slavery (such as the essential ILO Conventions, domestic law best practice), and the 2018 Global Slavery Index. We have also drawn from literature on behaviour change, and social protection.

<sup>22</sup> International Labour Organization, *Profits and Poverty: The economics of forced labour* (2014). Available at: [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\\_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms\\_243391.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_243391.pdf).

<sup>23</sup> Prentice, Deborah, A. *The Psychology of Social Norms and the Promotion of Human Rights* (2012). Available at: <https://psych.princeton.edu/file/210/download?token=rdaVBd6U> and Baron, Jonathan. *Social Norms for Citizenship*. *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, vol. 85 no. 1, 2018, pp. 229-253.

2. There is evidence of increased public awareness of contemporary slavery and how to report suspected cases.
3. The government actively enables the full enjoyment of human rights for the entire population without discrimination.

### *Improve laws and policy frameworks:*

Much of the advocacy effort on SDG 8.7 has focused on influencing governments to ratify relevant international conventions, but almost all Commonwealth nations have entirely dualist legal systems which means that ratifying international treaties will not create binding legal obligations upon the State unless they are then formally incorporated into domestic law. But even when international obligations are translated into domestic legislation, it is not enough to ensure sustained progress towards eradicating all forms of contemporary slavery. In practice, the true value of having a robust normative framework is the degree to which it is respected and enforced.

### Milestones:

1. The ratification and domestication of all relevant international treaties.
2. The normative framework outlaws the use of contemporary forms of slavery in private and public sector supply chains and includes a yearly reporting mechanism on actions taken by private and public sector actors to comply with it.
3. The normative framework covers both nationals and non-nationals, regardless of their ethnicity, sex, gender, religion, disability, or other minority status.
4. The normative framework does not criminalise victims for actions carried out while they were enslaved.
5. The normative framework does not put the victims at risk of being enslaved or exploited again by making their migratory or refugee status conditional. It establishes protection mechanisms inside and outside the courtroom when victims participate in legal proceedings in any capacity for cases of contemporary forms of slavery.<sup>24</sup>
6. Free legal services, sufficiently stringent sentencing and a high level of convictions contribute to deterring potential perpetrators and ensuring victims have effective access to justice.

### *Strengthen social and economic assets and safety nets:*

Social and economic assets and safety nets help build societies with strong economies, low levels of inequality, high levels of access to basic needs, and a broad set of government services that provide people with tools to navigate crises and shocks which make them less vulnerable to contemporary forms of slavery.<sup>25</sup>

The development and resourcing (in terms of budgets, people and technical expertise) of victim-led support mechanisms, a national referral mechanism, and victim-centric judiciary and security forces that ensure victims exit and remain out of enslavement and prevent further physical and emotional harm, is an essential component of this area of action. Victim identification, referral and support mechanisms must cover not only short-term needs such as protection and shelter, but long-term reintegration such as employment and livelihoods, and mental health support.

Enabling and catalysing cross-stakeholder dialogue and collaboration for collective action against all contemporary forms of slavery is key to a well-coordinated response. Another key component of this area of action is mobilising public and private sector resources towards

<sup>24</sup> Victim protection mechanisms inside the courtroom refer to the provision of video testimony, victims are not cross-examined, and victims are protected from perpetrators. Witness and victim protection mechanisms outside the court include an official witness protection programme where individuals are provided with security, new identities, and relocation support, or protection where the victim's identity is not revealed to the public.

<sup>25</sup> Moser, Caroline and Dani, Anis, A. *Assets, Livelihoods, and Social Policy* (2008). World Bank. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1596/978-0-8213-6995-1> and International Labour Organization, *Social Protection Floor for a Fair and Inclusive Globalization* (2011). Available at: [https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/ilo-bookstore/order-online/books/WCMS\\_165750/lang-en/index.htm](https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/ilo-bookstore/order-online/books/WCMS_165750/lang-en/index.htm).

implementation, monitoring and enforcement agencies, civil society, the grassroots movement and local communities. This will support the development of social and economic assets, such as community support mechanisms and a thriving local economy, which act as deterrents for contemporary forms of slavery.

Another essential component of this area of action is strengthening democratic governance and government transparency, eliminating corruption and ensuring victims of contemporary forms of slavery have avenues for effective active participation in the legislative and enforcement processes.

#### Milestones:

1. A coordinated response across all levels of government, all government agencies and all stakeholders, particularly the private sector and civil society. This requires the development of National Action Plans and a national referral mechanism.
2. An independent monitoring agency such as a slavery commissioner or an ombudsperson exists and is operational.
3. International coordination for cases of cross-border crimes.
4. A national reporting mechanism exists and is operational.
5. Short and long-term victim support services are operational and well-funded, and are accessible to all identified victims irrespective of their immigration status, gender, ethnicity, religion, disability or other minority status.
6. There are clear national guidelines for identifying victims for all statutory and non-statutory first responders, as well as implementing and monitoring agents.<sup>26</sup>
7. Statutory and non-statutory first responders, as well as implementing and monitoring agents are regularly trained on human rights, the normative framework on contemporary forms of slavery, and victim identification and support.
8. Specialised investigative teams within security forces exist and are operational.
9. Corruption is outlawed and public sector agents that are complicit in crimes of contemporary forms of slavery are prosecuted and sentenced.
10. Social protection mechanisms are available to all vulnerable populations.

#### *Data is key:*

Robust research underpins all of these areas for action as it helps understand the prevalence, incidence, root causes and drivers of contemporary forms of slavery in a specific context, and evaluate the effectiveness of the response.

#### Milestones:

1. The government carries out, supports and participates in research into the prevalence, root causes and drivers of contemporary forms of slavery.
2. The government makes evidence-based policy choices to respond to contemporary forms of slavery.
3. The government evaluates the policy response regularly.

<sup>26</sup> First responders are defined as: immigration, border patrol, labour inspectors, NGOs, teachers, social workers, doctors, nurses, the tourism industry and front line police. Implementation agencies are defined as the security forces, the judiciary, legal counsel, direct services providers.

# GOAL: TO MEET THE AMBITION OF SDG 8.7 IN ALL COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES BY 2030

## SOCIAL NORMS, ATTITUDES & BEHAVIOURS

COMMUNITIES ARE MORE RESILIENT TO EXPLOITATION & CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY

INCREASED LEVELS OF TOLERANCE, NON-DISCRIMINATION & ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY & LOCAL GOVERNANCE

SOCIAL NORMS, ATTITUDES & BEHAVIOURS THAT STRENGTHEN SOCIAL COHESION CHALLENGE STRUCTURES OF POWER BASED ON PATTERNS OF EXCLUSION & DISCRIMINATION THAT CREATE VULNERABILITY TO & OPPORTUNITY FOR CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY

OSSIFIED DISCRIMINATORY SOCIAL NORMS ENGENDER TENSIONS WHEN CHALLENGED

## LAWS & POLICY FRAMEWORKS

A COMPREHENSIVE NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK IS SUPPORTED BY NATIONAL ACTION PLANS & ENFORCEMENT GUIDELINES

RATIFICATION & DOMESTICATION OF ALL RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL TREATIES PUBLICATION OF A NATIONAL ACTION PLAN.

A ROBUST NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK ELIMINATES THE INCENTIVES BEHIND CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY. A COORDINATED GOVERNMENT RESPONSE INCREASES ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THESE CRIMES & ACTS AS A DETERRENT

CORRUPTION, LACK OF GOVERNMENT TRANSPARENCY & LACK OF CAPACITY BUILDING FOR MONITORING & ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

## SOCIAL & ECONOMIC ASSETS, SAFETY NETS

PUBLIC & PRIVATE SECTOR RESOURCES ARE MOBILISED TO DEVELOP SOCIAL & ECONOMIC ASSETS

SHORT & LONG-TERM VICTIM-CENTRED IDENTIFICATION, REFERRAL AND SUPPORT MECHANISMS EXIST

PEOPLE AT RISK & VICTIMS OF CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY NEED BOTH URGENT & LONG-TERM SUPPORT TO OVERCOME VULNERABILITIES, THE TRAUMA OF VICTIMISATION & REBUILD THEIR LIVES

INEFFECTIVE COLLABORATION AMONG STAKEHOLDERS (CIVIL SOCIETY, BUSINESS & GOVERNMENT). LACK OF RESOURCES

## DATA

ROBUST DATA UNDERPINS POLICY DECISIONS, SYSTEMS RESPONSE, AND IMPACT EVALUATIONS

EVIDENCE-BASED POLICY, BUDGETARY & ENFORCEMENT CHOICES.

THE MOST IMPACTFUL RESPONSE TO CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY IS EVIDENCE-BASED & TARGETS THE ROOT CAUSES & DRIVERS OF THESE PRACTICES.

THE LACK OF COMPREHENSIVE, ROBUST DATA LEADS TO SUBOPTIMAL POLICY CHOICES & RESOURCE ALLOCATION

## OUTCOMES

## OUTPUTS

## KEY ASSUMPTIONS

## RISKS & BARRIERS



# What Do We Know about Progress So Far?

Commonwealth states have shown a strong commitment to action under SDG 8.7, especially in terms of ratifying relevant international instruments and strengthening domestic legal frameworks. In addition, there have been significant efforts to provide comprehensive capacity building to statutory and non-statutory first responders, as well as implementing and monitoring agents: 51% of Commonwealth countries have provided training for judges and prosecutors at least once since 2012; 83% have trained front-line law enforcement on human trafficking crimes and victim identification at least once since 2012.<sup>27</sup>

However, much remains to be done. There has been an uncoordinated response across all areas of action. The key response gaps identified are:

- Ensuring effective implementation of the legal frameworks.
- Strengthening legislative and policy obligations for the prevention and eradication of contemporary forms of slavery in supply chains.
- Developing and implementing National Action Plans.
- Data gathering and evidence-based policy and response decision-making.
- Monitoring and evaluating the quality of the government's response.

In addition, we have found that there exist gaps in protection for the most vulnerable populations such as women and girls, people working in the informal sector, migrant workers, asylum seekers, refugees, and internally displaced persons.<sup>28</sup>

International cooperation remains fragmented in spite of increased visibility and priority of contemporary forms of slavery on the international agenda at the UN, Commonwealth, and regional levels. The Commonwealth Secretariat has so far not taken a leading role in convening and catalysing a

coordinated response to these crimes within and across member states.

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**Less than half of Commonwealth countries have labour laws that include the informal sector.<sup>29</sup>**

**The UK's 2015 Modern Slavery Act and Australia's proposed modern slavery legislation aim to ensure business supply chains are free of slavery, but neither establishes penalties for businesses that fail to comply with reporting mechanisms and/or take appropriate action to combat contemporary forms of slavery in their supply chains.<sup>30</sup> For example, in the UK only 19% of all the companies that meet the threshold for reporting under the Modern Slavery Act meet the minimum requirements.<sup>31</sup>**

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**Over 66% of Commonwealth nations have a specialised anti-trafficking police unit with a mandate to conduct investigations into contemporary forms of slavery. Yet, 34% of these units are not adequately resourced and are, therefore, not effective. Less than 17% have standard operating procedures (SOPs) to systematically investigate these crimes.<sup>32</sup>**

**Over 90% of Commonwealth nations have laws which criminalise public corruption. However, 38% have allegedly taken limited action to investigate cases of official complicity in cases of contemporary forms of slavery. Across the Commonwealth there have been reports of police and immigration officials facilitating these crimes by taking bribes, and active engagement of government officials in trafficking networks.<sup>33</sup>**

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<sup>27</sup> Ibidem 11.

<sup>28</sup> Based on the analysis of the 2018 Global Slavery Index' dataset. To download the dataset please see footnote 10.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem 11.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem 11.

<sup>31</sup> Modern Slavery Registry. Available at: <https://www.modernslaveryregistry.org/>.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem 11.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem 11.

**Only 12 countries in the Commonwealth currently conduct research on contemporary forms of slavery to inform their policy responses and interventions.<sup>34</sup> Where data is being collected, there remain significant gaps and collection methodologies are not as robust as they should be.<sup>35</sup> For example, a recent Parliamentary review found that the UK government does not have minimum care standards for victim support services providers, nor does it audit the level of care provided; it doesn't track the victims' journeys beyond support services and therefore there is no data on whether victims are being re-victimised.<sup>36</sup>**

## Measuring Progress

The official UN indicator for SDG 8.7 only measures the proportion and number of children aged 5-17 engaged in child labour.<sup>37</sup> In line with the vulnerability factors and the areas of action identified, we argue that a much more comprehensive set of indicators must be measured in order to effectively track progress towards meeting SDG 8.7.

*Establishing links of cause and effect is rarely an exact science. [...] Understanding impact means not only finding numbers to quantify outcomes, but also understanding whether an approach is addressing the systemic causes of the abuse. A band-aid remedy may produce impressive numbers but never provide the cure; while the cure might not produce visible results immediately.<sup>38</sup>*

Measuring the response to contemporary forms of slavery is an enormous challenge; not only because social change is in itself difficult to measure and attribute to specific actions, but also because there are so many factors of contemporary slavery that crisscross social taboos, power imbalances, and hidden populations. Research suggests that barriers to the identification of victims, trauma, previous negative interactions with government agencies and law enforcement, a precarious migratory status, all contribute to the difficulty in measuring progress against contemporary forms of slavery. The social sciences have come a long way in addressing this challenge, as the 2018 Global Slavery Index shows; but it would be disingenuous to overlook the fact that there is still room for improvement.

We have attempted to meet this challenge by developing a comprehensive indicator framework that tracks and evaluates government response to contemporary forms of slavery through looking not only at legal and policy frameworks but their actual implementation, effectiveness, as well as the pervasiveness and quality of social protection mechanisms which reduce the risk of victimisation. This indicator framework measures two things:

1. Whether action has been taken under each of the areas of action identified.
2. What the outcome of the action has been so far; for example, the number of judicial convictions for cases of contemporary forms of slavery, and the proportion of people (including children) in forced labour.

The overarching aim is to build a picture that showcases not only what action governments are taking to meet SDG 8.7, but to provide an indication of whether government response is in fact contributing to reducing the prevalence of contemporary forms of slavery. This indicator framework builds on the work done by the WalkFree Foundation in the *2018 Global Slavery Index*.<sup>39</sup>

In partnership with WalkFree Foundation, we will track progress against this indicator framework for each one of the Commonwealth countries through an online portal and use this data to continue to advocate for effective action within the Commonwealth to meet the ambition of SDG 8.7 by 2025.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem 11.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem 11.

<sup>36</sup> House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts. *Reducing Modern Slavery, Thirty-Sixth Report of Session 2017-19* (2018). Available at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmpubacc/886/886.pdf>.

<sup>37</sup> See: <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/metadata/files/Metadata-08-07-01.pdf>.

<sup>38</sup> Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women. *Collateral Damage: The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights around the World* (2007). Available at: [http://www.gaatw.org/Collateral%20Damage\\_Final/singlefile\\_CollateralDamagefinal.pdf](http://www.gaatw.org/Collateral%20Damage_Final/singlefile_CollateralDamagefinal.pdf).

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem 10.

# The Commonwealth Roadmap to SDG 8.7: Indicator Framework

Area of Action	Milestones	Indicators
<p>1. Change social norms, attitudes and behaviours</p>	<p>1. National awareness campaigns support the public's understanding of contemporary forms of slavery and ways to identify and report suspected cases.</p>	<p>1.1.1 Awareness campaigns target specific known risks of modern slavery                      1.1.2 National campaigns provide information to members of the public on how to report and identify victims                      1.1.3 These campaigns are distributed systematically and at regular intervals (as distinct from one-off, isolated)</p>
	<p>2. There is evidence of increased public awareness of contemporary slavery and how to report suspected cases.</p>	<p>1.2.1 There has been an increase in reported cases of modern slavery</p>
	<p>3. The government actively enables the full enjoyment of human rights for the entire population without discrimination.</p>	<p>1.3.1 Electoral law ensures voting rights for all citizens                      1.3.2 Minorities are represented in government                      1.3.3 The right of freedom of association is enshrined in law; specifically, the right of workers to unionise                      1.3.4 Homosexuality is decriminalised                      1.3.5 Public officials encourage tolerance and non-discrimination in their official statements                      1.3.6 NEGATIVE Minorities encounter a high level of violence in society</p>
<p>2. Improve laws and policy frameworks</p>	<p>1. The ratification and domestication of all relevant international treaties.</p>	<p>2.1.1 Slavery Convention, 1926</p>
		<p>2.1.10 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, 1990</p>
		<p>2.1.12 Protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air supplementing the United Nations Convention against transnational organised crime, 2000</p>
		<p>2.1.13 Human trafficking is criminalised</p>
		<p>2.1.14 Drug Trafficking is criminalised</p>
		<p>2.1.15 Slavery is criminalised</p>
		<p>2.1.16 Forced labour is criminalised</p>
		<p>2.1.17 Use of children in armed conflict is criminalised</p>
		<p>2.1.18 Child prostitution is criminalised</p>
		<p>2.1.19 Forced marriage is criminalised</p>
		<p>2.1.2 P029 – Protocol of 2014 to the Forced Labour Convention, 1930</p>
		<p>2.1.20 Child pornography is criminalised</p>
		<p>2.1.21 NEGATIVE Criminal laws have disproportionate penalties</p>
		<p>2.1.22 NEGATIVE Criminal laws are discriminatory against minorities (non-nationals, women, children, ethno-religious groups)</p>
		<p>2.1.23 NEGATIVE State-sanctioned forced labour exists</p>
		<p>2.1.24 There has been a reduction in the number of estimated victims of human trafficking</p>
		<p>2.1.25 There has been a reduction in the number of estimated victims of slavery</p>
<p>2.1.26 There has been a reduction in the number of estimated victims of forced labour [ incorporates the official UN indicator "the proportion and number of children aged 5-17 engaged in child labour"]</p>		
<p>2.1.27 There has been a reduction in the number of estimated children used in armed conflict</p>		
<p>2.1.28 There has been a reduction in the number of estimated victims of child prostitution</p>		
<p>2.1.29 There has been a reduction in the number of estimated victims of child pornography</p>		

Area of Action	Milestones	Indicators
		<p>2.1.3 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, 1956</p> <p>2.1.30 There has been a reduction in the number of estimated victims of forced marriage</p> <p>2.1.31 There has been reduction in the number of drug trafficking incidents</p> <p>2.1.4 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000</p> <p>2.1.5 ILO Abolition of Forced Labour Convention 1957 (No. 105)</p> <p>2.1.6 ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189)</p> <p>2.1.6 NEGATIVE There is evidence that witness and victim protection mechanisms are formally available to all, but minorities (including women, children, people with disabilities, specific ethno-religious groups, etc.) lack effective access to them</p> <p>2.1.7 ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182)</p> <p>2.1.8 Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict, 2000</p> <p>2.1.9 Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, 2000</p> <p>2.2.1 Public procurement policies and systems exist to minimise the risk of governments purchasing products tainted by forced labour</p> <p>2.2.10 There are penalties for businesses that produce quality reports but do not evidence adequate prevention initiatives</p> <p>2.2.11 There are penalties for businesses that fail to demonstrate adequate action on identified cases of modern slavery in their supply chains</p> <p>2.2.12 Laws or policies allow governments to create a public list of businesses that have been found to tolerate slavery in their supply chains</p> <p>2.2.13 Laws are in place that make it a criminal offence for company directors or companies who fail to prevent modern slavery and fail to undertake reasonable due diligence in first tier supply chains</p> <p>2.2.14 Governments have identified high-risk sectors and have taken action to work with these sectors to eradicate modern slavery</p> <p>2.2.15 Governments implement a responsible investment reporting requirement for investment funds and banks headquartered in their country to ensure that investment does not support modern slavery</p> <p>2.2.16 NEGATIVE There is evidence that the government does not carry out compliance audits or quality checks on businesses' reports</p> <p>2.2.2 Guidelines exist for public procurement officials</p> <p>2.2.3 Annual reports on government action to prevent use of forced labour in public procurement are produced and publicly available</p> <p>2.2.4 The government has provided training to public procurement officials on modern slavery</p> <p>2.2.5 There is evidence that the government has taken remedial action where forced labour has been discovered</p> <p>2.2.6 Laws or policies prevent the import of goods and services made with forced labour</p> <p>2.2.7 Laws or policies require businesses to report on their actions to implement risk minimisation policies</p> <p>2.2.8 There are quality guidelines for producing the reports</p> <p>2.2.9 The reporting requirement includes penalties for businesses that fail to report, or present reports of poor quality</p>
	<p>2. The normative framework outlaws the use of contemporary forms of slavery in private and public sector supply chains and includes a yearly reporting mechanism on actions taken by private and public sector actors to comply with it.</p>	

Area of Action	Milestones	Indicators
<p>3. The normative framework covers both nationals and non-nationals, regardless of their ethnicity, sex, gender, religion, disability, or other minority status.</p> <p>4. The normative framework does not criminalise victims for actions carried out while they were enslaved.</p> <p>5. The normative framework does not put the victims at risk of being enslaved or exploited again by making their migratory or refugee status conditional. It establishes protection mechanisms inside and outside the courtroom when victims participate in legal proceedings in any capacity for cases of contemporary forms of slavery [1].</p> <p>6. Free legal services, sufficiently stringent sentencing and a high level of convictions contribute to deterring potential perpetrators and ensuring that victims have effective access to justice.</p>	<p>2.3.1 Labour laws extend to everyone, including migrant workers, domestic workers, and those in the fishing and construction sectors.</p> <p>2.3.2 The legal framework supports compensation or restitution for victims of modern slavery</p> <p>2.3.3 NEGATIVE Patterns of abuse of labour migrants are institutionalised, or systematic and unchecked</p> <p>2.3.4 NEGATIVE There are laws or policies that prevent or make it difficult for workers to leave abusive employers without risk of loss of visa and deportation</p> <p>2.4.1 National laws allow victims to participate in the legal system regardless of their role as a witness</p> <p>2.4.2 Law recognises that victims should not be treated as criminals for conduct that occurred while under the control of criminals</p> <p>2.4.3 Laws or policies state that private recruitment fees are paid by the employer, not the employee</p> <p>2.4.4 NEGATIVE There is evidence that victims of modern slavery have been treated as criminals for conduct that occurred while under control of criminals</p> <p>2.5.1 Visas to stay in the country or the granting of refugee status are not dependent on the victim's participation in the court process</p> <p>2.5.2 Witness, whistle-blower and victim protection mechanisms are explicit in legislation to ensure that neither witnesses nor victims are intimidated, nor interfered with INSIDE the court</p> <p>2.5.3 Witness and victim protection mechanisms are explicit in legislation to ensure that neither witnesses nor victims are intimidated nor interfered with OUTSIDE the court</p> <p>2.5.4 Child-friendly services are provided for in legislation</p> <p>2.5.5 NEGATIVE Foreign victims are detained and/or deported for immigration violations</p> <p>2.6.1 Free legal services for victims of modern slavery are made explicit in legislation</p> <p>2.6.2 There has been an increase in the number of convictions for cases of modern slavery</p> <p>2.6.3 NEGATIVE Judicial punishments are NOT proportionate to the severity of the crime and culpability of the offender.</p> <p>2.6.4 NEGATIVE There is evidence that free legal services are formally available to all, but minorities (including women, children, people with disabilities, specific ethno-religious groups, etc.) lack effective access to them.</p>	<p>2.3.1 Labour laws extend to everyone, including migrant workers, domestic workers, and those in the fishing and construction sectors.</p> <p>2.3.2 The legal framework supports compensation or restitution for victims of modern slavery</p> <p>2.3.3 NEGATIVE Patterns of abuse of labour migrants are institutionalised, or systematic and unchecked</p> <p>2.3.4 NEGATIVE There are laws or policies that prevent or make it difficult for workers to leave abusive employers without risk of loss of visa and deportation</p> <p>2.4.1 National laws allow victims to participate in the legal system regardless of their role as a witness</p> <p>2.4.2 Law recognises that victims should not be treated as criminals for conduct that occurred while under the control of criminals</p> <p>2.4.3 Laws or policies state that private recruitment fees are paid by the employer, not the employee</p> <p>2.4.4 NEGATIVE There is evidence that victims of modern slavery have been treated as criminals for conduct that occurred while under control of criminals</p> <p>2.5.1 Visas to stay in the country or the granting of refugee status are not dependent on the victim's participation in the court process</p> <p>2.5.2 Witness, whistle-blower and victim protection mechanisms are explicit in legislation to ensure that neither witnesses nor victims are intimidated, nor interfered with INSIDE the court</p> <p>2.5.3 Witness and victim protection mechanisms are explicit in legislation to ensure that neither witnesses nor victims are intimidated nor interfered with OUTSIDE the court</p> <p>2.5.4 Child-friendly services are provided for in legislation</p> <p>2.5.5 NEGATIVE Foreign victims are detained and/or deported for immigration violations</p> <p>2.6.1 Free legal services for victims of modern slavery are made explicit in legislation</p> <p>2.6.2 There has been an increase in the number of convictions for cases of modern slavery</p> <p>2.6.3 NEGATIVE Judicial punishments are NOT proportionate to the severity of the crime and culpability of the offender.</p> <p>2.6.4 NEGATIVE There is evidence that free legal services are formally available to all, but minorities (including women, children, people with disabilities, specific ethno-religious groups, etc.) lack effective access to them.</p>
<p>[1] Victim protection mechanisms inside the courtroom refers to the provision of video testimony, victims are not cross-examined, and victims are protected from perpetrators. Witness and victim protection mechanisms outside the court include an official witness protection programme where individuals are provided with security, new identities, and relocation support, or protection where the victim's identity is not revealed to the public.</p>	<p>1. A coordinated response across all levels of government, all government agencies and all stakeholders, particularly the private sector and civil society. This requires the development of National Action Plans and a National Referral Mechanism.</p>	<p>3.1.1 National Action Plan exists with clear indicators and allocation of responsibilities</p> <p>3.1.2 Government routinely uses the National Action Plan as a framework for reporting its actions</p> <p>3.1.3 Activities in the National Action Plan are fully funded</p> <p>3.1.4 A National Referral Mechanism brings together government and civil society to ensure victims are being referred to services</p> <p>3.1.5 National coordination body exists involving both government and NGOs and is operational</p> <p>3.1.6 NEGATIVE there is evidence that the National Action Plan is not being comprehensively implemented across all levels of government</p> <p>3.1.7 There is evidence that victims are being referred to services using the National Referral Mechanism</p> <p>3.1.7 NEGATIVE There is evidence that first responders have not followed referral protocols</p>
<p>3. Strengthen social and economic assets and safety nets</p>	<p>1. A coordinated response across all levels of government, all government agencies and all stakeholders, particularly the private sector and civil society. This requires the development of National Action Plans and a National Referral Mechanism.</p>	<p>3.1.1 National Action Plan exists with clear indicators and allocation of responsibilities</p> <p>3.1.2 Government routinely uses the National Action Plan as a framework for reporting its actions</p> <p>3.1.3 Activities in the National Action Plan are fully funded</p> <p>3.1.4 A National Referral Mechanism brings together government and civil society to ensure victims are being referred to services</p> <p>3.1.5 National coordination body exists involving both government and NGOs and is operational</p> <p>3.1.6 NEGATIVE there is evidence that the National Action Plan is not being comprehensively implemented across all levels of government</p> <p>3.1.7 There is evidence that victims are being referred to services using the National Referral Mechanism</p> <p>3.1.7 NEGATIVE There is evidence that first responders have not followed referral protocols</p>

Area of Action	Milestones	Indicators
	<p>2. An independent monitoring agency such as a Slavery Commissioner or an Ombudsperson exists and is operational.</p>	<p>3.2.1 Independent entity to monitor the implementation and effectiveness of the National Action Plan exists and is operational</p>
	<p>3. International coordination for cases of cross-border crimes.</p>	<p>3.3.1 The government is involved in a regional response</p> <p>3.3.2 Agreements exist between the government and identified countries of origin and/or destination to collaborate on modern slavery issues</p> <p>3.3.3 Agreements exist between countries on labour migration, which provide protection for labour migrants</p> <p>3.3.4 The government cooperates with the government of the home country to facilitate repatriation for foreign victims and citizens victimised abroad</p> <p>3.3.5 Government provides identification documents and support travel arrangements for citizens' return</p>
	<p>4. A National Reporting Mechanism exists and is operational.</p>	<p>3.4.1 There is a reporting mechanism, such as a hotline</p> <p>3.4.2 Reporting mechanism is available for men, women, and children</p> <p>3.4.3 Reporting mechanism is free of charge to access</p> <p>3.4.4 Reporting mechanism operates 24/7</p> <p>3.4.5 The reporting mechanism operates in multiple languages or has the capacity to provide immediate access to translators</p>
	<p>5. Short and long-term victim support services are operational and well-funded and accessible to all identified victims irrespective of their immigration status, gender, ethnicity, religion, disability or other minority status.</p>	<p>3.5.1 Victim support services are available for suspected victims of modern slavery</p> <p>3.5.2 Government contributes to the operational costs of the shelters and there are no significant resource gaps</p> <p>3.5.3 Physical and mental health services are provided to victims of modern slavery</p> <p>3.5.3 Services provide long-term reintegration support</p> <p>3.5.4 Measures are in place to address the migration situation of victims who want to remain or be resettled</p> <p>3.5.5 Services are child-friendly</p> <p>3.5.6 Victims are assisted to make contact with their family or contact person of choice</p> <p>3.5.7 Victim support services are monitored and evaluated</p> <p>3.5.8 Evaluations of services have been provided to the National Referral Mechanism or coordinating referral body</p> <p>3.5.9 NEGATIVE Suspected victims are held in shelters against their will and do not have a choice about whether or not to remain in a shelter</p> <p>3.5.10 NEGATIVE Victim support services are not available for all victims of modern slavery</p> <p>3.5.11 NEGATIVE No victims have accessed the services or shelters</p> <p>3.5.12 NEGATIVE victim shelters are unsafe due to poor physical infrastructure, overcrowding, lack of adequate staff or staff abuse</p> <p>3.5.13 NEGATIVE There is evidence that a significant proportion of victims do not transition from short-term to long-term support services</p> <p>3.5.14 NEGATIVE There is evidence that a significant proportion of victims are re-victimised after support services end</p>

Area of Action	Milestones	Indicators
	<p>6. There are clear national guidelines for identifying victims for all statutory and non-statutory first responders, as well as implementing and monitoring agents [2].</p>	<p>3.6.1 The government has clear national guidelines for identifying and screening victims for all first responders</p> <p>3.6.2 The guidelines make provision for a category of “presumed victims” who can be provided with services until a formal determination is made</p> <p>3.6.3 The guidelines clearly set out which organisations and departments have the duty to identify victims of modern slavery</p> <p>3.6.4 The guidelines clearly set out a fixed and reasonable time frame to determine whether someone is a victim of modern slavery</p> <p>3.7.1 Training on how to identify victims of modern slavery is provided to officials with front line statutory bodies likely to be “first responders”</p> <p>3.7.2 Training on how to identify victims of modern slavery is provided to non-statutory workers likely to be “first responders”</p> <p>3.7.3 Training for first responders is delivered systematically and at regular intervals (as distinct from one-off, isolated)</p> <p>3.7.4 Training has been carried out for all staff providing victim support services</p> <p>3.7.5 Training on basic legal frameworks and victim identification has been carried out for front line “general duties” police</p> <p>3.7.6 Training is provided to the judiciary</p> <p>3.7.7 Training is provided to prosecutors</p> <p>3.7.8 Government provides training on modern slavery for its consular staff</p> <p>3.7.9 Training is systematic and recurrent (as distinct from one-off, isolated)</p> <p>3.7.10 NEGATIVE There is evidence that police officers have failed to identify victims of modern slavery</p> <p>3.7.11 NEGATIVE there is evidence that officials with front line statutory bodies likely to be “first responders” have failed to identify victims of modern slavery</p> <p>3.7.12 NEGATIVE there is evidence that non-statutory first responders have failed to identify victims of modern slavery</p>
	<p>7. Statutory and non-statutory first responders, as well as implementing and monitoring agents are regularly trained on human rights, the normative framework on contemporary forms of slavery, and victim identification and support.</p>	<p>3.8.1 Specialised law enforcement units exist and are operational</p> <p>3.8.2 Specialised law enforcement units have standard operating procedures for modern slavery cases</p> <p>3.8.3 There has been an increase in the number of cases of modern slavery taken on by specialised law enforcement units</p> <p>3.8.4 NEGATIVE Specialised law enforcement units do not have necessary resources to be able to operate effectively</p> <p>3.8.5 NEGATIVE There is evidence that the specialised law enforcement units are ineffective and/or corrupt</p> <p>3.8.6 NEGATIVE There is evidence that the judiciary is not able to act independently in cases of modern slavery</p> <p>3.9.1 National laws criminalise corruption in the public sector</p> <p>3.9.2 There is a policy framework for eradicating illicit money flows</p> <p>3.9.3 NEGATIVE Reports of individual officials’ complicity in modern slavery cases have not been investigated</p> <p>3.9.4 NEGATIVE Diplomatic staff are not investigated for alleged complicity in modern slavery cases or abuse of victims</p> <p>3.9.5 NEGATIVE There is evidence that the government is failing to take action to eradicate illicit money flows</p>
	<p>8. Specialised investigative teams within security forces exist and are operational.</p>	
	<p>9. Corruption is outlawed and public sector agents who are complicit in crimes of contemporary forms of slavery are prosecuted and sentenced.</p>	

Area of Action	Milestones	Indicators
		<p>3.10.1 Birth registration systems exist</p> <p>3.10.2 Affordable health care for vulnerable populations exists</p> <p>3.10.3 Public primary education is available for all children regardless of ethno-cultural or religious background</p> <p>3.10.4 Child benefits are available to vulnerable populations</p> <p>3.10.5 Elderly and disability pensions are available to vulnerable populations</p> <p>3.10.6 Employment support benefits are available to vulnerable populations</p> <p>3.10.7 Income support benefits are available to vulnerable populations</p> <p>3.10.8 Housing support mechanisms are available to vulnerable populations</p> <p>3.10.9 Systems are in place to permit the registering and protection of IDPs</p> <p>3.10.10 Systems are in place to allow asylum seekers to seek protection</p> <p>3.10.11 The government conducts labour inspections in the informal sector to identify cases of modern slavery</p> <p>3.10.12 Laws or policies state that private recruitment fees are paid by the employer, not the employee</p> <p>3.10.13 Government addresses environmental degradation/climate change formally</p> <p>3.10.14 There is evidence that inequality is decreasing</p> <p>3.10.15 There is evidence that poverty is decreasing</p> <p>3.10.16 There is evidence that homelessness is decreasing</p> <p>3.10.17 NEGATIVE there is evidence of low primary school enrolment rates for minority children (including girls, children with disabilities, LGBTIQ+ children)</p>
[2] First responders are defined as: immigration, border patrol, labour inspectors, NGOs, teachers, social workers, doctors, nurses, and the tourism industry, front line police. Implementation agencies are defined as the security forces, the judiciary, legal counsel, direct services providers.		
4. Data is key	1. The government carries out, supports and participates in research into the prevalence, root causes and drivers of contemporary forms of slavery.	4.1.1 Government facilitates or funds non-prevalence research on modern slavery 4.1.2 Government facilitates or funds research on prevalence or estimation studies of modern slavery 4.1.3 Government collects data on the numbers of victims that are re-victimised following the end of victim support services
	2. The government makes evidence-based policy choices to respond to contemporary forms of slavery.	4.2.1 Government interventions that aim to address modern slavery are evidence-based
	3. The government evaluates the policy response regularly.	4.3.1 Government regularly evaluates its policy response



Data will be collected at the indicator level, where each indicator describes an element of a milestone. The framework was developed by building on the *2018 Global Slavery Index's* methodology; it includes both “positive” and “negative” indicators. “Positive” indicators aim to measure the actions that governments are taking to achieve each milestone; they also measure the results of those actions. “Negative” indicators attempt to measure implementation gaps that negatively affect the ability of governments to protect people from contemporary slavery, and broader factors that contribute to the existence of contemporary forms of slavery. For example, state-sanctioned forced labour, high levels of government complicity and corruption, discriminatory laws and law enforcement action, criminalisation of victims, deportation of potential victims, etc.<sup>40</sup>

We will also follow the *2018 Global Slavery Index's* methodology for data collection and analysis. Each indicator will be scored on a 0 to 1 scale where 0 means no information has been identified or available, or information has explicitly demonstrated that the government did not meet an indicator; 1 means that the indicator has been met. Negative indicators will be scored on a 0 to -1 scale where 0 means no information has been identified or available, or information has explicitly demonstrated that the government did not meet an indicator; -1 means that the indicator has been met. The data will undergo quality assurance before a final scoring is applied to every indicator. Each indicator and milestone will be weighted equally, which will actually lead to an implicit weighting of those milestones that have the highest number of indicators.<sup>41</sup>

Collecting data for such a high number of indicators across 53 countries is an extremely difficult task: availability of and access to data is limited and varies greatly from country to country; the quality of data also varies significantly from indicator to indicator and country to country; and there is an inherent difficulty in measuring the impact of the government response and attributing it to specific government action. While we have done our best to develop a robust indicator framework to track progress on SDG 8.7, we wish to stress that it is the nature of research to be iterative. As Fiona David writes:

Progress in research is necessarily iterative. Over time, and thanks to the collective efforts of different institutions, variables have been refined and survey instruments that were initially many pages long have been tested, shortened, and refined. [...] All of this has resulted in methods that are now simpler, shorter, and—as a result—more replicable and scalable than ever before. [...] As all of this becomes repeated over time, we start to collectively build our capacity to monitor change.<sup>42</sup>

In line with this, the Commonwealth Roadmap to SDG 8.7 is not only a tool to track progress on these issues., It is also a call to the Commonwealth family to come together and collectively iterate and refine this indicator framework and the data collection methodologies, and to creatively collaborate on improving our social, political and economic systems so that communities in the Commonwealth are more inclusive, more equal, wealthier, and therefore more resilient to contemporary forms of slavery. If we do this, if we come together to drive swift progress across all the areas of action we have identified in this report, we will meet the ambition of SDG 8.7 by 2025. We have the roadmap, we just have to follow it.

<sup>40</sup> 2018 Global Slavery Index. *Government response methodology*. Available at: <https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/>

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem 40.

<sup>42</sup> David, Fiona. *Modern Slavery—From Statistics to Prevention* (Undated). CHANCE. Available at: <https://chance.amstat.org/2017/09/modern-slavery/>.

# Appendix 1.

## Vulnerability Factors

### *Governance Issues*

Abuses thrive in the absence of a properly functioning law enforcement system. They are often abetted by corruption within government and law enforcement agencies which creates an environment of impunity and further incentivises these abuses. Governance issues include: the lack of robust and comprehensive human rights legal frameworks (civil, political, economic, cultural and social rights); the lack of democratic accountability (that is, a high degree of repression and authoritarianism); and political instability (or the degree to which governments are able to support the needs of their people). The degree to which governments are able to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit economic activity while ensuring the protection and fulfilment of human rights is also a strong indicator of vulnerability.<sup>43</sup>

### *Lack of Access to Basic Needs*

The lack of social protection systems (sickness and disability protection, parental leave, pensions systems, unemployment support, etc.) increases people's vulnerability to contemporary forms of slavery as they are more likely to fall victim of shams, unethical lending practices, precarious labour and other forms of exploitation if they do not have any form of protection from shocks and crises.<sup>44</sup> This includes access to water and sanitation, health services, education, livelihoods (food and employment), access to clothing, and other basic goods and services.

### *Inequality*

About 765 million people worldwide live in extreme poverty, making less than USD\$1.90 per day. People living in poverty lack an economic safety net and are therefore more likely to accept exploitative forms of labour and fall prey to contemporary forms of slavery, in order to survive and ensure their families' survival.<sup>45</sup>

However, extreme poverty is only part of this factor. In fact, many of the wealthiest countries in the Commonwealth experience significant levels of contemporary forms of slavery due to a high degree of inequality even when their rates of extreme poverty are very low. It may be that in places like the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand people classed as poor are also earning above USD\$1.90 per day, but inequality means that their prospects to cover their living costs, access basic services and safe employment are very weak because inequality stalls upwards social mobility. In turn, the financial pressure on the people at the bottom of the income ladder in wealthy countries makes them highly vulnerable to exploitation and contemporary forms of slavery. Inequality also operates in a second way in a globalised world where human movement across country borders is the most fluid it's ever been: migrant workers who see the prospect of good livelihoods in their home countries shut and asylum seekers fleeing conflict and violence are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and enslavement and often lack adequate legal protection in their host countries.<sup>46</sup> For example, last year there was a total of 3,805 recorded victims of modern slavery in the UK, a 17% increase on the year before. Victims came from 108 different countries, with the top three being Albania, the UK and Vietnam.<sup>47</sup>

Countries experiencing a population boom are also more likely to have a higher incidence of contemporary forms of slavery, as their economic structure may not be able to accommodate a rapidly growing population. This gives rise to displacement, higher unemployment and poverty,

<sup>43</sup> 2018 Global Slavery Index. Available at: <https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/>.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem 10, 12, and 25.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem 10.

<sup>46</sup> World Bank. Piecing Together the Poverty Puzzle (2018). Available at: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/30418/9781464813306.pdf>.

<sup>47</sup> UK Anti-Slavery Commissioner. <https://www.antislaverycommissioner.co.uk/about-modern-slavery/modern-slavery-in-the-uk/>.

crime, violence and internal conflict, as well as higher infant and maternal mortality rates.<sup>48</sup> Commonwealth members are forecast to be home to 30.4% of the world's population by 2050, which will put further strains on limited resources, increasing the number of potential victims.<sup>49</sup>

### Disenfranchised Groups

Groups that face discrimination, including ethnic and religious minorities, women and children, the homeless, and migrants and refugees, are particularly vulnerable to enslavement.<sup>50</sup> Discrimination based on sex, gender, ethnicity, origin, religion or other characteristics is in itself a driver of vulnerability as it makes it more difficult for certain kinds of people to access lawful employment, social safety nets, services and justice. This is made even worse when such discrimination is either enshrined in law or inadequately addressed in domestic legal frameworks that are not in line with international human rights obligations. This forms an insurmountable structural exclusion that opens the door to exploitation.

Research shows that contemporary forms of slavery are gendered issues. Of the estimated 40.3 million adults and children victims of contemporary forms of slavery in the world, 71% are women and girls.<sup>51</sup> Women and girls are more likely to fall victims of violence and exploitation because they suffer higher degrees of exclusion and discrimination than men and boys. In several places, women and girls lack economic agency, property and labour rights. They are also negatively impacted by gender-biased social norms that tie into gender roles such as forced domestic labour or commercial sexual exploitation. Across the Commonwealth, organised criminal networks take advantage of vulnerable female workers, controlling them by charging extortionate fees, withholding passports and wages, and threatening deportation and violence.<sup>52</sup>

### Effects of Conflict

Violent conflict greatly exacerbates the vulnerability of populations to contemporary forms of slavery, particularly internally displaced people and refugees. Conflict and its aftermath increase vulnerability to and opportunity for contemporary forms of slavery because it breaks down governance structures, the rule of law, community and institutional support networks, and obliterates livelihoods.<sup>53</sup>

### Climate Change and Natural Disasters

All the above root causes and drivers are worsened by natural disasters and other negative effects of climate change and environmental degradation (e.g. desertification). "Extreme weather, as well as resulting pandemics, can ravage a country's physical infrastructure, displace communities, and increase the desperation of already marginalised groups."<sup>54</sup>

Commonwealth members that are Small Island Developing States, with populations at risk of being dislocated by the effects of sea levels rising and global climate change.<sup>55</sup> The UN Environment Programme has indicated that trafficking may increase by 20-30% during disasters, and INTERPOL has warned that disasters or conflict may increase the exposure of women to trafficking as families are disrupted and livelihoods are lost. There are multiple instances in which trafficking has been shown to increase in the aftermath of cyclones, flooding, earthquakes and tsunamis. Some of this is for sex trafficking, some of it is for forced labour.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem 10.

<sup>49</sup> Commonwealth, Growth Monitor. Available from World Economics, [www.worldeconomics.com/papers/Commonwealth\\_Growth\\_Monitor\\_0e53b963-bce5-4ba1-9cab-333cedaab048.paper](http://www.worldeconomics.com/papers/Commonwealth_Growth_Monitor_0e53b963-bce5-4ba1-9cab-333cedaab048.paper).

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem 10.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem 10.

<sup>52</sup> Bryant, Katharine. International Women's Day is an opportunity to empower women and girls and eliminate modern slavery. Thomson-Reuters Foundation, 8 March 2018. Available at: <http://news.trust.org/item/20180307154815-iofnx/>

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem 10, 12 and 25..

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem 12.

<sup>55</sup> Saleem, Amjad. "Refugees vs Migrants: Understanding the Difference". Commonwealth People's Forum, Commonwealth Foundation, 12 November 2015. Available at: [cpf.commonwealthfoundation.com/refugees-vs-migrants-understanding-the-difference/](http://cpf.commonwealthfoundation.com/refugees-vs-migrants-understanding-the-difference/).

<sup>56</sup> Gerrard, Michael B. Climate Change and Human Trafficking after the Paris Climate Agreement. Columbia Law School, 3 June 2016. Available at: <http://columbiacimatelaw.com/files/2016/09/Gerrard-2016-06-Climate-Change-and-Human-Trafficking.pdf>.

# Appendix 2.

## Vulnerability Estimates Table

Country	Governance issues	Lack of basic needs	Inequality	Disenfranchised groups	Effects of conflict	Environmental vulnerability	Overall average
<b>Africa</b>							
Botswana	43.3	37.9	37.3	37.6	9.7	0.477	21.29
Cameroon	65.9	36.5	46.2	46.3	53.9	0.484	35.04
The Gambia	66.8	28.1	41.8	44.1	20.8	0.538	29.47
Ghana	52.6	29.1	42	53.7	21.6	0.469	26.33
Kenya	55.1	48.7	49.6	44.5	66.8	0.553	35.58
Kingdom of eSwatini	69.9	50	39.4	38.8	11.7	0.543	32.67
Lesotho	53.8	50.7	44.6	41.9	18.6	0.509	29.40
Malawi	55.4	51.5	40.9	61.5	19.1	0.551	31.98
Mauritius	25.5	17.7	33.6	31.1	12.2	0.437	10.82
Mozambique	48.6	48.3	40.5	48.1	30	0.543	28.77
Namibia	44.6	38.4	55.9	38.8	10.4	0.492	24.30
Nigeria	54.1	41.3	50.2	47.1	95.5	0.487	37.29
Rwanda	56.6	40.8	40	55.7	34	0.555	31.13
Seychelles	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.472	N/A
Sierra Leone	50.9	46.1	41.2	48.1	18.1	0.560	27.88
South Africa	46.7	38.3	61	36.9	26.9	0.402	27.10
Uganda	52.8	48.3	38.2	50.3	35.3	0.582	30.69
United Republic of Tanzania	55.5	47.3	34.9	52.7	29.1	0.558	30.53
Zambia	45.8	54.4	44.9	49.1	13.1	0.542	27.87
<b>Asia</b>							
Bangladesh	54.1	38.4	25.7	20.9	45.3	0.547	25.27
Brunei Darussalam	53.5	30.9	31.7	41.2	18.2	0.394	23.80
India	46.2	29.8	32.4	41.1	80	0.497	28.00
Malaysia	36.2	28.4	39.6	41.2	27.8	0.381	19.79
Pakistan	56.8	36.2	45.9	55.3	92.8	0.506	37.30
Singapore	30.8	16.3	5	18.7	9	0.417	6.91
Sri Lanka	44.1	27	33.5	34.9	35.9	0.477	21.49
<b>Caribbean and Americas</b>							
Antigua and Barbuda	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.488	N/A
The Bahamas	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.376	N/A
Barbados	47.6	14.3	52.5	47.8	9.2	0.380	21.14
Belize	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.489	N/A
Canada	16.6	20.7	20.1	9.2	21.5	0.296	5.25
Dominica	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.403	N/A
Grenada	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.392	N/A
Guyana	49.5	25.6	60.4	28.1	12.4	0.479	22.94
Jamaica	39.5	24.2	62.2	47.8	15.5	0.433	22.32
Saint Lucia	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.392	N/A
St Kitts and Nevis	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.414	N/A
St Vincent and The Grenadines	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.380	N/A
Trinidad and Tobago	38.6	13	62.4	47.8	13.7	0.419	19.76

Europe							
Cyprus	24.5	16.7	32.6	29.7	10.1	0.360	9.73
Malta	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.355	N/A
United Kingdom	15.9	15.6	25.1	12.4	27.8	0.300	5.70
Pacific							
Australia	11.9	15.7	20.7	12	13	0.294	2.30
Fiji	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.451	N/A
Kiribati	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nauru	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
New Zealand	12.2	18.4	16.2	7	7	0.331	1.12
Papua New Guinea	64.8	63.3	46.2	9.5	13.3	0.573	31.24
Samoa	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.481	N/A
Solomon Islands	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.634	N/A
Tonga	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.574	N/A
Tuvalu	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Vanuatu	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.579	N/A

Sources: *Global Slavery Index 2018* and *ND-GAIN 2016*<sup>57</sup>

57 Available at: <https://gain.nd.edu/our-work/country-index/rankings/>.



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