

Article 4: The Anti-Slavery Provision

Appendix E to the Report of the
Global Citizenship Commission¹

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1 This memorandum has been prepared by the UCSD Center on Global Justice for the Global Citizenship Commission.



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1. Introduction

Slavery constitutes a profound human rights violation and an affront to any sense of human dignity. While definitions vary, at its core slavery involves one person taking away another person’s freedom—their freedom to leave their workplace or employer/slave master at their own choosing, to control their body, to choose their work—so that they can be exploited. This is achieved not through lawful means (as is the case with military service or imprisonment) but through threats, violence, or coercion.

The concept of slavery and slavery-like practices can cover a range of practices, including forced labor (e.g., debt bondage, serfdom, and forced sex work), exploitative child labor (e.g., child soldiers), descent-based slavery, forced or servile marriage (e.g., exchanging a woman for payment), and human trafficking. They all have in common an inability for the individual to leave a workplace or employer/slave master at their own free will.

Article 4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (*UDHR*) asserts that “No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade should be prohibited in all their forms.”² Despite an ever-expanding body of international legislation echoing the spirit of Article 4 of the UDHR, and the legal abolition of slavery worldwide, slavery persists across the world and is adopting new forms. Eliminating contemporary forms of slavery remains a core challenge for the international community.

2 United Nations Office of the High Commission for Human Rights. 1948. “Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Library/Pages/UDHR.aspx>

2. Evolution of the legal framework

Prior to the UDHR, the 1926 Slavery Convention defined slavery as “The status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.”³ The 1926 Slavery Convention urges states “to take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.”⁴

Since 1948, a large corpus of international law has developed with the aim of eradicating slavery. The 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery calls on States to take “all practicable and necessary legislative and other measures to bring about progressively and as soon as possible the complete abolition or abandonment of the following institutions and practices” similar to slavery: debt bondage, forced labor, serfdom, servile marriage, and delivering a child to another person with a view to exploitation of the child or of his/her labor.⁵ It encourages the cooperation of state parties in ending slavery. Article 9 of the Convention prohibits reservations or amendments by state parties.

3 United Nations Office of the High Commission for Human Rights. 1926. “Slavery Convention.” <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/SlaveryConvention.aspx>

4 Ibid.

5 United Nations Office of the High Commission for Human Rights. 1956. “Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery.” <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/SupplementaryConventionAbolitionOfSlavery.aspx>

Article 8 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (*ICCPR*) prohibits slavery in all its forms. The subsections of Article 8(3) affirm the right to be free from performing forced or compulsory labor (except in cases of hard labor for prisoners, military service, civil obligations, and services in emergency situations).⁶

The prohibition against slavery has been affirmed in a range of regional human rights instruments, including the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 5), the American Convention on Human Rights (Article 6), the Arab Charter on Human Rights (Article 10), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Human Rights Declaration (Article 13), and the European Convention on Human Rights (Article 4).

In 2000 the International Labour Organization (*ILO*) Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour entered into force. The Convention focuses on abolishing: (a) slavery, including use of children in armed conflict; (b) sex labor, including prostitution and pornography; (c) illicit labor, especially drug or arms trafficking; and (d) labor harming the health, safety, or morals of children.

Also in 2000, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, was passed. The Protocol defines human trafficking as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion" for the purpose of exploitation.⁷

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court criminalizes, as crimes against humanity, enslavement, sexual slavery, and enforced prostitution. As war crimes, it criminalizes sexual slavery and enforced prostitution.⁸

6 Article 8 of the ICCPR states: 1. No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave-trade in all their forms shall be prohibited; 2. No one shall be held in servitude; 3. (a) No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour.

7 United Nations. 2000. "Protocol To Prevent, Suppress And Punish Trafficking In Persons, Especially Women And Children," Supplementing The United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. Article 3(a).

8 UN General Assembly. 1998. "Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court." (Last amended 2010.) Article 7(1)(g). <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3a84.html>

In 2007, the Human Rights Council established a Special Rapporteur⁹ on contemporary forms of slavery,¹⁰ including its causes and consequences. This position is currently held by Ms. Urmila Bhoola.¹¹

Moreover, international organizations help to define slavery and slavery-like practices, particularly forced labor. The ILO defines forced labor, for the purposes of international law, 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.”¹²

Walk Free, a non-profit organization, defines slavery as “the possession and control of a person in such a way as to significantly deprive that person of his or her individual liberty, with the intent of exploiting that person through their use, management, profit, transfer or disposal.”¹³ This functional definition of slavery focuses on elements of control and exploitation.

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- 9 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. 2016. “Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council.” <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/SP/Pages/Welcomepage.aspx>
 - 10 Special Rapporteurs undertake country visits; act on individual cases and concerns of a broader, structural nature by sending communications to states and others in which they bring alleged violations or abuses to their attention; conduct thematic studies and convene expert consultations; contribute to the development of international human rights standards, engage in advocacy, raise public awareness, and provide advice for technical cooperation.
 - 11 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. 2016. “Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences.” <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Slavery/SRSlavery/Pages/SRSlaveryIndex.aspx>
 - 12 International Labour Organization. 1930. “Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour,” No. 29, Article 2(1).
 - 13 Walk Free Foundation. 2015. “Modern Slavery Fact Sheet.” <http://d2y2gzli9rsnus.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/WF-Modern-Slavery.pdf>

3. Progress in implementing the right

Although prohibited in international law, contemporary forms of slavery continue to affect a significant number of people worldwide. As the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights notes, “Slavery was the first human rights issue to arouse wide international concern, yet it still continues today.”¹⁴ While difficult to estimate, according to the ILO almost 21 million individuals throughout the globe were forced laborers in 2012. Of these, 11.4 million were women and 9.5 million were men.¹⁵ Walk Free estimates of contemporary forms of slavery—which include forced marriage—place the number of people living in servitude at 35.8 million.¹⁶ Against this reality, the U.S. Department of State estimates that there are only around 10,000 prosecutions annually for human trafficking offenses.¹⁷

ILO estimates suggest the majority of global forced laborers reside in Asia (56 percent).¹⁸ According to Walk Free’s 2014 Global Slavery Index, over 55 percent of the world’s slaves reside in three countries—India (14.3 million), China (3.2 million), and Pakistan (2.1 million).¹⁹ As a share of population, however, modern slavery is high in many countries

14 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. 2015. “Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences.” <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Slavery/SRSlavery/Pages/SRSlaveryIndex.aspx>

15 International Labour Organization. 2012. “ILO Global Estimate of Forced Labour: Results and methodology.”

16 Walk Free Foundation. 2015. “Modern Slavery Fact Sheet.”

17 United States Department of State. 2015. “Trafficking in Persons Report.” pp. 48.

18 Operationally, ILO’s measures include estimates of forced labour and human trafficking.

19 Operationally, Walk Free’s Index includes estimates of forced labour, trafficking, and forced marriage, and thus should not be compared directly to ILO measures.

across Southern and Central Europe, Central Asia, and Africa. These population shares can be alarming, reaching approximately 4 percent in Mauritania and Uzbekistan.²⁰ Many of the countries in which slavery is most prevalent are party to numerous international anti-slavery treaties; slavery persists despite domestic ratification of international anti-slavery laws.

Generally, slavery is either perpetrated by private individuals or enterprises (approximately 90 percent of global forced labor), or by states or armed forces (approximately 10 percent of global forced labor).²¹ Private sector slavery takes on a variety of forms, including hereditary slavery, debt bondage, and forced commercial sex labor. Particularly of concern are global supply chains involving “networks of subsidiaries, franchisees, suppliers, contractors and subcontractors.”²² Such networks are more likely to face challenges related to contemporary forms of slavery, especially in lower levels of supply chains.

Hereditary slavery is widespread in some parts of the world—noticeably, the Sahel region of Africa. In Mauritania, for example, slaveholders often exercise ownership over their slaves and the descendants thereof. The bulk of slaves are the descendants of black Africans captured during slave raids perpetrated by Arabs and Berbers. Slaves can be bought, sold, or traded.²³ They are not permitted to own possessions, are denied inheritance rights, and are often subject to physical and sexual abuse.²⁴

State-sponsored slavery, most prevalent in non-democratic countries in Asia and Africa, includes forced military labor, forced prison labor, and obligatory participation in public works projects. Military-induced forced labor is particularly problematic in Myanmar, where rural populations—and particularly ethnic minorities—are frequently

20 Walk Free Foundation. 2014. “The Global Slavery Index 2014.”

21 International Labour Organization. 2012. “ILO Global Estimate of Forced Labour: Results and methodology.”

22 Human Rights Council. 2015. “Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences, Urmila Bhoola.” A/HRC/30/35.

23 Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences country visit reports on the region, including Mauritania and Niger, are available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Slavery/SRSlavery/Pages/CountryVisits.aspx>

24 Walk Free Foundation. 2013. “The Global Slavery Index 2013.”

required to cultivate crops or build roads or other forms of infrastructure under threat of arrest.²⁵ In Uzbekistan, government-mandated cotton harvest quotas lead many local leaders to conscript thousands of adults and children to pick and process cotton—often without remuneration.²⁶

Debt bondage is a common practice. Bonded laborers are often required to work for extended periods under harsh conditions to pay off debts. Sometimes debtors' families are also conscripted to work. Debt bondage is present in many regions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and is common in rural areas of India and Pakistan. Debt bondage disproportionately affects those considered to belong to lower castes and minority ethnic groups. In rural South Asia, bonded labor is particularly widespread in industries such as agriculture, brickmaking, construction, and mining.²⁷

Children are particularly vulnerable to exploitation through forced labor. They are often forced to work under poor conditions, denied an education, and subjected to abuse. In countries such as Uganda and Liberia, children have historically been conscripted by militaries and militias and forced to work as servants, cooks, and soldiers. Across much of the world, trafficked children are forced to beg or work in industries such as manufacturing, mining, or agriculture under harsh conditions, or are sold into domestic servitude or sexual slavery.²⁸

25 International Labour Organization. 2005. "A Global Alliance Against Forced Labour: Global Report under the Follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work 2005." Geneva: International Labour Office.

26 Walk Free Foundation. 2014. "The Global Slavery Index 2014"; International Labour Organization. 2005. "A Global Alliance Against Forced Labour: Global Report under the Follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work 2005." Geneva: International Labour Office.

27 Walk Free Foundation. 2014. "The Global Slavery Index 2014."

28 Walk Free Foundation. 2013. "The Global Slavery Index 2013."

4. Current outlook and challenges

Clearly, the task of preventing slavery is not as straightforward as simply declaring it to be illegal. Slavery has different root causes, and many factors that sustain both vulnerability to enslavement and the impunity of offenders. These causes can be categorized as either structural or political.

The two main structural causes of slavery are poverty and discrimination. Slavery is most likely to take root in societies suffering from endemic poverty. Poverty increases both demand for cheap labor and the supply of individuals vulnerable to exploitation. On the demand-side, forced and exploitative labor presents employers with access to cheap labor, thereby increasing their profit margins in contexts where opportunities for profitable business may be limited. Employers may be particularly likely to use forced labor when government regulation of their industries is weak or nonexistent.

On the supply-side, impoverished populations may have limited possibilities of upward mobility, particularly if they lack education or belong to a marginalized social group. Because women and girls are often disadvantaged in education, they are more vulnerable than men to slavery. Women are also more likely to be responsible for rearing children, which increases pressure to work, even in undesirable conditions. Further, servile marriage and domestic servitude disproportionately affect women and girls.²⁹

²⁹ Human Rights Council. 2013. "Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences, Gulnara Shahinian: Thematic report on challenges and lessons in combating contemporary forms of slavery." A/HRC/24/43.

When outside options are lacking, individuals are more inclined to accept exploitative working conditions or migrate for better employment opportunities, where they may lack social support. Additionally, vulnerable individuals often become entangled in debt bondage when employers or recruiters offer them credit in exchange for labor. Such individuals may be particularly susceptible to exploitation when they have little access to financial services and when government-sponsored social safety nets are minimal or non-existent.

Yet the nature and persistence of slavery is not uniquely a function of poverty. It is also influenced by historical relationships of power, colonialism, and exploitation between diverse social groups—and the degree to which these power relationships are embedded in local culture and social norms. Many individuals in dominant groups may perceive that ending slavery will enhance the upward mobility of other social groups, threatening their relative social position.³⁰ Accordingly, government officials may be reluctant to take steps to eradicate slavery lest their social position fall under threat. Considered together, these conditions facilitate enduring forms of slavery—such as hereditary slavery—that are enmeshed in societies' institutions and traditions.

Political factors also account for the continued existence of slavery. Even when governments wish to eradicate slavery, they often lack the capacity to effect change. For instance, some governments lack law enforcement agencies with a clear responsibility for investigating slavery allegations and prosecuting offenders, and those governments that do have such specialized anti-slavery units may lack the necessary resources and/or training to identify and investigate cases. In some instances, slavery is most acute in remote regions outside of the central governments' reach. In other cases, corruption and conflicts of interests within the government and across levels of government limit the effectiveness of anti-slavery efforts—particularly where some officials have a monetary stake (in the form of bribe payments) in perpetuating slavery. Ensuring the independence and impartiality of the judiciary, as

30 See P. Scheepers, M. Gijsberts, and M. Coenders. 2002. "Ethnic Exclusionism in European Countries. Public Opposition to Civil Rights for Legal Migrants as a Response to Perceived Ethnic Threat." *European Social Review* 18(1): 17-34 for a similar argument pertaining to immigrant minorities.

well as the right of victims to access justice and effective remedies, is vital.³¹

Governments often lack the capacity to collect data measuring the geographic and industrial scope of contemporary forms of slavery (e.g., through household surveys). As such, they have limited ability to identify potential victims or to concentrate anti-slavery efforts on high-risk industries and regions. Non-governmental organizations (*NGOs*) are sometimes barred from filing complaints on behalf of victims. Instead, the burden of proof falls on victims themselves—who are often illiterate or lack understanding of government procedures.

Further, some countries do not provide adequate prevention, rehabilitation, and reintegration measures for victims of slavery.³² And many governments lack the capacity to guarantee protection or work opportunities to slavery victims denouncing their exploiters. Victims may also doubt that their case will be promptly and impartially addressed. As a result, many victims of contemporary forms of slavery may be reluctant to come forward.³³ Moreover, many countries lack civil societies sufficiently robust to challenge endemic slavery.³⁴

In assessing the current outlook and challenges for realizing the UDHR's prohibition against slavery, the research team undertook two case studies—on Cote d'Ivoire and India. Both of these countries have recently implemented reforms to fight contemporary forms of slavery. Specifically, efforts to eradicate forced child labor in Cote d'Ivoire's cocoa sector demonstrate how international organizations, governments, and NGOs can work together to combat slavery. The case study on debt bondage in India—and its relationship with the country's caste-system—highlights the strength of anti-slavery efforts

31 Human Rights Council. 2015. "Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences, Urmila Bhoola." A/HRC/30/35.

32 Human Rights Council. 2013. "Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences, Gulnara Shahinian: Thematic report on challenges and lessons in combating contemporary forms of slavery." A/HRC/24/43.

33 Walk Free Foundation. 2013. "The Global Slavery Index 2013." International Labour Organization. 2005. "A Global Alliance Against Forced Labour: Global Report under the Follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work 2005." Geneva: International Labour Office.

34 Walk Free Foundation. 2013. "The Global Slavery Index 2013."

when they come from numerous societal facets, including local civil society organizations and government offices. Indeed, multi-pronged approaches where international organizations, corporations, NGOs, and governments work together provide an effective means of addressing both the structural and political causes of slavery.

Cote d'Ivoire

Cote d'Ivoire is the world's largest exporter of cocoa. Cocoa is the country's primary export and constitutes one of its largest industries. Forced labor, and indentured child labor in particular, has long been endemic in Cote d'Ivoire's cocoa sector. A survey conducted by Tulane University researchers in 2008 and 2009 estimates that 820,000 children in Cote d'Ivoire are involved in cocoa production.³⁵ Such children may be forced to perform potentially dangerous tasks such as carrying heavy loads, transporting fertilizer and pesticides, and using machetes.³⁶

In recent years, international actors have partnered with the Ivorian government to combat forced child labor. The Harkin-Engel Protocol, signed in 2001, represented an innovative effort that partnered governments, the global cocoa industry, and non-governmental organizations. The Protocol called for the establishment of labor certification systems in West African cocoa-producing countries. In addition, training and sensitization campaigns—funded by the cocoa industry and conducted in large part by NGOs—were launched to teach government officials, the media, and law enforcement about forced child labor.

Following its agreement to the Harkin-Engel Protocol, Cote d'Ivoire has taken a number of steps towards the eradication of forced child labor. In 2010, Cote d'Ivoire passed a law criminalizing child trafficking and many forms of child labor. The government also created an agency tasked with combating forced child labor as well as the National

35 Payson Center for International Development and Technology Transfer, Tulane University. 2011. "Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana." New Orleans, LA.

36 U.S. Department of Labor. 2006. "The Department of Labor's 2006 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor." U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB). <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/>

Monitoring Committee on Actions to Fight Trafficking, Exploitation, and Childhood Labour—a body consisting of NGOs and international organizations created to monitor the government’s progress on the eradication of forced child labor. The government has also conducted national population-based surveys—supported by the cocoa industry—to determine the nature and extent of child labor in the cocoa sector.³⁷ Finally, the government instituted a labor certification system aimed at preventing forced child labor—although analysts note this system has limited geographic coverage.³⁸

Although forced child labor persists in Cote d’Ivoire, recent developments represent positive steps towards its eradication. The case of Cote d’Ivoire demonstrates how international actors can combat forced child labor by fostering partnerships between the government, private sector, and NGOs. While work remains to be done, international support has enhanced the Ivorian government’s capacity to investigate and prosecute offenses and facilitated NGOs’ access to government actors and the local media.

India

Despite official criminalization, many forms of slavery still persist in India. The system of debt bondage in India is intertwined with the country’s caste-system, making fighting such forced labor particularly challenging. Bonded laborers tend to be poor and belong to lower castes. Other factors contributing to debt bondage include: illiteracy, unemployment, landlessness, elite resistance, and the inadequate implementation of policy.³⁹

The Indian government has taken measures to combat the pervasive issue of bonded labor.⁴⁰ The National Human Rights Commission

37 Payson Center for International Development and Technology Transfer, Tulane University. 2011. “Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector in Cote d’Ivoire and Ghana.” New Orleans, LA.

38 Walk Free Foundation. 2013. “The Global Slavery Index 2013.”

39 H.Y. Gauramma. 2007. “Report On Bonded Labour in Karnataka: Analysing the Effectiveness of the Programmes for the Eradication of the Bonded Labour System.” New Delhi: Centre for Education and Communication

40 International Labour Organization. 2005. “A Global Alliance Against Forced

(*NHRC*) of India oversees the implementation of the Bonded Labour System Abolition Act. The NHRC established the Core Group on Bonded Labour in 2011, which reviews government policy on bonded labor and rehabilitation programs from a human rights perspective. In 2012, the Supreme Court mandated state governments conduct surveys to identify, free, and rehabilitate bonded laborers.

To fight unemployment and exploitative labor conditions, the Ministry of Rural Development launched the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (*MGNREGA*) in 2006. MGNREGA provides 100 days of wage-employment to a rural household per year, aiming to increase rural people's livelihood security.⁴¹ Designed to create sustainable communities, MGNREGA addresses root causes of chronic poverty, such as drought, deforestation, and soil erosion.⁴² The reported positive impacts of the initiative include increased agricultural wages, a decline in distress migration, increased area cultivated, and increased water conservation.⁴³

In southwestern India, both the Karnataka state and local NGOs are countering bonded labor. In 2009, the government published a bonded laborer rehabilitation action plan, and in 2014 held workshops for officials on conducting surveys to identify and rehabilitate bonded laborers. A local NGO, Jeeta Vimukti Karnataka (*JEEVIKA*), in operation since 1988, advocates on behalf of bonded laborers, establishing trade unions for landless agricultural workers, promoting alternative access to credit, and connecting such workers to anti-poverty programs.⁴⁴ While much remains to be done in combating debt-bondage across India, progress is being made, through a unique combination of government and NGO programs.

Labour: Global Report under the Follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work 2005." Geneva: International Labour Office, pp. 21.

41 Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India. ND. "Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act." <http://nrega.nic.in/>

42 Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India. 2013. "MGNREGA Briefing Book"

43 Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India. 2011. "Reforms in Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act Implementation."

44 International Labour Organization. 2005. "A Global Alliance Against Forced Labour: Global Report under the Follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work 2005." Geneva: International Labour Office, pp. 36.

5. Realizing the prohibition against slavery in the 21st Century⁴⁵

Ending slavery is deeply connected with the mission of the UDHR. Accomplishing this goal will require a deep focus on eliminating discrimination and reducing inequality. It will require governments, corporations, and private citizens to focus serious attention and resources on the practical realization of the social and economic rights that allow people to protect themselves from slavery, whether this is through social insurance in times of shocks, food and shelter in times of crisis, or ensuring everyone can access decent work.

Strengthening domestic legislation against slavery will demonstrate a commitment to eradicate slavery at the national level. It is critical, however, that governments also adequately implement and enforce this legislation. States should support victim identification, rehabilitation, and reintegration, including by raising police and labor inspectors' awareness of slavery and ensuring that victims have access to justice and effective remedies, including back pay of wages. It is also vital for governments to address the corruption that perpetuates the impunity of offenders.

International organizations should encourage countries to consolidate their anti-slavery efforts under a single umbrella agency to enhance efficiency. They should also encourage countries to develop special anti-slavery law enforcement units and should support these units both with resources and expertise. Efforts to eradicate slavery

⁴⁵ The suggestions outlined in this section are illustrative and non-exhaustive proposals for promoting and protecting the right to be free from slavery in the 21st Century.

are typically more effective when they originate from within societies themselves. As such, international organizations should strive to empower civil society groups, particularly those consisting of freed slaves or former forced laborers by dedicating funds and training to such groups. They should also form partnerships with civil society groups who have access to at-risk populations.

As estimates of those involved in contemporary forms of slavery vary greatly, international organizations should collaborate with states in disaggregated data collection through nation-wide household surveys. Gauging the nature and geographic scope of slavery will help states to better allocate their resources. Moreover, developing concrete estimates of slavery's economic costs can help incentivize leaders to dedicate more time and resources towards its eradication. Lastly, when domestic governments measure states' efforts to combat slavery (e.g., the United States' Trafficking in Persons reports), third-party non-governmental human-rights organizations should provide oversight to ensure political priorities do not trump human rights.⁴⁶

International organizations, state governments, and other public organizations should adopt and implement procurement standards ensuring their supply chains are free of contemporary forms of slavery. Such standards could incentivize businesses to accept ethical labor practices by rewarding them with privileged access to substantial contracts. States, international organizations, and NGOs should encourage companies to conduct audits of their supply chains and purge them of contemporary forms of slavery.

Given the structural causes of child labor migration, heavy-handed bans on all child migration for the purposes of labor have proven ineffective. For impoverished families, the income earned through youth labor, absent other options, is essential to day-to-day survival. A more effective approach is to target international programs and domestic legislation at improving working conditions for those children and youth currently employed, in alignment with existing international law on child labor.⁴⁷ Creative public-private solutions should be pursued to reduce exploitative labor conditions for children and youth and provide opportunities for education.

46 International Trade Union Confederation. 2015. "US Decision on People Trafficking in Malaysia 'Manipulated.'"

47 In particular, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, as well as ILO Conventions No. 182 and 138.