



Climate-induced migration and modern slavery

A toolkit for policy-makers

by Ritu Bharadwaj, Danielle Bishop, Somnath Hazra,
Enock Pufaa and James Kofi Annan.

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Cover photo: A mexican migrant caravan

Credit: Sean Hawkey



Anti-Slavery International
Thomas Clarkson House
The Stableyard
Broomgrove Road
London SW9 9TL
United Kingdom

Tel: +44 (0)20 7501 8920

email: info@antislavery.org

www.antislavery.org

UK Registered Charity 1049160
Company limited by guarantee 3079904
Registered in England and Wales



International Institute for
Environment and Development
Third Floor
235 High Holborn
London WC1V 7DN
United Kingdom

Tel: +44 (0)20 3463 7399

email: inforequest@iied.org

www.iied.org

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About the authors

Ritu Bharadwaj

Senior Researcher, Climate Change Group, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), UK

Email: ritu.bharadwaj@iied.org

Danielle Bishop

Ph.D, Consultant, UK

Email: dbishopaddison@gmail.com

Somnath Hazra

Consulting Economist and Visiting Faculty, Jadavpur University, India

Email: somhazra24@gmail.com

Enock Pufaa

Senior Manager, Impact and Strategic Relationships, Challenging Heights, Ghana

Email: enock@challengingheights.org

James Kofi Annan

President and Co-founder, Challenging Heights, Ghana

Email: james@challengingheights.org

Anti-Slavery International

Founded in 1839, Anti-Slavery International is the world's oldest international human rights organisation. They work to eliminate all forms of slavery and slavery-like practices throughout the world, dealing with the root causes of slavery and its consequences to achieve sustainable change.

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Flooding in Cambodia

Photo by Ny Menghor on Unsplash

Executive summary

Contemporary forms of slavery are often categorised as slavery, slavery-like practices, bonded labour, debt bondage and forced sexual exploitation. These are all interrelated and constitute a continuum.¹ According to the Global Estimate of Modern Slavery,² 40.3 million people are living in slavery worldwide, which disproportionately affects the most marginalised, such as women, children and minorities.³

Climate change and climate-induced migration heightens existing vulnerabilities of slavery. Drivers of vulnerability to modern slavery are complex and impacted by many layers of risk. While several socio-economic, political, cultural and institutional risks shape vulnerability, they are increasingly considered to be made worse by climate change impacts and environmental degradation.

Climate-induced displacements are becoming unavoidable. The rise of sea levels, salination and flooding are already forcing entire coastal communities – in countries such as the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Sierra Leone – to relocate. And as climate shocks are set to intensify, many more millions will be displaced by climate change in the coming decades. The World Bank estimates that by 2050 climate change will force more than 143 million people in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America from their homes.

Climate change policies increasingly recognise climate-induced migration and displacement as an issue. The Cancún Adaptation Framework (CAF), adopted during COP16 under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2010, provides a conceptual framework to navigate the complexities of climate mobility. CAF recognises three modes of mobility due to climate impacts – migration, displacement and planned relocation⁴ – allowing for specific climate policies aligned with the distinct features, mobility patterns and outcomes of each impact.⁵ In 2015, the Paris Agreement on climate change was an unprecedented development of action on migration and climate with the formal inclusion of ‘migrants’ in its Preamble.⁶

There are three emerging pathways linking climate change, migration and modern slavery. According to the IOM, 'Migrants are particularly vulnerable to human trafficking, forced labour and modern slavery.' Debates abound in and between academic and political circles on the degree to which climate change is influencing migration decision-making. However, there is an emerging consensus that climate change influences migration and displacement pathways. Existing research and evidence indicate that the relation between climate change and/or climate-induced migration and severe forms of exploitation exists in at least three circumstances (pathways).⁷

- **Sudden events in the aftermath of disasters**

The first pathway is the most well-documented and is extensively cited.⁸ Convincing evidence indicates that human trafficking increased in the aftermath of the Indonesian tsunami. In the wake of typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, many survivors found themselves coerced, with no alternative, into working as prostitutes or labourers.⁹ In Bangladesh, women left widowed by cyclone Sidr were targeted by traffickers and driven into prostitution or hard labour. And, following annual flooding in Assam north-east India, women and girls are forced into child slavery or forced marriage to make ends meet.¹⁰

- **Slow onset events/disasters**

The second pathway indicates that climate variability – such as increased temperature and erratic rainfall – often leads to drought, resulting in crop and pasture loss, drinking water shortage and food insecurity. Situations like these push communities dependent on natural resources and farming to look for alternate sources of living.¹¹ In the absence of viable local options, their strategies may include pursuing dangerous or risky migration opportunities, incurring debt or both.¹² *Blood Bricks* maps the intricate details of how farmers, whose livelihoods have been undermined by climate change in Cambodia, are forced in to intergenerational bondage by kiln factory owners who buy their debt and force them to work in sub-human conditions.¹³

- **Slow onset events combined with conflict and forced displacement**

The final pathway indicates large-scale incremental forced displacement due to conflict triggered by slow onset natural disasters, such as drought and/or famine. While a direct correlation between climate change and conflict is yet to be established, it's clear that countries experiencing conflict and high levels of insecurity are less able to cope with the adverse effects of climate shocks and environmental changes.¹⁴ As conflicts weaken existing institutions, markets and livelihood support systems, communities are left without the means to adapt or cope.¹⁵ The resulting income loss, displacement, higher levels of food insecurity and inflation force them to pursue risky coping strategies, often leading to debt bondage.¹⁶

Case studies in two global hotspots of modern slavery – the Sundarbans delta in India/Bangladesh and Ghana in West Africa – provide evidence of a relationship between modern slavery and climate-induced displacement and migration. Both cases highlight that climate change has led to the degradation of the environment, increased economic uncertainty and food insecurity, to the detriment of the well-being of poor families, particularly women and children. Limited alternatives and resources for survival, and low resilience within households, have led to intra – and interstate migration across rural and urban areas, exposing those involved to slavery and slavery-like practices. In the Sundarbans, many who embark on the rural-urban migration pathway with no resources, skills or social networks at their destination, are targeted by agents and/or traffickers in Dhaka or Kolkata. In Ghana, young women and children are forced into situations of debt-bondage by agents who run kayayie (head-carrying manual labourers/porters).¹⁷

Climate and development policy-makers and planners urgently need to recognise that millions of people displaced by climate change are being, and will be, exposed to slavery in the coming decades.

Recognising slavery as a mainstream policy issue alongside poverty and climate change will help to:

- Develop understanding of the underlying drivers that push disadvantaged communities into slavery.
- Identify risky migration pathways that lead to exploitative work situations.
- Identify gaps in existing climate and development policies that leave communities facing climate crises exposed to slavery.

A clearer understanding of these drivers, pathways and gaps can strengthen existing development and climate policies and programmes to support anti-slavery efforts.





Recommendations to address the connection between climate change, migration and modern slavery

- **Incorporate slavery into climate and development planning**

Recognise and prioritise the connection between climate-induced migration and modern slavery. Policy responses should integrate actions into climate resilience plans, migration response plans and national development plans.

- **Take action on displacement and risks of modern slavery**

Clear targets and actions need to be considered, in line with Sustainable Development Goal 8.7 which calls for effective measures to end forced labour, modern slavery, human trafficking, and child labour in all its forms.

- **Coordinate international efforts based on exiting initiatives**

A joined-up inclusive approach is needed – that complements and draws ongoing efforts of the UNFCCC Task Force on Displacement, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the Sendai Framework, the Nansen Initiative on Displacement and the High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement – to increase understanding of, and response to, growing risks of climate-induced migration/displacement and exposure to modern slavery.

- **Shape policy interventions based on local research and evidence**

Addressing the risks of slavery in the context of climate change, across the wide range of national and local contexts, requires the inclusion of affected communities in decision-making and openness to local forms of resilience and adaptation, using evidence gathered to inform international and national policies and practices.

- **Integrate slavery issues in National Determined Contributions (NDC) and ensure climate finance commitments**

NDCs need to identify policies and actions for providing safe migration pathways and address vulnerability to slavery in the context of climate change. This should help to increase the demand for climate finance for adaptation, resilience, loss and damage in tackling trafficking and modern slavery. Convergence between existing development and climate finance should also be explored, to address the connection between climate-induced migration and slavery risks.

- **Strengthen social safety nets for climate risk management**

The biggest shortcoming of anti-slavery initiatives is a lack of effort to address the root cause of the issue.¹⁸ While there is a recognition that factors such as poverty, uneven development and gender inequality shape vulnerability to slavery, effective social protection mechanisms that can help in addressing these issues (particularly in the face of climate or environmental crisis) are less than adequate. There is a need to consider vulnerability to slavery in the framing of social protection initiatives and climate risk management, and create a rights-based approach for providing access to basic services and social safety nets to all vulnerable households.

- **Develop skills and create safe migration pathways**

There is a need to identify hotspots based on layering climate risks with socio-economic, political and institutional risks, and to identify the migration pathways pursued by vulnerable communities during climate crises. Such assessments should be used for developing skills, certification, rights awareness, placement and helpline services. Portable rights and entitlements, offered under development and social protection programmes, should ensure that migrants can access benefits such as insurance and health cover at their destination. Relevant labour laws will need to be strengthened and new legal frameworks will be required to protect vulnerable migrants from exploitative labour practices and provide safe working conditions at destination sites.

- **Develop preventive measures and advance planning to relocate and resettle displaced communities**

Anticipatory action to move people to safety before disasters strike, including plans to relocate and resettle displaced communities, can help reduce exposure to slavery.

CHAPTER 1

A brick-kiln in India

Photo by Bharat Patel

What is 'modern slavery'?

1.1 What is modern slavery and what forms does it take?

The notion of slavery is often relegated to the past. But figures show that more people are subject to slavery today than at any time in history. According to the Global Estimate of Modern Slavery,¹⁹ 40.3 million people are living in slavery worldwide. However, compared to the past, contemporary forms of slavery do not typically involve the legal ownership of individuals, but rather those who are trapped in slavery-like conditions, where they are illegally controlled or confined, for example through the use of threats or other forms of coercion and abuse of power, for the purpose of exploitation.

Contemporary forms of slavery are often categorised as slavery, slavery-like practices, bonded labour, debt bondage and forced sexual exploitation, but all of these are interrelated and constitute a continuum.²⁰ Modern-day slavery is manifesting itself in many new forms often in the most barbaric ways. For example, poor workers from the less-developed states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in India are trafficked by syndicates to work in Punjab as bonded labourers. These workers are given drugs, to make them work long hours in the fields, which adversely affects their mental and physical health.²¹ Slavery also manifests itself in other forms, such as sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, criminal exploitation, forced begging, forced marriage and illegal adoption, breaching issues of human trafficking, bonded labour and human rights.

Despite the stark reality and strong evidence of the continuing existence of slavery, the issue has not been given the priority it deserves in terms of recognising it as a problem and treating it as a mainstream issue. The lack of urgency and action has allowed those perpetuating slavery and trafficking to flourish.

Slavery, otherwise known as unfree labour or extreme forms of exploitation, is a blind spot for many development practitioners. This report demonstrates the increased vulnerability to slavery as a result of climate change and demands that a slavery lens be placed on all climate and development interventions.



Photo by Julian James

1.2 Who is impacted and at risk?

Slavery is widespread, and women and girls are the most impacted.

Modern slavery disproportionately affects the most marginalised members of society, such as women, children and minorities.²² Of the 40.3 million people reportedly living in modern slavery, 71% are female. Of this number, nearly three out of four women and girls were trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In 2016, one in four (10 million) victims of modern slavery were below the age of 18. Under 18s also represent 21% of the victims of forced sexual exploitation and 18% of those subjected to forced labour exploitation.

Walk Free estimates that, in 2020, one in every 130 women and girls globally were victims of modern slavery. While men and boys are more likely to be 'exploited in state-sponsored forced labour or forced labour in the construction and manufacturing sectors',²³ women and girls account 'for nearly three quarters of all victims of modern slavery.'²⁴ In 2019, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) reported that 'women and girls represent 99% of victims of forced labour in the commercial sex industry and 58% in other sectors, 40% of victims of forced labour imposed by state authorities and 84% of victims of forced marriages.'²⁵ The UK's Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO)'s modern slavery conceptual framework further identifies socially and economically marginalised groups, low skilled migrants, crisis affected groups and people with low-levels of education as being particularly vulnerable to slavery.

However, these figures need to be interpreted with caution as they may not represent the true scale of the issue. Much slavery and trafficking is clandestine and operates through informal, yet highly organised, networks of couriers and groups – the actual scale of their operations isn't captured and victims often don't report violations. The estimated number of victims is, therefore, considered by many researchers and organisations to be far greater than those presented through existing statistics.²⁶

1.3 Drivers of modern slavery

The drivers of vulnerability to modern slavery are complex, impacted by risks including social, economic, political, cultural and institutional factors.

At an individual or household level, the root causes of vulnerability stem from exclusion, marginalisation, poverty, unemployment, lack of education, low skill levels, lack of access to resources and basic services, lack of alternatives and low socio-economic status. It is worth noting that these factors are interlinked and often it is social inequality and the resulting power imbalances that create vulnerability to slavery. If certain people are considered to be lesser than others, they are more likely to face the poverty that facilitates their exploitation, and to be viewed by society and employers as more justifiably exploitable.

At community level, the drivers of risk include weak institutions and decision-making bodies with lack of resources and democratic processes; access to poor infrastructure and basic services such as schools, health facilities, economic and political instability.

The 2018 Vulnerability Model set out in the Global Slavery Index, maps 23 risk variables across five major dimensions: governance issues, lack of basic needs, inequality, disenfranchised groups and effects of conflict.²⁷

A review of global evidence indicates that those most vulnerable to modern slavery, in any form, are those who are already victims of some form of social, economic and/or political injustice – impoverishment, poor economic conditions, social stigma, discrimination, economic marginalisation, social exclusion, lack of social protection, limited or no access to adequate health care or education, high levels of food insecurity and little or no access to safe water.²⁸ The presence or absence of social protection is a major risk factor, as are security and patterns of conflict, displacement and migration.²⁹

As explored by the UNODC in their 2018 Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, different drivers to trafficking are found in conflict zones, such as lack of rule of law, impunity, inequality, restrictive mobility, limited protection for victims and survivors, discriminating social structures and cultural practices, or, in other words, systemic marginalisation and discrimination on the basis of race, gender, caste and ethnicity.



Photo by Bhajat Patel

CHAPTER 2

Is climate change a driver for modern slavery?

Climate change acts as a stress multiplier to factors driving modern slavery.

While several socio-economic, political, cultural and institutional vulnerabilities act as drivers to modern slavery, they are increasingly considered to be made worse by climate change impacts and environmental degradation.³⁰

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) released a report in March 2021 demonstrating that the increasing frequency and intensity of extreme weather disasters due to climate change – such as floods, droughts and megafires – are having a devastating effect on food security and the livelihoods of those already living in poverty and marginalisation.³¹ These situations create circumstances where vulnerable communities are coerced into slavery and slavery type practices. For instance, if environmental conditions due to climate change are affected to the extent that livelihoods collapse, then climate-induced migration could affect already vulnerable communities and expose them to slavery.

While poverty compounds the effect of other drivers to modern slavery, inequality and marginalisation have emerged as important determinants of modern slavery.³² Therefore, the links between climate change, migration and modern slavery need to be understood through the lens of marginalisation and inequality.³³

There is a good deal of evidence suggesting that vulnerability to climate-induced migration is particularly evident among those already marginalised by gender, ethnicity, age or socio-economic status. 'The relationship between crises related displacement and migration and early and forced marriage has been well documented. For example, in the wake of millions of women and girls displaced into Lebanon and Jordan following the Syrian conflict, a significant increase in forced and child marriage was noted among refugees in the host countries.'³⁴

UNICEF confirms that climate change increases the risk of girls being pushed onto unsafe migration/displacement pathways that can expose them to the risk of modern slavery. 'Girls are at increased risk of violence and exploitation, including sexual and physical abuse, and trafficking during and after extreme weather events. These risks are heightened when collecting food, water and firewood or when staying in temporary shelters or refugee camps. In addition, when a family is faced with economic hardship caused by climate change, studies suggest that the risk of child marriage can increase.'³⁵ Thus, there is a need for more attention to be placed on social inequality when dealing with climate-related migration and vulnerability to modern slavery.

CHAPTER 3



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Links between climate-induced migration and modern slavery

3.1 Does climate change policy recognise climate-induced migration and displacement as an issue?

The Cancún Adaptation Framework (CAF) shaped how international and national actors currently understand and approach climate-related movements. It shifted the discourse from the use of the homogeneous term ‘environmental migration’ to distinguish between three modes of mobility due to climate impacts – migration, displacement and planned relocation.³⁶

According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), climate change impacts all three modes of mobility.³⁷ This has enabled specific climate policies, interventions and operations which are more adequately aligned with their distinct features, mobility patterns and outcomes.³⁸

Prior to CAF, the international humanitarian community considered the policies, frameworks and guidelines for climate-related cross-border movements or forced displacements to be insufficient³⁹ and the protection agenda for affected people inadequate.⁴⁰ Their concern stemmed from no clear distinction between migration and displacement and that, with rising climate change impacts, ‘migration will become less of a choice; in many cases, migration will become displacement.’⁴¹

Shortly after the adoption of CAF, an intergovernmental Nansen Initiative⁴² was formulated on migration and displacement. It was assigned with developing policies and operational capacities to manage climate change-induced movements, and to fill a legal gap with regards to protection and cross-border displacement.⁴³

Five years later, in 2015, two major breakthroughs were achieved. First, the endorsement of the Protection of Cross-Border Displaced Persons in the Context of Disasters and Climate Change by international and national actors that effectively ended the Nansen Initiative and marked the inception of the Platform on Disaster Displacement.⁴⁴ And second, in December 2015, the Paris Agreement was adopted, representing an unprecedented development of action on migration and climate with the formal inclusion of 'migrants' in the Preamble.⁴⁵

*Acknowledging that climate change is a common concern of humankind, parties should, when taking action to address climate change, respect, promote and consider their respective obligations on human rights, the right to health, the rights of indigenous peoples, local communities, **migrants**, children, persons with disabilities and people in vulnerable situations and the right to development, as well as gender equality, empowerment of women and intergenerational equity.*

The Paris Agreement

A year later, in 2016, the UN General Assembly decided, through the adoption of the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants,⁴⁶ to develop a first-ever negotiated global framework on migration. The non-legally binding Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration was finalised in 2018, signalling that the international community officially recognised that 'migration in the context of climate change, environmental degradation and disasters is a reality, and [the Compact] makes commitments to support both climate migrants and states'.⁴⁷



A Bolivian couple with their child on their field where their crop of quinoa failed this year because of frosts. Climate change is affecting the viability of farming in this area.



A hurricane viewed from space

Photo byt NASA on Unsplash

3.2 How is vulnerability to modern slavery linked to patterns of displacement and migration?

Although not all weather-related disasters and their associated displacement are directly related to climate change,⁴⁸ the frequency and intensity of climatic shocks are increasing due to climate impacts, including slow onset events like drought and salination; and extreme weather events such as cyclones, flooding and hurricanes.

These climatic shocks are having increasingly severe impacts on poor and vulnerable households and communities – especially in countries highly exposed to climate change – and are a leading cause of displacement. Debates abound in and between academic and political circles on the degree to which climate change is influencing migration decision-making, however there is an emerging consensus that climate change influences migration and displacement pathways. The World Bank⁴⁹ estimates that climate change impacts, such as crop failure, water scarcity and rising sea levels, will create 143 million climate migrants, the majority in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America. These three regions represent 55% of the developing world's population.

When people are forced into distress migration and displacement, the risk of becoming vulnerable to modern slavery is shown to increase with the depletion of resources and uncertainty while on route. According to the IOM, 'Migrants are particularly vulnerable to human trafficking, forced labour and modern slavery.' In 2019 the number of migrants globally was estimated to be total 258 million.⁵⁰ Data on the number of the 40.3 million victims of modern slavery who are also migrants is currently scarce.

Existing research and evidence indicate that the relation between climate change and/or climate-induced migration and severe forms of exploitation exists in at least three circumstances or along three pathways.⁵¹

3.2.1 Pathway 1: Sudden events in the aftermath of disasters

The first pathway is the most well-documented and is extensively cited, ie trafficking for forced labour and/or sexual exploitation during or after displacement in the aftermath of a natural disaster.⁵² Gerrard has noted, that vulnerability to trafficking increases by 20-30% when climate-related disaster occurs.⁵³ Convincing evidence indicates that human trafficking increased in the aftermath of the Indonesian tsunami. In the wake of typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, many survivors found themselves coerced, with no alternative, into working as prostitutes or labourers.⁵⁴ In Bangladesh, women left widowed by cyclone Sidr were targeted by traffickers and driven into prostitution or hard labour. And, following annual flooding in Assam north-east India, women and girls are forced into child slavery or forced marriage to make ends meet.⁵⁵

There are numerous theories as to why such spikes in trafficking occur after climate shocks. The destruction caused by typhoons, hurricanes and tsunamis, for instance, exacerbates inequalities, destroys assets and may lead to mass displacement of those most vulnerable, (such as those impoverished to begin with and without any form of social protection). All factors combine to reduce resilience and, on a psychosocial level, to 'increase the desperation of already marginalised groups, thereby rendering them more vulnerable to enslavement.'⁵⁶ According to the IOM, in these desperate circumstances and during displacement particularly, 'recruiters will naturally target the most disaster-affected and vulnerable groups.'⁵⁷ 'The use of informal and dangerous trafficking networks is likely to rise as the impacts of climate change become more pronounced, rural populations become increasingly desperate, and nations in the Global North steadily fortify borders and limit inward migration.'⁵⁸

3.2.2 Pathway 2: Slow onset events/disasters

The second pathway indicates that climate variability – such as increased temperature and erratic rainfall – often leads to drought, resulting in crop and pasture loss, drinking water shortage and food insecurity. Situations like these push communities dependent on natural resources and farming to look for alternate sources of living.⁵⁹ In the absence of viable local options, their strategies may include pursuing dangerous or risky migration opportunities, incurring debt or both.⁶⁰

The authors of *Blood Bricks* have mapped the intricate details of how farmers and their families in Cambodia are led to work in brick kilns in Phnom Penh, where their lives are irreparably damaged once forced into slavery. Successive crop failures, due to increased temperatures and erratic rainfall, mean they have to use savings to make ends meet or borrow money from microfinance companies or local money lenders. When they are not able to pay back the money, they are forced into intergenerational bondage by kiln factory owners who buy their debt and force them to work in sub-human conditions.⁶¹ This 'characterises the impacts of climate change and contemporary slavery within the construction industry as "converging traumas"'.⁶²

At a government level, the pressures to achieve high economic growth, rapid infrastructure development and urbanisation means a blind eye is turned to migrant rights abuses and labour laws. Unchecked, this chain of exploitation results in significant human rights violations, including forced labour, debt bondage and slavery.⁶³

Communities dependent on natural resources often have several layers of vulnerability, and the relationship between drought as a climate crisis and modern slavery is not straightforward. There are a combination of other conditions – poverty and inequality, debt and other contextual factors such as ‘the dependence on a single livelihood activity, lack of necessary infrastructure, and limited presence of state institutions, that compound their vulnerability when exposed to climate shocks.’⁶⁴ As summarised by Brown, ‘the increasing prevalence and severity of droughts exacerbates the existing vulnerabilities and inequalities of local populations that may render them susceptible to trafficking and exploitative labour practices’.⁶⁵

3.2.3 Pathway 3: Slow onset events, combined with conflict and forced displacement

The final pathway indicates large-scale incremental forced displacement due to conflict triggered by slow onset natural disasters, such as drought and/or famine. While a direct correlation between climate change and conflict is yet to be established, it’s clear that countries experiencing conflict and high levels of insecurity are less able to cope with the adverse effects of climate shocks and environmental changes.⁶⁶ As conflicts weaken existing institutions, markets and livelihood support systems, communities are left without the means to adapt or cope.⁶⁷ The resulting income loss, displacement, higher levels of food insecurity and inflation force them to pursue risky coping strategies, often leading to bondage.⁶⁸

According to a recent Adelphi paper, ‘Climate variability is a key issue in the Central Sahel, owing to a heavy reliance on rainfed agriculture, pastoralism and other climate-sensitive sectors. Yet, its effects need to be understood in a wider social and political context’⁶⁹ which includes conflict. Critically, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) notes that the combination of climate change and conflict serves as ‘double vulnerability’.⁷⁰ It is well evidenced that forced displacement, whether brought on by disaster or conflict, serves to compound the risks of exploitation.

3.2.4 How the three pathways overlap

In each pathway, similar dynamics drive vulnerabilities to modern slavery – enhanced marginalisation, inequality and poverty due to climate impacts such as water shortages or drought, or loss of livelihood with no viable alternative in the absence of social protection. This is often combined with destruction of infrastructure, and/or a lack of access to services in post-disaster or conflict situations. As IOM note, ‘Migrants who reported war, conflict or natural disasters as the main reason for leaving their places of origin are predicted to be more vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking on their journey, than migrants who left for other reasons’.⁷¹

3.3 The climate change – human trafficking nexus

In 2016, the IOM acknowledged the climate change-human trafficking nexus.⁷²

More recently, it was suggested that a modern slavery-environmental degradation-climate change nexus may threaten the achievement of SDGs.⁷³

Drawing from evidence gathered for this research, it's clear that the new nexus is climate change-migration-modern slavery – based on dwindling resources, lack of alternative livelihoods, lack of social protection and cycles of debt.

Climate change is exacerbating poverty and inequality and pushing people, already in precarious situations, to the limits of coping and forcing them to pursue risky strategies. The lack of recognition and priority given to the issue means there's an absence of strong policies, so labour and migrant rights abuses remain largely unregulated or are disregarded at the expense of achieving rapid economic growth and infrastructure development.



Photo by Milind Ruparel on Unsplash

CHAPTER 4

Links between modern slavery, migration and climate change: South Asia and West Africa

In 2018, modern slavery was reportedly most prevalent in Africa in relation to population size, followed by Asia and the Pacific region,⁷⁴ with West Africa and South Asia considered the hot spots.

Alongside governance issues and disenfranchisement,⁷⁵ armed conflict, state-sponsored forced labour and forced marriages were the main factors behind the estimated 9.2 million Africans who live in servitude.⁷⁶ In South Asia, 'India alone is estimated to have the largest "absolute" number of people in modern slavery, with nearly 8 million people living in modern slavery, followed by Pakistan (3.2 million), Bangladesh (592,000) and Nepal (171,000).⁷⁷ In South Asia, members of historically oppressed castes and tribes are at particular risk of modern slavery.⁷⁸ Inadequate access to healthcare and social benefits, poor working and living conditions and low literacy, characterise the vulnerability of these marginalised groups.

West Africa and South Asia have high economic disparities, with a large segment of the population, especially young people, impoverished and/or unemployed/underemployed. These two regions are also home to marginalised groups who experience economic barriers and face discrimination and social exclusion – all known drivers of vulnerability to modern slavery and factors for risky migration.⁷⁹

4.1 Case study: drought-related vulnerability to modern slavery in Ghana

The Global Slavery Index (2018) estimates that 133,000 people in Ghana live in slavery-like conditions, 52% of the population are vulnerable to modern slavery, and approximately five out of every 1,000 people are enslaved. More than half of the children in the Lake Volta area are victims of forced labour and modern slavery (IJM, 2020). Migration from coastal fishing communities (CFCs) to inland fishing areas has long been associated with human trafficking and labour exploitation, including sexual exploitation.

Less well documented, though increasingly reported,⁸⁰ is the vulnerability of young women and men migrating from the drought-stricken north of the country to urban centres in the south. Outcomes of this migratory pattern include labour and sexual exploitation of young female migrants who work as *kayayie* in Ghana's major cities. Though not all cases constitute modern slavery, the organisation and business of *kayayie* is an emergent trend that indicates a growing enterprise of systematic and severe exploitation of young women, including debt-bondage and trafficking.

4.1.1 Land and livelihoods

The north of Ghana has historically been the most fragile ecological area of the country. It is characterised by a single rainfall season and long dry spell. Over the course of the last decade, climate change has shortened the farming season making most people, especially young people, unemployed for most of the year. Rainfall has also become heavier, damaging properties and farmland. The subsequent flooding results in post-harvest losses, which invariably affects food security, both in the local area and the country at large. Northern Ghana also suffers severe environmental degradation from illegal mining, bush burning, felling of high value trees for export and the production of charcoal. While rainfall has reduced, temperatures have risen over the last decade, resulting in a prolonged period of drought across the country – most notably in transitional and northern savannah areas.

The government of Ghana is currently supporting dry season farmers in north Ghana by the constructing dams and ponds. However, these efforts are not sufficient to deal with the scale of impacts and are usually out of reach for poor and marginalised communities.



Fishing is the main livelihood for many communities in Ghana

4.1.2 Migration

North-south migration in Ghana is increasingly common among farming communities. It is mainly seasonal, with people migrating during the long dry season and returning for the farming season, though can lead to a permanent move. Typically, young men and women migrate, leaving older family members behind.

Most migrants move to cities in the central belt (Kumasi, Techiman, Sunyani) or further south (Accra, Takoradi, Cape Coast, Koforidua) if their employment needs are not met. The majority of migrants are men, who usually work as farm labourers (cocoa, cashew and other cash crops) or in other menial jobs at their destination. Their work tends to be exploitative and sometimes results in bonded labour. A significant proportion also work in the mining sector.

The girls and young women who migrate to southern Ghana are reportedly doing so to escape repressive socio-cultural norms and rituals practiced in their communities – notably female genital mutilation and early/forced marriage. Climate change is making them more vulnerable, as families are selling their children into marriage and to labour agents as coping strategies.

Panyin and **Kakra** are two rescued trafficked girls, about 14 years old, from CFCs in north Ghana. They were rescued by Challenging Heights and are currently undergoing recovery and rehabilitation at their shelter. The girls explained how they ended up with traffickers.

‘When our family income reduced because of climate impacts, we were sent to Yeji by our parents to work and raise money to support the family’.

When women migrate in search of better conditions, their situation rarely improves. Female migrants usually work as *kayayie* in their destination. Others engage in menial jobs, such as washing dishes at restaurants or domestic care. Evidence increasingly suggests that women and young girls are becoming victims of debt-bondage and working in slavery-like conditions.

4.1.3 Kayayie

Kayayie has emerged as a scheme involving the use of trafficked young women in labour exploitation. In interviews, for this report, with female migrants from north Ghana working as kayayie in Accra, it was confirmed that debt bondage practices exist. There is usually an adult female at the destination town who receives young women and poses as their guardian. In the end, they become enslaved and must work under exploitative conditions. They often don't have accommodation, but sleep in kiosks, construction sites or shopfronts, making them vulnerable to sexual exploitation and abuse, poor health conditions and increased morbidity.

Salamatu, 22, is from northern Ghana. She has been working as a kayayei in Accra for seven years.

'The decision to migrate to Accra was influenced by the lack of job opportunities in my village. Farming, the main livelihood, is carried out by men while women only support with their labour. My village suffered flooding in each of the past three seasons – farmlands were submerged and eventually destroyed. Farming is a good livelihood option, but the cultural system and bad weather is destroying the crop. It is no longer conducive for me and other young people, especially women, to earn a living at home. I use my earnings as a kayayei to fend for myself and support other family members, including buying food (maize, beans and gar) for them during the dry season. Working as a kayayie has not been easy for me.

When I came here, I did not know anything about the work. I was told that the woman providing our pans will also feed us and give us accommodation. However, all my earnings go to her and only sometimes will she give me a small part of the money I've earned. Before you can leave her camp, you have to work and pay for the pan and also the accommodation she provides. So basically, I was not getting anything from my hard work. To make things worse, I dropped someone's items from the pan, in the market, for which I had to compensate. When they estimated the cost of the items, it was very expensive and not something I could afford. The woman who controlled me paid on condition that I work and repay that amount to her. I have been working endlessly and have not been able to repay'.

NGOs and CSOs have been working towards reducing the kayayie schemes in Ghana by providing young girls with skills training. However, they continue to live and work in debt bondage in urban slums and town centres in southern Ghana.



A mangrove forest in the Sundarbans

Photo by Maithell Maitra on Unsplash

4.2 Case study: vulnerable communities in the Sundarbans delta of India and Bangladesh

Spread across India and Bangladesh, Sundarbans – the world's largest mangrove forest (25,500km²) – is in the delta formed by the confluence of the Ganges, Brahmaputra and Meghna rivers in the Bay of Bengal. It is a UNESCO world heritage site. The region is prone to recurrent natural disasters and is a hotspot of modern slavery. In India, the region is identified as being prone to trafficking. In Bangladesh, forced labour, child exploitation and trafficking are endemic.

4.2.1 Livelihoods and climate change

The delta region is characterised by intense, recurrent and sudden onset disasters, as well as slow onset ecological degradation making large areas uninhabitable. Rising sea levels, erratic rainfall, increased frequency of cyclones, tidal surges and floods, mean that millions of people across the Sundarbans are unable to work for most of the year. Survival in the region is becoming increasingly difficult. In 2009, Cyclone Aila caused widespread damage to lives and livelihoods. In 2020, during Cyclone Amphan, 400km of embankment was breached and seawater entered the flood plains resulting in widespread displacement from homes and loss of livelihoods for more than two million people.

Severe flooding and cyclones make access to agricultural land difficult, and agricultural work less obtainable for landless labourers. As roads and waterways become unusable, household income and food security diminish, access to markets is limited and fishing opportunities more risky and costly.

In the Bangladesh Sundarbans, crops also fail because of drought, prolonged cold spells and coastal seawater intrusion, leading to a scarcity of drinking water and high morbidity due to extremes of heat and cold, and outbreaks of dengue, malaria, cholera and diarrhoea. Approximately 3.5 million people live in the region, where the main crop is rice. Fishing and honey collection is also prevalent. Damage to property and crop failures during the frequent flooding and cyclones, has pushed a large section of the population into poverty – 43.5% live below the national designated poverty line.⁸¹

In the smaller Indian Sunderbans, single crop agriculture and fishing are the main sources of income. 50% of the population are landless labourers. During the non-agricultural season, the community depend on forest and river resources for their livelihoods.

4.2.2 Migration

Frequent environmental pressures and climatic crises drive displacement and forced migration from both the Indian and Bangladeshi sides of the delta. Intra-state migration is common in both countries. It is primarily men that migrate. Many women stay at home to take care of the family and household, and are more likely to become part of the marginal unskilled workforce in sectors such as handicrafts or crabbing. Women (wives, mothers, sisters and daughters) who do migrate with male migrants are 'associational migrants'.

In the Indian Sundarbans, women only migrate to the semi-urban areas of Kolkata for domestic work. However, the overall trend of migration in the region is 'rural to rural' or 'rural to urban', within the state, to other states or other countries.

According to a recent study, in the Bangladesh Sundarbans, 'Post-Cyclone Aila, three-quarters of households reported the labour migration of at least one family member, with children comprising a fifth of those out-migrating.'⁸² Migrants mostly fall below 'the poverty line', have a low level of literacy and usually work as unskilled labourers. On the whole, they migrate to urban slums – especially Dhaka, one of the world's most densely populated megacities. Once there, they face hardship – increased poverty, public health hazards, lack of access to services and, for some, homelessness.

4.2.3 Modern slavery

With many countries restricting immigration, more and more people from the Sundarbans are relying on trafficking networks to cross borders, placing them in potentially dangerous situations. Consequently, in Bangladesh especially, women and children are transferred routinely and in large numbers to neighbouring countries. Trafficking women and children is not an isolated practice involving a few socially vulnerable individuals. The practice is widespread in the disaster-prone region, with traffickers targeting widows, female-headed households and men desperate to cross the border to India for employment. Due to debt bondage, trafficking victims are forced into hard labour (some working in sweatshops) and prostitution. Some disaster-affected families collude with the traffickers, identifying vulnerable women and girls, to earn money. Agents sometimes arrange marriages for girls in low-income families, which is preferred to resorting to sex work to overcome debt.

Modern slavery doesn't necessarily involve migration. 'Forced and debt-bonded labour has been documented in fish-processing camps, shrimp factories and shrimp farms in the Bangladeshi Sundarbans, notably on the remote island of Dublar Char. Enslaved children are being forced to work long hours in hazardous conditions in illegal operations to catch, clean, process and dry fish and shrimp, which are sold onto local and international seafood markets. The children are either kidnapped and taken to work on the fish camps, lured through false promises of paid work, or work to help their family pay off debts to local moneylenders. The slave labour in the fish camps is seasonal, with much of the forced labour shifting to proximal processing warehouses or ports during the off-season.'⁸³

4.3 Key trends emerging from the two case studies

Both case studies add to the evidence that vulnerability to modern slavery – including debt bondage, bonded labour, early/forced marriage and human trafficking – converge with climate change, particularly climate shocks and climate-related forced displacement and migration. They illustrate that the risks faced as a result of climate-related migration are interwoven with market demands, unregulated migration pathways and a lack of social protection. In both cases, the vulnerability to modern slavery was determined by a person's capacity to cope and adapt to the impacts of climate change, the levels of access to resources and information prior to and during migration, and the institutional and governance systems that provide services and support during crises. In the Sundarbans, many who embark on the rural-urban migration pathway with no resources, skills or social networks at their destination, are targeted by agents and/or traffickers in Dhaka or Kolkata. In the case of Ghana, young women and children are forced into debt-bondage by agents who run *kayayie*.

The case studies also show how climate-related migration, and its associated risks, affect men and women differently. Women may not migrate from the Sundarbans, but those who stay at home are burdened with increased responsibilities and they, along with their children, are at risk of being forced into bonded labour. Those women who do migrate become more vulnerable and are targeted by traffickers or agents. In Ghana, young women are not only choosing to migrate to escape climate-related impacts but also to break free of sexual and gender-based violence rooted in cultural and social norms. Therefore, vulnerability to modern slavery deepens the existing marginalisation and exposure to inequalities before, during and after migration.

Both case studies highlight the continuum of resource depletion, lack of alternative livelihoods, lack of safety nets and protection against loss and damage, debt and exploitation.



Photo by Bharat Patel

CHAPTER 5

Toolkit for policy-makers

5.1 Addressing the links between climate change, migration and modern slavery?

The laws, policies, frameworks and guidelines for climate-related in country and cross-border movements or forced displacement are insufficient, and the protection agenda around prevention and minimisation of modern slavery risks for affected people inadequate.

There are growing concerns that, with climate change impacts on the increase, migration will become less of a choice and, in many cases, lead to temporary and permanent displacement, exposing people to trafficking and slavery in the absence of rights and safety nets. Policymakers need to develop targeted actions, at national and international levels, to address the issue.

5.1.1 Include slavery in climate and development planning

Climate and development policymakers and planners urgently need to recognise that millions of people displaced by climate change are being, and will be, exposed to slavery in the coming decades. Development interventions usually consist of policies and programmes that reduce poverty and vulnerability – by enhancing their capacity to manage economic and social crises, improving well-being and diminishing their exposure to risks that can push them further into destitution. However, the development and climate policy debate needs to take trafficking and slavery risks due to climate shocks into consideration by:

- Acknowledging that slavery can be an unintended but direct consequence when migration occurs in the absence of government support and safety nets, after disasters or in the face of slow-onset events.⁸⁴
- Addressing the vulnerability to slavery in the climate change debate.
- Developing policy responses, for example by: providing livelihood protection support; offering access to basic services to help households maintain basic consumption levels during crises; and facilitating movement that is safe and dignified without the risk of abuse, exploitation and trafficking.
- Integrating these actions in urban and rural climate resilience plans, migration response plans and national development plans.

5.1.2 Climate action on displacement and risks of modern slavery

The scale of climate impacts leading to displacements and migration needs to be urgently recognised in the international climate policy debate. Clear targets and action need to be considered within the UNFCCC mechanisms, in line with SDG 8.7 that calls for effective measures to end forced labour, modern slavery, human trafficking, and child labour in all its forms. The UNFCCC should also consider commitments and targets from all parties in the negotiations to address climate-induced migration and the associated risks of modern slavery.

The Warsaw International Mechanism Task Force on Displacement (WIM TFD) was created, in line with the Paris Agreement, to develop recommendations for integrated approaches to avert, minimise and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change. The Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage is entrusted by COP (UN climate change summit) to operationalise the WIM TFD. However, despite seeking inputs from a range of humanitarian, development, human mobility and climate change institutions and experts (including the IOM, UNHRC, UNDP and ILO) the plan does not consider the need to address climate-induced risks of modern slavery. There is a need for the WIM TFD to recognise the issue and include it in the action plan, so that it can be considered within the framework of UNFCCC.



Task Force on Displacement in the UNFCCC process

Source: UNFCCC⁸⁵

5.1.3 Coordinate international efforts on exiting initiatives

There are several untapped opportunities that can help accelerate action and support for anti-slavery efforts. Currently, many on-going efforts through the WIM TFD, SDGs, the Sendai Framework, the Nansen Initiative on Displacement, the Platform on Disaster Displacement and the High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement, should be coordinated to increase understanding of, and response to, growing risks of climate-induced migration/displacement and exposure to modern slavery. These actions are currently scattered across several sectors and actors. A joined-up, inclusive approach is required, that complements and draws on the existing work. This can help to:

- Facilitate continuous and well-structured dialogue, coordination and engagement among relevant organisations and networks to foster the sharing of expertise and learnings across regions and countries.
- Pool the knowledge, data and information on both internal and cross-border migration, displacement and other forms of human movement related to climate change impacts, including in combination with other factors.
- Develop a long-term action plan, approach and strategy for tackling modern slavery.

These efforts can contribute towards developing a clear action plan and political roadmap for ending slavery by 2030.

5.1.4 Shape policy intervention on local research and evidence

While social protection and adaptation actions can play an important role in reducing risks to vulnerable communities, modern slavery is ultimately governed by the complex multidimensional factors that determine the vulnerability of individuals, households, communities and regions, such as: physical exposure to climate hazards; economic development; ecosystem health and biodiversity; poverty levels; social and economic inequalities; the state of institutions and governance arrangements; quality of infrastructure; and access to essential services. Addressing the risks of slavery in the context of climate change across the wide range of national and local contexts, requires the inclusion of affected communities in decision-making, openness to local forms of resilience and adaptation, and to use that evidence to inform international and national policies and practices.

In the context of the climate change, migration and modern slavery nexus, it is important to understand that if environmental conditions change to the extent that certain areas experience systematic collapse of livelihood systems and reach a tipping point, then climate-induced migration could affect already vulnerable communities and expose them to slavery. It is not yet known the degree to which asset ownership, access to basic services (health, education, employment options), individual capacity (skills, education), social standing (caste, gender, social standing) and access/quality of natural resources can prevent individuals and communities from pursuing risky coping strategies. However, households with fewer assets and less capacity to cope with environmental change may have to accept dangerous options for survival.

Further research is needed to understand the differential impact that climate change has on men, women, boys and girls and how this relates to slavery. In general, women, women-headed households and children are perceived as being particularly vulnerable to trafficking, during climate disasters.⁸⁶ A gendered perspective can help in focusing attention on multiple inter-related forces that shape vulnerability, and the ways in which vulnerability is gendered and intersects with other social dimensions, such as caste and class. It can also help in developing policy recommendations on how to strengthen existing or create new social protection schemes to provide adequate preventive and coping mechanisms for vulnerable individuals and households, particularly women and girls.

5.1.5 Integrate slavery issues in National Determined Contributions (NDC) and ensure climate finance commitments

There is a need to acknowledge slavery as an issue exacerbated by climate change, and address it in Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) strategies. This is particularly important when climate-induced migration is considered as an adaptation strategy and in areas where climate displacement is becoming unavoidable due to rapid or slow onset climate hazards. The NDCs need to identify policies and actions for providing safe migration pathways and address slavery in the context of climate change. This can help with creating the demand for climate finance for adaptation, resilience, loss and damage to tackle vulnerability to trafficking and modern slavery. Climate finance can also support countries in building and scaling-up responses within climate resilience initiatives to manage slavery and trafficking risks. The relationship between existing development and climate finance should also be explored to address the link between climate-induced migration and slavery risks. International climate funds, such as the Green Climate Fund (GCF) and Adaptation Fund, should consider funding existing social protection programmes for additional components that will strengthen or create climate resilience that also addresses slavery and trafficking risks.

5.1.6 Strengthen social safety nets for climate risk management

Research has shown that modern slavery and trafficking occur when a society's capacity to cope and adapt is exhausted, or when development, social protection or adaptation actions have not been optimally implemented – perhaps because of the political situation in a conflict affected country or when actions by communities and governments are unaffordable, physically or technically impossible, or socially difficult to implement. The major shortcoming of anti-slavery initiatives is a lack of effort to address the root cause of the issue.⁸⁷

While there is a recognition that poverty, uneven development and gender inequality shape vulnerability to slavery, effective social protection mechanisms that can help to address the issues – particularly in the face of climate or environmental crisis – are inadequate. When access and protection are not available, especially for women and children, they are exposed to exploitation and trafficking. There needs to be a rights-based framework to provide access to basic services and social safety nets for all vulnerable households so, in the face of climate and other crises, they have appropriate shelter, food, decent jobs, skills, health care and a justice system. The lack or inadequacy of these basic requirements exposes vulnerable households to exploitation.

5.1.7 Focus on upgrading skills and create safe migration pathways

There is a need to identify hotspots based on cross-checking climate change risks with the socio-economic, political and institutional risks that drive slavery, and identify the pathways pursued by vulnerable migrants during climate crises.

Assessments should be in place to identify a migrant's pattern of movement (if they're migrating alone or with family), their education and skills level, and where they're seeking employment at the destination. Assessment results should be used to prepare the worker for migration. This could include mapping the skill requirements in destination sites and developing a training programme that matches those requirements, certification and complementary placement services which will remove the need for exploitative middlemen. Additional services, such as rights awareness, a helpline and other support offered in partnership with NGOs, might also be provided. This will help in reduce migrants' exposure to risks and make them more able to protect themselves from exploitative work conditions. Rights and entitlements offered under development and social protection programmes should also be made available at destination sites. Relevant labour laws will need to be strengthened and new legal frameworks introduced to protect vulnerable migrants from exploitative labour practices and provide safe working conditions at destination sites.

5.1.8 Develop preventive measures and advance planning to relocate and resettle displaced communities

Climate-induced displacements are increasingly unavoidable worldwide. Rising sea levels, salination and flooding are already forcing entire coastal communities – in countries such as the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Sierra Leone – to relocate. And, as climate shocks are set to intensify, many more millions will be displaced in the coming decades. If global temperatures rise as high as 2.5°C above pre-industrial levels, cyclones and storms are predicted to occur twice as frequently. The World Bank estimates that, by 2050, climate change will force more than 143 million people in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America from their homes.

Pre-emptive action to move people to safety before disasters strike, including plans to relocate and resettle displaced communities, can help reduce exposure to slavery. In Uganda, the government carried out disaster preparedness and preventive measures in the east of the country where there had been two to five landslides a year. They instigated a 10-year voluntary resettlement programme to relocate households from high-risk areas to safer ones in the Bulambuli District, where the community is provided with housing, infrastructure and services, income generating activities and land. A government-wide approach was taken, involving all relevant ministries, and all contracts for construction and service provision stayed within the government.⁸⁸ This model provides a safer option for communities to relocate and rehabilitate their livelihoods.



5.2 Recommendations for policy-makers

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

- Recognise the link between climate-induced migration and modern slavery and include it as an action in climate targets.
- Include and track the progress of climate-induced migration/displacement and anti-slavery actions in Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and National Adaptation Plans through Adaptation Committees.
- Create provision in the Green Climate Fund (GCF) for migration and slavery-related projects.
- Consider the need to address climate-induced risks of modern slavery in the Warsaw International Mechanism Task Force on Displacement (WIM TFD) recommendations to avert, minimise and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change.

United Nations

- Foster collaboration between organisations related to climate change, humanitarian aid, development, disaster management, migration and mobility and human rights.
- For the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to support an advocacy agenda for policymakers and key international institutions (UNFCCC, World Bank, IOM, WIM TFD), particularly in terms of influencing the debate at UN Climate Talks (COP) ensuring a focus on tackling modern slavery and trafficking.
- Play a central role in developing a joint framework to assess progress towards integrated solutions to climate change, distress migration, displacement and slavery.
- Develop specific initiatives to bring climate change displacement and anti-slavery solutions into national and local development plans linked to SDG indicators.
- For the UN Human Rights Council to appoint a UN Special Rapporteur on human rights and climate change to strengthen the Council's role in tackling climate change, protecting people from its adverse impacts, promoting respect for and protection of human rights in all climate responses, and ensuring access to justice.⁸⁹

International Organisation for Migration

- Track and assess issues associated with climate-induced migration and displacement.
- Adopt common data collection and analysis tools across all those working with disaster risk management, response organisations and displacement affected communities.⁹⁰
- Develop joint monitoring and joint information-sharing mechanisms with national governments, NGOs and CSOs.⁹¹

G20

- Commit to a political roadmap to end slavery in line with SDG 8.7.
- Commit to providing long-term funding to address anti-slavery efforts in the context of recurring displacement due to climate impacts. For example, by investing in early warning, prevention, response and recovery.
- Provide technological and financial support to ensure national and regional statistical systems capture data on climate displacement and slavery.

World Bank

- Include the link between climate-induced migration and modern slavery in advice to countries on migration action plans.
- Ensure large-scale development projects address the links between climate change, displacement and slavery.
- Support climate change projects considering early warning, prevention, response and recovery measures, and include indicators for addressing issues of climate-induced migration and slavery.
- Provide support to national governments to strengthen their statistical systems, including data on internal displacement and slavery.

National governments

- Address shelter, safety, security and social cohesion issues in an integrated manner through a multi-stakeholder, multi-sector approach.⁹²
- Create a rights-based framework for all vulnerable households, providing access to basic services and social safety nets.
- Support locally led adaptation and devolve climate change and development funding to a local level.

Acronyms and abbreviations

CAF	Cancún Adaptation Framework
CFC	Coastal fishing communities
COP	Conference of the Parties
CSO	Civil society organisation
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GCF	Green Climate Fund
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
NDC	Nationally Determined Contribution
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WIM TFD	Warsaw International Mechanism Task Force on Displacement

Endnotes

- 1 Prasad K K. 2015. 'Use of the term 'Bonded Labour' is a Must in the Context of India', *Anti trafficking Review*, issue 5, pp. 162 – 137. Available at: <https://www.anti traffickingreview.org/index.php/atjournal/article/download/142/149?inline=1&fn10>.
- 2 ILO. 2017. Global Estimates of Modern Slavery: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_575479/lang-en/index.htm. Global estimate of modern slavery is a collaborative effort between the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Walk Free Foundation, in partnership with the International Organization for Migration (IOM).
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- 4 Though at times the lines between migration and displacement may blur and overlap, migration is defined as a change of residence by an individual or group. It is voluntary and can be within a country or international in nature, permanent or temporary. Displacement refers to situations where people and communities may be forced to migrate/move residence due to floods, windstorms, earthquakes, droughts and other disasters. Planned relocation refers to "the physical process of moving people and can be voluntary or forced, large-scale or small-scale." It receives much less attention than displacement and migration. It is often the last resort and can be used in both acute and slow onset situations. In situations where people are worse off afterwards (which is often the case in planned relocation, this could also include tensions with the new host community etc) the state needs to be prepared to protect. Most planned relocation is internal and is a political process. For more information see: Warner K., Afifi T., Kalin W., Leckie S., Ferris B., Martin S.F. and Wrathall D. 2013. Changing climate, moving people: framing migration, displacement and planned relocation. Available at: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/167240/Policybrief_8_web.pdf.
- 5 According to Warner K. et al. "Different policies are required for different types of human mobility related to climatic changes. Hence, it is necessary to distinguish between migration, displacement and planned relocation in climate policy and operations." Reference found in endnote 4 above.
- 6 Also adopted in 2015 were the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, in which States highlighted displacement because of disasters and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which called for climate action, as well as safe and regular migration.
- 7 This review does not include environmental degradation or displacement as a result of extractive industries such as mining. It is well articulated in Chris O'Connell's recent research (see endnote 11) that "resource extraction and export-oriented agribusiness are worsening vulnerability to exploitation by monopolising land and resources, polluting the soil, air and water, destroying ecosystems, and driving displacement." (see endnote 11 for more information). See also: US Department of State. 2014. The interaction between environmental degradation and human trafficking. Available at: <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/228266.pdf>.
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- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ghanaian terminology used to describe young women who carry goods and wares for a fee.
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Anti-Slavery International
Thomas Clarkson House
The Stableyard
Broomgrove Road
London SW9 9TL
United Kingdom

Tel: +44 (0)20 7501 8920

email: info@antislavery.org

www.antislavery.org

UK Registered Charity 1049160
Company limited by guarantee 3079904
Registered in England and Wales



International Institute for
Environment and Development
Third Floor
235 High Holborn
London WC1V 7DN
United Kingdom

Tel: +44 (0)20 3463 7399

email: inforequest@iied.org

www.iied.org

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