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Transcript

Ending Modern Slavery

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Becky Anderson:

Let's start. A very warm welcome, I'm Becky Anderson from CNN and it's my privilege to be here tonight to moderate proceedings. I know the rights of men, women and children around the world are core to the work that many of you do and it is an issue that I am extremely proud to say lies at the very heart of some of the best journalism that I think that we do at CNN that we value the most. For those of you who aren't aware of our work, let me just take 30 seconds to explain what we've been doing. CNN launched what we call the Freedom Project in March of 2011. The mission is very clear and it's one that we make absolutely no apologies for. It is that we are helping organizations fighting modern day slavery and human trafficking by making the public aware of the problem, giving voices to the vulnerable, and demanding that governments sit up and do more to protect their citizens. Since we started this project some 18 months ago, CNN's journalists have produced hundreds of documentaries, debates and news reports highlighting the problems and the solutions, and over the course of the work that we've done at CNN it's become clear that a lack of critical data is one of the issues that's been frustrating many of the campaigners on this issue, who have argued that, without knowing who is being exploited and where, it's oft times impossible to tackle the problem. So that's why the launch of an index tracking global slavery, which is the first of its kind of course, is a Eureka moment, I think I'd suggest tonight.

Let me introduce the speakers who will tackle the issue tonight, talk about the Global Slavery Index and discuss the scale and spread of modern day slavery and the action required to stop it. Andrew Forrest, pretty much needs no introduction tonight. He is the chair of Walk Free, who are behind this index and is the chair of Australia's largest philanthropic group. Amongst other things he does a lot of mining but I think tonight the philanthropy is what's important. Kevin Bales is professor of contemporary slavery at the Wilberforce Institute for the Study of Slavery and Emancipation. He is the lead academic on the index and has written extensively about the issue of modern day slavery. Bharti Patel, the CEO of ECPAT, a leading child's rights agency campaigning for the protection of child victims of trafficking and, more importantly, the protection of kids abroad from British offenders, and you wanted me to make that point. Prior to that, Bharti spent seven years in India working with the most vulnerable communities on strengthening water and livelihood security. Poverty being, I think everybody will agree tonight, at the very heart and core of the problem that exists with modern day slavery and human trafficking. And Anthony Steen here on my right is a barrister, a social worker, a youth worker, was an MP for 30 years, for the Conservative Party

he wanted me to add, and chair of the Human Trafficking Commission, and just appointed I am told, breaking news, by the home secretary as her special envoy on modern day slavery. So, thank you chaps and girls. I am going to ask you all to speak for four to five minutes, please keep it tight, and then we'll open the floor to discussion. Let me give you the floor first, sir, and let's just introduce the Global Slavery Index if you will.

Andrew Forrest:

Thank you very much, and I have to admit to be honoured to be on this panel and to be in front of all of you. The index started with colleagues of mine in the capital markets, like [Warren] Buffett and [Bill] Gates and others, who were really drilling into the whole concept of a global assault on slavery. There was a lot of cynicism around, it was considered to be a bridge way, way too far, and it started with a lack of an ability to measure, and you can imagine amongst business people if you can't measure it, it doesn't exist. So I went to another very famous businessman out of Africa called Mo Ibrahim, and Mo had launched the African Governance Index and that had chopped through a very large part of his own capital, his own time, and he produced an intellectual property which he guarded jealously, it was developed by his team in Harvard, but he gave it to us freely. He said look, you have my team and all our intellectual property at your disposal for no consideration, and that really gave us a jump start and it really allowed us then to start massaging the whole strategy. We're business people, we expect measurability, we expect performance, we are totally outcome driven and that as it must be, philanthropy is not about feeling good, it's about doing good, and so we formed a strategy that would - it's all about gathering information. Something which has been missing in the war against slavery for centuries has been the ability to measure it, to look straight through into it, and I've learnt from some of the finest minds such as Professor Bales that it was extraordinarily difficult, so we elected to not do it on our own.

We've started a movement which is at around 4 million supporters now. Secretary [Hillary] Clinton, who has given us a strong endorsement, described it as the fastest growing movement in the world, and the idea of that movement isn't just to gather major political and social support to generate a belief in the world that slavery can now come to an end but rather create in about a hundred different countries pockets of expertise, activism and knowledge which can feed up from the grassroots, knowledge about what's happening in slavery on the ground in at least a hundred different countries

and their neighbours. That works incredibly well with the index because the index is a massive academic work and is sovereign, it's governed by government and we have people who are now committed to take this index to 162 separate countries, engage with governments. If governments don't engage it'll be at their peril because the index will become a very well-known body of work. It will update every six months. We're likely to attach a corporate index to it at the six month update and republish every 12 months, so it will be a constant flow of information working with the movement to get the bottom-up and top-down transparency we need in the slavery industry.

Now, that's the start of the measurement. It doesn't stop there. We're launching in Melbourne next week a total business enterprise movement to capture around 100,000 different chief procurement officers from around the world who are members of the Chartered Institute of Procurement and Supply to have them, if you like, graduate to that chartered standard so that they can be qualified to identify slavery, to identify false labour and to eliminate it within their supply chains, within their businesses. So that chairmen and chief executives who don't do much else apart from give orders and stay in fear of their boards of directors don't have to sign the Pyrrhic victories of covenants or pledges against this or pledges for that, but rather just issue an order that they will not tolerate slavery or forced labour within their supply chains, and Mo, you just got a big rap, I'm sorry you weren't here for it. You were obviously embarrassed, your ears were burning.

That business network of 100,000 different companies from around the world will also feed information into the index, and then of course we have our first pool of capital, $100 million fund which was launched at the Clinton Global Initiative and that will follow on from those four major streams, those four major initiatives, which key is the launch this evening of the Global Slavery Index, will gather the information into the anti-slavery world, into the governments of the world and generate a global fund. That's our fifth and final step and we hope when we launch that you'll all be with us for that historical move. But for me today to mark the beginning of the end of the murkiness, of the inability to really grasp, but now the commencement of transparency and light into the despicable industry of slavery in all its forms, is the launch of the Global Slavery Index and I would like to thank you very much for being here with us on this historical occasion. Thank you.

Becky Anderson:

Thank you very much indeed for that. So Kevin, both Andrew and I have alluded to the fact that raw data has been what's been missing, it's been the great black hole. How do you measure, how do you even assess or suggest that this problem exists if the data isn't there? So walk us through what the Global Slavery Index is and what we think we might do with it.

Kevin Bales:

Before I say that I need to – people have been saying oh Kevin did this good job on it, it's a team job and I would have to point at Fiona David and Monti Datta who are the key intellectual parts of this as well, just to make it absolutely clear that I could never have done this by myself, never in a thousand years.

What have we got in this index? Three major components. The first component is about prevalence. In other words how many people are in slavery in each country, and when we use the word prevalence we mean what is the proportion of a nation's population that is in slavery, so we cut that in two directions. We measure that – and I'm going to be very brief with this methodology stuff, there's plenty of methodological appendices within the report that you can go in there if you're a nerdy kind of person like myself and really want to dig into it and find that enthralling. But, briefly, we bring the information in two or three different ways to measure how many people are in slavery. Secondary sources, in other words, government reports, UN reports, NGO reports, local, national, international, at all levels, we pile them together, we have a lot of people working piling them all together, we are sifting through, we're measuring their reliability, we're beginning to find out what other people know, but we don't trust that precisely because that's not the most reliable because those can come from many different sources measured in different ways.

There now exists a number of random sample surveys, which are like the victim surveys of say the British Crime Survey, which allow you to look at a population of a country and say how many people have actually been a victim of this crime. Now, slavery is a particularly complex crime to measure because the victims are held incommunicado for long periods which makes it difficult to interview them and find this out, but we have a number of those now and we're commissioning more, and those form a statistical basis which has never existed before that we are able to bring to bear and then build

statistical extrapolation techniques on top of those to project into other countries to give us a good indication of where we think we are.

Now I want to be absolutely clear that, even though it's the headline technique and number, is probably our weakest measure. Why? Because this is one of the toughest things you can try to go out and measure. I think it's the best measure that's ever been done, but I still don't think it's good enough, but we're going to make it better year in and year out. Why didn't we wait until the data was perfect? Because we could be waiting for years and people would be dying in slavery. I really think that this part of the index is like the data you have to collect and mobilize in a hurry when you face an epidemic.

Becky Anderson:

I think I was remiss by not asking you what it tells us!

Kevin Bales:

Oh sorry! Well, see, you ask a nerd about stats, and what do they do! I got all excited. The headlines are startling in many ways and in particular it gives us a good sense of how much slavery is in each country. We particularly focus on the 10 countries that have the highest prevalence, not the highest number for starters but the highest proportion of their population in slavery. Mauritania heads that list; it's something like four per cent. That's a conservative estimate, but four per cent of the population of Mauritania we believe to be in slavery – and most of those are in South Asia and Africa, those countries that have the highest proportions. We also look very carefully at the ones that have the fewest slaves, both in number and in prevalence, and in many ways because we want to, in some ways, look at the worst problems and point to ways that we can help to intervene in those situations. But we also – because we do not want to name and shame but we do want to push hard on those rich countries at the bottom of the list, because Finland, Great Britain, Sweden, that have very small numbers of people in slavery along with good police, good democracy, no corruption to speak of and so forth, the question is, what excuse do you have to have any slavery at all in a country like Finland?

Becky Anderson:

Let me stop you for one moment, because I'm going to come back to you. Bharti, the index shows that in gross figures, and this is a pretty gross number, of the 29.8 million people who are denied their freedom and their dignity around the world, some 11 to 14.5 million of those are in India. You've spent a lot of time working in India and looking at the core issues there. How does an index like this or how will an index like this help you with your work?

Bharti Patel:

I think it's a very interesting question and it is quite shameful for me to have seen the index and see India right at the top, but having spent, as you said Becky, quite rightly, having spent seven years in India and observed what was going on I think it's too easy to blame it just on poverty. And it's quite nice that the report actually says that, that it's not just poverty and we need to break that down. What I've seen is it's actually the inequality, and it's inequality not just in terms of income but it's the inequality in the social structures, the economic structures, the political inequalities and the environment conditions which are often the result of policies and practices, let's be very clear, which contribute to the vulnerability. So it's not so much poverty but it's actually what creates the vulnerability of particular groups of people that then leads to them being picked up and being moved from one place to another.

What I saw in the last seven years that I was in India was this rapid and unchecked urbanization. What that meant was that government put a lot of investment in urbanizing cities, very little, let me tell you, in developing the rural areas. The result was the over ever-depleting resources in the rural areas, we're talking about land, water, wood, etc. which 65 to 70 per cent of the Indian population actually rely on this as their daily livelihood, so if you take that away you're leaving them with absolutely no choice. Couple this with the allure of the opportunities elsewhere, particularly where you think there's going to be an expectation of a reliable income, and we're looking at one crop a year in India around rain-fed areas, so very limited opportunities. Now, if there is somebody says to you, here you guys, you know what, if you come to the urban areas there'll be jobs and constructions etc. Then, of course, there's that demand from us for inexpensive goods and services. Keep that in mind.

You must have read a recent report by Aditya Chakrabortty of the Fabian Society in *The Guardian* and he talked about the Chinese government picking

out 16 year olds and forcing them to work in Apple producing companies, and Apple I believe gave them £1.6 million the government, in order to allow them to invest in China. Now this is forcing a 16 year old. He should be in school but he is being forced out of school and being forced to work in a factory. So I think these are the factors that come into play when you're talking about forced migration, movement under duress and increasing people's vulnerability, so when a trafficker comes to a village in India and says, I can actually find a better life for your child, I can find a better life for you, let me take you to another country or let me take you to another city. Once you're out of your safe environment, let me tell you, it's a very harsh world for you.

Becky Anderson:

Let's just move on and give you just a short chance to talk and then let's get to some questions, and thank you very much indeed for that. This index identifies the key risk factors for countries, Anthony, and it also provides some measures that governments might enact in order to reduce the risks. You've been part of the British parliamentary system for some 30 years and are now, as I suggested earlier, the special envoy to the home secretary. If you can firstly explain what that means as far as you are concerned, but how, again, does an index like this help you do your job to help eradicate modern day slavery?

Anthony Steen:

Well Becky, first of all it's a great honour to be in Chatham House on this dais and to be with such distinguished people, because they're all people I have admired and I haven't had the chance to sit on the same table, and thank you for being here Bharti and Kevin. And can I just say about the audience, there is now a conference a day going on throughout the country and there's more conferences in Europe, they've been going on for years, and I'm glad to see not everybody here I recognize, so that means Chatham House has got some new people in here, because there's a charabanc, I don't know if you see outside there are buses waiting to take the crowds around to the next seminar and conferences, and my biggest concern is that everyone is talking about it, the one people that are not around are victims. Victims or survivors are excluded, and when one has certain parties in government they say well make sure the victims aren't there, we don't want any embarrassment; first point.

The second point is not only are there an awful lot of people talking about this subject, mostly middle-class or very wealthy, and there's nothing wrong in either of those things, but it's only that group, there's an awful lot of reports. In fact there's so many reports you need a complete team of staff to read them all and by which time of course they're out of date, so I don't look at Kevin because I think his work is fascinating but there's a mismatch between the talk, the meetings and the action. And I just want to very shortly talk to you in three minutes exactly where I see the problems in Britain because an index is absolutely essential, except that it's not going to do anything about the victims now, and I'm concerned about people who have been found in Britain and I work with six of them personally daily, it's not my job but I'm doing it, because it gives me an insight of what the problem is.

Now, first of all, what is the size of the problem? Becky has said nobody has got a clue and that's largely true. What we do know, according to a Dutch academic, so it must be alright, more than twice as many people in the world today are in bondage as there were in chains during the entire 350 years of the African slave trade, which is an amazing figure. The EC, the European Commission have increased their estimate from 100,000 to 150,000. So what? We've got 150,000 slaves in Europe. Why do we know about this? The answer is we don't. It's all the academics, with respect, actually giving us estimates and we know that it's 25 per cent up in Britain, but we've got no real hard data.

Now why don't we know more? Because slavery is invisible now; it used to be seen everywhere and it was lawful, it's now invisible. Local police forces in Britain often don't recognize it, nor do social or health workers or any professionals. Nobody recognizes it. Nobody knows what it is, let alone the wider public. There are victims in most towns and villages in Britain but they go undetected. The Met team in Britain – I used to be a policeman, the oldest policeman on the streets of London, for two years I had a parliamentary police scheme of which I was involved and I had two years on the streets. I've been to more massage parlours, as a policeman, than I've had hot dinners. They're very boring and very sad places. Do you know there's 2,201 brothels in London and the police won't tell me where they are under the Freedom of Information, probably because they're afraid that people will actually find out and reduce the value of their houses.

Now why are we bad at convicting traffickers? Because trafficking is not high on police priorities. In 2010 there were only 16 convictions specifically on human trafficking in Britain and only eight in 2011, although there were nearly 100 prosecutions with trafficking element last year, but in Spain they recorded

203 convictions, Holland 174 and Romania over 300 for trafficking last year. The problem in Britain, we don't have intercept evidence because that plays an important part of convicting traffickers.

How can we disrupt traffickers? By seizing their assets and frustrating their activities. Now, traffickers are sophisticated and well-resourced businessmen. I've actually met a great number and they're not very nice people when you get on the wrong side of them. Their networks are diffuse, they have immense assets and the only thing that will hurt them is in fact getting at their assets, yet in 2010–11 the UK seized £293,000, £184,000 last year. Contrast with the Italians who recovered €13.7 million from one gang recently, impounding yachts, houses, properties and other assets outside the jurisdiction, so any money recovered here goes to George Osborne and the Treasury, but in Italy it goes to victims in compensation. These are very practical things we should be doing.

And what about adult victims? Adult victims in Britain go to shelters where they're very well looked after through the Salvation Army network, which are the NGOs. They're there for 45 days getting food and water and talking about their experiences. On the 46th day they're out. Nobody knows where they go, nobody cares about them, and they were unseen before they started, they come in as victims to be cared for by the shelters and then they're unseen again. It's absurd that we're spending money on that. So when we're talking about the index, going back to the index, it's terribly valuable but let's also talk about the here and now of victims who are in sex trafficking, domestic slavery and men, all of whom I know, who are not being helped and that's my concern.

Becky Anderson:

Okay, and with that we thank you all for your opening statements. I know that Kevin Hyland from the Met Anti-Trafficking Department is here and we had a conversation earlier on Kevin about victims. Perhaps you'd like to respond to something that we have reported on just over the past couple of days. A girl called Sophie Hayes who was trafficked out of the UK, good middle-class girl, the girl next door if you want to call her, trafficked out of the country. When she finally escaped from her trafficker she was told by the police to not bother prosecuting this guy; listen, you know what, just get on with your life, walk away, things will be fine. She hasn't. She went on to prosecute this guy and has gone on to set up a foundation. Let's consider the victims, because I think you're making a very good point, before we continue to talk about the

importance of this index. Kevin, if you could just stand up if you will and just respond to that statement, because I'm afraid that over the course of the work that we've done at CNN it is not the first time that I've heard about the inadequacy of the system, that victims get a double whammy, they are a victim and then they become a secondary victim.

Kevin Hyland:

Sure, yeah. Sophie I know very well and works with us to develop processes to deal with victims, and her case is historic and is before we were members of the EU treaties, etc. However, her story and her account is awful, and when you see that she was trafficked to Italy and her experiences there it is very tragic. The fact that she wasn't sponsored and supported when she came to report in the United Kingdom is awful. However, what we do have now is we have a process where victims can report to us direct. We work with 63 different organizations in London and we support many hundreds of victims both in the UK and overseas and it's around the arresting and prosecution of those. But it's by listening to people like Sophie how we can do this better, and working with Sophie. Her case was terrible that there wasn't a prosecution and what happened to her is absolutely awful, but I think we learnt from that and now we respond to every single case, and some of those cases that we have prosecuted will involve several hundred victims. And sometimes the figures that are recorded – like for example the National Referral Mechanism (NRM), when we deal with a case like we did last year there were 380 victims, but they had all gone back to Poland. We worked with the Polish authorities and prosecuted a gang of 27 people back in Poland. Well, they wouldn't actually be part of the national figures but they are 380 victims that we know of, but because they are not in the NRM they are not a national figure.

Becky Anderson:

How many people did you bang up last year and does the number of people that you've prosecuted and put away truly reflect the scale of the problem just here in the UK?

Anthony Steen:

Convictions, not prosecutions.

Becky Anderson:

Convictions, thank you.

Kevin Hyland:

This year alone we've convicted 32 people of trafficking. We've got a similar amount, in fact a larger amount awaiting trial. Now, the amount of victims they brought in, one gang in particular brought in over 250 women, 33 of those gave evidence at court, some of them by video link from the Czech Republic. We did a case this year where we had a video link in offices in India so that we can prosecute people that way, so it's about working internationally and in partnership. Now, the numbers of prosecutions – this year alone we've arrested – we arrested more this morning, we arrested some on Monday, we're arresting, every week we are arresting two or three people so the numbers are going up. At the moment we're at about 105 people we've arrested this year and that will be obviously a lot more by the end of the year.

But what is important is the reporting because we need that intelligence and I think what Kevin said there about the statistics, we need to know the facts. If you haven't got the numbers and you don't know what's happening, how can you respond, and that's about police changing their approach. We've got a victim team who work with victims and support them through the whole process in partnership with the NGOs and it doesn't finish after the 45 days. I can tell you of victims that we've been supporting for two years. Today I was with a victim who was actually trafficked in 2006 and we were with her today at Scotland Yard doing some presentations. Now she is on the road to recovery but we still keep contact with her now, the people that trafficked her were convicted in 2011, but we make sure these people are supported. And the NGOs, yes the National Referral Mechanism lasts for the 45 days but there's other funding and other groups, the Salvation Army has other funding that will go further, but I think Anthony is right that the 45 days isn't sufficient in all cases.

Anthony Steen:

Not sufficient at all.

Becky Anderson:

There are people who are slipping through the system of course aren't there, and thank you very much Kevin for that.