FACT SHEET 1  ■ background and project methodology
Over the course of the past fifteen years Spain has witnessed drastic changes in its migratory patterns. There has been a significant increase in the number of persons migrating to Spain, especially from Latin America and the Caribbean—due to the cultural and linguistic affinities between Latin America and Spain—and from Eastern Europe and Africa—due to its geographic proximity.

The migratory process presents many obstacles for those that make the painful decision to abandon their countries of origin. Such obstacles include arduous passages—by foot or by unsafe modes of transportation—lack of access to water, food and other basic necessities, as well as physical and sexual violence. These circumstances are present in the countries of origin—where many people's rights are systematically violated—and during the migratory journey, as well as during repatriation and upon arrival in the country of destination, where entering and integrating into society can be very complex.

In recent years, organizations such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have documented harsh violations of the human rights of migrant persons, as well as non compliance with Spanish immigration laws. Despite these reports, it is clear that there still remains a lack of both qualitative and quantitative information about the experiences of migrant women. Furthermore, there has been a general absence of a gender-based analysis of previously documented human rights violations.
In 2005, the Action Against Discrimination Project (ACODI)—carried out by Open Society Justice Initiative, SOS Racismo Madrid, and Women’s Link Worldwide, in collaboration with other organizations—documented incidents of racial and gender discrimination within Spanish territory. This investigation established a direct link between discrimination and migrant status. Migrants suffer multiple forms of discrimination, aggravated due to the inter-sectionality of race/ethnicity and gender. One of the types of discrimination documented by ACODI was racial and gender violence at the border cities of Ceuta and Melilla with Morocco, where human rights are systematically violated by both Moroccan and Spanish authorities. The project uncovered multiple cases of illegal expulsions, including the deportation of pregnant women. It also found evidence of sexual and physical violence, and of women trafficking for sexual exploitation. These human rights violations represented 60% (382 cases) of the total registered incidents. Surprisingly, the great majority of the victims documented in these cases were male, with little documentation of female victims.

Given the information obtained through the ACODI Project, and considering the lack of information on the situation of Sub-Saharan migrant women, Women’s Link Worldwide decided to carry out a new project in order to shed light on the invisible, providing a voice for migrant women by documenting the human rights violations they suffer and exposing their living conditions—with the ultimate objective of identifying legal strategies to protect their fundamental rights.
THE PROJECT HAS THE FOLLOWING GOALS:

- To document the experiences of Sub-Saharan women that migrate from their country of origin, including the reasons why they decide to begin this process.

- To document the human rights violations suffered by Sub-Saharan migrant women during the migratory process (both during the journey and upon arrival to Europe).

- To facilitate and strengthen initiatives carried out by Women’s Link Worldwide and other organizations in order to better protect migrant women in vulnerable situations.

- To determine viable legal strategies for the effective protection of Sub-Saharan migrant women’s rights and the application of international human rights standards in Morocco and in Spain.
Taking into account the goals of the project, we decided to conduct extensive interviews with Sub-Saharan migrant women in both Morocco and Spain. In Morocco, the interviews were carried out in Tangiers, Tetouan, Rabat, Casablanca and Oujda (on the border with Algeria), as well as in makeshift refugee camps situated in the forested area of the outskirts of Tangiers. In Spain, the interviews took place in Ceuta, Almería and Madrid.

In Morocco, the women interviewed were contacted through a reliable source, who had gained the trust of the migrant communities after many years of work and close cooperation. Various methods were used to coordinate the interviews: contacting the women directly, explaining the goals of the project and inviting them to participate; contacting organizations which were able to put Women’s Link in touch with women who wished to participate. Finally, when we suspected that a woman had been a victim of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, we either spoke directly with the men in charge of her, requesting to speak with the woman alone, or we contacted other persons linked to the woman’s community. In cases where we established that the man was not involved in trafficking, we found that we could still obtain useful and reliable information about the groups to which we sought access.
Additionally, over the course of the interviewing process we found that the women involved asked whether other women in vulnerable situations could also participate and share their individual experiences.

In Spain, the interviews were made possible by the contacts established over the course of many years by Spanish organizations that work with migrant women. Furthermore, we directly approached and spoke with women whom we had previously encountered in Morocco.

The interviews were conducted in English and French by the Women’s Link Worldwide team. During the project, our team developed innovative methods of interviewing. In order to facilitate the interview process, in addition to the individual interviews, we organized three groups, integrated by migrant women from Francophone and Anglophone African countries who lived in Morocco. The groups provided a space for collective reflection, dialogue and analysis regarding the experiences of
the women during the migratory process and fostered a participative atmosphere, creating a more comfortable environment for all the women involved. In the first meeting, held in Tangiers, seven Francophone and Anglophone women participated in the interview process: four Nigerians, two Congolese, and one Cameroonian. The second group, which met in Rabat, was formed by twenty Francophone women—from the Ivory Coast, Angola, Congo and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). All of these women had either been granted refugee status by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), or were in the process of seeking asylum. This group also included several underaged women. The third group was formed by five Nigerian women who had been trafficked for sexual exploitation, and with their daughters, who had also been subjected to sexual exploitation and trafficking. To attend the meeting these women had to lie to their “patrons,” saying that they were going to beg on the streets.

During the project we were told that it would be especially difficult to obtain information from the women who came from Nigeria. To overcome this obstacle, we worked together with a human rights expert from Nigeria, who greatly facilitated our work, making the women feel more comfortable and, thus, giving us access to their stories and experiences.

Due to the precarious situation of migrant women in Morocco—both in terms of their personal security and because of the persecution suffered by those that offer assistance to undocumented migrants, asylum-seekers and victims of trafficking—the interviews were conducted as discretely as possible. The interviewers were conducted in the women’s lodgings, the offices of other international organizations, and even inside cars and churches during the liturgy, with the aim of minimizing the risks for the migrant women, their families, and the Women’s Link Worldwide team.

A model questionnaire was developed in order to simplify the process for everyone involved. Whenever it was possible the interviews were recorded and transcribed. The information we obtained was summarized in a table that compiled the following data:
Name ▪ Age ▪ Declared nationality ▪ Country of origin ▪ Level of education ▪ Occupation in country of origin ▪ Personal status (married, single, with a partner) ▪ Number of children ▪ Pregnancies ▪ Abortions and circumstances in which they occurred ▪ Religion ▪ If they have undergone female genital mutilation ▪ Ethnicity ▪ If they have been affected by an armed conflict ▪ Familial circumstances in their country of origin ▪ Reasons for emigration ▪ Information about the migratory journey (places they traveled through, duration, if they have made the trip alone or accompanied, if they have had an abortion, if they have used any method of contraception, if they were subjected to violence during the trip, and the means they have used to subsist during the journey) ▪ Information about their situation in Morocco (date of arrival, if they have had any abortions—including the use of Misoprostol—and, if so, if they have had any medical complications, their means of survival in Morocco, if they have been deported and how, if they have suffered any form of violence, including sexual violence, if they have used contraceptives, if they know what HIV/AIDS is and how it is transmitted, and if they have sought asylum)
In carrying out these interviews we encountered the following obstacles:

Lack of privacy: In general it was very difficult to conduct individual interviews, especially given the lack of private spaces and the presence of men during the majority of the interviews—even though they were specifically asked not to attend the interviews.

Linguistic barriers: Given that the interviewed women spoke English or French as their second or third language, and that in the majority of cases the level of formal education completed by the women was minimal, linguistic barriers presented communication problems.

Mistrust: In many cases there was a high level of mistrust. We perceived that some of the women had previously rehearsed what they should say or how they should respond to our questions. As a result of this practice, in some occasions we received inconsistent information.

Immediate needs: Given that the women interviewed in Morocco were in a very precarious position, the interviews inevitably ended with the women desperately seeking our help to cross the border, which made it difficult to appropriately communicate the objective of our presence.
The results of the project clearly demonstrate that migrant women suffer a particularly vulnerable situation and that greater attention and information are necessary in order to protect their fundamental rights. The project demonstrates the importance of gender specific analysis in order to shed light on migrant persons, and more specifically on migrant women.

We hope that the information presented here–and in the following Fact Sheets–will facilitate the development of further actions directed at the protection and promotion of women’s human rights.

NOTES


2 Further information about the ACODI Project can be found at http://womenslinkworldwide.org/prog_ge_acodi.html.

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As we explained in the first fact sheet, the main goal of this project has been to "shed light on the invisible.” The project documents the experiences of Sub-Saharan African women who have made the decision to migrate to Europe, including the reasons why they decided to abandon their countries of origin and the violations of human rights they have suffered during the migration process. We believe that providing information on their situation, which, until now, has remained largely invisible, is a necessary first step in order to protect the rights of this particular group of persons. Furthermore, this information is necessary in order for Women’s Link Worldwide and other organizations to determine which legal strategies will best protect women’s human rights in this specific context. In this fact sheet we provide the principal findings of the project.

Between 2005 and 2007, Women’s Link Worldwide carried out a total of ninety-eight individual interviews with women from Sub-Saharan Africa; seventy-one took place in Morocco and twenty-seven in Spain. Additionally, we created three discussion groups in Morocco, with a total participation of thirty-two women with different nationalities. As previously explained in the first fact sheet, the individual interviews took place in various cities in Morocco, such as Tangiers, Tetuan, Rabat, Casablanca and Oujda (on the border with Algeria), as well as in the makeshift refugee camps situated in the forest areas close to Tangiers. In Spain, the women were interviewed in Ceuta—an autonomous Spanish city located on the North African side of the Strait of Gibraltar–Almería and Madrid, two of the main cities of destination in Spain for women arriving from Sub-Saharan Africa. The group meetings took place in the Moroccan cities of Rabat and Tangiers.

Given that the individual interviews in Morocco were conducted in a different manner to those in Spain, and that the compiled information varies considerably between the two countries, when relevant, the conclusions reached have been separated to reflect these differences. Similarly, the results of the group and individual interviews have been differentiated, since, in the former, it was not possible to obtain all the information included in the model questionnaire which was used to conduct the individual interviews.

The analysis and conclusions of this research project are the result of the information gathered in the individual interviews and the focus groups, as well as by organisations and individuals who
work with these women. The analysis is both qualitative and quantitative in nature and the conclusions outlined reflect our own interpretation of the information gathered in the fact sheets; therefore, we take full responsibility for their content.

When discussing the methodological difficulties it is important to highlight—as previously explained in the first fact sheet—that from the outset of the project we experienced special difficulties when trying to obtain information from Nigerian women. In Spain, we contacted various organisations—among others, the Asociación para la Prevención, Reincorporación y Atención a la Mujer Prostituida (APRAMP)1 and Proyecto Esperanza,2 as well as the director of Doctors Without Borders’ National Prostitution and HIV Program—and learned that they had experienced similar difficulties in gaining access to Nigerian women. In Spain, we contacted various organisations—among others, the Asociación para la Prevención, Reincorporación y Atención a la Mujer Prostituida (APRAMP) and Proyecto Esperanza, as well as the director of Doctors Without Borders’ National Prostitution and HIV Program—and learned that they had experienced similar difficulties in gaining access to Nigerian women. In Spain, we decided to work with a Nigerian expert in human rights law who was able to establish a relationship of greater trust with the numerous Nigerian women she met in Spain, enabling us to obtain more reliable information.

Taking into account the previously described difficulties, in the case of the Nigerian women, it was necessary to change the methodology of the interviews—Many of the interviews with the Nigerian women actually took place on the street; the consultant went to areas in which Nigerian women usually worked as prostitutes and struck up informal conversations with them. It was therefore impossible to record the conversations or to follow a set of specific questions. As a result, in many instances it was not possible to obtain detailed information on the women. However, the information obtained from these informal interviews is especially useful, since the women often spoke more openly about their situation in Spain and the conditions and problems they encountered during the migration process.

**WOMEN INTERVIEWED**
(63 from Nigeria, 38 from the Democratic Republic of Congo (hereinafter “DRC”), 14 from Ivory Coast, 5 from Cameroon, 4 from Mali, 3 from Niger, 1 from Congo Brazzaville and 1 from Angola)

**WOMEN INDIVIDUALLY INTERVIEWED**

**71 in Morocco**
(36 from Nigeria, 21 from the DRC, 8 from Ivory Coast, 3 from Cameroon, 2 from Mali and 1 from Niger)

**27 in Spain**
(18 from Nigeria, 5 from the DRC, 1 from Ivory Coast, 1 from Cameroon, 1 from Mali and 1 from Niger)

**PARTICIPANTS IN GROUP MEETINGS IN MOROCCO**

(9 from Nigeria, 12 from the DRC, 6 from Ivory Coast, 1 from Cameroon, 1 from Mali, 1 from Niger, 1 from Congo Brazzaville and 1 from Angola)
2 socio-demographic aspects

2.1 Country of origin and ethnicity

The majority of women came from Nigeria and the DRC (sixty-three and thirty-eight, respectively), while the remainder had emigrated from Angola, Cameroon, Congo Brazzaville, Ivory Coast, Mali and Niger (see Figure 1). Of the 103 women interviewed in Morocco, we could determine that forty-five were Nigerian, thirty-three from the DRC, fourteen from Ivory Coast, four from Cameroon, three from Mali, two from Niger, one from Congo Brazzaville and one from Angola (see Figure 2). Of the twenty-seven women interviewed in Spain, eighteen were Nigerian and five from the DRC, the remaining four were from Niger, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Mali (see Figure 3).

It was only possible to obtain information on the ethnic origins of forty-nine of the women interviewed individually in Morocco: of the twenty-two Nigerians, seventeen were Yoruba, two Beni, two Ibo and one Ubu. Twelve of the women from the DRC stated that they belonged to one of the following ethnic groups: Sangani, Bandu, Bungala, Gombe, Yans, Pol, Utme, Lokele, Loubia, Boutu, Kasai and Guedi Sanga. Three of the Cameroonian women identified themselves as belonging to the Bamileke ethnic group. Of the seven women from Ivory Coast, four were Djoula, two belonged to the Baule and one woman was of Bete ethnicity. Finally, the three women from Mali were Bambara.

On numerous occasions the Nigerian women stated that they were from a different country. However, in posing additional questions, such as the route they travelled during the migration process, the names of the countries through which they travelled and the languages they spoke—as well as by their physical characteristics—it was possible to establish that it was highly probable that their country of origin was different from the one they had stated. Soon we were able to establish that these lies...
were in fact an indicator that the women had been trafficked and that they had received precise instructions on what to tell other people if questioned about their life and/or their origin.

The traffickers instruct the women to declare that they are from a certain country when applying for asylum, since they believe that it is more likely that the women will be granted asylum when they declare that they are from areas of conflict; UNHCR and the Spanish authorities grant humanitarian protection for persons fleeing armed conflict, especially when there are widespread and systematic violations of human rights as recently seen in the cases of Sudan, Sierra Leone, Liberia or Somalia.

However, as a result of following the traffickers instructions, far from improving, the women’s position worsens, since credibility is a fundamental factor in granting the refugee status or asylum. Based on the contradictions incurred in their applications, it can be established that the woman is not of the origin she has stated and, therefore, her request for asylum is denied. Thus, these women enter a vicious circle, putting themselves in danger of being re-captured by trafficking networks and subsequently suffering renewed hardships and repeated violations of their human rights. Of the 63 Nigerian women interviewed individually, eight stated that they were Liberian, one said she was from Mali, five claimed to be Sudanese and one from Sierra Leone.

It is imperative that the immigration authorities and the UNHCR recognize and take into account this reality when considering asylum applications or the refugee status of women from Sub-Saharan Africa. To comply with their role
of offering international protection to those that suffer gender-based persecution, they must publish and distribute information in communities transmitting the message that human trafficking is a form of persecution and that victims may receive protection by seeking asylum. Furthermore, it is essential that those who have the power to decide when and to whom asylum is granted are sensitive to this situation and that they receive the necessary training to be able to identify victims of human trafficking.

2.2 Age

The ages declared by the women interviewed in Morocco ranged from ten to fifty-five years of age. Thus, twenty (22.3%) of the women interviewed were between eleven and seventeen years-old; forty-five (43.7%) were between eighteen and twenty-five years-old; twenty-seven (26.2%) were between twenty-six and thirty-nine years-old; and eleven (10.7%) were between forty and fifty-five years-old. There was a significant difference between the women who had left their countries of origin as victims of human trafficking with the purpose of sexual exploitation (all Nigerian), who had an average age of twenty years, and the women of other nationalities, with an average age of thirty years.

In accordance with the data obtained we were able to establish that at least thirty-nine of the women interviewed in Morocco had left their countries when they were under eighteen years of age. Twenty of them (72%) were Nigerian, five from the DRC, three from Ivory Coast, two from Angola and one from Mali.

In the case of the women interviewed in Spain, the age range oscillated between nineteen and forty years. A few of the women that we identified as Nigerians refused to tell us their age, but they appeared to be minors. In addition, of the twenty-seven women interviewed in Spain, eight (30%) stated that they were between nineteen and twenty-five years old; ten (37%) were between twenty-six-forty; and, we were unable to confirm the ages of nine women (33%).
2.3 Religion
Of the women interviewed individually in both Morocco and Spain, fifty-eight stated that they were Christians, eight said they were Catholics, six Protestants, ten Muslims and one Jehovah’s Witness; there is no data on the remaining sixteen women. It was not possible to obtain information on the religious affiliation of the thirty-two women who participated in the focus groups in Morocco.

Religious syncretism was evident throughout many of the interviews. Many of the women interviewed referred to ritual magic and curses and spoke of their belief in traditional rituals from their cultures, that, as explained previously, we identified as an additional form of psychological control used by the trafficking networks to increase their power over the women they traffic.

2.4 Education
The information obtained throughout the interview process in Morocco allowed us to determine that women from the DRC and Cameroon had a comparatively higher level of education.

100% (twenty-one) of the women interviewed individually in Morocco who were from the DRC had attended school and seven of them had studied in a university. The two women from Mali and one woman from Niger did not know how to read or write. Twenty-three Nigerian women individually interviewed in Morocco were illiterate and only three of them had attended school until they were eighteen years of age. We did not obtain information on the level of education of the women who participated in the focus groups in Morocco.

As to the women interviewed in Spain, eleven out of the twenty-seven, all Nigerian, stated that they had never studied, and five said they had a middle level education or had finished their baccalaureate. One woman from the DRC stated that she had third level education, and there is no available data for the other ten women. Equal to the cases of the women interviewed in Morocco, the women from the DRC had a higher level of education.
Through the individual interviewing process, as well as interviews with NGOs and the focal groups, we were able to document the precarious situation in which Sub-Saharan women find themselves when they make the decision to emigrate from their country of origin. Most of the information in the media about migrants from Africa refers to only a small part of the migration process: the attempt to cross the European borders. Thus, there are frequent reports about the arrival of persons in “pateras” (small makeshift boats) at the Spanish coast, of people (usually men) jumping over the fences that separate the autonomous Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla from Morocco, and, in general, on the responses and reactions of the authorities and members of civil society. However, there is a great lack of information regarding the implications of embarking on the migratory process, and even more so, pertaining to woman. By conducting this study, we sought to document and give greater visibility to the migration experiences of women from Sub-Saharan Africa from the beginning of their journey, in order to provide information regarding the violations of human rights and the experiences these women face during their difficult journey.

3.1 Situation in the country of origin or departure
Throughout the interview process we inquired into the situation of each women before she began the migratory process. With respect to the economic situation of the women, we learned that the majority of them had never had a paying job or had never
had a job which paid enough to be able to survive. In their countries of origin, they worked in the informal sector without contracts. These jobs were normally related to the service sector—for example, hairdressing, small businesses, street vending and sewing. Amongst the seventy-one women individually interviewed in Morocco, twenty-two had never been remunerated for employment (fourteen of whom were Nigerian), while forty-three women stated that they had undertaken some sort of employment or activity which had permitted them to obtain a minimum income in their countries of origin. The seven women from the DRC interviewed in Morocco, stood out from the others—they had employment which required higher education, working as nurses or secretaries.

In the case of the Nigerian women, we believe that the high number of women who had never been employed was due to the fact that many of them had left their country when they were still very young—between ten and fourteen years of age.

With respect to the family situation, given the information obtained in the interviews and through NGOs, we concluded that for the majority of the women marriage is an imposed step; it is the result of an agreement between families or clans where the women is a type of currency. The women’s family receives a gift or economic compensation and the woman passes from the hands of her father to that of her husband.

In the cases of the women who were interviewed in Morocco—mainly from Muslim areas, such as Mali and Northern Nigeria—
polygamy was frequent. The women came from very large families, of twenty or twenty-five siblings, in which the father could have up to four wives. Two women from Mali and four from Nigeria stated that they were from families which practiced polygamy. This information is not available in the interviews conducted in Spain.

In our interviews we asked the women about the reasons which had led them to leave their countries of origin. We found that emigration was the result of various motivations, reflecting both their own personal reasons and those of their families. In every case, the fundamental motivations were the necessity and desire to achieve a better standard of life for both themselves and their families. In many of the cases, when there was an armed conflict in their country of origin, the reason for migration was to save their own lives and physical integrity.

Therefore, although economic factors were always present, we identified three main reasons for which the women left their countries: armed conflict, falling into the hands of human traffickers, and their economic situation.

100% of the women individually interviewed in Morocco who came from the DRC or Ivory Coast had fled their countries due to the armed conflicts. Some of them did not state directly that they left due to the war, but said they had fled with their partners, who were involved in the war. In the majority of cases, the women left with a man.

All of the women who were identified as victims of human trafficking came from Nigeria and had left their country with a trafficking network. Two of the women from the DRC stated that they had worked as prostitutes in Morocco in order to survive, but it was not possible to determine if these women were controlled by traffickers. It was not possible to obtain information on why the women interviewed in Spain and the women in the focus groups had departed their countries of origin.

3.2 The journey
The journey from the women’s countries of origin to Morocco is a long and often dangerous venture during which their rights are violated in a systematic manner by both authorities of the various countries
Figure 5: Migratory routes from the countries of origin of the interviewed women
and by other migrants. According to the information obtained, the women take an average of 2.3 years to reach Morocco from their various countries of origin. The shortest length of time for a journey recorded was one day (in the case of a woman who took a plane) and the longest journey had taken eight years. The average distance covered was approximately between 2,500 and 6,000 km.\(^8\) The journey takes so long because the women often have to stay for a period of time in countries of transit, such as Mali or Algeria, where they are forced to beg or to become prostitutes in order to survive. We found that, above all, the francophone women were able to find jobs in the informal sector, such as braiding hair, ironing or doing housework, which permitted them to earn enough to survive. Among the Nigerian women interviewed in Morocco, twenty-five had gone through Mali, a country in which they stayed for a period of time that ranged from four months to one year. Three stated that they worked in prostitution during their stay. Only one woman, from Ivory Coast, had made her journey by plane. All the other women travelled by foot and on trucks. Trucks are the most common mode of transportation in crossing the “Tamanrasset desert” in Algeria. The women told us that the lorries used to cross the desert were controlled by mafia organizations that made people pay exorbitant sums of money for a small space that often did not include the right to a seat. Once they arrived in Algeria it was very common to spend some time in Maghnia, a makeshift camp of migrants situated in the border with Morocco, where they waited until they could cross to that country (see Figure 5).

As previously mentioned, in the majority of the cases, the women left their country with a man. In the context of the migrant women that we interviewed, the words “husband” and “marriage” are related to the necessity to establish a relationship with a man in order to guarantee survival. For migrant women, to leave a country with a “husband” from their country of origin or to meet a “husband” during the journey meant getting protection from that man, and sometimes belonging to him—in the cases of victims of human trafficking.

Owing to this protection, the women were not raped by other men and had someone who “looked after them” in the countries of transit and arrival. It is important to highlight that this protection is given as an “exchange;” the women have to have sex with their “husband” and take care of domestic housework, including the preparation of food. One of the interviewed women stated, “To have a husband means that he protects you, because it means that you only have to sleep with him and not with other men.” It is also common for the ‘husbands’ to have more than one woman in their care during the journey.

We also found that one of the ways the trafficking networks controlled the women was
by means of ritual magic, such as voodoo. The women underwent the ritual before their journey and thus were extremely frightened of the potential consequences that would befall them if they tried to escape or if they acted in any way against the mafia.

Of the total of seventy-one women individually interviewed in Morocco, thirty-five (49.30%) had a “journey husband.” All the Cameroonian women (three) and the women from Mali (two) interviewed individually in Morocco had a “journey husband.” However, only a quarter of the Congolese women had a “journey husband.” Twenty (72.22%) of the Nigerian women had a “journey husband,” signifying that the majority of these women began the migratory process without a partner.

In the cases of the women interviewed in Spain, we found that all the women in Madrid (eighteen) spoke about their “journey husband” and that, amongst these women, nine of the Nigerians said that they were able to get to Spain because their husbands paid the mafias.

Based on the information obtained, we can conclude that, in the majority of cases, the Nigerian women’s “husbands” were in fact part of the mafia that had bought the women and were in charge of controlling her movements and keeping the organization informed about her whereabouts. These traffickers, also called “sponsors,” had sexual relations with the women they were in charge of. The women called these persons their “husbands” because they were in charge of their protection and their survival, as previously noted, in exchange for their sexual availability, the preparation of food and domestic tasks.

In the case of the women from Cameroon, Mali and the Congo, the concept of “journey husband” did not necessarily imply that the women were victims of trafficking, although we believe that there is a tacit agreement by which the men protect the women and the women in return play the role of a spouse.

The majority of the women stated that they had survived in the countries of transit thanks to their “husbands,” begging, doing odd jobs, and/or through prostitution. They also mentioned the assistance received from NGOs.

We believe that the figures of the husband and the trafficker—above all in the case of Nigerian women—are one and the same thing. As previously mentioned, the trafficker is paid to bring the women to Europe, where they will be forced into prostitution in order to pay their debt; these women are victims of human trafficking. For example, the women in the focus groups in Rabat considered that having a “journey husband” was a form of prostitution.

Of the thirty-six Nigerian women interviewed individually in Morocco, two stated that before arriving to Morocco they survived thanks to the protection of their “husbands” but that afterwards they were abandoned and had to beg in order to survive. The reasons for being abandoned by their “husbands” were usually of an economic nature—either the women is costing the husband too much or he finds it too difficult to take them all the way to Europe. When this occurred, the women were abandoned, sometimes along with their children.

In the case of Nigerian women, all of them worked in prostitution during the migratory trajectory, since they were already within the trafficking network, and their “husbands” told them what they had to do.

The majority of the women interviewed, both individually and in the focus groups, stated that they had suffered some form of violence during the journey. The country in which they had
suffered the most violence and racism was Algeria. Forty-five of the women interviewed individually in Morocco stated that they had suffered some form of violence during the journey, eight women explicitly stated that they had been raped and ten women said that they had not suffered any violence. The women that participated in the focus groups stated that there was an increase in police brutality in the areas near the borders. Of the women interviewed in Spain, 18 declared that they had suffered some form of violence from Moroccan, Algerian and/or Spanish authorities; three said that they were raped by Moroccan police agents. As discussed earlier, it is important to take into account the difficulties related to investigating experiences of sexual violence; it is very probable that the figures obtained are much lower than the true ones.

With respect to the manner in which the women arrived in Spain, we found that they often sought to enter the Spanish territory through the autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla. Many of the women crossed the border swimming, but the methods used depended on the means available and the restrictions adopted by the Spanish authorities at the time they attempted the crossing. One of the women that participated in the focus group in Rabat stated that she had crossed the border swimming while she was eight months pregnant. The Nigerian women who participated in the focus group in Rabat stated that they depended on their sponsor to get to Spain, but, owing to their fear, they refused to discuss what this meant in terms of prior payment or future debt bondage. One of the women interviewed by the Nigerian human rights expert also stated that she had crossed the border swimming while pregnant, which she considered to be an advantage since, despite having been detained by the Moroccan authorities on two occasions, they did not rape her due to her condition. She also said that she would not recommend crossing the border in her state to anybody, since “it is very dangerous.”

3.3 Situation in the country of destination

By “country of destination” we refer both to Morocco and Spain, the countries in which these interviews were carried out. It is important to take into account that in many occasions both Morocco and Spain were meant to be transit countries for the women.
3.3.1 Situation in Morocco
The seventy-one women individually interviewed in Morocco had been in the country for an average of a year and a half, with seven months being the minimum duration and seven years the maximum. The women from the DRC who participated in the focus groups in Tangiers had not been in Morocco for long, and their movements were controlled by their sponsors. The Nigerian women who participated in the group in Rabat told their “bosses” they were going to beg in order to participate in the meeting, and stated that they were not free to move about, but, instead, had to ask their sponsors for permission.

The methods of survival in Morocco are not that different from the rest of the journey. Many women, in both the individual interviews and the focus groups, stated that they survived by begging or by being forced into prostitution. The Nigerian women were routinely moved by their sponsors between the cities of Rabat, Tangiers and Casablanca. One of the Nigerian women interviewed by our Nigerian expert in Madrid stated that she had been forced into prostitution in Morocco to pay her sponsor, whom she still owed money. She said that in order for her not to be arrested her sponsor had paid a bribe to the Moroccan police.

To be granted refugee status by UNHCR does not significantly improve the living conditions of the women in Morocco, since this recognition does not grant them a residence permit or a work permit. The women who participated in the focal groups stated that their sons and daughters had been vaccinated, but that they did not have access to any other basic medical care and that they did not go to school.

Social services offered by NGOs to Sub-Saharan women are extremely limited in Morocco. For the most part, the international aid organizations fear that the Moroccan government will retract permission to carry out their activities in the country if they work with this population. During the period in which the interviews were carried out, the only organization that offered services to Sub-Saharan women was Doctors Without Borders, whose members gave medical attention and dispensed medication in the makeshift settlement of Ben Younes. In other Moroccan cities, the women received help from religious congregations. Thus, in Tangiers, the Sisters of Calcutta offered a resting place to sick women or women with children. In Rabat another religious congregation provided economic assistance to migrants so that they could pay for rent, medicine, and
hospital bills. Nevertheless, given the limited means of the congregation, it could only offer help in extreme cases. The Nigerian women participating in the focus group in Rabat also told us that francophone women had better access to the aid organizations.

The time the women spent in Morocco depended on their options to reach Europe. The possibilities of crossing the border diminished when the access routes changed. For example, some routes which were considered safe a year prior were not any more, or the mafia who controlled the passages would raise the prices an amount that the women or their traffickers were unable to afford.

The majority of the women interviewed in Morocco confirmed that they had been deported from the country on several occasions; in the majority of cases, to the Algerian border. These deportations always followed the same pattern: the Moroccan authorities raid and make arrests in areas where people of Sub-Saharan origin live, the migrants are arrested, taken to the police station and then sent in trucks to the frontier zone between Morocco and Algeria and left in the dessert. We know of numerous cases where people have been deported even when their refugee status has been recognized by UNHCR. Equally, we obtained statements from the women, indicating that they had been deported along with their young children or while pregnant or sick. Many of the women that were interviewed individually in Spain described their stay in Morocco as “hell” or a “nightmare.”

The women that participated in the focus groups also identified a discriminatory pattern and racism with regards to the manner in which the arrests and deportations were carried out: “On the street, they never asked women of other nationalities for their documents; like Algerians or Iraqis, who live in Morocco, or South Americans, who are going to Europe. They don’t ask these women for their papers or deport them to the Algerian border. Neither do they deport the Bangladeshi or Indian people. But, us, the Sub-Saharan, yes” (Woman from Cameroon, Tangiers focus group).

“Every time I went out of the area in which I lived I was scared. Sometimes they would throw stones at us, or hit me calling me ‘nigger’ or ‘whore’ or they would directly try to rape me. If I went to the police to complain, they asked me immediately for my papers or laughed and said, ‘Do you want us to send you to Oujda?’ Other women suffered assaults; the truth is that you live in hell” (Woman from Ivory Coast, Rabat focus group).

In other instances the women who were interviewed were deported from
Ceuta and Melilla to Morocco or from the Canary Islands to the desert in Mali. Only seventeen (23.94%) out of a total of seventy-one women interviewed individually in Morocco said they had never been deported.

The majority of the women interviewed stated that they had been deported without any kind of due process; quite to the contrary, the women suffered abuse during the process, as in the case of the eighteen women who said they had been raped. Likewise, many of them declared that during the deportation process they were robbed of what little possessions they had: small sums of money, clothes and mobile phones.

“We had no rights. We didn’t exist. And as we didn’t exist they could deprive us of our rights, even of the right to live. How many women have died and have been buried in a hole? Nobody goes to reclaim their bodies because they don’t exist. A clear example of the violations of our rights was the deportations to the desert in 2005. They detained us; it didn’t matter if we were sick, pregnant or with our children. They put us on dirty buses, didn’t give us food or water and didn’t let us urinate. Afterwards, they put us on lorries and they took us into the middle of the desert. There, they gave some of us a can of sardines and a little bottle of water and they left us. Some of our friends and children died. Everyone cried out at the atrocities being committed, but at the end of the day, those who died remain dead and we remain buried in lives without dignity” (Cameroonian Woman, Tangiers Focus Group).

“I had just arrived to ask for asylum. They had brought me here. I was fifteen years old and a police man grabbed me in the market. I didn’t know anything, only that they put me on a truck with a lot of people and they took me to a police station, and from there, handcuffed, we travelled many kilometers on a bus. There were many women, babies and men, but all of them spoke French and I only speak Portuguese so I didn't understand anything. They left us in the desert and many men raped me. I was full of blood. I walked towards a group of people. My feet were swollen; I felt as if they would burst, and they bled with puss. I walked a lot, with bleeding feet and also bleeding between my legs. Afterwards, I learned that there had been a deportation and that you had to flee from the Moroccan police” (Woman from Angola, Rabat focus group).

Ten of the women interviewed individually in Morocco had been deported from Spain to countries which were not their countries of origin. Four of these women had sought asylum in Spain, but had their applications turned down. Four of them had refugee status, granted by UNCHR in Rabat.

In general, the women who were deported attempted to return to Moroccan
of the information obtained during the interviews, once they managed to get out of the desert, the women re-entered Morocco through Oujda, a city on the Algerian-Moroccan border. There they looked for refuge at the university campus, whose dean did not allow the police to enter the university, in order to avoid arrests.

Of all the women interviewed in Morocco that fled their countries of origin due to armed conflict, twenty-two had sought asylum in Morocco and four in Spain: two Congolese women in Ceuta and two Nigerian women in the Canaries. The asylum applications presented in Spain were not accepted and the women were subsequently deported to Morocco. Two of the Congolese women finally obtained refugee status in Morocco.

Of all the women interviewed in Morocco, twenty-four sought asylum in Morocco alleging they had left their countries of origin due to armed conflicts; three of them stated that they had been to the UNCHR office in Rabat many times without being able to ask for asylum—either there had been too many people or someone (an officer) had told them they would call them and they never had. The women participating in the group in Rabat stated that they were not able to seek asylum in the border areas, having to travel to Rabat in order to do so.

3.3.2 Situation in Spain
As previously mentioned in Fact Sheet 1, we chose the cities of Almería, Ceuta and Madrid to carry out the interviews in Spain, since we
had information regarding a high number of migrant women from Sub-Saharan Africa in these cities. On average the women interviewed had been residing in Spain for a period of two years, with the time ranging from less than a year to thirteen years. There is no data available on three of the women.

With respect to the legal status of the women in Spain, we found that eleven women (40.7%) did not have documentation, eight had applications pending in order to obtain temporary residence status, four were legal residents and there is no available data on the other four women. Four other women stated that they had sought asylum, and that these applications had been denied.

The women interviewed in Almería were all Nigerian and lived in old extremely run down farmhouses that were used by seasonal agricultural workers. They used these dwellings as living quarters, as a prostitution “club,” and as a bar; sometimes also as a makeshift market where African food products were sold or as a hair dressing “salon.” Numerous women shared small rooms, separated by curtains. In addition to paying for room and board, the women had to pay for everything they used, including contraception, food and drink.

The women who lived in these houses were prostituted; they were in a situation of extreme isolation which made them particularly vulnerable. These women were under the control of women known as the “madame” of each house or the men known as “connection man,” or sponsor, who frightened the women by telling them that if they went out onto the street they would be arrested and deported by the Spanish authorities. The madames and the sponsors work for the human trafficking network and their job is to keep the women under control and to make sure that they comply with orders. As a consequence
of the constant threats, the women never go out alone; they are always accompanied by the madame or the sponsor. However, we observed that they are allowed to go to a medical centre in order to obtain a medical card accompanied by a nun that works for a local NGO.

All of the women who were interviewed in Almería were from Edo or from the State of Delta, in Nigeria. The women were between fifteen and forty years of age. Some of them said that they had been prostituted in Nigeria. All of them complained about the conditions in which they worked, especially since they still owed money to the sponsor who worked for the network which was exploiting them. Some of them told us that they knew that they were coming to Spain to work as prostitutes, but that they weren’t aware of the dire conditions. However, one of the women told us explicitly that she did not know what she was going to be doing here or how she had come here; she said that she had been tricked and she asked us for help. Although none of the women identified themselves as victims of trafficking, it was evident that the women were under both physical and economic coercion and control, in addition to the sub-standard conditions in which they were living.

In Almería, we interviewed two religious organizations that offer their services to migrant women. One of these groups works with the population of women that live in the farmhouses next to the greenhouses, providing condoms and accompanying women to apply for their medical cards, which in the majority of cases is the only type of identification the women possess. As in many other instances, medical attention is one of the best methods to gain access to women in vulnerable situations who are being controlled by others.

The other group carries out social integration programs which include providing a safe house in Almería for women who have been subject to human trafficking. We found that, in general, the organizations which provide social and medical assistance do not have direct access to the places where the women are kept.

The women interviewed in Madrid told us that they did domestic work. Some stated that
they occasionally worked in prostitution. None of them had stable jobs and, generally, they turned to social networks of their same nationality when they needed to obtain employment. A large number of the Nigerian women interviewed were forced to work in prostitution and said that they had to do so in order to pay their debts; a sum which oscillated between 35,000 and 45,000 euros and which takes two to four years to pay back. We found that even after paying off the debt bondage many of the women continue working in prostitution. The Nigerian women that worked in prostitution in Madrid earned between ten and twenty-six euros per client and some of them were willing to have sexual relations without a condom for a higher rate. Only one of the women interviewed in Madrid stated that she was able to send some money home to Nigeria; in her case in order to take care of her four children.

Despite the fact that prostitution is not illegal in Spain, some of the women who were interviewed stated that they had been harassed by the Spanish police. One of them stated that she had been arrested twice, but later released after a lawyer intervened. She also said that the Spanish police frequently raided the houses where they lived and questioned the women as to how they obtain their income.

On the basis of the information obtained and from what we were able to observe, we can conclude that the majority of Nigerian women working in prostitution are under the control of human traffickers, to whom they must pay the costs of the trip–plus all the expenses they accumulate while living in Spain–thus being forced to work in the sex industry. Some of the women stated that it was very difficult to scape the trafficking network, since their families in Nigeria were threatened through various means; this is exacerbated by the ease with which the Nigerian police could be bribed in order to arrest family members.

In accordance with the information provided by APRAMP, the behavior of the Nigerian trafficking networks and the conditions of the women they control have changed substantially in the last few years. This has mainly been due to the increase in pressure from both the police and the local community, which have made the women abandon the streets and relocate in clubs and apartments, where their isolation is greater and their conditions of slavery worsened, since the Nigerian women that work in prostitution on the streets provide each other with a support network.

Ceuta, the Spanish city on the border with Morocco, is a place of transit through which the Sub-Saharan women who wish to get to Spain often travel. Once they enter into Spanish territory, the migrants are taken by the Spanish authorities to the Centre of Temporary Stay for Migrants...
(CETI). The CETI is a detention centre with a capacity of 512 persons, situated approximately three kilometers from the city of Ceuta, where the basic necessities of the migrants, although minimal, are provided, including food, health, education, and legal aid. Although the centre has a doctor that attends to medical problems, in general the people in the CETI have no access to the Spanish medical service system, except in cases of emergency. Nor do they have the opportunity to obtain a medical card. On the other hand, although they are offered Spanish language classes, these are limited and the teaching personnel is insufficient. Finally, the CETI also offers legal assistance; however, there rarely is a follow up of the cases.

In Ceuta we gained access to the migrant women thanks to the atmosphere of mutual trust that the Women's Link Worldwide team had established with the women when they were still in Morocco. As previously mentioned, many of these women were under the control of trafficking networks and had been given instructions on what they had to say to the police, as well as to the staff working in the CETI. Thus, for a period of time, pregnant women and those with children were able to obtain residence permits for humanitarian reasons.12 Afterwards, when the authorities were able to grant certain permits, the women sought asylum alleging that they had come from countries suffering armed conflicts, such as Sudan, Sierra Leone or Liberia. There is no doubt that these women received instructions from the trafficking groups on what they had to do and say and how to respond to the authorities. However, it is equally clear that the majority of them would have a chance to obtain asylum on the basis of their real situation.

All the women that were interviewed in Ceuta crossed the border swimming and none of them worked in the formal sector—since Ceuta is a transit city, they could not obtain any legal documents (medical card, bank cards, proof of residency...) and therefore were unable to access the labor market. In the case of Ceuta, the women also stated that they received help from religious communities.

The changes undergone by the Spanish immigration policy also affect the situation of the women in Ceuta. At the time of our research for this report, the Spanish government sought to keep the women in Ceuta for as long as possible in order to negotiate their deportation with the countries of origin. Thus, the sponsors and members of the trafficking network forced the women to work as prostitutes, so that they would not lose money if the women were finally deported.
One of the aspects which we are particularly interested in shedding light on through this project is that of the sexual and reproductive health concerns of Sub-Saharan women. These issues are intimately linked to the violence which these women are subjected to during the migratory process, and to the services they require.

4.1 Pregnancies and abortions
Whenever possible, we asked the women if they had had any abortions and/or pregnancies. However, the information obtained in the interviews is difficult to evaluate for a number of reasons: principally of a cultural nature, but also linguistic. According to the information provided, both by the women themselves and by APRAMP, many of them did not know that they had been pregnant and, when they had miscarriages, they often did not regard it as having had an abortion. Other women, mostly Nigerians, said they did not know how many times they had had an abortion. Nigerian women have such a strong belief in voodoo that in many instances they don’t see a pregnancy as something real, but as a punishment from the trafficking gangs and, therefore, not a true pregnancy. There were also cases of women who said they had had an abortion, but when asked if they had been pregnant stated that they had not, since, for them, pregnancy only exists when you give birth to a live baby.

Given these obstacles, with the objective of obtaining the most reliable information possible, we asked questions in various manners, in order to establish with certainty if they had been pregnant or had abortions (by pregnancy we refer to the state of gestation, regardless of whether it ends in an abortion or in birth; and by abortion, the voluntary or involuntary termination of the pregnancy). Thus, the questions formulated in order to establish if the women had had abortions or had been pregnant, included, for example, questions such as if they had taken Citotec; if the answer was affirmative we considered that there had been both a pregnancy and an abortion.

Analyzing the information we obtained we were able to established that out of a total of 98 women interviewed individually, seventy-four had been pregnant at least once, thirteen had never been pregnant, and
there was no available information on eleven women (see Figure 6). It was not possible to obtain information with respect to the thirty-two women who participated in the focus groups.

Within the group of women who had been pregnant at least on one occasion—a large majority of the pregnancies occurring during their migratory journey— we found that each woman had had an average of approximately 2.6 pregnancies, the minimum being one and the maximum eight (see Figure 7).

We also found that the conditions in which the women gave birth were extremely dangerous and involved high risks. Many of the women did not give birth in hospitals for fear of deportation:

"I went to the Mohammed V hospital in Tangiers when I was giving birth, and afterwards they sent me to the border along with the baby. My baby was four days old when she suffered her first deportation. That is why women, even when raped or suffering from assault, never go alone to the hospitals. They go to NGOs which they know won’t mistreat them or deport them” (Woman from Ivory Coast, Rabat focus group).

The Nigerian women identified as trafficking victims that participated in the focus group in Rabat confirmed that many of the undesired pregnancies occur during the course of the migratory journey. According to them, travelling with children imposes an extra burden. They also stated that, since the majority of children are born during the journey, they can not receive an education, or even be legally registered.

Of all the women we interviewed individually, thirty-four (35%) had had at least one abortion. On average, each woman had had 2.1 abortions, the minimum being one and the maximum seven. Fifty-one women had never had an abortion and there is no available information on thirteen women (see Figure 8).

The results also show that, in Spain, none of the women had had more than two abortions, which differentiates these women from those interviewed in Morocco.

Conducting these interviews it became evident that the majority
of abortions occurred in Morocco. Of the thirty-four women interviewed who had had abortions, twenty-five (73.52%) had had them in Morocco. The rest of the women had had them in their countries of origin or in countries of transit. In addition to the conditions in which Sub-Saharan women live in Morocco, these abortions may be seen as a clear indication of the high level of sexual violence, including forced prostitution, suffered by migrant women in this country.

The women that participated in the focus groups also stated that they had had undesired pregnancies and had used Citotec or some other traditional method in order to interrupt their pregnancies. Some of these women explicitly stated that the undesired pregnancies were the result of rape.

Given their low number, in the case of the women from Cameroon, Mali, Ivory Coast and Niger, it is impossible to establish a correlation between the number of abortions and the country of origin. However, given the greater number of women from these countries, it is possible to compare this information in women from the DRC and women from Nigeria. While five out of the twenty-five women interviewed from the DRC had had abortions (20%), in the case of Nigeria the number increased to twenty-two out of fifty-four (41%). One of the Nigerian women stated that she didn't know how many abortions she had had. She said that they gave her "things to lose the baby" and that she drugged herself in order to be able to bear the pain. This information is consistent with the information provided, both by the women interviewed and also from the organizations with which we have had contact. In the case of Nigerian women, many of whom are victims of human trafficking and forced into prostitution, as identified by organizations that work to eliminate human trafficking, forced abortion is one of the abuses
perpetrated by their traffickers. Therefore, the fact that a woman has had a high number of abortions is often an indicator of being a victim of sex trafficking and sexual violence.

With respect to the methods employed to interrupt pregnancies and the conditions under which the abortions are carried out, the majority of the women (68%) stated that they had taken Citotec. Those who did not use Citotec said the abortion had been performed by a third party, such as a midwife, nurse or doctor, or by themselves. Two stated that they had suffered abortions as a result of violence perpetrated by the Moroccan police or by other persons in Algeria.

It must be emphasized that in the large majority of cases the abortions were carried out in unsanitary conditions and without any medical attention. Forty-three (73.5%) of fifty women interviewed that had had abortions did not receive any medical attention at the time. It was not possible to obtain data regarding five of the women, leaving only 25% of women receiving medical attention of any sort.

In general, Sub-Saharan women that have abortions in Morocco can not access public hospitals; if they did they could be accused of being in an irregular administrative situation and, subsequently, be deported, generally to the dessert border between Morocco and Algeria. Hence, the women must pay for abortions which often are performed in unsanitary and unsafe conditions, putting their life at risk, given that they do not have the economic means to pay for private health care.

“Almost all of us, whether we say it or not, have been raped, and, of course, have been exposed to dangerous diseases or have had an unwanted pregnancy. In this country, abortion is not easy; instead you have to put your life in danger by taking Citotec. Also, many women do not know the risks of taking this medicine and they take loads; above all the Nigerians, that are made to do so by their traffickers, because these women do not decide for themselves” (Woman from the DRC, Rabat focus group).

Several of the women interviewed in Morocco stated that they had abortions in the forest area of Ben Younes, the makeshift camp located approximately sixty kilometers from Tangiers, where there was a considerable Sub-Saharan population waiting for an opportunity to cross over to Europe. The living conditions in Ben Younes are inhumane, with shelters made from plastic placed on top of the branches of trees, no infrastructures of any kind or access to basic necessities such as running water. In the first stage of the interviews we estimated that only 10 to 15% of the persons living in the camp were women. This settlement had been subject to continuous raids by the Moroccan authorities since 2005 and, towards the end of our research, very few people were living there any more. These raids were characterized by
the extreme violence employed against the Sub-Saharan population and by the systematic violations of their human rights. The people who were detained were normally deported to desert frontier areas with Algeria or Mauritania, where they were left with no supplies, often resulting in the death of many of them, including women.

4.2 Female genital mutilation (FGM)

Of the ninety-eight women interviewed individually, fifty-two answered affirmatively when asked if they have undergone FGM, thirty-six said they had not and it was not possible to obtain information for ten women. It was not possible to obtain information regarding this topic in the focus groups.

With respect to nationality, we found that forty-two of the Nigerian women (77%), five of the nine women from Ivory Coast (55.5%), three of the four women from Mali (75%) and two women from Niger (100%) stated having undergone FGM, while twenty-four of the twenty-five women from the DRC (there is no information on one woman) and four Cameroonian women responded negatively.

In general, the women that responded affirmatively said they had undergone FGM at a very young age; many stated that it took place a few days after their birth, others when they were one year old and others when they were between four and five years of age. The answers made it clear that the practice of FGM was something very common in certain countries of origin; for some of them the response seemed obvious and many stated that they were in favor of the practice, saying, for example, that it gives the women dignity and that they would practice FGM on their daughters.

We did not find any correlation between the religion professed by the women and the incidence of FGM, although the Cameroonian women stated that, in their country, the Catholics did not practice FGM. With respect to the other nationalities, we found that FGM was practiced equally on and by Christian women and Muslim women.

4.3 Use of contraception

Only six (8.5%) of the seventy-one women who were interviewed individually in Morocco and nine (33%) out of the twenty-seven...
interviewed in Spain confirmed that they had used contraceptive methods, even if it was only occasionally. It was not possible to obtain information on the women who participated in the focus groups. The most commonly used contraceptive method is the condom. One of the women interviewed in Morocco said she used the rhythm method. Of the women interviewed in Spain, two said they took the “pill” and one responded to the question by saying that she took Citotec. Of the women interviewed individually in Morocco, forty-three said they had never used any type of contraception; in the majority of occasions, the reasons stated was the lack of economic means to buy them, but some women also said they did not use contraception because they only had sexual relations with their husbands. There is no data on twenty-two of the women. Nine of the twenty-seven women interviewed in Spain stated that they had never used any type of contraception and there is no available data on eight of them (see Figure 10).

Some women who work in prostitution as a way of survival, both in Morocco and Spain, stated that they use condoms, but that sometimes they had sex without a condom if there clients paid them more.

“Although you want to take something for pregnancies, you can’t. You take pills and you don’t eat well or they detain you and you lose it. Sometimes you use condoms, obviously when the man wants to, and when organizations provide you with them. It’s not easy. We are in the hands of God and if we get something it’s in the hands of God too” (Woman from the DRC, Rabat focus group).

The high percentage of women interviewed—including those working in the sex industry—who do not use contraception due to a lack of economic means is extremely worrisome; as a result, the Sub-Saharan migrant women collective has a very high risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and of having unwanted pregnancies. Access to contraception and adequate information on its use should be a priority. Some women stated that, occasionally, different humanitarian organizations, such as Doctors Without Borders, provided them with condoms.

### 4.4 HIV/AIDS

We encountered many difficulties in trying to obtain information about HIV/AIDS. Many of the women interviewed refused to speak about the subject, as if solely mentioning it could be dangerous. On the other hand, on many occasions AIDS was seen by the women interviewed as a form of witchcraft or curse. These circumstances led us to omit the question in many of the interviews, since we knew that we were risking the possibility of not being able to continue the interview, given that the women would often get very upset when asked about this topic. As a result, we were only able to pose the question to thirty-seven of the seventy-one women interviewed in Morocco. Out of these, nineteen stated that they knew what it was and how it was transmitted, three said they knew what is was but not how it was transmitted, and ten stated that they did not know what it was or how it was transmitted. In the focus groups, when the subject was brought up, some of the women admitted to having been exposed to STIs.

The women interviewed in Spain demonstrated greater knowledge on the subject of AIDS, although many of them had not been tested for it, or preferred not to talk about it. Some of them told us that many of the Nigerian women had it and that many of them had been infected in Morocco. Others said that to talk about it brought bad luck, that it was a punishment from God or that it was better not to think about it. A woman said she did not want to take the test for fear of being infected.

### 4.5 Sexual violence

Throughout our research it became evident that sexual violence against Sub-Saharan migrant women is committed in a systematic
manner, by both migrant men and by the authorities of the countries of transit and destination; however, it was very difficult to speak directly with the women about sexual violence or rape. In many cases, the women did not understand what we were saying when we used the word “rape,” and we had to find different ways of asking the question.

The women that participated in the focus groups were more open to sharing information on this subject. There words made it clear that sexual violence was present in a systematical manner, especially when the women were detained or when they faced the possibility of being deported:

“I was raped at the Algerian border on three occasions, once by the Moroccan authorities and twice by immigrants from Nigeria. Every time, I feared for my life, since they threatened me with guns or holding a knife against my throat” (Woman from the DRC, Rabat focus group).

“When we lived in the forest it was horrible not only because you had to protect yourself from the gangs, but also from the police raids. When the police arrived they would detain us using force. Many times they raped you. One day, I was raped by seven police men and I knew that my friends who were hiding were watching me; it was horrible. Afterwards, they left me there, half dead. I think my life ended there. I don’t know who or what gave me the strength to continue” (Cameroonian woman, Rabat focus group).

“In the police station in Nador, after they arrested me in the Gurugu mountain, which you need to pass through to get to Melilla, I offered to sleep with a soldier so that I would not be deported to the Algerian border. I was in a small cell and the soldier told me to shower in front of him and I did it and he pulled down his trousers and fucked me in front of my baby. But then he called his colleagues and they all raped me. I was so angry. I had negotiated to fuck with one man and they all fucked me” (Woman from Nigeria, Rabat focus group).
In view of the information obtained during our research we can establish that Sub-Saharan migrant women suffer multiple forms of violence during the migratory process. These forms of violence, which comprise physical aggression, including sexual violence, as well as economic and psychological abuse, are perpetrated in a systematic manner by both authorities and other men. Within the latter group, the men known as “journey husbands” demand sexual favors and domestic housework in return for “protecting” the women from other forms of violence and helping them get to their destination. We found that amongst the women interviewed, the Nigerians are the ones most often subject to human trafficking.

In general, these women are very young when they are captured by trafficking networks in Nigeria, which take them to Europe under strict vigilance to work as prostitutes. Numerous women stated that they had debts of up to 45,000 euros that they had to pay to their “sponsors.”

The living conditions of the interviewed women are extremely precarious, both in Morocco and during the journey. They do not have access to basic services and necessities, such as drinking water, housing, food or health care, and they suffer constant violations of other human rights, including the right to physical integrity. Many stated that they had to work in prostitution or beg in order to survive.

Regarding sexual and reproductive health and rights, we found that the majority of the women do not have access to contraception; furthermore, many of these women are forced to work as prostitutes, with the subsequent higher risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections.

Many of the women become pregnant during the journey as a result of sexual violence. Moreover, there is a general lack of prenatal health care, leaving the women in conditions of risk when giving birth, which they generally undergo in extremely unsafe circumstances. The same deficiencies exist with regards to the termination of unwanted pregnancies, which usually take place without any medical attention, and are often self-induced by the consumption of Citotec.
More than half of the women interviewed had been subjected to FGM, generally at a very early age. Additionally, there is a general lack of knowledge amongst the women interviewed about HIV/AIDS and how it is transmitted. In many cases the women associate the infection with witchcraft and voodoo.

The organizations that currently offer their services to this population are limited in number and resources and, in general, have difficulties gaining access to the women, who are extremely isolated and very often controlled by traffickers. Furthermore, due to their immense fear of deportation, these women often do not seek the services they require.

In sum, it is fundamental to strengthen the strategic work and increase coordination between organizations with the goal of achieving real and effective protection of Sub-Saharan migrant women’s rights. On the one hand, this would require a continued identification of the specific needs of these women, shedding light upon the human rights violations which these women suffer. On the other hand, it is necessary to determine the strategies and actions which can be used in order to make the States and those in power make decisions which comply with their obligation to protect the fundamental rights of persons, both under national and international law.
La embarcación semi-hundida tuvo que ser remolcada "Rescatada en Almería una patera con 35 inmigrantes:"


8 The shortest distance being between Mali and Morocco (2,572 kilometers in a straight line) and the longest being between Angola and Morocco (5,611 kilometers). Distances calculated at http://www.timeanddate.com/worldclock/distance.html.

9 Organic Law 4/2000, Article 31, states that temporary residence permits may be granted in Spain under various circumstances, including those who are in situations of risk. The permit may be renewed.

10 Although we tried to find her after the initial interview to offer her our help, we were unable to do so.

11 One of the advantages of obtaining a medical card is that it serves as proof of residency in Spain, which is necessary in order to apply for residency after several years in the country.

12 Article 12.7 of Law 5/1984, of 26 March, regulating the right to asylum and of the living conditions of the refugee, states that the authorities may give permission to remain permanently in the country for humanitarian reasons or for public interest (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 27 March 1984, number 74, p. 389).

13 Citotec is the commercial name of the drug Misoprostol, defined by the World Health Organisation (WHO) as “a complementary drug to medically terminate a pregnancy, up until 63 days of gestation ... and to induce labor.” Information obtained from the World Health organization, Essential Medicines Library, at http://www.who.int/emlib/MedicineDisplay.aspx?Language=en&MedIDName=444%40misoprostol (last consulted 29 July 2008). Also, Misoprostol (prostaglandin) is the drug of choice for many women, given that it is cheap and it doesn’t require refrigeration. For more information see WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION, Safe Abortion: Technical and Policy Guidance for Health Systems, 2003 (available at http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/unsafe_abortion/9241590343/en/index.html [last accessed August 2009]). Other names for Citotec are Arthrotec, Oxaprost, Cyprostol, Mibetec, Prostokos and Misotrol. See Women on Waves, http://www.womenonwaves.org/ (last accessed 29 July 2008).

14 "The introduction should emphasize that trafficking with persons is a human rights abuse and that, in responding to this problem, member states should prioritize the protection of the human rights of trafficked persons, taking the steps necessary to prevent abuses and provide remedies where abuses occur. These abuses include rape, physical violence, debt bondage, slavery-like conditions, false imprisonment, servitude, sale as chattel, forced abortion, forced labor, lack of access to health care, and lack of education in the case of children” (HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, “Recommendations Regarding the Proposal for a Council Framework Decision on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings,” http://www.hrw.org/legacy/background/wrd/trafficking-framework.html). “Trafficked women in highly organized commercial settings are typically provided with a daily contraceptive pill. Those who do fall pregnant are usually forced to abort. The women’s ‘illegal’ status, or the illegality of abortion, means that abortions are often self-induced or performed in appalling conditions by their ‘employers’ or other trafficked women. Women who choose and are able to continue their pregnancy are left to fend for themselves as an ‘illegal’ in the country they have been trafficked to and may be forced to make their way home, where they and their child commonly face serious social stigma or complete ostracism” (OXFAM, “International Youth Parliament, Youth Commission Report on Globalization,” in Highly Affected, Rarely Considered, 2003, chapter 4, p. 78 [available at http://www.unesco.org/cvics/New-SiteCCSVI/ institutions/jpc-youth/youth-open-forum/Section_for_Youth/Resources_and_tools/Other_documents_on_youth/OXFAM INTERNATIONAL_YOUTH_PARLIAMENT/Trafficking.pdf]).
LIFE STORIES 1  ■ charlotte
Charlotte is a strong woman. She walks in a self assured and decisive manner–her back straight and her head held up high. She seems very sure of herself. However, her clothes reveal that she has limited financial resources, and her daughter has no shoes.

The first time we talked to Charlotte, she was in the forest of Bel Younech. She had swum to Ceuta, where she had stated proudly that she wished to "seek asylum." But the Spanish authorities were not willing to listen. She knows that she is entitled to apply for asylum—that this is a right. Charlotte is an incredible woman, a fighter, who tragically lost all of her loved ones in an atrocious war in her country, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

We know that Charlotte was deported to the desert in the autumn of 2005—it was there that she lost her children. After the deportation, she was taken to a detention camp at Nador. Unbelievable as it may seem, when the Chancellor of the Congo traveled to Nador to verify the nationality of those who had been detained, Charlotte confronted him. She told him that the people he saw in the camps were refugees escaping from the war and that the authorities from the DRC had no right to approach them, and even less to determine their status in view of possible deportations.

During the interview, Charlotte spoke candidly about rapes, about human rights violations, about abortions, about her children and about the life of migrant women. Her words should shame all of those who participated in the atrocities documented below. This is her story:
How does a woman come to live like this?

“I left my country in 2000. The Rwandans broke into my house, killed my husband and raped my eldest child in front of my own eyes. I went into hiding with my children. I was looking for a country with rights, for the Europe of asylum, the “Europe of human rights.””

What is the journey to the “Europe of human rights” like?

“I still haven't reached Europe. I am here in Morocco, waiting as a refugee. We are the 'true false refugees', because we are recognized by UNHCR but not by the country we are in. The path is long and difficult. I traveled through Congo Brazzaville, Cameroon, Nigeria, Benin, Mali, Algeria and Morocco. During the journey I worked as a maid, I looked after goats, I was raped on several occasions and, as a result, I became pregnant.”
To become pregnant after being raped must be very tough

She sighs. “When I gave birth I didn't have anywhere to live or to sleep, so I applied for asylum at UNHCR in Morocco. Everyone told me that it was not worth the trouble, that refugees remained in the same situation of irregularity, but I was desperate. With a baby in my arms, I needed to have somewhere to go to. I needed somebody to talk to. So, I went to ask for asylum, for help, for my rights, for respect for me and for my baby.”

And what was the result?

“I am going to tell you about a very important part of my life. One day I was detained at the Mohammedia station. My daughter was four months old. The Moroccan police raped me at the border. I went back and, once again, I was detained and raped, both by the Moroccans and the Algerians. I went to the hospital because I was bleeding a lot. UNHCR did nothing about these two deportations. When I could not pay the rent, I slept in the streets. I had to sleep with the owner of a house I lived in so that he would not throw us out—later, that same man broke my ribs. I have been in the office of the UNHCR but nobody helped me there. I asked them for humanitarian aid. At UNHCR they always tell me that I don’t stand a chance. I feel unprotected in this country. I feel vulnerable.”
What can you tell us about the mass deportations to the desert that took place in the fall of 2005? Those images were seen all over the world.
“I lost my children in the Sahara desert when they deported us. I cannot forget them. These are children that I gave birth to; I cannot forget them. A mother cannot forget a being that she has given birth to. I want to reach a safe place where I can live with my children.

They detained us, they put us in lorries and they took us to Oujda. There were a lot of people, and they began to separate us. People screamed because they were separating mothers from their children and wives from their husbands. We felt there was something wrong. They put us on buses and later onto lorries. The men were handcuffed.

They abandoned us in the desert at night. They gave the women a small bottle of water. Some of the soldiers asked us to forgive them for what they were doing. It was dark and we began to hear gunshots. Everybody ran. It was an avalanche of Africans. I lost my children in the crowd, in the dark, in the chaos, in the fear. I felt as if I were back in the war in Congo—it was the same. I was terrified.

I couldn’t find my children. I began walking with a group of people. Some died during the walk. A woman died right in front of us. And afterwards, the military returned to get us. They said there were journalists and people from NGOs everywhere. I told them that what had happened was genocide.

They took us to a military camp in Nador. We ate uncooked lentils and beans everyday. A lot of people became sick with diarrhea. There wasn't even a bathroom, only holes in the ground. Often, the soldiers would watch the women while we went to the bathroom. We felt so ashamed!

Some of the women had to prostitute themselves with the soldiers so they could have sanitary towels, diapers, milk for their babies... It was humiliating: the deaths in the desert, then the conditions in the camp... On top of all of this, a representative from the embassy came to identify us as Congolese so the Moroccan government could deport us. I could not hold my anger any longer. I screamed at the soldiers and the people from the consulate. I wanted them to disappear from my life. The pain and the rage was unbearable.”
“Sunday I went out to seek asylum. A man had assaulted me in front of my daughter. He hit me. He wanted to take my phone. And he also tried to rape me. To make one or two euros, you have to sleep with the Moroccans, and there are illnesses. UNHCR does nothing for us. There is no help. Where will we go? What will we do?

I have been deported three times since I have been in Morocco. When we arrived at the border we had to sleep with the Moroccan and Algerian police. They raped me in front of my daughter.

I became pregnant again as a result of these rapes at the border. I looked for a way to end the pregnancy. I am not a woman to be had by the Moroccan or the Algerian policemen! I want to be a free woman! Morocco doesn’t recognize us as refugees; they don’t want us here. All we want is a place where we can live in peace! Sometimes I think it would be better to kill myself than to continue living like this. My mother did not give birth to me so Moroccans could rape me!”
“What am I going to tell my daughter when she asks, ‘Mummy, where is my Daddy?’ I don’t know what I will tell her. When I think about my children, about the situation that I am living in Morocco, when I think of all the times I have been raped... It hurts. It hurts so much. I lost my children in the desert while I was under the protection of the UNHCR. Sometimes I ask myself if my daughter will hate me. How will she grow up after all of the violence she has suffered.”

How do you see your daughter’s future?

How would you define yourself at this moment in your life?

I am a woman full of scars, scars from my deportations to the desert, from the journey, from all the times I have been raped. We have suffered immensely, and that has left its mark on my body and my soul.
Given the dangers faced by migrant women in Morocco, and the government’s inability or unwillingness to protect them, Charlotte and her daughter—together with a number of other women and minors in similar vulnerable situations—were resettled to a third country late in 2008. The resettlement was possible due to a change in policy at UNHCR’s office in Morocco. This change was the result of the strategic action undertaken by Women’s Link Worldwide in 2007, which made possible the resettlement of a refugee and her young child on grounds of continued gender based persecution in the country of “transit.”
On April 30, 2008, Precious and her five-year-old daughter were buried, alongside eleven others, in a small cemetery in Alhucemas. Precious was a Nigerian woman and a victim of human trafficking. She left her country with a trafficking network in order to travel to Europe, where she would pay off her debt working as a prostitute. Her journey was very long. She left her country through the border shared with Benin, along with many other women. When she finally reached Bamako, Mali, she was forced into prostitution. “In Bamako, in Mali, it’s horrible. There, you start the life you will live in Europe. You have to fuck every man the connection man tells you to fuck. And, of course, there is no contraception. There's nothing that you can protect yourself with. And there are many illnesses.”

After Bamako, Precious had to cross the desert between Algeria and Mali in a truck along with thirty other women, all crammed in the truck, like cattle. One of the women held a baby in her arms. She was so tired that it fell from the lorry. The driver refused to stop and the baby was left in the middle of nowhere, in the middle of a desert.

When they arrived to Algeria, the women were taken to a forest in the Maghnia area, where there was a large numbers of immigrants. It was here that she learned the next stop would be the Ceutan border, and that her destination was Spain. When she arrived at a camp close to Ceuta, she began to think about how she could get out of her situation—prostituting herself to pay the debt of 40,000 euros was not what she wanted for her future. Precious thought perhaps she would be able to escape when she arrived to Spain. She tried to cross the border swimming with a lifejacket, and she asked the Spanish
Guardia Civil policemen who rescued her for help. But they did not listen to her. Instead, she was sent back to Morocco. Precious told us that day was one of the worst of her life—she thought she would never be able to get herself out of the prison of the human trafficking network.

Her day-to-day life in the forest was similar to that of many other women. She lived in her community ghetto. There, she would get up at 4 am every morning so that she could escape if the Moroccan soldiers raided the camp. She remained awake until 6 am and then went back to sleep until 9 am, when she would walk to one of the few fountains where she could get water—it was barely drinkable. Her life was terrible. Her diet consisted of rice and banku. But she survived in the hope of attempting to reach Europe. Her trafficking network didn’t know if she would cross through Ceuta, through the Canary Islands or through the Straight of Gibraltar.

In the forest, she found a partner. She said that, at first, she did it because she needed company and someone who would care for her. But, with time, when she got to know him better, she realized that he was a good man. He treated her well. She called him her “husband,” even though there were no official papers. He came from a French speaking country and he was not part of a trafficking network.

She became pregnant from her husband. The trafficking network told her she had to have an abortion, but she refused.
Her little daughter, Feber, was born in the forest of Ben Youness. Soon she became ill with chronic bronchitis as a result of the living conditions in the camp. Like the other boys and girls that lived in the camp, Feber knew that you always had to run away from the men in uniform, that you had to hide in silence if you wanted to survive. Life went on like this until the mass attempt to jump the fence at the border with Ceuta which took place in 2005.

“We talked about it for a long time. Other immigrants, who weren't from our camp, came to tell us that they would all go together to the fence, that we either joined them now or we would never be able to do it, because after the deaths at Melilla’s fence, the were going to get rid of the camps. I had decided not to go. I was scared of the crowd and I knew that with my daughter it could be dangerous. But in the early morning we heard lots of noise and shouting. Everybody was running. The Moroccan police had surrounded the Forest. There was only one way out: the fence. I tried a ladder, but I didn't have the strength and my daughter couldn't climb it either. Then we heard gunshots, both in front and behind us. And bodies fell from the top of the fence. I walked by one of the bodies and I got stained with blood. Then I saw my husband. He came down a ladder to help me. He lifted me and my daughter in his arms, until we managed to get to the mountain area. It seemed safe there, so he left me with my daughter. He told me he was going to help more women. I spent two days hiding in the mountains, with some other women with babies: We didn’t have anything to eat. There were Moroccan military everywhere, and we knew that many people had died in the shootings—friends, people we knew. My daughter was very cold. She coughed all the time.”
Precious and her daughter were found by an aid organization, along with the other women and children. The organization took them to a centre, where they were able to hide for a few months. They could not leave the centre, for their own safety, but they were safe from the military raids and the trafficking network. Precious helped with the housework while her daughter went to the nursery. She also began to attend knitting and dress-making classes.

In the safety provided by this environment, she began to articulate her desire to escape from the trafficking network that had controlled her up to this point. She heard someone talk about asylum and she decided to apply for it. But she was scared to tell the truth. She knew that it was easier to get asylum if you said you were from a country where there was a war–she needed to find one where they spoke English. So, when she applied for asylum at the Spanish consulate in Tangiers, she said she was from Sudan. But she did not know Sudan and she could not sustain her story for very long. The application was denied. Afterwards, with the help of an NGO, she travelled to Rabat to ask for asylum at the UNCHR office. She was very nervous in the first interview. She was scared that they would find out she was not telling the truth about her country of origin. During the interview process, she broke down in front of the UN official and burst into tears. She was denied asylum for the second time. “Who would protect a Nigerian woman like me, who doesn’t want to prostitute herself?,” she would ask much later.

So Precious started to hide once again. She had no news of her husband since the mass attempt to jump the Ceuta fence. She called all her contacts, but nobody new anything. She thought he was dead.

Unfortunately, the trafficking network found her. They took her and her daughter to Casablanca. From time to time, she would call her contacts at the NGOs, desperately seeking help. The health of her daughter was not good and her hopes for a better future seemed to have gone up in smoke. The trafficking network
moved her constantly from one place to another, making it impossible for
Precious to report what was happening to her. She gave up any hope and
lived with many other female victims of trafficking who were waiting to be
taken to Europe.

But her husband finally managed to find her, and helped her escape from
the house in which she was living. The last time we spoke to her she told
us that her husband had found a solution, that now everything was going
to be OK, that we shouldn’t worry about her, that she was going to try to
reach Spain, were she would ask for protection and tell her real story. She
told us that, for the time being, she was safe. After that, we think she hid
with her daughter at the Algerian border. Her husband had managed to
get the necessary money to travel to Spain in an inflatable boat, in a
desperate attempt to flee to a safe country.

On April 28, 2008 two zodiacs left the coast of Alhucemas. They were
heading for Almería. Precious and her daughter Feber were in one of the
boats. Her daughter wore a rosary around her neck—it had ben given to
her by the Sisters of Calcutta in Tangiers. Precious and Feber never got to
Almeria. They drowned, along with three other woman—one of whom was
pregnant—and three babies, when their boat sank.

“Moroccan Navy agents knifed holes into an inflatable boat which sank
with seventy undocumented migrants of sub-Saharan origin on board.
They were attempting to get away from the Moroccan coast in order to
reach Spain. During the incident, which occurred in the early morning of
April 28, 2008—and which the Moroccan government has attempted to
silence—between twenty-nine and thirty-three people drowned, four of
whom were children.” (“They begged us to look after their babies,” Madrid,
*El País*, May 7, 2008.)
“The child grabbed her mother’s neck. The mother hugged her and told her to pray. We faced the Moroccans and told them they had to rescue them. We screamed at them. The child coughed a lot. They floated back to the surface a few times, until they drowned, the two of them, holding each other.”
Some organizations estimate twenty-eight persons died that day. Others say there were twenty-nine deaths. According to our research the figure rises to thirty-one persons. Thirteen bodies were recovered by the Moroccan police. The rest disappeared in the water.

On the April 29, Precious' husband called us. He asked us if we knew anything about the boat that sank in Alhucemas. “My wife and my daughter were on it, and they drowned. Did you know it was them? Do you know who killed them? Where are their bodies? Can you recover them? I want to bury them with dignity. Please, is there anything you can tell me?”

This is what he told us in a later conversation: “I wanted them to go before me. I wanted to pay for their journey, so they could get away. Afterwards, if all went well, I would follow them.” A survivor of the shipwreck told us: “The child grabbed her mother’s neck. The mother hugged her and told her to pray. We faced the Moroccans and told them they had to rescue them. We screamed at them. The child coughed a lot. They floated back to the surface a few times, until they drowned, the two of them, holding each other.”

NOTES

1 On the border with Algeria.
2 Word used by Nigerian women to refer to their trafficker.
3 Makeshift camps of immigrants situated close to the border between Algeria and Morocco.
4 Swimming with the help of a lifejacket and flippers.
5 Cooked flour, which is the base of many of the immigrants’ diet during their journey.
6 Makeshift camp of immigrants situated in the area surrounding Ceuta.
7 UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) doesn’t have offices in the frontier zones.
   To apply for asylum one must travel in person to the office in Rabat.
8 According to ABCDS (Beni Znassen Association for Culture, Development and Solidarity).
9 According to AFVIC (Association of Families of Victims of Clandestine Immigration).