

Experiences of Nigerian Trafficked Women; Voices and Perspectives from Italy

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Eneze Modupe-Oluwa Baye

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Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Silke Heumann

Dr. Helen Hintjens

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies P.O. Box 29776 2502 LT The Hague The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12 2518 AX The Hague The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460 Fax: +31 70 426 0799

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List of Acronyms

CHS Commission for Human Security

EU European Union

European Police

ILO International Labour Organization

NAPTIP National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons

and other Related Matters

TAMPEP European Network for HIV/STI Prevention and Health Pro-

motion among Migrant Sex Workers

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNODC United Nations Office on Drug and Crime

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Abstract

Trafficking of Nigerian women to Italy for sexual exploitation has over the years been a source of concern to the Italian and Nigerian governments. This concern arose due to high numbers of Nigerian trafficked women in Italy, the sexual and physical violence experienced by them. In response to this, the Italian government created a social protection program (Article 18) for victims subject to situations of violence and extreme exploitation. This study undertakes a critical analysis of counter-trafficking measures in Italy, in relation to the experiences of Nigerian sex workers in the city of Turin. The experiences of Nigerian sex workers in this city are diverse and complicated. Most of the women are undocumented, making them highly vulnerable. This research found out that the majority of sexually exploited undocumented sex workers apply for political asylum. Whilst this application is being processed, before the majority are rejected, the women are victims to the exploitation of traffickers. Though the Italian social protection program has been a saving grace for some fortunate beneficiaries, it does not fully address the insecurities faced daily by Nigerian sex workers. One of the short-comings of Article 18 is that it chooses to protect victims only if they suffer severe forms of violence and if the information provided by victims helps in the arrest of traffickers. These conditions have led to the exclusion of some of the most sexually exploited and undocumented Nigerian sex workers in Turin from effective protection, in cases where they do not meet these criteria.

Relevance to Development Studies

This paper is relevant to development studies as it explores a global problem which is trafficking of women for sexual exploitation. This research seeks to promote social policies for the respect of the rights of migrant women by providing insight into how social protection programs for victims of trafficking address their vulnerabilities. This research contributes to the body of literature on trafficking studies that counter-trafficking measures and social protection policies for victims of trafficking sometimes do not serve the interest of victims but a form of immigration control by host countries.

Keywords

Italy, Nigerian women, sex work, trafficking, victims, Article 18, social protection policy, undocumented, Turin, Nigerian government.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Setting the scene

As a young girl in mid 90s, I remember vividly discourses of how Nigerian sex workers dominated the streets of Italy but I had little or no knowledge of their decisions to migrate. It is interesting that many years down the line; I conducted a research in Turin to have a first-hand experience of the realities of Nigerian migrant women. Migration is a common phenomenon that occurs in the lives of people. Demand for better jobs, schooling, family reunion or threats to security are some factors why migration takes place. Migrating for sex work between Nigeria and Italy could be dated as far back as the 80s. According to Campani (1998:230) there is a link between female migration and prostitution and it has to do with 'the growth of the sex industry as a transnational enterprise'. For instance, in the second half of 1980, Italy hosted the second largest group of Nigerian sex workers in Europe and it was the most important destination for traffickers Aghatise (2004:1129) and Cole (2006:218). Italy remaining the most important choice for traffickers to convey their victims is a double sided coin which draws on debates around the legalization of sex work which creates a vibrant sex industry. Previous research argues that Italian law permits a woman the right to sell sex, as prostitution is not a crime but trafficking or exploitative act is punishable (Wallman, 2001:82). On one hand, proponents of the Italian Progressive Party argue for legalisation of prostitution because it provides economic benefits for prostitutes. On the other hand anti-trafficking organizations and researchers, including Nigerian researcher Aghatise (2004:1127) argued against legalization of prostitution because it frustrates counter-trafficking strategies and encourages trafficking.

Human trafficking is the unlawful movement of persons from one destination to another often times for the purpose of forced labour, sexual exploitation or both (Akor, 2011:89). Whatever purpose victims are trafficked for, it is an act that withdraws their free will in exchange for coercion. Trafficking and slavery are two phenomena that are very much interwoven as they coerce victims to render involuntary services (Akor, 2011:90). Over the decades, Nigerian women have been victims of sex trafficking to Italy and this has drawn an enormous body of research which continues to unearth the complexities (Cole, 2006:217). The complexities of their experiences of migration, experiences with counter-trafficking agencies, their working and leaving conditions is worthy of analysis as it uncovers insecurities faced by victims and how they are addressed. These complexities often times leave them in a state of vulnerability which is sometimes reinforced by counter-trafficking measures.

Migration of Nigerian women to Italy for sex work could be linked to political and economic status of Nigeria, structural adjustment programs implemented in the 80s, ignorance and family size of women (Achebe, 2004:181). Some women could be ignorant that they will be compelled to prostitute themselves. Due to high responsibility associated with large family seize, especially when the family has a poor income a member of the family can decide to mi-

grate and search for jobs in economically stable countries where he or she can have a high income that can sustain the family. In addition to these challenges, the absence of educational or vocational training and employment opportunities for women can propel them to be international sex workers Achebe (2004:181) and Campani (2009:256). Nigeria an oil producing country with high revenues derived from such is still among the poorest Nations of the world. It is a country where means of livelihood is a major concern to many.

Migrating for sex work between Nigeria and Italy has often been attributed to women of the Ibo tribe, Delta and Edo states as they constitute larger proportions of Nigerian trafficked women in Italy (Akor, 2011:98). Trafficking of girls from Edo State to Italy has over the years been a source of major concern within the Nigerian society. On the 18th of December 1999, a Nigerian Newspaper 'The Guardian' published a speech presented by the wife of Edo State government. In her speech, she acknowledged that 'international prostitution has been so linked to our state [Edo State] and I find out that local prostitutes here in our state even in our society do it voluntarily...but those in international prostitution are usually young girls who are lured by their sponsors and their parents... we are certainly not the poorest state in Nigeria why is our case different?'. Another newspaper article1 titled 'Dissuading Bini2 girls from the Oldest Profession' published by Ali (1999) explained how migrating for sex work began. '{T}he mad rush for this hazardous trade [sex work] became obvious in the 90s when Bini international women began exporting young girls from Nigeria...these young girls abroad within one or two years come home set up buildings and drive flashy cars. Parents sold their mud houses, withdrew their children from school with the hope that they were going for a genuine job but later found out they were deceived'.

Despite letters sent to Nigeria by victims explaining their hardship, parents still send their daughters abroad even some husbands send their wives. According to the article, young girls have become sacrificial lambs for members of their family as fathers give their consents for their children to be initiated into prostitution and also the first to ride cars sent to Nigeria by the girls.

In my interview with a former president of Nigerian association in Turin who witnessed the arrival of Nigerian sex workers in that city provided some background information of how the chain of migration evolved.

'In 1987 we were only 25 male Nigerian students on scholarship in Turin. We were told that there was a Nigerian women in Valentino an area known for sex workers. We were surprised and offered to assist and accommodate her if she was in any problem. She said she came for business but misplaced some money and she will soon return. After few months we met ten other Nigerian women but they declined any assistance from us. Italy was using lira then, and they had so many clients because Italian men were not use to African sex workers so they patronized them. Within six to ten months they made so much money, got their papers, they could go home build and buy houses. Upon their arrival in Benin, they told people

² Women whose State of origin is Edo State and are from Benin local government are called Bini girls. Benin City is the capital of Edo State located in Southern Nigeria and Nigeria is made up of 36 States.

¹ Nigerian newspaper 'The Pointer' published on Sunday 14th November.

they were working as factory workers and people asked them for assistance to migrate. They recruited more women and when they arrived in Italy the recruited women were told they cannot get so much money as factory workers but they have to prostitute themselves'.

Migrants may find themselves in a 'complex web of sub-contracting arrangements' which often begins from their home countries (Sandy, 2009:226). My research found that only few set of women who migrated in the late 80s and early 90s migrated voluntarily. These women enriched themselves and when they returned to Edo state, they invested and acquired choice properties. This made other women desire to migrate and parents appealed for their children to be taken to Italy so they can liberate themselves and their families from the claws of poverty. Unfortunately, these desire for improved well-being made them fall into the nets of traffickers. Some victims of trafficking after repaying the debt their sponsors incurred, in turn recruited women who also desired to migrate to secure a future for themselves. Trafficking was well established before 1999 but it gained more attention from the government and media in 1999.

1.2 Research problem

In response to the problem of trafficking, the Nigerian government established a National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in persons and other related matters (NAPTIP) in 2001 and a National policy on protection and assistance to trafficked persons in 2008 (Aborisade and Aderintoto 2008). The Italian government also implemented counter-trafficking policies an example is Article 18 of Italian legislation on social protection and assistance to victims. Provisions under this Article offer foreigners who are extremely exploited in the territory of the Italian government opportunities to flee from such exploitation and have a legal residence on humanitarian basis³. A research done by (Cole, 2006:218) in Palermo (Italy) shows that quite a number of antitrafficking projects implemented by churches, government and nongovernmental organizations in Italy geared to assist trafficked Nigerian women yielded limited results. She argued, 'debt peonage, networks and threats of spiritual reprisal ensure that virtually all women stay on the streets long enough to pay off traffickers'.

Trafficking of Nigerian women and girls to Italy has been a growing problem in the past decades and anti-trafficking measures in Italy have not been successful in tackling the problem. Despite several interventions women continue to migrate for sex work. Regardless of the fact that destination countries offer reintegration policies such as Article 18 which provides a temporal residence permit for victims only when traffickers are denounced (Cole, 2006:222), majority of women are excluded from the program if they do not meet the requirements of enrolment. This rejection most times leads to repatriation (Danna, 2007: 245) of which many women re-migrate if they have the opportunity.

³ Presidential decree No 394 of 1999.

According to Aborishade and Aderintoto (2008:1952) who conducted an assessment of shelters that houses repatriated sex workers in Nigeria concluded that repatriated women in the government and Non-government shelters seek ways to re-migrate.

The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of Nigerian migrant sex workers in Turin in relation to Italian legislation on trafficking and social protection. To assess through the lens of these women countertrafficking and re-integration measures and programmes designed to assist them. According to Brunovskis and Surtees (2008:53) little attention has been given to how 'assistance is conceptualized and implemented'. The consequence of this is that assistance may be implemented wrongly and might not serve the interest of the proposed beneficiaries.

1.3 Justification

A lot of academic research to mention but a few (Akor, 2011; Aghatise, 2004) explored trafficking trends between Nigerian and Italy, the socioeconomic causes of trafficking, traffickers and modes of entry, exploitative nature of traffickers. While that focus is relevant for understanding the dynamics of trafficking, a research on the current phenomena and experiences is relevant to victims as well as counter-trafficking agencies. My hope in doing this research is to obtain objective information that would be useful to various stake holders to critically assess and adjust polices which adequately address insecurities and injustices experienced by women in order to guaranty their well-being.

1.4 Research objective

The objective of this study is to analyse the experiences of Nigerian sex workers in Turin in relation to Italian legislation on trafficking and social protection policy for victims.

1.5 Research questions

- How do migration patterns and working conditions contribute to vulnerability of Nigerian sex workers in Turin?
- How are insecurities faced by victims of sexual exploitations addressed by Italian legislation on trafficking and social protection policy?
- What are the areas of divergences in sex workers experiences vis a vis the social protection policy?

1.6 Methodology

It is now time to move beyond simply declaring human trafficking a problem but to roll up our sleeves and collect empirical data' (Zhang, 2009:195). Drawing on methodological insights on trafficking research by Zhang (2009:192) who argued, 'Primary data on sex trafficking are most likely to come from indepth fieldwork, in which researchers must spend significant amount of time in

their selected locations developing social contacts and conducting interviews and observations'. The study employed qualitative approach, observation and ethnography as the main method of data collection. According to Wallman (2001:82) Turin records a large population of Nigerian sex workers. I was in Turin from the 3rd of July till the 3rd of September. I lived in a neighbourhood close to the city centre with a high concentration of foreigners, most especially Nigerians, Senegalese, Moroccans, Albanians, Romans and Chinese. Living in this neighbourhood made me observe how the sex industry was organised on the streets of the city, and brought me closer to my case study and to the Nigerian sex workers who were my main informants.

I accessed most of my respondents with the help of an NGO, Tampep⁴, which works closely with migrant sex workers. I assisted cultural mediators, social workers and peer educators. Twice on Thursday nights, I went for outreach activities between the hours of 10pm to 2am. We had a bus ride on the streets of Turin and along highways in search of Nigerian sex workers. During this outreach, I distributed health materials, and helped disseminate information about health and legal services available for victims of trafficking. When speaking to individual sex workers, I asked them some basic questions including: age, migration pattern, and length of stay in Italy, legal status, health and social problems. In total, I spoke with 27 women during the night outreach.

On the 8th of August I participated in an outreach during the day from 11am till 2pm. I met 14 women on the highway and I performed the same activity. The outreach gave me an overview of the current phenomenon of trafficking and tactics employed by traffickers. I was able to see the working conditions of these sex workers, to know about their legal status, their age and the problems they have. In total, I interacted with 41 Nigerian sex workers during the outreach.

I conducted face-to-face interviews with 16 respondents. My respondents where sex workers, victims of trafficking, ex- sex workers, social workers, project officers, cultural mediators, a lawyer, an inspector of police, a member of CATW and a consultant. I attended a workshop titled 'Italian joint workshop on Nigeria – analysis of the phenomenon of trafficking and forms of multiple collaboration' in Rome on the 26th of July, 2012 organized by the Department of Equal Opportunities and ILO. At the conference I spoke with an employee of the anti–trafficking agency in Nigeria. I also attended a workshop in Turin attended by members of the municipal council as they deliberated on what was known about current problem of trafficking and how to help the victims. In other to protect the confidentiality of my respondents their real names are not used in this study however, background information about them and interview questions is attached as an appendix.

⁴ European Network for HIV/STI Prevention and Health Promotion among Migrant Sex workers.

1.7 Reflexivity

Turin records high immigrants from Edo State especially women. These women mostly communicated in their native language or pidgin English⁵. Throughout my stay in Turin I got lots of attention from Italian men in their 60s and 70s. After sighting me, they park their cars, simultaneously making signs at me to come in. Till my very last day in Turin I never seized to get attention from men within this age group who mistook as a sex worker. There were only few young men who made advances at me. When I spoke to some Italian friends about my personal experiences they were all surprised. Some experiences will only be encountered by a black-skinned woman, uncommon within other "races". Also certain information will only be available to a black-skinned woman conducting research on women who may experience "racism" in the same way, enabling the researcher to better understand those they are studying.

Another point to reflect on is my interactions with Nigerian sex workers. While exchanging pleasantries and in the course of my conversations with trafficked victims, sex workers and ex- sex workers, they also mistook me as a sex worker even without making any introduction. There are stereotypes among Nigerian women in Turin because all the women I encountered took me as their colleague and they believe that the only job Nigerian women come to Italy for is sex work.

I would describe my positioning in Turin as an insider and an outsider. An insider because I was researching on the experiences of women who share the same nationality as mine and outsider because I could not speak or communicate with these women in Italian and I also could not share any experience of sex work as some of them expected. I had mixed feelings during this research; first it was a thing of joy for me to be in Italy researching on an issue that has often been associated with my country since my childhood. Secondly, my two months were sorrowful months because over the years I did not believe what I heard about Nigerian sex workers dominating the streets of Italy not until I saw the numbers of Nigerian sex workers in Turin. At first, I was angry and I had the feeling that these international sex workers were responsible as to why an African women or Nigerian in Turin is mistaken as a sex worker.

I was of the opinion that these women may as well have engaged in prostitution in Nigeria and not abroad. Secondly I had personal biases before going for my fieldwork because as a Nigerian with an understanding of the socio-economic problems of my country I felt some women were not really victims of trafficking. These are the struggles I encountered during this research. As I engaged more with the realities on the field, I was able to identify with the plight of victims as some of them were undocumented, compelled to prostitute themselves and those who refused were tortured. Sex workers who do not experience any direct coercion to engage in sex work also recounted different forms of abuse they experienced while engaging in sex work.

According to Bruno Latour (1988:166) (cited in Downe, 2007:557) reflexivity is 'any text that takes into account its own production'. As I analysed

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⁵ Pidgin English is non-standard English widely spoken by both educated and uneducated Nigerians.

my interviews, I tried to distance myself from being a patriotic citizen who is trying to redeem the image of her country to a researcher who can manage her subjectivities and personal biases, who has an obligation to analyse narratives of women from their perspectives. O'leary (2010:31) argues that if the positioning of researchers is not consciously managed, they tend to conduct a 'self-centric' analysis that is insensitive to "race", class and gender.

1.8 Challenges and Ethical dilemmas

During the outreach activity I was unable to conduct extensive interviews with sex workers but was only able to ask key questions about age, migration and so on, and this was because that kind of short interview was the tradition of the NGO I was working with. However, Nigerian sex workers I met also discussed informally with me more about themselves than usual, and told me they had certain problems. Although conducting extensive interviews while the women were soliciting for clients would have created a disturbance to them because these were their working hours, short conversations did take place and the findings from these are included in this study. Longer interviews were mostly impractical, as the women were under pressure to make money.

As stated in my methodology, I interviewed some victims of trafficking through the help of social workers. I was given some instructions by social workers on what questions to ask victims. I was not to ask questions about their past to avoid them recollecting terrible experiences. I was told to only focus on the present and their aspirations. However some agreed to speak about their past lives. All respondents were promised anonymity so as to encourage them to discuss freely. Some of the sex workers and victims I met preferred to engage in informal discussions with me because they immediately took me as their colleague but when I began telling them that I am a student researcher and I will like them to share more of their experiences they sometimes shy away and feel I am not part of their world.

1.9 Structure of the paper

Chapter one has provided the background and purpose of the study. In chapter two, I will review the conceptual and theoretical literature, and outline the framework used to analyse my findings. This chapter reviews studies on intersectionality related to class, "race" gender and ethnicity, as concepts that 'reflects the reality of lives' (Shields, 2008:304). In addition, this chapter reviews literatures on debt bondage alongside migration and gender. Chapter three provides an overview of Italian legislation on trafficking and social protection for victims of trafficking. In chapter four I analyse my findings on violence experienced by sex workers and lapses in the social protection program. I also interpret my findings on the conceptual and theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Two, which guides this research paper. In the concluding chapter I present a summary of the key findings of the study, as well as some brief recommendations on how counter-trafficking measures could better address the complex, intersecting insecurities faced by victims of trafficking.

Chapter 2 Conceptual Framework

A research on Nigerian sex workers in Turin requires a conceptual framework that helps unravel various social categories that makes up their experiences. Intersectionality shows how various social constructions such as gender, class and ethnicity are evident in the narratives of women interviewed. This concept does not only prove how these elements of social categories intersect, it allows us to include other elements that became visible during the research process. In this chapter, I will review literature on intersectionality, debt bondage, migration, gender and sexuality. These concepts and theories will be more fully applied in chapter four to analyse my findings.

2.1 Intersectionality

Before going for my fieldwork, I had the conviction that gender and class will be dominant in narratives of sex workers as some of these women have the responsibilities of taking care of their respective families regardless of their low social class and this overwhelming responsibility makes them gullible to trafficking. According to Davis (2008:79) 'intersectionality initiates a process of discovery alerting us to the fact that the world around us is always more complicated and contradict than we ever could have anticipated'.

Upon my arrival in Turin, I became aware that immigration policies such as asylum law, bureaucratic procedures and lapses in counter-trafficking measures provides opportunities for traffickers to keep exploiting their victims. I will pursue this argument in subsequent chapters. Multiple realities, differences of women and social relations of power constitute daily experiences of women which intersectionality addresses (Phoenix, 2006:187). Policies made by these relations of power directly or indirectly affects victims of trafficking as adequate attention is yet to be given to structural and political intersectionality (Verloo, 2006:214). The implementation of some social policies can lead to the marginalization of victims leaving them in a state of helplessness.

2.1.1 Class, Ethnicity, Gender and Structural intersectionality

The origin of intersectionality could be traced back to black feminists' analysis of black women's rights movement in the U.S.A. This concept has been used in various feminist researches to explore the experiences of Black women an example is Lutz et al. (2011:2). They analysed the socio- economic situation of Black women by identifying the specificity and interrelatedness of different categories of social differentiation. Crenshaw (1989) coined the concept of intersectionality while considering the intersection of class, "race" and gender. She examined how interpretations and framing of Black women's stories in court constitute part of their experiences. An example she gave was how General Motors seniority based lay off in 1970 led to the unemployment of Black women in the company. She claimed that 'any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated' (Crenshaw, 1989:140). This is not to say that Black women are always subordinated in distinctive ways. Sometimes there

are limited job opportunities for migrant black women which lead to their unemployment. According to Davis (2008:68) intersectionality refers to the interaction between gender, "race" social practices, institutional arrangements, cultural ideologies and other categories of difference interfering in individual lives that make up the lived realities of people. Except this categories are analysed their will not be an understanding of the lived realities of Nigerian sex workers and how their actions are shaped my certain experiences.

2.1.2 Problematizing Intersectionality

Intersectionality has often been associated with black feminists' theories of "race", class and gender (Davis, 2008:71). Scholars like Lutz (2000), Staunaes (2003) and Buitelaar (2006) (cited in Davis 2008:76) argued about how many categories of analysis intersectionality should have and whether it should only be used to theorize identity. I would argue that there need be no fixed categories. MacCall (2005:1780) contributes some useful methodological approaches for the study of multiple and intersecting categories of identity. She argues, for example, that intersectionality is an intra-categorical approach to complexity. In her criticism of race-based and gender-based research, she states that a singlecategory research analysis does not help in understanding black women's experiences. For her, there is a need for something like an intra-categorical approach that can serve to better explore the conflicting dynamics that shape the lived experiences of women. Though intersectionality has been applauded for making more visible the various intersecting factors that affect the well-being of Black women, however, it has also been criticized for being ambiguous, vague and too open-ended (Davis, 2008:77).

However, as Phoenix (2006:191) a proponent of intersectionality, argues 'no concept is perfect and none can ever accomplish the understanding and expectation of all that needs to be understood and explained within the field of women's studies'. Combahee River in Lutz et al. (2011:3) argues that "race", class and sexual oppression are often experienced and these mutual interactions cannot be separated. A single-analysis research does not take into account the multiplicity in intersectional analyses; it does not refer 'to dimensions within categories but to dimensions across categories' (MacCall, 2005:1782). A single-category research analysis research is narrow thereby providing a one sided view of realities. Articles that do not sufficiently address issues of class "race", hetronormativity alongside gender stand the chance of being rejected by feminist journals (Davis, 2008:68). Through intersectionality, feminist scholars have been able to understand how "race", class and gender hold a central place in the struggles of women of colour (Davis, 2008:71).

2.1.3 Justification of Intersectionality

I justify my choice of intersectionality as the most appropriate conceptual framework for analysing the experiences of Nigerian sex workers in Turin. The complexity of their experiences will be analysed from a gender, class and "race" perspective because this will help me understand how the intersection of these categories either leads to the women's empowerment, their discrimination or makes them more vulnerable in distinctive ways. I argue alongside Verloo (2006) that structural intersectionality and political intersectionality should

be included amongst analytical categories in analysing the experiences of black women. The structural location of Nigerian sex workers in Turin as undocumented and sexually exploited migrants contributes to their vulnerability. These vulnerabilities are further heightened by lapses in anti-trafficking policies which exposes women to other forms of exploitation. According to Davis (2008:45) 'intersectionality addresses the most central theoretical and normative concern within feminist's scholarship: namely, the acknowledgement of differences among women'.

On my way to Italy I and a Ghanaian man were the only Africans on board. As we began conversing, he said he lived in Italy for 17 years but lost his job due to the financial crisis and this made him relocate to The Netherlands. He was curious about my trip to Italy. I told him I was going to research the lives of Nigerian women in Turin. He was quick to ask: '...do you know what your people do there?" I said what? He said 'your people like prostitution'. His view was confirmation of an argument put forward by Angel-Ajani (2003:437), according to which 'This {the} perceived link between criminal behaviours and nationalities is so widespread that it has become a part of popular discourse. For example, it is not uncommon to hear "Nigerian" substituted for "prostitute". My experience with Italian men on the streets of Turin shows that Black-Skinned women are viewed as sex workers.

During outreach activities all the Nigerian sex workers I met were from Edo State. This surprised me, and suggested that the different positions of women sex workers would need to be analysed using intersectionality as a tool, since this could help to understand the complex relation between disadvantage, occupation or sector, legal status and loss of entitlements as well as the privileges expected from migration. In Nigeria for example, the majority of youth think Europe is a paradise and coming to Europe is an advantage and privilege. While in a real sense it can become a disadvantage to those migrants, such as women sex workers from Edo State, not familiar with the Italian system and language, and thereby helpless in the face of organised sex trafficking. Due to limited options available to such women in the Turin or Italian political economy, advocates of women's independence recognise that some women migrants see migration for sex work as an opportunity for themselves to improve their livelihood strategies, provide for their families, and become more selfreliant (Truong, 2003:31). The belief that destination countries have many more opportunities to offer than the home country will in turn change their social position and this motivates the desires of women to migrate (Tienda, 1991:51). Corruption, unequal distribution of resources and globalization all tend to increase the number of migrants to places where they hope to develop their human capabilities.

According to Massey et al. (cited in Agustin, 2006:35), the imbalance between people seeking entry into developed countries and the numbers of visas given, has resulted in '...a lucrative economic niche for entrepreneurs and institutions dedicated to promoting international movement for profit, yielding a black market in migration', where migration through standard and legal means seems almost impossible. Illegal migration becomes another option for desperate migrants, whose movement requires "flexibility". Agustin (2006:33) defines 'flexibility [as] an important characteristic of migrating people', which 'entails willingness to move with and adapt to changing labour markets, and can be seen in the growing presence of women in sweatshop manufacturing, "export-processing" zones, home-based piecework and domestic, caring and

sexual services'. From the findings derived from my fieldwork, sex workers need to be highly "flexible", whether they move voluntarily in response to demands, or as instructed by traffickers.

2.2 Migration, Gender and Sexuality

Migration and diasporas studies have most times not included 'migrants women selling sex' into their analysis, especially since global attention on trafficking started to shift the study of these migrant women to the domain of 'criminology and feminism', where they tend to be classified as victims (Agustin, 2006:29). Sex workers have mostly been the worst-hit by anti-trafficking measures as these measures can be directed as much or more against women as against traffickers (Doezema, 2005:62). My research found out that counter-trafficking measures in Italy are indeed directed both against sex workers and against traffickers this too is a form of immigration control and not always with the sole objective of protecting victims of trafficking. Italian researchers such as Giovanna Campani and Francesco Carchedi who research migrant sex workers and sex trafficking in Italy often start with the use of "trafficking", perhaps because research on sexual exploitation receives more funding than research on voluntary migration for sex work (cited in Agustin, 2006:31). In line with Agustin, it does seem that some NGOs may continue to operate due to funding they receive from the Italian government or the European Union for protection of victims of trafficking. There are so many cultural mediators, social workers who strive to get more women off the street and that too can also mean more funding for this growing NGO sector.

In response to this social problem, which is a gender problem, there is a need for a multi-dimensional approach and a global response to gender inequality. According to Beneria and Roldan (cited in Tienda, 1991:52) 'gender produces and institutionalizes asymmetries on the basis of sex in 'access to resources, generating male privilege and female subordination. Not in all cases, does this always generate into male 'privilege and female subordination' women traffickers are also taking the lead in this illicit business by obliging fellow women to prostitute themselves. The 'culture of violence against women' is gradually shifting from the popular discourses of violence inflicted by men to violence pioneered by women themselves towards women. The principle of gender equality should be considered when working towards the enhancement of human security in everyday life (Truong, 2003:32). Also, close attention should be given to sexual identities that marginalizes women and sometimes the cause of direct or indirect motivation of migration.

Manalansan (2006:229) asserts that sexual identities and practices are shaped by particular factors, conditions and ideologies which in turn influence social institutions. My findings shows how certain beliefs about women's sexuality creates sexual identities such as 'sex workers or potential sex workers' that lead to discrimination of women. Sexuality is an analytical category that will help me understand the complex experiences of sex workers, their vulnerabilities and lapses in the protection program. Response to injustices created by sexual identities sometimes are not forth coming. The language of sexuality has been used by those in power to naturalize 'oppression based on race, class, and gender, such as in racist understandings of black women as sexually voracious, Asian women as sexually exotic, black men as sexually predatory, and white

women as sexually innocent' Gamson and Moon (2004:213). They further argued that these assumptions influenced policies such as healthcare and education, colonization, marriage and welfare law and other less institutionalized practices (Ibid). These assumptions also influence immigration and countertrafficking measures that sometimes do not lead to the empowerment of migrant women. Debates on sex work and sexuality by radical feminists such as Dworkin (1987) (cited in Sloan and Wahab 2000: 462) view 'sex work [a]s inherently oppressive and violent and it serves the purpose of asserting male dominance and power over women'. These views are also shared by abolition feminist. Debates on sex work between sex workers advocate and abolition feminists centres around 'consent' as one party seeks to identify and separate sex workers who are "innocent victims of trafficking" from "bad women" who voluntarily engage in sex work, the other advocates for the rights of sex workers. Counter-trafficking policies sometimes uphold such dichotomy while rendering assistance to sex workers.

According to the UNDP (1994:22) report 'human security is people centred, it is concerned with how people live and breathe in the society, how freely they exercise their choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities -and whether they live in conflict or in peace' cited in Frerks and Klein (2007:23). Issues about sexuality has not been addressed by human development discourses Correa and Jolly (2008:39). There is an intersection between sexuality and poverty which shows how 'norms, social rules, economic and legal structures that regulate our lives, integrating some people into oppressive systems and marginalizing others' (Ibid.) There are diverse ways in which women's sexuality are used to enforce oppression on them and one of such ways is sexual exploitation.

2.3 Debt bondage and Un-free labour

The experiences of sex workers which this study seeks to analyse should not only be done through intersectionality but also on the theory of debt bondage and un-free labour. Strauss (2012:141) defined un-freedom as 'a continuum of exploitation' to which any worker might be subject, but to which particular groups and individuals have particular vulnerabilities; the social construction of categories of difference such as gender, ethnicity and race and (dis)ability intersects with processes of class formation...'. The UN (1991) defined debt bondage as 'a practice that can hardly be distinguished from traditional slavery because it prevents the victim from leaving his job . . . until the money is repaid. Although in theory a debt is repayable over a period of time, a situation arises where in spite of all his efforts, the borrower cannot wipe it out. Normally, the debt is inherited by the bonded labourer's children' (Sandy, 2009:217).

The UN definition of debt bondage fits in to the experiences of victims with the exception of the concluding phrase. Debt are not inherited by children but sometimes by parents of victims of trafficking who are not able to pay back the entire debt. According to a victim:

'my madam sent people to disturb my mother in the village because I paid part of my debt'. My mother said they told her that she should pay the debt or she should tell me to pay if not she will deal with me and my family'.

According to my respondent who is a consultant on trafficking issues, parents and relatives of victims in Nigeria are most times threatened by traffickers. I stated in chapter one of this paper how Nigerian sex workers enter into debt bondage. This theory will help me understand their experiences as they strive to repay their debt and also the consequences if they are unable to pay their debt.

According to Strauss (2012:129) forced labour and slavery are subsets of un-free labour. She claimed that there is an overlap between the definition of un-free labour and forced labour. According to her, a worker can freely enter into an employment relationship which can later become coercive restricting her from breaking off. In the same way, a worker can be hired under un-free condition in which her movement is restricted of which she considers normal. In line with her arguments, I am putting that traffickers present themselves as sponsors and most women freely enter into an agreement which later becomes coercive. However, slavery-like conditions are sometimes not normal to victims of trafficking. Exceptional cases are victims who made their case know to the police through NGOs. Sometimes victims do not enter into any form of employment relationship they find themselves lured into oppressive conditions through deception.

I reviewed an article by (Sandy 2009). She argued that debt-bonded sex workers are not victim of trafficking as opposed to discourses on trafficking (Sandy, 2009:216). She used her case study of sex workers in Sihanoukville, Cambodia to examine 'consent' and 'coercion' in trafficking discourses. According to Anti-Slavery International (1998), 'In debt bondage or indenture contracts, a sum of money is given in advance, after which a person's labour is demanded as a means of repayment and they thus enter a period of debt bondage' (Sandy, 2009:217). In her analysis of debt-bonded sex workers in Cambodia, she argues that debt bondage is largely restricted to brothels and massage centres and they are mostly organized in brothels (Ibid). According to Sandy (2009:226) women offer sexual services to clients giving up their freedom in return for the loan incurred from brothel owners. When that loan is paid they can take up another debt to meet their present needs this means that these sex workers move from being bonded to free sex workers and vice versa. Sandy's work allowed her to draw the conclusion that debt bondage can be linked to contractual labour or labour exploitation and not sex trafficking, slavery or sexual exploitation but un-free labour (Sandy, 2009:227). Some of Sandy's arguments are contrary to my findings on Nigerian of sex workers in Turin.

Firstly, Brothels are prohibited in Italy so sex workers who are in debt bondage are not only those that are in brothels and massage centres as Sandy claims but also those who are on the street. Secondly, though I agree with Sandy that debt bondage is a form of 'contractual labour or labour exploitation' I would argue that debt bondage can also be linked to 'sex trafficking, slavery or sexual exploitation' as she opposed. In chapter one I explained how women who could not afford their cost of migration where sponsored by people and these women were forced to prostitute themselves to repay the loan. Thirdly, my findings show that Nigerian sex workers in Turin do not move from being debt-bonded sex workers to autonomous sex workers and vice versa. Nigerian sex workers can only be free once they pay their debt or if they are lucky enough to be identified as a victim of trafficking by Italian authorities. Fourthly, Sandy argued that debt bondage is not a form of slavery. She distinguished forced labour from slavery by arguing that slavery is when the

worker and her labour becomes the property of the employer which can be sold or traded (Strauss, 2012:130). Sometimes debt bondage is also a form of slavery.

According to cultural mediators some victims who were sponsored by madams were handed over to a pimp who is ready to pay the madam all the expenses she incurred in bringing women from Nigeria. Madams sometimes prefer this because they don't have to wait for 2 to 3 years for victims to pay their debt in instalment. This means that debt-bonded sex workers could be subjected to slavery-like conditions. Experiences of sex workers are not homogenous and as such debt-bonded sex workers can also be a victim to trafficking and sexual exploitation. There is a need to understand these diversities so as to initiate appropriate policies.

In this chapter I reviewed literatures on the conceptual and theoretical framework that will be used in chapter four to analyse and interpret my findings. I argued that this chosen concept and theory will help me understand the complex experiences of Nigerian sex workers in Turin; how and in what ways do intersection of class, gender, ethnicity, migration and sexuality contribute to their vulnerability and discrimination. Sexuality is an analytical category that will help me understand the complex experiences of sex workers and lapses in the protection program. Lastly I argued that the theory of debt bondage will help me understand the lived realities of debt-bonded sex workers.

Chapter 3 Legal Framework and Social Protection Policies in Italy

In this chapter I present the legal framework on trafficking and prostitution alongside Italian social protection policy for victims of trafficking. I highlight opportunities provided by the social protection program. Beneficiaries of this program are entitled to a humanitarian permit, they have the opportunity to undergo a training program of their choice and enjoy many other privileges. Though this program was set out to assist victims escape forms of serious exploitation, the conditions through which victims will be enlisted as led to the rejection of certain victims thereby increasing their vulnerability.

3.1 Definition of Trafficking

According to the UN protocol, trafficking is defined as the 'recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion ... for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs' (Worthen, 2011:766). This definition will be analysed with a specific focus on sexual exploitation. The definition above focused on how an individual is coerced, taken forcefully and obliged to prostitute herself in a place other than her place of residence.

This protocol focuses on the act of exploitation carried out by an individual who either is a trafficker or who receives a victim of trafficking. The question should then be why do people recruit or harbour women for the purpose of sexual exploitation? The answer lies in global imbalance and polarization among countries which affects citizens. Gasper and Truong (2008:5) argue that globalization produces 'contradictory tendencies: integration and differentiation, spread and concentration, inclusion and exclusion, gain and losses. Trafficking is one of the ills of globalization on women's lives leaving them in a state of insecurity. The UNDP human security report (1994:22) states that insecurity 'for most people today...arises more from worries about daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Job security, income security, health security, environmental security, security from crime - these are the emerging concerns of security all over the world' cited in Frerks and Klein (2007:26). These emerging concerns and uncertainty contributes to vulnerability of women.

3.2 Italian legislation on trafficking and prostitution

Prostituting and trafficking for sexual exploitation are two different phenomena, however, the absence of a clear legislation on prostitution will lead to conflating trafficking with prostitution. Legal and institutional framework of a country shapes the experiences of migrant sex workers in that country. Art.1 of Merlin law⁶, brothels is prohibited in the territory of the Italian government. Art. 3 subdivisions 531 and 536 of the criminal code states, 'it is hereby punishable, with imprisonment from two to six years and a fine ranging from 250 Euros to 10,000 Euros except when art. 240 of the criminal code should apply. These fines are applicable to 'whoever recruits a person to carry out prostitution or facilitates, his/her working in prostitution...anyone who induces an adult women into prostitution or commits acts of pimping...anyone who causes a person to travel into the territory of another state or in anyplace other than his usual residence with the purpose of facilitating his/her prostitution, or in some way facilitates his/her departure' and 'anyone who in anyway promotes or exploits the prostitution of others⁷...' For the Italian legislation, trafficking is prostitution and counter-trafficking measures are in line with this perspective.

According to Italian legislation⁸ a trafficker is 'whoever commits the crime or who intends to commit the crime [of trafficking by]...induce[ing] a person through deception or through violence, threat, abuse of authority or by taking advantage of a situation of physical or psychological inferiority or of a situation of need'. The legal framework regulating prostitution in Italy is stated in the penal code and it is not explicitly stated if prostitution is legal or not Lucile et al. (2010:14). Merlin Act of 1958 not only imposed restrictions on sex workers but also legally marginalizes them. Some of this marginalization is that soliciting is not allowed and there are decrees issued by mayors that prohibit indecent dresses, lack of good morals and loitering around churches (Ibid.). It is evident that there are discriminations against sex workers in Italy. The dominant frame on sex work in Italy is that it is 'violence and force, as criminality/organized crime, as a threat to public security, to public order, of increased migration, sex work as trafficking' (Tampep, 2009:19). The Italian government seek to prohibit and reduce street prostitution. It is a country where indoor sex work is prohibited but apartment with one sex worker is permitted (Ibid.). One can deduce explicitly from this framework that sex work in Italy is not legal. The approach taken by the State is influenced by the left and right wing political parties. The right wing party is more inclined to religious views on prostitution by opposing the regularization. '[R]eligious reformers' do not include voices and perceptions of sex workers by refusing to understand that sometimes they are not victims but they chose to engage in sex work voluntarily (Sloan and Wahab, 2000:458). While the left wing advocates for the regulation of sex work and gay marriage. From the interview I had with an Italian lawyer:

There are no regulations on prostitution. There is a big debate. At the moment if you want to prostitute yourself, there are no sanctions, nothing. There is no law that says if you prostitute yourself you must do it in this or this other way. The government don't know what position to take they have not taken any solution. The only intervention we had in this last years is that the government cannot do anything to the prostitutes. What they do, they try to fine the clients. If you go with a prostitute maybe they will give you a sanction. This is an administra-

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⁶ Law No.75 of 1958 on the Abolition of the regulation on prostitution and the fight against exploitative prostitution.

⁷ Article 3 subsection 4 5,6 and 8 of law No.75 of 1958.

⁸ Article 2 of Law No.228 of 2003.

tive issue, is like they try to solve the problem which is prostitutes on the street, disturbing the people, and they try to solve it by giving fines to the clients'

Voices and perceptions of sex workers is the starting point of my research as I seek to understand their experiences and challenges.

3.3 Article 18: Social protection for victims of trafficking?

Article 18 of the legislative decree No. 286 of 1998, which is the single act on provisions governing immigration and the status of aliens is a social protection program offered to foreigners in extreme exploitation or in danger of a criminal organization. Paragraph 1 of that article states '...[if] there are verified to be situations of violence against or situations of serious exploitation of a foreigner and concrete dangers emerge regarding his/her safety, because of attempts to escape to the conditionings of a criminal organization...' either the police commissioner in accordance with suggestions of the Attorney of the Republic can release a residence permit on humanitarian reasons to allow the foreigner to escape to the violence and of the conditionings of the criminal organization and to participate in a program of assistance and social integration'. The case of a victim will be communicated to 'the police commissioner, with particular reference to the gravity and actuality of the danger and to the importance of the contribution offered by the foreigner in the effective confrontation of the criminal organization or in the identification or capture of the persons responsible of the crimes'. According to the lawyer, a victim can lay a complaint to the police either through a judicial or social route. The judicial route is when a victim makes a formal complain to the police and report key evidences in other to take up a court case against traffickers. The social route is when a victim makes an informal report and makes no case against traffickers. My findings reveal that police prioritises the judicial route over the social route.

Paragraph 4 of that article states that the residence permit has duration of 6 months and can be renewed for one year or more for judicial reasons. This permit can be withdrawn if the holder either interrupts the program or 'displays incompatible behaviour' or 'when the condition that has justified its release subsequently fails'. Other privileges include access to relief materials; beneficiaries are permitted to search for job and can get an employment in accordance with her age requirements. The permit can be renewed and can be converted from humanitarian permit to a residence permit for study¹⁰. The state is very relevant in addressing issues of un-free labour as this can only be addressed by regulating labour (Strauss, 2012:143). This can also be addressed by offering social protection to victims and addressing issues of undocumentation which is one of their major problems. Though the provisions in Article 18 have been the saving grace for some victims who have been identified as one by the police commissioner and the attorney of the Republic this legislation does exclude many victims

⁹ Paragraph 2 of Article 18 of the legislative decree No. 286 of 1998 10 Paragraph 5 of Art.18.

Counter-trafficking agencies or policies have different indicators to identify victims of trafficking. ILO developed some indicators that helps identify a victim of trafficking, some of those indicators are: '[t]hreats or actual physical harm, restriction of movement and confinement (to the workplace or a limited area), debt bondage, withholding wages or making excessive reductions (that violate previously made agreements), retention of passports and identity documents, where the worker is an undocumented migrant or has irregular status...' (Strauss, 2012: 141). I argue for similar indicators provided by ILO. Though most of these indicators are present in experiences of victims of trafficking some victims have not been identified as such by Italian authorities. According to Italian legislation on social protection program, the indicator paramount for identifying a victim is when her testimonies or narratives at the point of denouncing her traffickers helps in the investigation to arrest traffickers. Another indicator that is paramount is the 'gravity and actuality of the danger'. When victims are not identified as victims what range of choices are available for them? There is none because undocumented immigrants have limited access to social opportunities. There are rules and laws such as the criteria given above which restricts the number of choices victims have.

Chapter 4 Analyzing Women's Own Narratives

I will use the conceptual and theoretical frameworks discussed in chapter two to analyse narratives that emerged during my fieldwork. The objective of this study is to analyse the experiences of Nigerian sex workers in Turin in relation to Italian legislation on trafficking and social protection. To achieve this objective, I start by looking at how the experiences of migration and working conditions contribute to the vulnerability of Nigerian sex workers. This question helps understand factors that contribute to the vulnerability of women that the social protection policy seeks to address. The second question looks into how the Italian social protection program addresses these insecurities. Lastly, I look at the lapses in this protection program and how it does not fully address exploitations faced by victims.

4.1 How do migration patterns of Nigerian sex workers contribute to their vulnerability?

Sex workers in my research gave different responses on how they migrated to Italy. Some claimed they travelled by air while others claimed they came through the Mediterranean Sea. Sex workers who came to Italy in the 90s acknowledged that there were typical patterns of migration from late 80s till mid-2000 and the typical pattern was by air either through a valid or falsified document. Majority of sex workers who came from 2005 and above also acknowledged that the typical pattern of migration from 2005 was through the Mediterranean Sea though there were few exceptions. According to these respondents, they came through the sea because their sponsors expressed difficulties in obtaining visas for them.

Women encounter human rights abuses in their migrating efforts and which is a culture of violence against women (Truong, 2003:32). Sex workers who migrated by air and those who came through the sea had different experiences of migration. Those who came to Italy by air did not experience violence as they admitted having a safe trip. On the contrary, sex workers who came through the sea narrated negative experiences with local security officers. The common forms of violence experienced or witnessed was sexual assault by local security officials. Respondents expressed fear of resisting the rapists. They were afraid that these men could kill and dump their bodies in the bush. The only option they had was to plead with them to use condom and they were unhappy that some men who witnessed women being raped took no action to stop them but looked away:

'I came through the sea. We were advised by some people at the boarder that we need to buy condoms and take them along with us in case anybody want to rape us. We bought some condoms though I was not raped but my friend was raped by a local security man who refused to use the condom we bought. Even when some of us were raped some men who were travelling with us did not say or do anything for fear of being molested. I thank God I arrived safely but my friend will always remember that experience'.

I was raped in Libya. We met some men in the bush but they were not part of the people travelling with us. He called me and said if I don't give him what he desires he will kill me and no one will do anything about it'

These experiences show how gender and migration sometimes intersects in violating the rights of migrant women. It shows how violence experienced during migration is gendered and how men took advantage of women's sexuality by exploiting their bodies. As Harcourt (2009:96) asserts, 'rape is not about sex but about power and domination; it involves the loss of control over the body, sexuality and the core of self'.

Women who are sponsored to Italy incur a debt of 50,000 to 60,000 Euros depending on their migrating patterns. Those who migrated by air pay between 55 to 60 Euros and those who came through the sea pay 50,000 Euros because of the risk they were exposed to. Sex workers said they were ignorant of the equivalent of their debt in Nigerian currency and they also had no idea of the number of years in which the debt can be repaid. Some sex workers deliberated amongst themselves on who is likely to be the first to repay her debt. One of them was unhappy as she compared her fees to that of her friend 'I will pay 5,000 Euros more than my friend, this means she will pay her debt before me and leave me here all alone'. This thought was shared among newly recruited women. It follows from here that some victim prostitutes themselves for longer period in other to repay their debt. Differences in fees as a result of different migration routes aggravate the vulnerability of some victims in particular.

Sex workers and cultural mediators admitted that sex workers were brought to Italy by different categories of people; 'madams', relatives and lovers. However, many victims acknowledged that their 'madams' introduced them to prostitution but they were accompanied to Italy by men.

"...while I was in Nigeria, I only visited guys when they gave me money to make my hair or buy some clothes at Benin market. I am the last child in the family and I always leave the house for few days whenever my mom or anyone gets me angry. I was at a hair dressing salon when I learnt someone was taking people to Italy and I followed them. I came here in 2009. We passed through the sea and desert. It was really scary. I saw dead bodies. My family thought my absence at home was just one of those times I got angry and left the house. When I got here, my madam told me, you have to work and pay my money, she said I am going into prostitution and I will pay 55,000 Euros which includes rent and feeding'.

I was an artist in Nigeria before coming to Italy in 1996. When I was still in Nigeria, one of my neighbours came to me and told me African artist are always celebrated in Europe and they make so much money by singing. She promised to bring me to Italy and to introduce me to some producers. She arranged a passport for me and paid all the expenses. When we arrived she told me I was so daft to believe that it is easy to get signed up by a producer

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¹¹ A Madam is any woman who is involved in trafficking of women for sexual and labour exploitation and who is responsible for all monetary expenses. According to victims and cultural mediators majority of madams come from the same ethnic group as victims. Some madams were once trafficked themselves, and later became madams after they were able to repay their debt.

and that I have to go into prostitution and repay her debt with some interest. I came when Italy was using Lira the equivalent of the money I paid was about 40,000 Euros'.

Only two of my respondents said they were introduced by their lovers.

'I came in 2008 through my boyfriend he brought me here as his girlfriend. I came by air I was accompanied by a Nigerian man and we passed through France to Torino. When I arrived, we were together for one month and the other month he introduced me to the road, he took me there, showed me how other girls work and I started working for him and giving him money. He said this is Europe you have to hussle, we will need money and I said, don't worry I will work I will work but I never knew it is this kind of work. He bought me clothes and shoes I was really embarrassed and was ashamed. He took me there, he said look at your mates, he thought me how to stand, I was really shy I have not done this before so I was crying He told me I will be coming to Italy for relationship and not to work so my parents were in support. I never met him physically before I came to Italy we only communicated by phone and we became lovers. He bought the ticket and the passport I used was resemblance. It was somebody's picture. I have not been here before I was not afraid I was happy because he told me there is no problem. I never knew that there is police harassment here. In Nigeria the police don't stop you to ask for document we are free people. I submitted the documents to my boyfriend when I arrived. My boyfriend said I have to repay him that he spent a lot to bring me. I paid him too. He asked me to pay 50,000 Euros I did not finish paying I gave him 25,000 Euros'.

'I came to Italy together with my boyfriend. I did not contribute any money for our trip he paid everything. When we arrived he said prostitution is the quickest job that can bring us money and he asked me to go into prostitution and when I started he took all the money I made. It is 1.30am now and I am yet to find a client. I am scared of what my boyfriend will do to me'

Women are mostly deceived during migration and this has contributed to the exploitation of sex workers. These experiences show how traffickers (women and men) promote gender inequality by facilitating the exploitation of women. According to sex workers and cultural mediators sex workers trafficked by relatives mostly do not denounce traffickers as compared to those trafficked by madams and lovers. Three key issues emerged from these experiences of migration which I will analyse in subsequent sections. The migration patterns explain how sex workers became debt-bonded and undocumented. A class and gender analysis is used to explain how traffickers were seen as helpers, rendering help to women who could not afford their trip to Italy. As a result of this, women became victims of un-free labour and were indebted.

4.1.1 Un-documentation of Nigerian sex workers in Turin.

The problem of illegality was a major concern to Nigerian sex workers. There was diversity of views among sex workers and cultural mediators about the illegal status of Nigerian sex workers. During outreach activities, some sex workers were of the opinion that their migrating patterns contributed to their vulnerability and un-documentation. Those who came through the Mediterranean Sea wished they came through the legal way with their legitimate passport. Those who came by air through falsified documents also wished they came with a legitimate passport. All undocumented sex workers were unhappy

about their illegal status in Italy. According to them, their state of illegality brought restrictions on them in so many ways. They cannot not leave their madams because they have unpaid debt and they have limited chances of finding another job. Getting another job was almost impossible because they do not have a residence or a work permit. These intersecting problems contribute to the vulnerability of sex workers which socially positions them in a lower class. According to Lucile et al. (2010:53) '[t]he legal situation of migrants makes them more vulnerable to violence, coercion and discrimination':

I wish I have my own document and I wish I came through the right way. Since I am illegal in Italy I have to be careful where I go so I won't be arrested by the police. I have to stay with my madam because I don't have a residence permit and I have not finished paying her'.

While some sex workers blamed their state of illegality on their patterns of migration some social workers, cultural mediators and some categories of sex workers whose enrolment into the Italian social protection program was denied were of the opinion that their state of illegality was a result of strict criteria's set by the Italian government which was mentioned in chapter three. These criteria's will also be discussed later in this chapter as I look into lapses in the social protection program. These sections above shows how migration patterns of sex workers contribute to the complexity of their experiences which makes them vulnerable.

4.2 Working conditions of Nigeria sex workers in Turin

Sex workers gave unanimous negative responses on how they have been highly restricted due to the debt they owed traffickers. According to a cultural mediator, who had herself been a victim of trafficking in 1996: '...it takes about 3 to 4 years for victims to repay their debt'. Sex workers claim they are not supposed to send money to their relatives in Nigeria until they debt is repaid and if par chance they go against such instructions given by their madams they will be fined:

'my mother was sick. I gave a woman who was travelling to Nigeria some money to give to my mother. Unfortunately my madam found out, she went to retrieve the money from the person I gave, I was beaten and I was also fined for disobedience'.

I asked a victim who travelled to Italy with the consent of her parents if she was able to send some money to them and also about her upkeep in Italy. Her response was

'How am I going to send money home when all the money I earn is used to repay my debt. He [boyfriend/trafficker] is the chairman at home he gave me time to eat and how to eat so I don't become fat so I can stand very well and work. He buys my dresses for me. I don't need much clothing's since I don't go out except when I need to work. If I go out during the day and he sees me he will beat me, he does not allow me mix with friends. When I left Torino to Milano I was talking with people and making friends. It was his own opinion that there is no money in Torino and that I was not working so I have to go to Milano'.

Social workers also consented that sex workers are highly restricted and some of them only visit NGOs on their way to Porta palazzo¹².

'Their madams don't let them go out except when they are sent on errand to buy things at Porta palazzo market. These girls are very happy to go to the market because it is an opportunity for them to visit NGOs and discuss their problems.'

This series of examples shows how traffickers coerce sex workers to act against their will. It shows how gender, migration and class intersect in ways that enforces domination on women. Traffickers exercise certain power over victims and victims obey instructions because they are mostly house and fed by traffickers. Sex workers shared similar purpose of migration which was to earn a living and send money to their families back home to improve their living standard. One can deduce from these narratives that their dream is cut short as they are forced to part with all their earnings.

4.2.1 Political asylum

As stated in section one of this chapter un-documentation is a common characteristic among sex workers. Sex workers gave common responses on how they intend getting a resident permit. According to them, traffickers tell them to apply for political asylum. Among sex workers who gave these responses were sex workers who have never applied, those whose applications were rejected and those who applied and are yet to visit the Commission. Social workers enlightened me about the strategy of asylum seeking:

'the strategy employed by traffickers is to tell these women to apply for asylum and they should memorize a story that will be told at the commission. It takes six months after applying for political asylum to appear before the commission that approves or rejects the application. When these women apply, they are given a receipt which indicates they applied so it is a temporal residence permit'.

Bianchini (2011:392), outlined certain difficulties that asylum seekers face; inability to explain their experiences because of language barrier and cultural barriers, low educational levels, trauma, gender issues, fear of authority and 'poor interviewing techniques'. Sex workers recounted different experiences on the process of asylum seeking. Some who applied for asylum but are yet to visit the Commission spoke about how nervous, prayerful and optimistic they were and how they have been memorizing a story. While those whose applications were rejected spoke on two key things. Firstly, they spoke about how their applications were rejected based on the fact that they are Nigerians and since Italy in the past years recorded high numbers of Nigerian sex workers they were regarded as one:

I applied for asylum but they rejected my application because I am a Nigerian. They said I don't need asylum because Nigerian women have issues related to sex trafficking and we just want a residence permit... my madam said she will get a lawyer to appeal'.

¹² Porta palazzo is a popular market in Turin where food stuffs, clothing's and household appliances are sold.

The quote above shows how ethnicity and sexual identities is a discriminatory factor. A Nigerian woman from Edo State and the sexual identities ascribed to her as sex worker was a discriminatory factor for the consideration of her application. This intersectional identities with strict immigration policy led to the rejection of her application. According to Bianchini (2011:392) strict immigration policies can influence decisions made by Italian Ministry of interi and the police on the number of applications approved. Bianchini (2011:364) explains the procedures for seeking asylum in Italy; 'Asylum applications must be made in person to the Questura¹³. The police then forward the application to the competent Territorial Commission responsible for first instance decisions'. According to Bianchini (2011:393) '[n]ormally, the Territorial Commissions interview the applicant within 30 days and reach a decision in the next three working days¹⁴... If the application is refused, factual and legal reasons are provided and an order to leave the country is issued [and] there is a right to appeal against this decision¹⁵. Bianchini claims that applicants are to tell their stories before the commission within 30 days but my findings shows that it takes 6 months before applications are attended to. I will not ignore the fact that civil unrest in certain countries of the world increased the number of asylum seekers in Italy, however, extension from 30 days to 6 months, perpetuates exploitation of victims. They are subjected to live in slavery-like conditions as they keep prostituting themselves to pay off their debt. Cultural mediators also expressed their views on the rejection of asylum applications:

'99% of asylum applications made by Nigerians are rejected. The Italian police believes that the problem of Nigerian women in Turin is trafficking. Also, these women tell stories about family problems which does not fall under the criteria for getting an asylum. When a police sees a Nigerian women at the detention centre the first thing they ask her is if she is ready to denounce her traffickers'.

I would argue that the intersection of race, ethnicity and sexuality shows how sex work is stereotyped to Nigerian women. This stereotype results into diverse forms of discrimination. The fact that these women are Africans from a "developing country" and also because record has it that majority of victims come from Edo state and the meanings attached to their sexuality as sex workers or suspected sex workers interrelate and leads to their rejection. If the Italian police is aware that majority of asylum applications from Nigeria is related to trafficking and these applications are rejected how then do victims free themselves from violence and debt levied upon them by traffickers? The common problem amongst sex workers is that of un-documentation if this is not addressed, victims are still at the mercy of traffickers which contributes to their insecurity. Despite their insecurities victims have limited choices if applications are rejected. They either opt for voluntarily repatriation or face the consequences of un-documentation which sometimes could be forced repatriation. If this happens, they are likely to be subjected to the same

order Delice or a local police headquarte

¹³ Border Police or a local police headquarters. Art.6, Legislative Decree 25/2008.

¹⁴ Arts. 31 and 27, Legislative Decree 25/2008.

¹⁵ Art. 32, Legislative Decree 25/2008.

socio-economic factors that lead to their victimization. Another choice is they are forced to repay their debt and will only be free from trafficker when their debt is repaid. In the process of sticking to the third choice which most victims opt for, they stand the chance of being caught by the police and kept in detention centres. These experiences is a convergence of class, sexuality, migration and gender which leads to the oppression and vulnerability of migrant sex worker.

4.2.2 Health problems

During the outreach activities majority of sex workers admitted that they have never visited hospitals since they came. According to them, they were afraid to visit hospitals because they were undocumented and their madams will not let they go for fear of being apprehended by the police. It was also found out that sex workers were ignorant of social and medical services available to undocumented migrants. There is an official document called Tesserae ISI¹⁶. Even when sex workers were informed about the available health services they insisted their madams or boyfriend will not let them visit the hospitals.

Despite the fact that sex workers complained about various health problems most especially abdominal pains some still shy away from the hospital for fear of repatriation. Even though most of them need medical care but due to their illegality and ignorance they are exposed to more forms of insecurities. It is not much exaggeration to claim that even if traffickers care about the health of their victims, they will not allow them to go to hospital if this risks them falling into the hands of law enforcement agencies, implying a huge financial loss for the traffickers. Traffickers thus take advantage of the women's vulnerabilities, and often subject them to slavery-like conditions due to their social class; as undocumented migrants who are liable to detention or repatriation, and who do not have the finances to house or feed themselves and who basically depend on the traffickers. In addition, traffickers take advantage of the ethnicity of sex workers. According to sex workers and cultural mediators, most of the madams come from the same ethnic group as victims. Some madams were once trafficked themselves, and later became madams after they were able to repay their debt. So victims are encouraged to bear whatever treatment they are subjected as they also look forward to the day when they will have paid off their debts and be financially independent like their madams. This is an example of slavery and un-free labour in which the life of women are controlled through undocumented status and indebtedness. The argument put forward here is that the migrating patterns and status, with the working conditions of women and financial indebtedness, have combined to intensify their vulnerability. This illustrates how intersectional forms of oppression keep these women from achieving well-being.

¹⁶ It is a permit under the ISI administration, which stands for Information on Immigrant Health (Informazioni Sanitarie Immigrati). which allows foreigners to access medical care even if they are undocumented.

4.2.3 Violence experienced by sex workers

Most of my respondents reported experiences of violence. The most common forms of violence are violence experienced with clients, traffickers and sometimes with the police. While most sex workers narrated their experiences of violence, some sex workers had no experiences of violence to share. These were sex workers who migrated over 10 years ago and had no problem of being undocumented at that time and did not have similar experience of violence. They were documented, and were not indebted to anyone, and viewed themselves as mainly concerned with seeking better forms of paid work, or in some cases any paid work, given the economic crisis. These longer-established Nigerian sex workers tend to refer to themselves as part-time sex workers, and hope that social workers and other agencies may help them get a job. Many of them lost their other, paid jobs (especially factory work) during the recession in Italy over the last couple of years. According to two part time sex workers:

I leave in Venice with my 4 years old son. I was invited by a friend who leaves in Turin. I told her I lost my job in Venice and I need money because my son will be going to school in September. She invited me over and told me I can stay with her for few months make some money and go back to Venice... I left my son in Venice with a nanny'.

'This work is not good when you have kids. Every night my children see me dress up and go out. Sometimes they cry and they tell me mama buy sweet when you are coming. I believe very soon this kids will ask me why I always go out at night. So I need a job I can do during the day so I can stay at home at night'

According to sex workers who experienced violence, they mostly experience such with traffickers if they refuse to prostitute themselves or if they do not bring enough money home.

"...some of these girls are chained to the bed when their madams go out because they don't want them to run away, some of them are ironed. A 16 years old girl was ganged raped because she was a virgin and refused to go into prostitution' (Member of the CATW).

'...my boyfriend has another girlfriend which I was not aware of. She looked for me and she poured something that burnt my two legs. It happened last year and my boyfriend told me to keep quiet and if anybody should ask me who did this I should say I don't know. Actually I don't know the girl but when he told me what to tell people then I concluded he knows her and the girl also told me that when next I see somebody's boyfriend I should be careful so I concluded that the girl is his girlfriend. Life has been boring since then and difficult, I cannot wear short things because the wound is still there the place is squeezed. Despite these, he {boyfriend} wants me to continue the job even after the accident destroyed my two legs. I said no I can't work again. I can't bear it any longer, I lost my father through the process that's why I came to the NGO I need help I don't want to work for him again I don't want this problem again'.

This victim said she informed her parents about her difficulties in Italy and also sent pictures of her legs. I might assume that her experiences might have led to the death of her father.

Another incidence happened in 2007 though traffickers are jailed, pictures of a woman who was severely tortured were shown to me by the inspector of police. The girls scalp was almost removed, she was asked to kneel on acid and she had cigarettes holes all over her body. All the pictures I saw including the working conditions of victims moved me to tears. The women who inflicted these injuries was sentenced to 15 years because she admitted the crime and promised to pay the victim some money. The sentence was too short considering the torture the victim went through. According to the inspector, there is a law that says if a trafficker admits to the crime it reduces the years of imprisonment by 1/3 and also the court process will be fast. A research conducted by Lucile et al. (2010:52) on indoor sex work indicated that national sex workers experience less violence than migrant sex workers. According to them out of 249 sex workers who faced violence 79% are migrants.

Sex workers also narrated their experiences of violence and how clients assisted them. On one hand, the most common forms of violence committed by client is that of theft, sexual assault, exploitation and the exceptions are extreme torture and murder. According to Harcourt (2009:95) 'the widespread violence of men against women, whether physical, sexual or psychological, has its root in patriarchal power structures, ideas and practices'. These practices is evident between sex workers and their clients in which men exercise authority and abuse women's bodies and how sexual meanings attached to undocumented sex workers is used to naturalize and perpetuate violence on women:

'sometimes they {clients} beat me, sometimes they collect my money, they collect my phone. They do that because they know we don't have anybody to help us. Some of these clients still come back because you cannot recognize them as they mostly put on wigs or come with different cars. When they come, you will go with them and they will still beat you'.

Social workers and cultural mediators spoke about some exceptional cases of extreme violence experienced by sex workers;

In these years so many sex workers died. They died by the hands of customers. It is difficult for the police to investigate cases of sex workers murdered by customers because Nigerian girls are the most vulnerable, they are lonely here in Italy. They don't have networks no documents they are not registered anywhere so it is very difficult for police to conduct investigation. That's why sometimes we don't know why a sex worker dies. We just don't know because police can't find out anything. Some sex workers were hanged on trees, and dead bodies found in gardens. The police did some autopsy and found out that these women were violated'.

A recent example that was all over Italian TV stations on the 21st of August 2012 was a case of a young sex worker who was murdered in February 2012 but the police were unable able to get tangible information about the man who committed the act. Not until the culprit published a book in August 2012 where he narrated his love affair with a Nigerian sex worker who later died and this lead to his arrest.

On the other hand, some still spoke about how clients rendered assistance to them by paying off their debt:

'Some clients helped some of our friends in paying off their debt. One of them got married to one of our friends another informed the police about her problems'. During outreach activities, some sex workers reported how their illegal status makes them vigilant and run when they sight the police.

"...as soon as we sight the police, we remove our shoes and run into the bush as they run after us. While running we call other colleagues of ours within the same vicinity and tell them the police is raiding".

An exception was a victim who claimed she never had an encounter with the police during her two years as a sex worker. This shows that sex workers also experience police harassment. These dimensions of violence shows how sexuality, class and gender converge in the experiences of Nigerian sex workers and how these convergence makes them experience multiple forms of oppression that violate their human rights. This violent experiences on sex workers is as a result of gender inequality and this inequality is used by clients and traffickers to physically and sexually abuse women. I would argue that female sexuality is used as an instrument of violence against sex workers.

According to sex workers and cultural mediators women who are trafficked by lovers and relatives find it more difficult to denounce traffickers.

'If a sex worker is trafficked by her lover or relatives it is very difficult to denounce her traffickers because of the family or love bond between her and her relative or lover'.

'my boyfriend makes me feel guilty so I don't discuss my problems with anyone. If I come back home without earning enough money he beats me and he says when next I go to work I should attract clients. When he beats me I don't cry out because he tells me my cries will attract neighbours who can call the police...I brought you from Nigeria is this how you want to reciprocate by getting me arrested'.

'my aunty brought me to Italy to work and also to help her at home. When I arrived, she told me I will do Asawo¹⁷. I am in a foreign land and I don't want my aunty to be arrested'.

As stated in chapter three that a victim can make a report to the police either through a judicial or a social route. The quotes above shows that it can be difficult for some victim to take the judicial route. The combination of these factors; the social location of Nigerian sex workers in a foreign land, the family bond between traffickers (relatives) and sex workers, the love bond between traffickers (lovers) and sex workers may prevent sex workers from making a report through the judicial route. If the police only implement the judicial route or suppress this intersectional dynamics then victims most likely will not report any act of victimization. This is an example of how victims remain in a continuum web of exploitation which Strauss (2012:141) illustrates. I would argue that the protection policy should acknowledge and not suppress differences among sex workers because victims of sex trafficking are particular group of people who in one way or the other have particular vulnerabilities.

In this section, I showed how ethnicity, race, class, sexuality migration and gender intersect in specific situations that lead to the oppression and discrimination of Nigerian sex workers. I showed how their migrating patterns exposed sex workers to various forms of insecurities and how female sexuality is used as a instrument of brutality against them.

¹⁷ Asawo is a local name for prostitutes in Nigeria

4.3 How has the Social protection program addressed insecurities faced by victims?

Respondents gave positive and negative responses on how the protection program addresses insecurities faced by victims. Though the program was applauded for being the saving grace of victims some lapses were identified. According to social workers and sex workers this program offers various opportunities to participants. Opportunities to escape forms of violence go to school and other privileges as outlined in chapter three. According to a cultural mediator:

'the language school is the first step of integration. Victims suggest other courses of their choice. Some suggest tailoring, school of nursing, catering school or take some courses on tourism and hotel management'.

Beneficiaries of the program gave positive responses about how the program offered them a new life, rescued them from diverse forms of exploitation and how they became independent.

"This program saved me from my madam. Now I am free. I have been staying in this shelter for 2 years. I can speak Italian fluently and I am a cleaner at one of the police stations'

'I am very happy that I am no longer under the control of anyone. I did some courses in a catering school now I have a job in an hotel and I have a residence permit so I don't need to hide from the police'.

Social workers praised the Italian government and the Ministry of Equal Opportunities for funding outreach activities, health and legal material for victims and also for providing shelters for victims. Even though the lawyer praised the Italian model she was of the opinion that traffickers are severely punished:

Yes traffickers are punished but sometimes too much that is the problem with our legislation. The penalties for traffickers is from 8 to 20 years so it's quite a lot. The last two cases I dealt with one was condemned to 15 and the other to 10 years. These penalties will be reduced in the court of appeal. The trafficker was a woman and also the fiancé was condemned he was Italian. He was an accomplice for the exploitation and trafficking so he was sentenced to 12 years'.

It is not clear to me why she thinks high penalties are a problem. I might assume that she is trying to say that Italian government is committed to promote social justice by making sure traffickers are punished severally. In our interview she mentioned how she represented victims of trafficking in court cases.

Through the social protection program, majority of un-documented sex workers were able to obtain a certificate of nationality from the Nigerian embassy. This certificates helps identify un-documented Nigerians before their international passport is ready. Some un-documented sex workers who are now aware of the available health services for foreigners obtained their ISI and frequent the hospitals without fear of repatriation. Sex workers who wanted an abortion were also attended to. The Italian model has to some extent addressed insecurities faced by victims however the lapses will be discussed below.

4.4 Lapses in the Italian social protection program

Cultural mediators, social workers, police inspector and sex workers gave their views on the protection program. There are various criteria's for enrolment outlined by the Italian government. The most fundamental criteria that will facilitate women's enrolment is that they have to tell a convincing story. The inspector of police and cultural mediators expressed common views that the program excludes certain victims. According to the inspector women who tell convincing stories and help arrest traffickers should be protected and the non-fulfilment of this criteria leads to dismissal of certain victims:

'We must protect those ones that really report stories that are true that are dramatic. A girl was in Napoli and she had a nice life, she came to Turin was received by a centre in Torino she applied again but she did not help the police at all with any specific information in that case we did not issue. If we understand that everything you are doing is just in the perspective to get the paper. You calculate and tell a fake story'.

From the inspector's claim it can be deduced that the aim of the protection program is to get at traffickers and not with the sole objective to protect and secure the rights of migrant women. In other words victims can as well remain in their slavery-like condition if they don't help the police arrest traffickers. The interlocking system of oppression "race", class and gender as defined by Collins 1990 cited in Lutz et al. (2011:2) was quite evident in the narratives of these women.

According to a cultural mediator another determining factor for enrolment into the program is the number of years victims lived in Italy:

'...not all victims who denounce traffickers and who are willing to stop prostituting themselves enter into the social program because the police sometimes don't issue humanitarian permits. Some times after one year of investigation, due to one reason or the other the police refuses to give. Another important thing is that before they {sex workers}leave the job they must not have spent up to four years in Italo¹8 because they believe that after four years you must have finished paying your debt. They are old school¹9 so we have doubts about them'.

From this claim, victims who have spent four years in Italy have limited chances to be enlisted in the protection program because it is believed that within four years victims ought to have repaid their debt. In other words, whatever stories sex workers narrate there are already preconceived doubts. It can be argued that the social protection program in all ramifications does not adequately address insecurities faced by victims. As stated previously, that illegality is one of the major problems of Nigerian sex workers and this has contributed to their vulnerability. I would argue that exclusion of some sex workers will lead to further insecurities and limited opportunities. According to Adepoju et al. (2009:48) '[I]rregular migrants who lack legal status are vulner-

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¹⁸ Nigerians sometimes substitute Italy for Italo.

¹⁹ Old school is used to refer to people who have lived in a place for a long period of time.

able to social and economic marginalization and rarely have access to or enjoy decent employment'.

According to a cultural mediator who narrated the state of sex workers at the time they seek help. She claimed that some sex workers were able to pay their debt while some do not or most times paid half way. There are differences in behaviours of these categories of women in relation to the social protection:

'Most of them have finished paying their dept. They are just trying to change their lifestyle. Most of them when they go to the shelter, they question themselves what am I doing here? how can I adapt to this 200 Euros? I can go out, work and earn more. Victims that have not finished paying and don't have anywhere to go, if they run away from traffickers their life is in danger their families are in danger. These victims complete the program and if they are threatened by traffickers we take them out of Turin or the province in which the traffickers reside'.

It can be deduced that sex workers quit the program because the program does not meet their needs. According to Verloo (2006:213) 'Structural intersectionality occurs when inequalities and their intersections are directly relevant to the experiences of people in society'. Social workers spoke about how some victims still remain jobless even after they complete the program even when they get a job sometimes they are not well paid:

I don't like to tell you this but it is the truth. It is easier for a white skin person like a Brazilian or an Albanian to get a job than for a black skin person. When this girls complete a course or training they don't find jobs even when they do, their pay is very little. There is a woman who got a job as a cleaner in a sport centre she earns 4 Euros per hour as a contract staff. There are chances that she will be retained when her contract is over. If she is well behaved she can earn more but now the money is not sufficient for her needs'.

"Race" is another category of inequality which directly affects the lives of sex workers that lead to their discrimination. It is evident that due to limited choices in the protection program victims may be propelled to return to traffickers and this decision can further expose them to more risk. It is important to understand how assistance is perceived by beneficiaries and assess through the lens of sex workers if it addresses their physical needs and this can be done from a class, gender and ethnicity perspective. I would suggest that a social protection program should widen people's choices. Frerks and Klein (2007:27) defined human development as 'a process of widening the range of people's choices, human security implies that people can also exercise their choices freely and safely'. As indicated in chapter three, victims can report to the police on any act of victimization either through the judicial or social route. My research found out that the Italian police tend to enrol victims into the program only if they take the judicial route. This involves making a formal report and making a case against traffickers. Meanwhile, the social route²⁰ is mostly ignored by law enforcement agencies. According the lawyer which I interviewed:

²⁰ An informal report made by a victim against traffickers. This report does not lead to the arrest or persecution of traffickers at the law court.

'Victims are enrolled into the program through the judicial route. The police wants them to make a formal report that will lead to investigation and subsequently to the arrest of traffickers and then to their persecution. The social route is not implemented'.

Why is the social route not implemented? I would argue that this can also be linked to my previous arguments on the rejection of asylum application and also the criteria of a convincing story that will lead to the arrest of traffickers. I argue that the social route has been ignored because of certain sexual identities given to Nigerian women as 'sex workers'. Therefore, these women have to prove beyond reasonable doubt that they are victims and are propelled to make a formal report that will lead to the arrest of traffickers. Sex workers who do not fulfil these criteria are excluded. These are various ways in which ethnicity, migration and sexuality converge and influence policies such as the strict conditions for enrolment into the protection program which discriminates against some Nigerian sex workers.

Lapses in the social protection policy are further heightened by undocumentation of Nigerian sex workers. Participants in the program must hold a valid and genuine international passport. A distinct problem with sex workers is that they have no form of identification. An international passport is needed which will be issued by the Nigerian Embassy in Rome. Obtaining this passport drew heated debates in the joint conference organized by the Department of Equal Opportunities and ILO in Rome towards analysis of the phenomenon of trafficking. NGO representatives spoke how their efforts to assist victims are frustrated with the non issuance of passport. While Embassy officials attributed delays to changes to the new form of passport. According to embassy officials, 'Nigeria now has an e-passport so it is very difficult to issue passport like we use to'. This shows that there are certain factors that hinder the regularization of its victims abroad which indirectly contributes to their vulnerability. In as much as various stakeholders will like to assist victims of trafficking there encounter so many challenges. The argument put forward is some victims are not lucky enough to participate in the protection program. What then happens to those whose stories were not approved by the police commissioner? Looking at the lapses in the social protection program, it seems to be that counter-trafficking measures are also forms of immigration control.

The Italian government and the EU have over the years been funding projects to improve good governance by fighting corruption and human trafficking in Nigeria. According to Adepoju et al. (2010:50), Nigerian and Italian government entered into a 'bilateral cooperation in combating irregular immigration, Italy donated equipment and goods to the Nigerian government with a value over US\$ 2.5 million in 2002. A second round of donations took place in 2004 (of goods worth € 786 000) and a third in 2005 and 2006 (with a value of about € 4 million) for distribution among governmental agencies involved in immigration control and the monitoring and investigation of human trafficking.' In March 2012, the European government signed a 35 million Euros financing agreement with the Nigerian government 'to prevent and fight corruption'. The EU also entered into a partnership agreement with UNODC Nigeria and pledged the sum of 98 million Euros to fight corruption and drug related matters in Nigeria (UNODC 2012).

My point is since the Italian government has invested so much in Nigeria to curb illegal migration and to promote good governance then Nigerians who seek asylum in Italy or who are illegal immigrants will most definitely be

repatriated. The fundamental cause of trafficking in Nigeria is poverty and if the EU seeks to fund projects in Nigeria it should also consider projects on livelihood and poverty eradication. As long as issues of poverty and inequality on a global level remain unaddressed, this will continue to push people to migrate. And if this is combined with increasingly restrictive immigration laws and policies the ground for traffickers is set. During my interviews with sex workers they all spoke about how traffickers promised them jobs in factories as factory workers upon arrival they were asked to prostitute. Funds from the EU to promote good governance or fight corruption and trafficking in Nigeria will be ineffective as long as the problem of poverty and unemployment faced by citizens are unaddressed. According to Truong (2003:40), action programs by the EU with a clear objective to benefit victims of trafficking are sometimes inclined to 'enhancing capacity of institutions to deal with the problem of sex trafficking (i.e., monitoring and control) rather than enhancing the capacity of victims of sex trafficking to develop other options'.

According to the Commission on Human Security (CHS) the state is a 'fundamental purveyor of insecurity' the state has not succeeded in living up to expectations. There should not be a distinction or opposition between state and human security rather they should complement one another Frerks and Klein (2007:29). Finding a solution to trafficking should be done both at the macro and micro level. As at 2009, Adepoju et al. (2010:51) argue that 'Nigeria, in their negotiations about migration agreements, has not yet succeeded in getting guarantees from Italy and other countries for the protection of its nationals abroad'. What then do anti-trafficking measures do? Do they help to protect victims or further lead to their exploitation? What indeed is the objective of Italian social protection program for victims of trafficking? I cannot dismiss the fact that some women who I interacted with and observed in the course of my research who were opportune to have benefitted from the provisions of the protection program look happy and free from sexual obligations. They seem to be independent, gotten a job or enrolled in a vocational school. However, there are still several lapses in the protection program which does not sufficiently address insecurities faced by victims and the complexity of the experiences. It excludes victims who do not meet the strict criteria's for enrolment there by making them more vulnerable. In a broader context, this research also identified some lapses in counter-trafficking measures in Nigeria and Italy. According to the inspector of police:

'Torino has one specialized team of police that specializes on issue of trafficking and one team is not enough in fact it is not really an expert group. I suggest that we should have a centre in Europe where police can exchange information easily. European police (Europol) has a long procedure so it is not the good body as interlocutor. It is necessary to have an immediate exchange because this kind of crime requires an urgent response'.

The inspector and a Consultant mentioned their frustration working with anti-trafficking agencies and the Nigerian police. These respondents have been to Edo State Nigeria several times for collaborations and joint workshops with the Nigerian police and other stakeholders. They also assisted in investigating cases of voluntary or forcibly returned victims of trafficking from Italy to Nigeria. According to the inspector,

"...some officers were not willing to do anything. They were not willing to exchange information or develop collaboration. I met a nice police man in

Benin city we worked together on two cases. The 3rd case they told me he is not here anymore he has been transferred and nobody was there to continue the investigation we were working on. When the girl went to the new substitute, he told her is it not better that you pay the debt for the sake of peace.'

When I asked the consultant about her experiences in Nigeria she responded with so much anger and aggression. According to her,

'I sent files to the head of Nigerian anti-trafficking department to investigate cases of some traffickers when I asked about the investigation the head of office told me he cannot find the files'.

The fight against trafficking would be more successful if there is a unified approach in solving this menace.

Chapter 5 Conclusion and Recommendations

The objective of this paper was to analyse the experiences of Nigerian sex workers in Turin in relation to the Italian legislation on trafficking and social protection policy. I first reviewed literature related to the conceptual and theoretical framework in Chapter two, and this was used in Chapter four to analyse and interpret my fieldwork findings. To understand the complex experiences of Nigerian sex workers in Turin I asked how and in what ways class, gender, ethnicity, migration and sexuality intersected, to contribute to their vulnerability and discrimination. The study showed ways in which gender and sexuality can become markers of inequality through which men (and other women) continue to exploit the bodies of vulnerable migrant women, especially if they are indebted or undocumented. The theory of debt bondage helped to explain some of the lived realities of Nigerian sex workers in Turin.

The study findings revealed that majority of Nigerian sex workers in Turin are undocumented, severely exploited debt-bonded sex workers who experience diverse forms of violence. Such as police harassment, physical and sexual violence from traffickers and clients. This research found out that majority of undocumented Nigerian sex workers apply for political asylum and majority of these applications are rejected. I showed how sexuality and "race" is crucial to understand the vulnerability of sex workers and lapses in the social protection program. I explained how sexual identities ascribed to Nigerian women as 'sex workers or potential sex workers' led to the discrimination of asylum applications and enrolment into the social protection program. Some ideas on women's sexuality that feed the stigma of sex work which consequently uphold the dichotomy of the "dirty" "loose" sex worker who voluntarily chose to be a sex worker and the "poor abused Victim" shapes antitrafficking measures in Italy. This dichotomy also shapes the reason and forms of police harassment, decisions on migration status of Nigerian sex workers, discrimination against them and also the decision to be accepted or not into the social protection program. These intersecting discriminations contributed to the vulnerability of Nigerian sex workers.

Furthermore, I discussed how the criteria for enrolment into the protection program and the demand for a convincing story was a discriminating factor which prevented some victims from enrolling. On one hand, the program assisted victims who were lucky enough to be identified on the other hand some of the lucky victims withdrew from the program because provisions under Article 18 did not adequately address the complexity of their experiences. The social protection program will continue to be discriminatory if the conditions for enrolment into the program are not amended. It will also be ineffective if it offers limited choices to sex workers. This paper outlined certain experiences of migration and categories of traffickers which prevented victims from taking the social route. As indicated in chapter one that trafficking of Nigerian women to Italy have over the years been a source of concern both to Italian and Nigerian governments and how they implemented countertrafficking measures to help fight this social problem. This research found out that there is no unified approach and effective collaboration between countertrafficking agencies in the two countries.

For an effective fight against trafficking I would suggest a fluid collaboration among stakeholders in order to protect and promote the rights of migrant women. In addition, both governments should endeavour to address issues of illegality of Nigerian women in Turin.

My findings also showed how sex workers were ignorant of social, health and legal services available to them and how this ignorance made them vulnerable. I would propose that there should be an aggressive outreach informing victims of trafficking about the available health, legal and social services at their disposal. These research provided insight into the migrating patterns of sex workers and I explained how strict immigration policies does not prevent trafficking but rather makes traffickers search for other alternatives to traffic women. I would recommend that the EU should consider funding projects on livelihood and poverty eradication in Nigeria alongside other antitrafficking projects it has been funding. I would also recommend that projects which address global inequality should be prioritised so as to improve the well-being of women.

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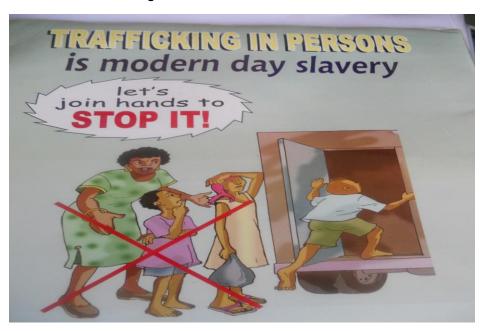
Appendices

Annexe I: Map, Posters and Newspaper Articles

Map 1.1 Map of Nigeria



Figure 1.1 Trafficked children and women





Source : Fieldwork

- (A)Sex workers discussing in Pidgin English. They are deliberating on what to do with their earnings.
- (B) Women taking oath.

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Figure 1.2 Journey through the desert

Women are being forced to continue their journey through the desert.



Figure 1.3 Madam giving instructions to sex workers

Source : Fieldwork

Madam dicussing with newly recruited victims in pidgin English reminding them of the expences she incured which should be repaid with interest. One of the victims who is a niece to the Madam is of the opinion that her aunt only rendered her a favour but the aunty insist she must pay the debt.

Figure 1.4 Trafficking women

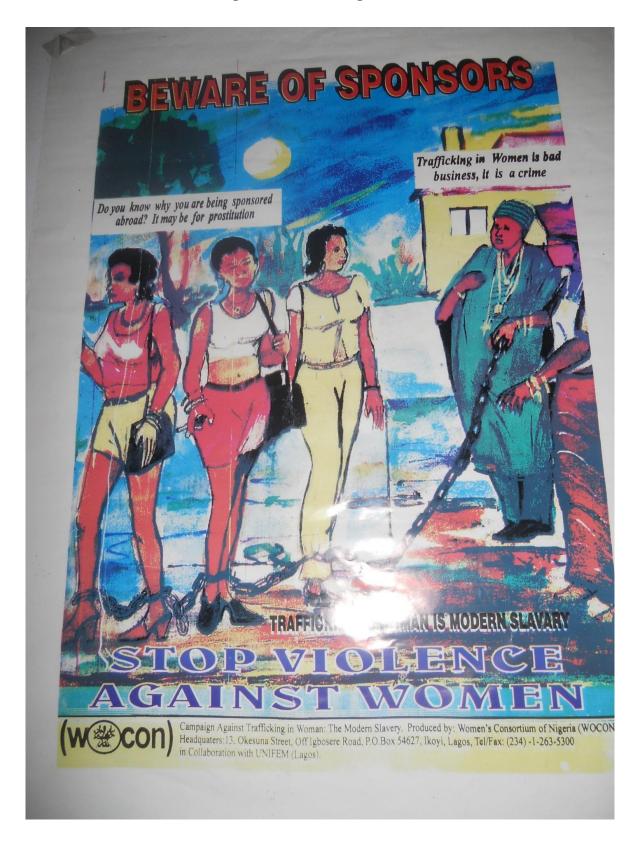


Figure 2.1 Benin women and the oldest profession



Figure 2.2 Trafficking of Benin women to Italy



It's embarrassing — Eki Igbinedion

Annex II: Interview Questions

Interview conducted on the 22nd of August 2012 with a sex worker who was trafficked by her boyfriend

- 1. How did you come to Italy.
- 2. How long have you been here.
- 3. Was your family in support of your travel.
- 4. What kind of violence did you experience; with clients, traffickers and the police.
- 5. Do you have a residence permit.
- 6. Have you been contacting your parents in Nigeria since you came to Italy.
- 7. Do you have friends who went through the same experience like yours.
- 8. During the period you were working, where you able to send money to Nigeria or save some money for yourself.
- 9. You said you have burns on your legs how did that happen.
- 10. What plans do you for yourself now that you stopped working for him.
- 11. What advice can you give youths in Nigeria

Interview with Cultural Mediator on the 23rd of August 2012

- 1. What is the current phenomenon of trafficking?
- 2. What services do you offer victims when they come to you.
- 3. How does Italian Social protection program function.
- 4. What kind of violence do victims experience.
- As a cultural mediator do you think most of these women are really trafficked.
- 6. Why are so many victims from Edo state.
- 7. What are the present challenges you face as a cultural mediator.

Interview with a lawyer on the 2nd of August 2012

- 1. Can you explain the legal framework regulating prostitution in Italy.
- 2. Can you share some information about trafficking cases you handled.
- 3. What are the most common forms of violence experienced by victims.

Interview with inspector of police on the 23rd of August.

1. How does the Italian police relate with Nigerian sex workers when you go on night patrol.

- 2. How does a victim of sex trafficking participate in the social protection program.
- 3. How long does it take to complete an investigation.
- 4. Can you discuss some cases of trafficking you investigated in respect to Nigerian sex workers
- 5. What are the challenges you encountered.
- 6. What are the challenges in the fight against trafficking in Italy.
- 7. Can you share your experiences with anti-trafficking agency in Nigeria.

Interview with social workers on the 16th of July and 23rd of August 2012

- 1. What type of violence do Nigerian sex workers experience.
- 2. How do victims get enlisted in the social protection programme.
- 3. What are the challenges of enrolment into the social protection program.
- 4. What opportunities does the programme provide and how do victims respond.

Interview with an ex-victim who is now a cultural mediator 5th of July 2012

- 1. How and what propelled you to come to Italy.
- 2. How much were you supposed to pay back
- 3. What were your working conditions
- 4. You completed the social protection program, can you share your experiences with me.
- 5. What forms of violence did you experience.
- 6. Can you tell me about Edo culture.
- 7. Advice to Nigerian government.

Interview with a Cultural mediator and a CATW member

- 1. When and how did migration for sex work between Nigeria and Italy started
- 2. How can trafficking of Nigerian girls to Italy be addressed
- 3. Why are so many trafficked women from Edo State.

Interview with project officers on the 5^{th} of July, 10^{th} of July and 17^{th} of August 2012

- 1. What is the present approach to trafficking in Italy and has it been easy to receive funds to assist victims.
- 2 Is the Italian government able to fund reintegration programs for victims.
- 3 What kind of support do you receive from the EU.

Interview with a former president of Nigerian community in Turin on the 15th of July 2012

- 1. When did you come to Turin and what was the population of Nigerians in Turin at that time.
- 2. How did migration of Nigerian sex workers from Nigeria to Italy started.
- 3. As the president of Nigerian Association in Turin in early 2000 what steps did you take to address issues of trafficking.

Interview with a Consultant on the 16th of July 2012

- 1. What do you think are the causes of vulnerability of Nigerian sex workers in Turin.
- What are the challenges you face in providing social protection for victims.
- 3. What do you think about counter-trafficking measures in Italy.
- 4. You have been to Nigeria several times to collaborate with anti-trafficking agencies. Can you discuss some experiences with me.

Interview with a victim of trafficking already in the social protection program

- 1. How did you come to Italy.
- 2. What propelled to you to come.
- 3. What experiences did you have with client and the police
- 4. What opportunities has the social protection program offered you in the last two years.
- 5. Do you send things to your family back home
- 6. How do you relate with the Nigerian Community here in Turin

Interview with sex workers

- 1. How did you come to Italy.
- 2. How much were you suppose to pay.
- 3. Do you have a residence permit
- 4. What forms of violence do you experience with clients, Madams and police.
- 5. Have you been to the hospital since you came.

Annex III: Profile of Informants

- 1. Inspector of police with 25 years experience in court of Turin. He travelled to Edo State Nigeria in 2001 to attend a joint workshop with Nigerian police to develop collaboration and exchange information on the fight against trafficking.
- 2. Director of an NGO, she collaborated with anti-trafficking agency in Nigeria. She organized and attended workshops and also implemented projects in Edo State, Nigeria. she has been a consultant to UNICRI and ILO on issues of trafficking between and Nigeria and Edo state.
- 3. Cultural mediator, she is a Nigerian who was a victim of trafficking in 1996.
- 4. Cultural Mediator with five years working experience.
- 5. Cultural mediator with twenty years working experience. She is also a member of CATW
- 6. Social workers 15 years working experience with victims of trafficking.
- 7. Employee of anti-trafficking organisation in Nigeria. She has 7 years of experience in the department of social protection for victims.

Profile of sex workers are already provided in the analyses of my findings in chapter four.