

Sexual Exploitation of Children in Mauritania

Submission

for the Universal Periodic Review of the Human Rights situation in Mauritania

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ECPAT International is a global network of civil society organisations working for the eradication of all forms of sexual exploitation of children. For the past 30 years, ECPAT has acted as the international watchdog, monitoring States' response to sexual exploitation of children, and advocating for robust international measures to protect children from sexual exploitation. ECPAT International currently has 121 network members operating in 103 countries.

Justification for submission

1. The purpose of the present submission is two-fold: (1) to serve as an update on the progress that has been made by the Government of Mauritania (GoM) to end the sexual exploitation of children (SEC) in the country, and (2) to assess the level of implementation of the UPR recommendations relating to SEC made in 2015.¹
2. During Mauritania's previous UPR in 2015, the report of the Working Group contained 23 recommendations related to children's rights, of which 8 are directly related to SEC.² Three of these recommendations addressed SEC in general,³ and five specifically expressed the need to combat child early and forced marriage.⁴

Methodology and Scope

3. The content of this report is based on desk research by ECPAT International.
4. The scope of this report is limited to SEC and its different manifestations, including exploitation of children in prostitution,⁵ online child sexual exploitation (OCSE), child sexual abuse materials (CSAM),⁶ child trafficking for sexual purposes, sexual exploitation of children in the context of travel and tourism (SECTT)⁷ and child, early and forced marriage (CEFM).

Current status and developments of the sexual exploitation of children in Liberia

5. With an estimated population of 4.403 million inhabitants, among which 2.040 million are children under 18 years old,⁸ Mauritania is the fourth least densely populated country in Africa.⁹ Mauritania's economic growth has been on an upward trajectory since 2015.¹⁰ However, population growth is growing faster than economic growth, making the latter insufficient.¹¹ This situation undermines the progresses made in reducing poverty since 2008. According to the latest data provided by the World Bank, 31% of the population was living below the poverty lines in 2014,¹² while 50.6% was in a situation of multidimensional poverty in 2015 according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).¹³ In 2019, Mauritania was at the 'low human development' of the UNDP Human Development Index, ranking 161 out of 189 countries.¹⁴
6. All manifestations of SEC are widespread in Mauritania. The main root causes are poverty, unemployment, unstable families, HIV/AIDS, parental disengagement, lack of access to education and to basic social services, and slavery. Although abolished since 1981 and criminalised since 2007, the latter remains prevalent in the country,¹⁵ with approximately 21% of the population living in modern slavery in 2018.¹⁶
7. The exploitation of children in prostitution is common and manifests itself through the practice of modern slavery, domestic servitude and forced begging of street children or *talibé* children

victims of corrupt *marabouts*.¹⁷ Cases of such exploitation have been reported in public nightlife, such as nightclubs and bars;¹⁸ but the majority concern children in domesticity and child beggars.¹⁹

8. No recent data is available on the scope of OCSE in Mauritania. In 2018, there were more than 103 mobile cellular subscriptions per 100 people and 20% people using the Internet.²⁰ Even though the percentage of people connected to the Internet seems low, the increase in Internet access may allow increasingly easier and faster access to CSAM on smartphones, or in video clubs and Internet cafes.²¹
9. Mauritania is a country of origin, transit and destination for child trafficking for sexual exploitation.²² Internally, trafficking is manifested through the widespread practice of slavery. At the international level, Mauritania is first and foremost a destination country, but also a source country: young Mauritanian girls are subjected to sex trafficking abroad, and particularly to Gulf countries or North Africa.²³ Despite recent efforts, breaking with the long-lasting tradition of the GoM to deny the problem, reportedly human trafficking remains the third most important illegal business in the country.²⁴ Authorities continue to prevent anti-slavery activists from operating in the country and government agencies charged with combating trafficking of persons and slavery continue to lack the resources and personnel.²⁵
10. It is difficult to find recent data on SECTT in Mauritania. According to the Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, during the 2018-2019 season, a total of 4,000 foreign tourists visited Mauritania. This represents a 166% increase compared to the previous season 2017-2018 when a total of 1,500 tourists were registered.²⁶ As the 2016 Global Study on SECTT notes, while tourism development can bring financial gains to countries, it also increases children's vulnerability to sexual exploitation in the absence of measures to ensure their protection.²⁷
11. CEFM is regularly practiced in Mauritania. Between 2012 and 2018, 37% of women aged 20-24 were married before the age of 18, with 18% before the age of 15; and 2% of men aged 20-24 were married before the age of 18.²⁸ Several factors can partially explain this situation. First, poverty drives some families, unable to support their children, to marry them out.²⁹ There is, secondly, the desire to protect girls against pregnancies out of wedlock and against dishonour linked to rape.³⁰ CEFM is also, in many cases, linked to child trafficking: under the guise of marriage, many girls are actually exploited as slaves.³¹

Legislative framework

12. The **exploitation of children in prostitution** is expressly condemned by Articles 57 to 59 of the 2005 Order on the Penal Protection of the Child.³² A lot of focus is put on procuring. In a context of continued prevalence of slavery, the 2015 Anti-Slavery Law also criminalises practices such as the sexual exploitation of slave women by their masters.³³ The article does not, however, specify

the age of the victim – potentially leaving a gap in the protection of child victims of sexual exploitation in slavery situations.

13. Regarding OCSE, the 2005 Order on the Penal Protection of the Child condemns the “exhibition or exploitation, for commercial and touristic purposes, of photographs, images or sounds, movies or pornographic drawings featuring one or more children”,³⁴ as well as the “dissemination, importation and exportation, offering, possession and production of pornographic materials featuring children for dissemination through a computer”.³⁵ Despite being relatively exhaustive, none of these provisions define what “pornographic materials featuring children” entails. The 2005 Order also sanctions the production, transport or dissemination of pornographic “messages” likely to be seen by children,³⁶ but does not define what those “messages” entail either.
14. Human trafficking is condemned in Law no. 25/2003, which defines trafficking as “the enlistment, transportation, forcible transfer or use of force or by means of the threat or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purpose of exploitation”.³⁷ Although child trafficking is sanctioned in the 2005 Order on the Penal Protection of the Child, this law does not provide a definition of trafficking.³⁸ Mauritanian law is therefore not in accordance with the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol), as it does not take into account the specificities of child trafficking, and particularly the fact that children can never consent to their own exploitation.
15. There is no provision in Mauritanian law criminalizing SECTT. Even though this crime may be prosecuted under the provisions relating to prostitution or OCSE, the lack of specific provisions criminalising SECTT undermines the effective prosecution of traveling sex offenders.
16. No act in Mauritania penalises CEFM.³⁹ The 2001 Personal Status Code sets the legal age of marriage at 18.⁴⁰ However, “the ‘incapable’ person may be married by his guardian “*weli*” if he sees an obvious interest in the marriage”.⁴¹ The use of the qualifier “incapable” may be subject to all interpretations and, by extension, apply to minors.⁴² Article 5 refers to the constituent elements of marriage, including the consent of the spouses.⁴³ However, Article 9 states that “the silence of the girl is consent”,⁴⁴ which means that the girl has no say in her own marriage, which is negotiated by the parents.
17. The Criminal Procedure Code contains provisions on extraterritorial jurisdiction. Mauritanian courts are competent to judge offences committed by its nationals outside the national territory, according to the principle of active personality (Article 596).⁴⁵ However, Mauritanian law does not apply the principle of extraterritoriality when the victim is of Mauritanian nationality (passive

personality principle) and is therefore less protective for the child victim of sexual exploitation abroad.

Recommendations to the GoM

1. Amend the 2005 Order on the Penal Protection of the Child to include a comprehensive definition of “pornographic materials featuring children” and pornographic “messages”, in accordance with Articles 2 and 3 of the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography (OPSC). Amend the provisions of the Personal Status Code relating to marriage to ensure children cannot be married without their consent by avoiding mis-interpretation of the concept of incapability; and remove from the Code that the silence of the girl is consent;
2. Criminalise all forms of sexual exploitation of children, including in the context of travel and tourism and online;
3. Expand extraterritoriality provisions to protect Mauritanian child victims of sexual exploitation exploited outside the country.

Implementation

National policies and programmes

18. The National Strategy for the Protection of Children aims at protecting children against violence, exploitation, abuse and neglect. It includes children exploited at work or victims of trafficking, children living on the streets, children who are victims of harmful cultural practices (including child marriage), as well as children who are victims of violence and sexual exploitation.⁴⁶ Participatory workshops aimed at updating the Strategy for the period 2020-2025 have been organised on several occasions in 2018, and again in July 2019.⁴⁷ However, at the time of drafting, an updated strategy had not been adopted yet.
19. The Government has also developed a national plan of action with regard to child labour (2015-2020 Action Plan for the Elimination of Child Labour).⁴⁸ No information on the implementation of this plan were found in the research conducted for this report.

Coordination

20. At the governmental level, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Youth each have a unit responsible for the issue of violence against children, which includes sexual exploitation.⁴⁹ The Ministry of Social Affairs, Childhood and Family (ensures the development of policies and programmes regarding social action and child protection, as well as the coordination of all public and private interventions in this area.⁵⁰

21. The National Council for Childhood is an advisory body that aims at coordinating and monitoring the government's efforts in the area of child protection and child development. It is chaired by the Prime Minister's Office and consists of civil servants from various ministries. NGOs and international organisations are also involved.⁵¹
22. A Brigade for Minors (*Brigade des mineurs*) was created in April 2006 within the Directorate-General of National Security. It is competent to investigate criminal acts relating to underage victims.⁵²
23. There is also *l'Association des Maires Defenseurs de l'Enfant* (an Association of Child Defenders Mayors), which includes almost all mayors, as well as two parliamentary groups on childhood.⁵³
24. Coordination between these different structures is based on meetings and seminars devoted to the issue of violence against children as well as periodic data exchanges.⁵⁴ No information was found regarding the activities conducted by these entities.

Implementation and enforcement of national legislation

25. Despite a quite comprehensive legislative framework in place for the rights and protection of children against sexual exploitation, the effective implementation and enforcement of national legislation is reportedly rather limited and ineffective in practice. For instance, the 2015 Anti-Slavery Law provides for comprehensive legal assistance for victims of hereditary slavery and for the creation of support centres in each province.⁵⁵ It is however not clear whether these provisions are effectively implemented in practice.

Recommendations to the GoM

4. Finalise and adopt the reviewed National Strategy for the Protection of Children;
5. Provide the necessary human, technical and financial resources to implement and enforce the laws in force, including through the training of the justice sector actors;
6. Evaluate implementation of current plans and bodies and make this information publicly available.

Prevention, awareness and education

26. The actions of the GoM in raising awareness and education in the area of protection of children rights are quite limited. Moreover, its lack of cooperation with civil society, widely reported by CSO and newspapers, hinders prevention efforts.⁵⁶ In its more recent periodic report of July 2019, the Human Rights Committee raised concerns regarding reports of intimidation, harassment and arbitrary detention of human rights defenders operating in Mauritania, especially in the area of slavery.⁵⁷

27. As part of the updating work of the National Strategy for the Protection of Children, the Government has nevertheless organised training courses in September 2018.⁵⁸ Various prevention, information and CRC promotion campaigns have also been organised in collaboration with NGOs and IOs, in particular during the annual Children's Day.⁵⁹ However, the effectiveness of the work conducted by NGOs reportedly suffers from a lack of significant resources and here too from social resistance.⁶⁰

Recommendations to the GoM

7. Invest in prevention programmes that value children to address the root causes and multiple vulnerabilities that endanger children, families and communities;
8. Implement programmes to evaluate awareness and prevention operations and to monitor the situation of children's rights and the fight against SEC;
9. Stop the harassment and persecution of activists, especially in the fields of human labour and human trafficking;
10. Promote social norms of child protection through community development projects and the media, including social networks.

Protection of the rights of child victims

Child-sensitive justice

28. Mauritanian law does not adequately define sexual violence and other concepts related to SEC, leaving it therefore to judicial interpretation.⁶¹ Yet, making convictions depend on the judge's personal point of view can prove detrimental to victims, and child victims in particular. For instance, the 2005 Order on the Penal Protection of the Child criminalises both rape⁶² and sexual assault⁶³ against children but does not define these concepts. The risk is high for victims to be prosecuted when they cannot convince judicial authorities that a sexual act was non-consensual.⁶⁴ Consent is indeed what distinguishes the crime of rape from *zina* (i.e. consensual sexual relations outside marriage), yet it is not defined. Article 307 (criminalizing *zina*) of the Penal Code is therefore often used to prosecute survivors of sexual violence.⁶⁵ And while Article 307 refers to the term "adult", Human Rights Watch has documented several cases where children were charged with *zina*.⁶⁶ Despite majority being legally fixed at 18, judges tend indeed to consider girls having reached puberty as adults capable of consenting to sexual relations.⁶⁷

29. Another problem relates to impunity. As far as slavery is concerned, some reports have indicated that prosecutors and judges often prosecute alleged slave owners for less serious offences in order to avoid a slavery trial.⁶⁸ A 2018 landmark ruling by an African Union court, requiring the Mauritanian government to compensate two escape child slaves and punish their former master, is however offering hope to thousands of still-enslaved Mauritians to end this culture of impunity.⁶⁹

30. Finally, legal assistance offered to children victims is not generalised. The 2015 Anti-Slavery Act provides a comprehensive legal assistance to victims of slavery and requires public officials to provide them with information about their rights and exempt them from legal fees.⁷⁰ However, these provisions are limited to cases of slavery and do not include all victims of SEC. In particular, in the area of CEFM, there are no effective judicial remedies for young girls who are victims of different forms of exploitation.⁷¹

Rehabilitation and reintegration of child victims

31. Various national institutions and programmes have been set up by the Mauritanian government, such as the *Centre de Protection et d'Intégration Sociale des Enfants* (Centre for the Social Protection and Integration of Children), which has been in operation since November 2007. It is a government programme to provide shelter, food, education and vocational training to vulnerable children.⁷² No data on the implementation of this Centre and the number of children taken care of and monitored are however publicly available.

32. Civil society also plays a key role in assisting the recovery and reintegration of child victims of sexual exploitation. Drop-in centres and shelters were created, and social recovery and reintegration services were developed by NGOs.⁷³

Recommendations to the GoM

11. Provide for the provision of comprehensive legal assistance to all victims of sexual exploitation;
12. Provide appropriate recovery and reintegration services accessible and affordable for victims of SEC;
13. Ensure that the State effectively fights against impunity, by fully enforcing existing laws and imposing severe penalties on those guilty of offences covered by the OPSC.

¹ Human Rights Council. (2015). [Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Mauritania](#). A/HRC/31/6, 23 December 2015.

² Human Rights Council. (2015). [Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Mauritania](#). A/HRC/31/6, 23 December 2015. Recommendations 126.12, 126.46, 126.51, 126.57, 127.19, 127.20, 127.41, 129.25.

³ *Ibid.*, Recommendations, 126.12, 126.57, 127.41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Recommendations 126.46, 126.51, 127.19, 127.20, 129.25.

⁵ In line with the Terminology Guidelines, ECPAT prefers the term “exploitation of children in prostitution” instead of “child prostitution.” ECPAT International. (2016). [Terminology Guidelines for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse, Adopted by the Interagency Working Group in Luxembourg, 28 January 2016](#), 29.

⁶ In line with the Terminology Guidelines, ECPAT prefers the term “child sexual exploitation material” or “child sexual abuse material” instead of “child pornography.” *Ibid.*, 39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁸ UNICEF. (2019). [“The State of the World’s Children 2019: Children, food and nutrition – growing well in a changing world”](#). 193.

⁹ World Bank. (2019). [The World Bank in Mauritania: Overview](#).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² The World Bank Data. (2019). [Mauritania](#).

¹³ United Nations Development Programme and Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative. (2019). [“Global Multidimensional Poverty Index 2019: Illuminating Inequalities”](#).

¹⁴ United Nations Development Programme. (2018). <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2019.pdf>

¹⁵ Development and Cooperation. (2018). [“Deeply rooted slavery”](#).

¹⁶ Global Slavery Index. (2018). [Country Data: Mauritania](#).

¹⁷ Mostly in large cities, *talibé* children (pupil learning the Koran in Koranic schools led by imams) are exploited in prostitution networks; ECPAT International (2016), [Global Monitoring Report- Mauritania](#).

¹⁸ Seneweb. (2012). [“Mauritanie: Les discothèques fermées pour lutter contre l’alcool, la prostitution et la drogue”](#).

¹⁹ ECPAT International. (2017). [“ECPAT Country Overview on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Mauritania”](#). (unpublished). Mauritanian legislation prohibits child labour, but the phenomenon of “*little maids*” still exists because of old traditions.

²⁰ International Telecommunication Union. (2018). [Mauritania Profile](#).

²¹ UNICEF. (2016). [“The State of the World’s Children 2016 - A Fair Chance for Every Child”](#). 135.

²² GVNet. (2018). [“Human Trafficking and Modern-day Slavery – Published reports from 2000 and 2018”](#).

²³ IOM Nouakchott. (n.d.). [“Understanding and Combatting the Trafficking of Persons in Mauritania”](#).

²⁴ The Globe Post. (2019). [“Despite Gains, Mauritania’s Road to defeat Slavery is Long and Bumpy”](#), IOM Nouakchott (n.d) [Understanding and Combating the Trafficking of Persons in Mauritania](#)

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ République Islamique de Mauritanie. (2019). [Stratégie de croissance accélérée et de prospérité partagée \(SCAPP\) 2016-2030 – Note annuelle sectorielle de mise en œuvre \(NASMO\) de la SCAPP pour l’année 2018](#). 37.

²⁷ ECPAT International. (2016). [“Offenders on the Move: Global Study on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism 2016”](#). 15.

²⁸ UNICEF. (2019). [“The State of the World’s Children 2019: Children, food and nutrition – growing well in a changing world”](#). 233.

²⁹ Ford Foundation. (2013). [“Mapping Early Marriage In West Africa - A scan of trends, interventions, what works, best practices and the way forward”](#).

³⁰ Office Français de protection des Réfugiés et Apatrides. (2016). [“Les mariages forcés en Mauritanie”](#). 4.

³¹ Ford Foundation. (2013). [“Mapping Early Marriage in West Africa - A scan of trends, interventions, what works, best practices and the way forward”](#).

³² Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (2005). [Ordonnance n°2005-015 portant protection pénale de l’enfant](#). Articles 57 to 59.

³³ Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (2015). [Projet de loi abrogeant et remplaçant la loi n° 2007– 048 du 3 septembre 2007 portant incrimination de l’esclavage et réprimant les pratiques esclavagistes](#). Article 16.

³⁴ Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (2005). [Ordonnance n°2005-015 portant protection pénale de l’enfant](#). Article 48.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (2005). [Ordonnance n°2005-015 portant protection pénale de l’enfant](#). Article 47.

³⁷ Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (2003). [Loi n°025/2003 portant répression de la traite des personnes](#). Article 1.

³⁸ Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (2005). [Ordonnance n°2005-015 portant protection pénale de l’enfant](#). Article 54.

³⁹ Office Français de protection des Réfugiés et Apatrides. (2016). [“Les mariages forcés en Mauritanie”](#). 4.

⁴⁰ Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (2001). [Loi n° 2001-052 du 19 juillet 2001 portant Code du Statut Personnel](#). Article 6.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Equality Now. (2014). [“Protecting the Girl Child; Using the Law to End Child, Early and Forced Marriage and Related Human Rights Violations”](#); CRIDEM. (2014). [“Enfants mariés de force en Mauritanie: des victimes brisent le](#)

silence".

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Article 5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Article 9.

⁴⁵ Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (1983). [Ordonnance n° 83-163 du 09 juillet 1983 instituant un Code de Procédure Pénale](#). Article 596.

⁴⁶ Government of Mauritania. (2016). "[3ème, 4ème et 5ème rapports de la République Islamique de Mauritanie sur la mise en oeuvre de la Convention relative aux Droits de l'Enfant](#)".

⁴⁷ CRIDEM. (2018). "[Mauritanie: Lancement du processus d'actualisation de la stratégie nationale de protection de l'enfance](#)".

⁴⁸ OHCHR. (2018). "[Committee of the Rights of the Child examines the situation of children in Mauritania](#)".

⁴⁹ Government of Mauritania. (2016). "[3ème, 4ème et 5ème rapports de la République Islamique de Mauritanie sur la mise en oeuvre de la Convention relative aux Droits de l'Enfant](#)".

⁵⁰ République Islamique de Mauritanie. [Ministère des Affaires Sociales, de l'Enfance et de la Famille - Missions](#).

⁵¹ Agence Mauritanienne d'Information. (2018). "[Mise en Place du Conseil National de Protection de l'Enfance](#)".

⁵² UNICEF Mauritanie (2009), "[Rapport d'évaluation de l'application de l'ordonnance portant protection pénale de l'enfant en Mauritanie](#)".

⁵³ Government of Mauritania. (2016). "[3ème, 4ème et 5ème rapports de la République Islamique de Mauritanie sur la mise en oeuvre de la Convention relative aux Droits de l'Enfant](#)". 143.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (2015). [Projet de loi abrogeant et remplaçant la loi n° 2007-048 du 3 septembre 2007 portant incrimination de l'esclavage et réprimant les pratiques esclavagistes](#). Article 24.

⁵⁶ Development and Cooperation. (2018). "[Deeply rooted slavery](#)".

⁵⁷ Human Rights Committee. (2019). [Observations finales concernant le deuxième rapport périodique de la Mauritanie](#). 9.

⁵⁸ Délégation de l'Union Européenne en Mauritanie. (2018). [« Protection de l'enfance en Mauritanie : vers une formation des formateurs »](#).

⁵⁹ Government of Mauritania. (2016). "[3ème, 4ème et 5ème rapports de la République Islamique de Mauritanie sur la mise en oeuvre de la Convention relative aux Droits de l'Enfant](#)". 39-47.

⁶⁰ International Consulting Expertise. (2016). [Elaboration d'une cartographie fonctionnelle et dynamique \(mapping\) de la société civile en Mauritanie entre le 10ème et 11ème FED](#). viii.

⁶¹ Genre en Action. "[Mauritanie: les limites de la Justice face aux actes de viol](#)".

⁶² Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (2005). [Ordonnance n°2005-015 portant protection pénale de l'enfant](#). Article 24.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Articles 25-26.

⁶⁴ Human Rights Watch. (2018). "['Ils m'ont dit de garder le silence' – Obstacles rencontrés par les survivantes d'agressions sexuelles pour obtenir justice et réparations en Mauritanie](#)".

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Minority Rights Group International, SOS Escalves, Antislavery International. (2018). [Rapport alternatif à destination du Comité contre la Torture – Examen du Rapport Périodique de la Mauritanie](#). Para. 16.

⁶⁹ The Washington Post. (2018). "[Slavery is still alive in Mauritania: Can a new court ruling help change that?](#)".

⁷⁰ Islamic Republic of Mauritania. (2015). [Projet de loi abrogeant et remplaçant la loi n° 2007-048 du 3 septembre 2007 portant incrimination de l'esclavage et réprimant les pratiques esclavagistes](#). Article 24.

⁷¹ Office Français de protection des Réfugiés et Apatrides. (2016). "[Les mariages forcés en Mauritanie](#)". 4.

⁷² Comité des droits de l'enfant. (2018). "[Liste de points concernant le rapport de la Mauritanie valant troisième à cinquième rapports périodiques - Additif - Réponses de de la Mauritanie à la liste de points](#)". 21.

⁷³ Government of Mauritania. (2016). "[3ème, 4ème et 5ème rapports de la République Islamique de Mauritanie sur la mise en oeuvre de la Convention relative aux Droits de l'Enfant](#)". 145.