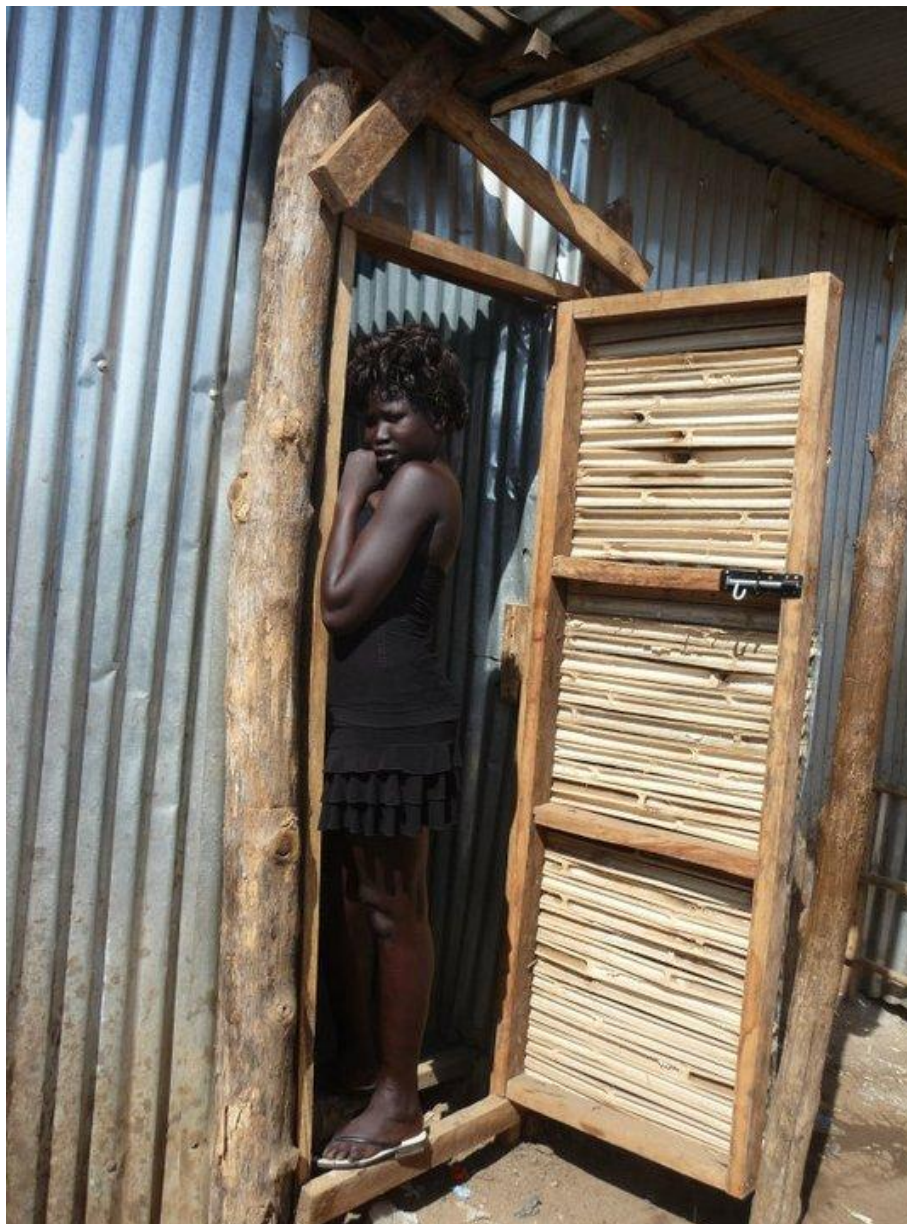


‘Behind the Papyrus and Mabaati’

Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Juba, South Sudan



An action research, carried out in July – August 2010



Confident Children out of Conflict; Juba
Cathy Groenendijk and Jolien Veldwijk
August 2011

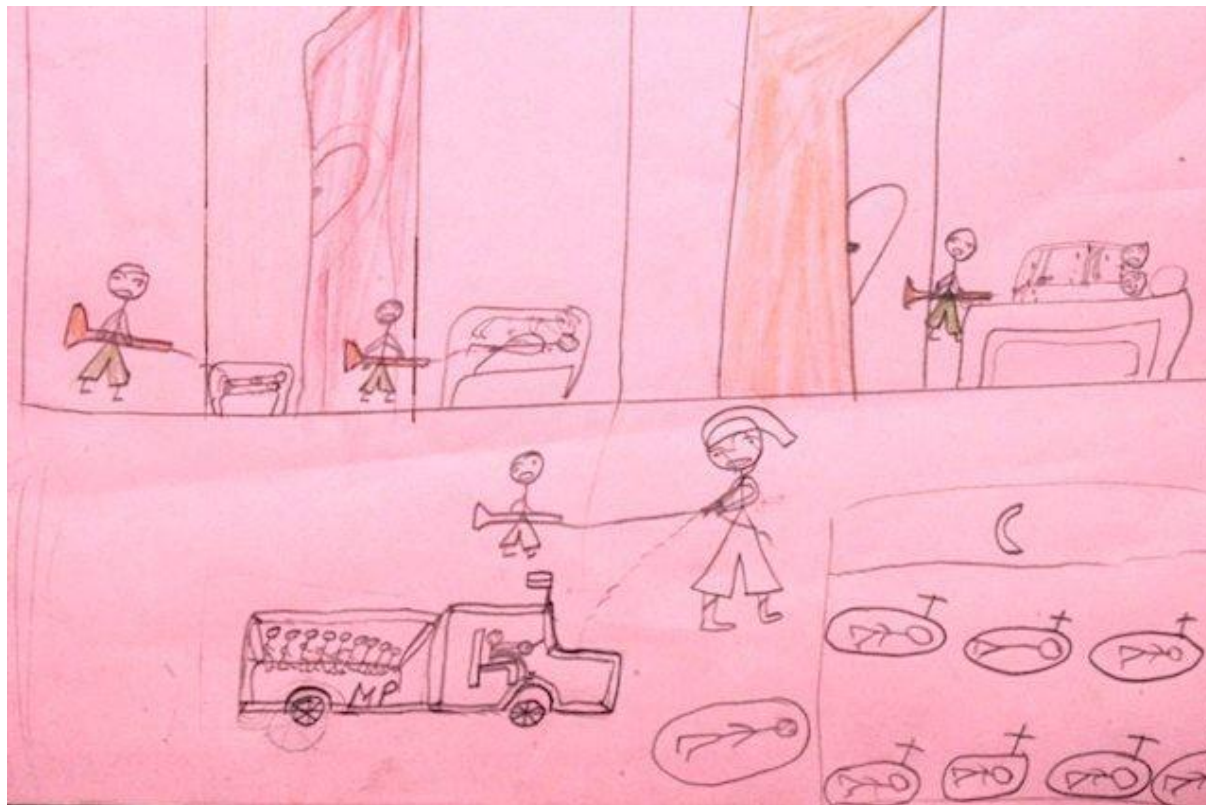
Photos

Front-page;

Inside Gumbo brothel in August 2010

Photo 1. Drawing of the daily life experience of street-girls in Juba

In July 2010, the staff of CCC asked a group of street girls (10 to 14 years old) to draw a 'one day of my life' picture. The drawing below depicts the life within a brothel zone where the girls are growing up; their mothers and sisters work there and some started working themselves. A police raid is going on at night (in the upper part). At bottom right, the Juba cemetery where street girls find shelter at night.



Authors:

Cathy Groenendijk-Nabukwasi; Juba, South Sudan



confident.children@gmail.com

cathy.groenendijk@gmail.com



+249 955065445

Jolien Veldwijk;

Kabul - Amsterdam - Khartoum

Confident Children out of Conflict

www.confidentchildren.org

<http://www.facebook.com/ConfidentChildren>

Juba, South Sudan

20th August 2011

Table of Contents

Photos	2
Abbreviations.....	4
Glossary of terms used.....	4
1. Foreword; Purpose and Acknowledgements	5
2. Introduction	6
2.1. Research methodology.....	6
3. Background to the prostitution problem in Juba	8
3.1. Gumbo business centre.....	9
3.2. Jebel: the biggest market of Juba.....	11
3.3. Custom (an Illegal Market)	12
3.4. Tong Ping	13
3.5. Other Brothels: Gudele, Rock City, Airport road, nightclubs (Hadikas).....	13
4. Sex Workers in Juba: Three stories	15
4.1. Rosemary from Uganda	15
4.2. Brigitte from Congo.....	16
4.3. Kiden from South Sudan	17
5. Drivers of Transactional Sex Work.....	19
5.1. War.....	19
5.2. Effects of psychosocial stress	20
5.3. Alcoholism and substance abuse	20
5.4. Poverty	21
5.5. Domestic Violence.....	22
5.6. Early Marriage and changed gender perceptions.....	22
5.7. Rape and Sexual Exploitation	22
5.8. Trafficking.....	24
5.9. The clients	25
6. Daily Struggles	26
6.1 Access to condoms	26
6.2. Pregnancy, babies and abortions	26
6.3. Lack of Access to ARV treatment and other health services	27
6.4. Ill treatment by the police.....	27
6.5. Lack of Protection by Government and International Community.....	28
7. Conclusions	29
7.1. Summary; analysis of trafficking of women and girls into Juba for sex work	32
7.2. Summary; analysis of the engagement of girls in sex work in Juba	33
8. Recommendations	34
8.1. Rights holders and duty bearers.....	34
8.2. Recommendations; counteracting trafficking into prostitution.....	35
8.3. Recommendations; counteracting children’s involvement in prostitution.....	38
8.4. Where are the ‘local heroes’?.....	40
8.5. Possible role of the churches in community-based monitoring and protection.....	41
References	42
Annex 1. Checklist used as guide in sex workers’ interviews.....	46

Tables

Table 1. Estimated numbers of sex workers in Juba	29
Table 2. Rights’ holders and duty bearers in Juba’s sex trade	34

Abbreviations

ARV	<i>Anti Retro-Viral (drugs or treatment, of AIDS symptoms)</i>
CBO	<i>Community-Based Organisation</i>
CCC	<i>Confident Children out of Conflict; a local NGO engaged in child protection in Juba</i>
CES	<i>Central Equatoria State</i>
CPA	<i>Comprehensive Peace Agreement; interim governance arrangement of South Sudan</i>
CSEC	<i>Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children</i>
DDR	<i>Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration</i>
DRC	<i>Democratic Republic of Congo</i>
FBO/C	<i>Faith Based Organisation / Community</i>
FGD	<i>Focus Group Discussion; a research method used for rapid information gathering</i>
GBV	<i>Gender Based Violence</i>
GoNU	<i>Government of National Unity</i>
GoSS	<i>Government of Southern Sudan</i>
IDP	<i>Internally Displaced Person / People</i>
JCCP	<i>Japan Centre for Conflict Prevention; international NGO - training of youth in life-skills</i>
LRA	<i>Lord's Resistance Army</i>
PTSD	<i>Post Traumatic Stress Disorder</i>
SDG	<i>Sudanese Pound; local currency; one US Dollar is equivalent to about three SDG</i>
SEA	<i>Sexual Exploitation and Abuse</i>
STIs	<i>Sexually Transmitted Infections</i>
TIP	<i>Trafficking in Persons</i>
UNMIS	<i>United Nation's Mission in Sudan</i>
UPDF	<i>Uganda People's Defence Forces</i>

Glossary of terms used

<i>Boda boda</i>	Motorcycle taxi
<i>Boma</i>	Administrative area; a Payam is sub-divided in Bomas.
<i>Hadika</i>	Disco, nightclub
<i>Hakuma</i>	Government (in particular its visible representations in local views)
<i>Indaya</i>	Local bar, which usually sells and serves <i>Merissa</i> and/or <i>Siko</i>
<i>Khawadja</i>	White foreigner
<i>Kumwaga maji</i>	to enjoy sex
<i>Mabaati</i>	Corrugated iron sheets; used to roof and partition low cost housing.
<i>Malaya</i>	prostitute (Kiswahili – East African derogatory expression)
<i>Merissa</i>	a form of locally made beer made from sorghum, also called <i>Kwete</i>
<i>Mundukuru</i>	Northern (Arabic) Sudanese man
<i>Niggers</i>	Youth gang groups and -culture in Juba; inspired hip-hop and gangsta rap music, violent, sexually abusive.
<i>Nkuba Kyeyo</i>	(Luganda) expression for migrant labour; Ugandans working abroad
<i>Payam</i>	Administrative area, a County is sub-divided in Payams
<i>Rakuba</i>	shelter or tent
<i>Shara muta</i>	prostitute (derogatory Arabic expression)
<i>Sharia</i>	Islamic legal code, on which previous Sudanese and current North-Sudanese law is based
<i>Siko</i>	home-distilled liquor (also <i>Araki</i>)
<i>Tukul</i>	local hut (with grass thatched roofs)
<i>Zina</i>	(Arabic) intercourse between a man and a woman who are not married

1. Foreword; Purpose and Acknowledgements

The purpose of this research is to identify and describe some serious cases of human rights violation taking place in Juba, South Sudan. These violations are specifically prostitution-related human trafficking and child labour. The study will expose the situation and advocate for action by all stakeholders concerned. Therefore, it is intended to serve as action research.

The CCC staff first learned about the growing numbers of sex workers, and the mushrooming of brothels, in Juba in January 2009, when five street girls of 12 to 14 years of age left its drop-in centre during the long school holiday. When the staff members tracked down the girls, they found out they had moved into brothels and worked there as prostitutes. The CCC director, Cathy Groenendijk, shared her concerns about this child exploitation with the Director General of the Ministry of Gender and Child Welfare (GoSS) and H.E. the Minister of Social Development (CES). Both asked her to investigate this matter further and report back.

The Institute of Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) in South Africa contacted Cathy Groenendijk in May 2010 and invited her to contribute to their ongoing research on women's rights in South Sudan, after reading a report (IRIN news; 2010) on the engagement of children in sex work in Juba. At the same time, Cathy had planned action research on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse, especially of children, in response to the needs seen in Juba. In June 2010, the IJR facilitated a training workshop on research methodology with a group of local authors in Juba. CCC expanded this methodology for the purpose of action research and presented a proposal for this research to local authorities in Juba. They approved the research proposal that gave way for the large number of interviews, held from July to August 2010 in the brothel areas, which forms the core of this research. This report reflects on the situation as it was at that time but recent developments have been included too in the process of writing the report.

Some information will be outdated by the time this report is shared in August 2011. The 'landscape' of the main sex work zones in Juba has changed a lot in 2011. All occupants of two of the main brothel areas, Gumbo (Ch. 3.1.) and Custom (Ch. 3.3.), were evicted by the local government and the brothels themselves bulldozed, at the end of March 2011. This does not mean that prostitution has diminished but rather that it recurs in other forms and places. The Gumbo brothel zone has already moved on to Sirikat, a few kilometres east of its former site. This should be subject of further research, to give an updated base of information.

The report describes the commercial sex practice in Juba and has two main areas of concern:

- involvement of underage persons (anyone below 18 years of age; i.e. children) in transactional and/or involuntary sex.
- trafficking of women and girls into prostitution.

The Ministry of Social Development of Central Equatoria State (CES), in particular its Social Welfare Department, is very concerned about the abuse of women and children in Juba. We acknowledge this concern and the engagement of a small cadre of dedicated social workers in Juba who practically try to solve some of the problems described. They supported also this research. The Ministry is very under-resourced and we therefore recommend working in capacity-building partnerships with them to address some of the issues raised in this research.

We acknowledge the great engagement of Elsa Groenveld, Haley Sands, Joan Yunus and Agnes Mandera, who were part of the team that carried out the interviews with us. Together, we formed the research team, which held over 100 individual interviews and focus group discussions, mainly during July to August 2010. Jolien structured the research while Cathy organized the interviews, made contacts with communities and acted as the team-leader. Njeri Chacha and Palma Okello Codato helped with editing the text while Wim Groenendijk assisted with a desk review of the 'gray' and published literature, used as references in this study, and with the writing of the contextual analysis and the framework of recommendations.

It is our sincere desire, as activists, that this study will not only expose the injustice and abuse related to underage and involuntary sex work in Juba, but will also lead to action by all stakeholders concerned; the government, community groups, churches, NGOs and all others.

2. Introduction

The desperation of women and girls during and after war, caused by poverty and insecurity about their livelihoods, drives many into transactional sex work (Turshen M. & Twagiramariya C. 1998). Sex workers are a very vulnerable group often at risk of physical and sexual abuse. Unlike other classes of professionals, they cannot rely on support by the state, and are often harassed and discriminated against by both law enforcement officers and their (male) clients.

Many societies and people see prostitution as an immoral occupation. Many states have outlawed prostitution and yet it is prevalent in almost every country. This is also the case in South Sudan. In the Laws of Southern Sudan, prostitution of any kind is prohibited, regardless if it is between adults or of children, or consensual or involuntary. All women, men and girls, engaged in this trade in South Sudan, do so illegally and cannot therefore expect state protection. The Child Act of Southern Sudan (2008) classifies child prostitution as the worst form of child labour. According to this law, the main offenders are adult men having sex with children, and all those who provide the space for this to take place, but not the children. Under the same law, defilement and rape are punishable with up to 14 years of imprisonment.

This research identifies some of the worst forms of child labour and human trafficking and slavery, related to prostitution, in Juba. The research starts from the source; the recruitment into the sex trade. This entry into sex trade should be labelled as trafficking in many cases. The large number of underage¹ sex workers engaged in Juba's sex trade is a main concern in this research, leading to advocacy to address this scandal. Two key questions are raised; how do women and girls end up in South Sudan's sex trade, and how do their lives look like? A description of the living- and work environment of sex workers in Juba provides the context.

The life stories of three women and girls who work as sex worker in Juba, illustrate how women and girls can become, and stay, engaged in transactional sex work. We identified drivers (underlying causes) of prostitution and sexual exploitation while we also narrated the daily fears, tragedy, despair and hopes of these women and girls to give a clear picture of the struggles and problems that they go through each day. To some extent, we also addressed the perceptions of the men who are clients of the services of the sex workers. Some wider issues discussed are the laws regarding transactional sex work and police treatment of sex workers. Lastly, we present a set of conclusions and recommendations to the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS), NGOs and CBOs/FBOs who may be engaged to address some of the issues. We expect that much of the information is useful for further research in the future.

2.1. Research methodology

A team of in total six women visited the four main brothel-areas (Gumbo, Custom, Jebel and Tong Ping) of Juba to carry out the survey. They carried out individual interviews with over 100 women and girls engaged in transactional sex work, guided by a set of questions in a semi-structured format (see Annex 1). In addition, they held six FGDs with groups of sex workers and interviewed opinion leaders. Attempts to interview men were largely unsuccessful. The researchers interviewed less than ten men and were not able to ask the same range of questions covered in interviews with women. During interviewing the women, the researchers were also able to observe how male clients in the brothel zones related to women in general.

The team members first asked the interviewees questions about their backgrounds, their families and their home countries, also to open up a relationship. Most of the sex workers were not South Sudanese but came from neighbouring countries, defining the language used in the interviews. With regard to their lives as sex worker in South Sudan, the women were asked how they got engaged in this occupation, how old they were when they first exchanged sex for money or goods and what they thought about their current lifestyles. The team then probed deeper into the problems that the women faced as sex workers, the (sexual) violence they experienced and the way they were perceived and treated by people around. The lack of protection by law enforcement officers was always part of this discourse.

¹ According to the Child Act of the Southern Sudan, any person below 18 years of age is a child, and is therefore entitled to protection by the government, the local communities and within their families.

The researchers made inquiries into the use of condoms. They asked, for instance, if the sex workers were under any pressure from their clients not to use them. We also asked them what the sex workers knew about social services in their area, who provided them and if they were able to access these. This included specific health services, exit programmes for sex workers wanting to leave the occupation, counselling, child-care and -protection services etc.

We asked the women what they charged their clients and what their daily and monthly incomes were, to get an overview of the livelihoods of sex workers in Juba. We also asked them if they envisioned other income-generating options and, if so, what these were. What were their plans for their future? Their aspirations informed the recommendations in chapter 8.

Most names used in this study are pseudonyms while we slightly altered some of the life stories and testimonies, presented in this study, to protect the sex workers' identity and safety. The team used a semi-structured checklist to get a consistent interview discourse (annex 1).

The researchers encountered various problems, including access, language, safety and objectivity in communicating the results. It was not always easy to gain entry to the brothels. 'Lodge owners' and 'lodge supervisors' (the pimps), whose permission had to be sought before entrance was granted, were usually suspicious of intruders. The team had to look for them first and ask their permission before they got permission to enter into the brothel areas.

'Pimps' are the business brokers or -managers of prostitutes. Usually the prostitutes are highly dependent on them for their protection. Financially, they are usually dependent on them too, even to the extent of bondage. In this study, the proprietors or managers of the lodges, which function as brothels, nearly always acted as pimps. They managed the flow of clients to the sex workers and recovered a large part of their earnings as 'rent' in return.

Language problems were sometimes a barrier in the course of the interviews, especially with the Sudanese sex workers who did not speak English, as the researchers were not fluent in Juba Arabic or other local languages. In a few cases, the interviewers had to use male translators but the women felt not comfortable in their presence to express themselves, and obviously did not give honest answers about sensitive issues, such as abortion or condom use.

In one incident, a few lodge supervisors and clients seriously threatened the researchers, when they suspected them that they were spies who wanted to take the girls away. Luckily, the team members managed to convince them that they posed no threat and calmed the men down, after which they continued interviewing. Some interviews were cut short, and not all the prepared interview questions could be asked in a few cases when the researchers did not feel safe in the brothels, and did not have the time to build up a rapport with interviewees.

Lastly, there is a difficulty in trying to communicate objectively in issues such as this. It is important to communicate objectively, because the presentation of objective facts is the basis for development of sensible and well thought-out courses of action, but the difficulty is to maintain an emotional distance from the interviewees and the subject matter. Emotional involvement can be a limitation during the writing process of action research. To some extent, this is the case in this report. Sometimes, the researchers found it difficult to keep an objective distance, when seeing the injustice and utter desolation in which women and girls were living and working. The primary concern of the researchers was the welfare of each participant. They followed ethical research guidelines and gathered verbal and written consent before the research began, and informed all interviewees that they could end talks if they were uncomfortable and that their information would be secret. However, none of the interviewees expressed a desire to cut an interview short and many wanted to go on talking.

The team analysed the research material over the past year and gradually developed this into a comprehensive report. The list of references that concludes the report supports the theoretical framework of this study and provides a lot of additional detail to the context. Where possible, links to online document versions are provided to support easy access to the references used and to make further research into sexual exploitation in South Sudan easier.

3. Background to the prostitution problem in Juba

In South Sudan, prostitution was hardly known before the civil wars began soon after Sudan's independence in 1956. Historically, a permissive attitude surrounded prostitution in northern Sudan but this gradually changed after independence, in particular after the imposition of laws in 1972 that made prostitution a criminal offense (Spaulding J. & Beswick S. 1995). All the brothels in north Sudan were closed and the government enforced a decree that all 'loose' women had to be married. Subsequently, many Sudanese prostitutes were married in 'mass weddings', usually just quick arrangements of convenience where women were forced to name and marry husbands in public squares. In the last decades, prostitution has been strictly prohibited in northern Sudan, with heavy punishment. Four prostitutes still received death sentences in Khartoum, as recently as in 1997. (Human Rights Watch, 1997)

Large numbers of sex workers from DR Congo and Ethiopia were deported from the country, or moved to Juba and other South Sudanese towns to avoid deportation, after strict controls on prostitution had been imposed in Northern Sudan. Before the CPA in 2005, sex work was therefore largely associated with 'foreigners' and had the stigma of being 'un-Sudanese' and a 'foreign influence'. The sizeable Congolese refugee community, which has been living in exile in Juba and other South Sudanese towns since the Congo civil wars started in 1964, has borne in particular the brunt of the stigma of introducing 'loose morals' into South Sudan.

There is evidence of widespread sexual exploitation and -abuse of women during Sudan's second civil war. All sides used rape as a weapon of war in this conflict (Human Rights Watch, 1995). Research on psychosocial trauma in women in Juba County (Isis-WICCE, 2007) showed that 4.1% of women experienced rape (2.2% a single episode rape and 1.9% gang rape). An alarming 41.9% of women witnessed the rape of other women during the war.

Prostitution became a real 'trade' in Juba after the signing of the CPA in 2005, when Juba became South Sudan's capital, giving rise to a large influx of people, both from within and outside South Sudan. Juba's population quadrupled from approximately 150,000 in 2005 to approximately 600,000 in 2010) based on estimates (in: Pantuliano S. 2011). Juba attracted people from all over the world e.g. humanitarian workers, people in trade and hospitality business etc. Many South Sudanese moved from rural areas to Juba too in search of a living.

Many of the latter are still psychosocially affected by their life-experiences during the civil war and greatly miss the social support structures – the social fabric – that held society together before, and during, the war. Their living conditions are often very crowded now, without privacy. This is a devastating experience to people used to live in widely dispersed rural homesteads, where strong social control structures are the norm (Martin E. & Mosel I, 2011).

The population of sex workers in Juba includes many women from neighbouring countries; Uganda, Kenya, Congo and Ethiopia, who work either full-time or part-time in the sex trade. However, many South Sudanese young women are also represented in the trade, including a considerable number of underage children. This latter category is a particular focus of this research, because they are at the highest risk of SEA and the research has a particular focus on child protection issues. Due to lack of research into the sex trade in South Sudan, it has been difficult to corroborate all findings but reference has been made to a number of recent livelihoods' research studies in South Sudan filling in a lot of contextual detail. A few persons with an insight in South Sudan's history narrated also the historical background to prostitution.

The researchers estimate that more than 2,000 women and girls are engaged in prostitution in Juba in 2010. The information to support this comes from interviewing the sex workers, carried out in the main sex work locations, namely the brothels, nightclubs and a few pick-up points along the roads, but also the observation of the physical structures² of the brothels etc.

² This estimate is derived from counting the number of rooms in all the lodges and based on assuming that a room is always used by at least by one sex worker. In practice, the prostitutes often use a room in shifts. This margin (estimated to be about 1.3 to 1.5) is taken into account in the numbers presented in the description of the main brothel areas. Table 1 on p. 29 present numbers of sex workers.

Some sex workers do not work from brothels but solicit sex by visiting certain restaurants, hostels and clubs in town, frequented by foreigners; *khawadjas* (white foreigners) and others. Most, however, work in the 'sex camps'. These are large brothel zones, characterised by the way in which they are constructed, namely rows and rows of 'lodges' or lines of small rooms, made out of iron sheets or papyrus reeds. The proprietors of the lodges - the pimps -, control their work here. The fulltime sex workers working here are mainly³ Ugandans, Congolese, Sudanese and Kenyans. Not all the sex workers are full-time engaged in the trade. Some have other jobs or trades while for others it is a temporary occupation, often resorted to out of desperation. Such sex workers try very hard to get out of the trade but often do not succeed.

Some shrewd Kenyan women make appointments for transactional sex with *Mundukuru* (shopkeepers from North Sudan or Arabs) and office workers through door-to-door hawking of small items. Others work in restaurants, or run kiosks or hair salons to pass time and solicit for paid sex. This work provides a 'respectable' public cover and a means of to attract sex clients. Some sex workers rent relatively nicely furnished rooms for special rich clients who sometimes come from Khartoum or Dubai. The sex workers return to 'regular' sex work when these rich men are not around. Ethiopian sex workers tend to work in hotels, restaurants, discotheques / nightclubs and beauty- or massage salons from where they solicit for paid sex.

For the sake of this study, the researchers defined prostitution as the **full-time or part-time engagement in paid sex work**. Payment can be done with either money or in kind, but it is in all cases 'transactional'. However, as the study will show, there are considerable numbers of women involuntarily engaged in the trade, through trafficking or bonded labour, who are not in a position to negotiate their sex work, or to benefit from the money they have been earning.

In the following chapters, the researchers narrate the daily life in the main sex work areas in Juba as they saw it, after which they present three detailed life-stories of active sex workers.

3.1. Gumbo business centre

Gumbo is one of the main sex-work areas in Juba where an estimated 400 to 600 active transactional sex workers are working. Gumbo has a customs post, where police- and customs officers inspect all vehicles and goods entering Juba from neighbouring countries. It also borders an army barracks and is close to the junction where the roads from Nimule, Bor and Torit enter Juba. It is therefore a strategic business location where many travellers lodge.

The lodges are surrounded by traders' trucks, bringing goods into Juba, and by the cows of cattle traders. After crossing the bridge from Juba, one sees small kiosks and shacks along the side of the road. Fresh and cooked food is sold here and many small shops, tearooms, bars, hair salons etc. have thriving businesses here that are going on until late into the night.

A large mango tree stands at the far end of this line of stalls, marking the entrance to the brothel area. Under this tree, prospective clients have drinks and snacks, while playing cards with lodge owners who act as pimps. Occasionally, the men walk around to look for a sex worker that catches their interest. On arriving at the entrance, several men with rooms to hire approach the female visitors. They dangle keys in their faces as a way to advertise their rooms and try to lure them into an empty one. The researchers were not spared this welcome.

Gumbo brothel is a sprawling compound, consisting of dozens of 'lodges'. Lodges are lines of small rooms or shacks, lined up in rows around a square space, made out of *mabaati* (iron roofing sheets). Each of the lodges consists of up to 24, very small, single rooms. The square compound forms an enclosure with a gate, which is locked at night by the brothel managers. As far as the eye can see, there is filth everywhere, with open sewers running between the 'lodges'. One has to jump over these open sewers to move from one lodge to the other. Big piles of rotting garbage mark the boundaries that divide the 'daily rent' rooms and the 'monthly rent' rooms. The stench of rotten food, urine and faeces is unbearably strong.

³ As the study shows, the majority of the women and girls engaged in transactional sex are foreigners from South Sudan's neighbouring countries, but the study will make it also clear that many South Sudanese women and girls are engaged too in Juba's sex trade. This number is said to be fast growing.

The courtyard is located in the centre of the lodges, where ear-splittingly loud rap music plays into the small hours. A bar and restaurant, furnished with plastic chairs, serves clients. Sex workers come from their rooms to meet prospective clients here over bottles of beer, to listen to music, and to watch pornographic videos.⁴ Up to 24 sex workers share one very dirty and smelly bathing shelter and latrine without proper drainage. The women receive a 20-litre jerry can of water to share between the two for a whole day; not enough to keep clean. The food in the restaurant on the compound, or in the food stalls, costs them at least 15 SDG each day.

The rooms themselves are often not much bigger than two by three meters. The sex workers can rent these rooms per night. The cheapest rooms in the daily rent category cost SDG 10-15 (three to five USD). These rooms have beds, made out of bamboo sticks, and two-inch mattresses, without bed sheets. The floors just consist of clay or sandy ground. Rooms that are more luxurious have a cheap plastic or linoleum carpet covering the ground while the most expensive rooms, costing at least 20 - 25 SDG (7 - 8 USD) a night, have cement floors. The beds here are made of wood, with thick 4-inch mattresses and covered with bed sheets.

Each day, the sex workers are required to pay the rent to the proprietors of the lodge. If they are unable to pay this, they can move further back in the compound, past the garbage heaps, to very small rooms that cost 150 SDG (50 USD) per month. It is difficult to attract clients into those cheap and unattractive rooms, so they strategize by having regular clients, so called 'steady boyfriends', who then pay their rent and food, as long as they remain attractive to them. In most cases, these 'boyfriends' become also their business managers – their 'pimps'.

Gumbo does not seem to be owned by one proprietor but by several lodge owners / managers. Most seem to be soldiers or police officers who build these lodges and hire someone to manage them. A Ugandan man owns one of the lodges. Lodge owners often employ Ugandans and Kenyans as assistants to collect rent or to work in the restaurants and bars that are part of the business. These assistants could be former prostitutes who have been promoted, but the reverse also occurs where barmaids and waitresses in restaurants move on to sex work, driven by the low wages paid in the bars and restaurants by their employers.

Most of the sex workers at Gumbo come from Uganda but some also from Kenya or Congo. South Sudanese women of 18 to 25 years of age are also common among the sex workers. Most Ugandan women belong to the northern tribes, such as Acholi and Langi, from areas that have suffered the societal breakdown caused by the LRA insurrection for many years. Most Sudanese girls are Dinka, others are Mundari, Lotuko, Madi and Bari. We found about 20 underage Sudanese girls (12 to 17 years of age), working as sex workers within Gumbo. These young girls tend to stay together in one lodge because they want to be close together.

The sex workers narrated occasional police raids to the brothels to the research team at Gumbo but the lodge proprietors did everything possible to keep their clients out of harm's way, since there were mostly Sudanese soldiers. Nevertheless, the team heard reports of targeted police raids. For example, when the police discovered that a *Mundukuru* client had had sex with an underage sex worker, both the client and girl were arrested and obliged to have HIV tests and were imprisoned, until the man paid a fine. However, after she was released, the girl went straight back to her sex work as usual. On the other hand, the sex workers made it clear that they were very sceptical about the priorities of the police and other law enforcement officers, when we held a group discussion with them at the Gumbo brothel.

When we asked them if they thought that the authorities could do anything to stop this illegal sex trade, the sex workers burst out laughing, gestured at the lodges around them, and said:

"Why should the government want to stop this? Government officials are the ones responsible and involved in the running of Gumbo. We sleep with them!"

At least two South Sudanese girls working in Gumbo had abortions, according to stories told to the researchers. One travelled to Uganda while the other had the abortion in Gumbo itself.

⁴ Described as the common 'on-the-job training' method by some prostitutes themselves in the brothels.

3.2. Jebel: the biggest market of Juba

Jebel market is located on the outskirts of Juba, about eight kilometres west of Juba centre. After the demolition of the Custom market in 2009 by the government of Central Equatoria State, many traders and other persons relocated here. This market looks more 'organised' with avenues and wide corridors, and is now the biggest market in Juba. The sex-work area, consisting of over 15 lodges with each lodge accommodating 40 to 60 women in their single rooms, is likely the largest in Juba. About 600 to 800 sex workers work here on average days with the weekends most busy. Ugandan businessmen and Sudanese soldiers own the lodges.

Just as in Gumbo, to reach the brothels one has to pass through the market stalls but, because the market is much bigger and more organized, the walk to the lodges is far longer. The lodges are big enclosures with small rooms, partitioned by bamboo mats, and have latrines and bathrooms. The rooms in most lodges are of similar size to the rooms at Gumbo; about two by three metres. However, overall, Jebel looks cleaner than Gumbo. Several pharmacies in the area are selling drugs and serve as clinics for the sex workers' community.

The Ugandan business community in this area has its own elected chairman who concerns himself with the security and welfare of the people. The lodge owners and traders have set their own rules and regulations and the chairman makes sure these are explained to, and respected by, residents and newcomers. This makes the compound relatively safe. However, police officers often conduct raids in search of 'guns' at odd hours in the night. Often, when they are unable to find guns, they use this as an excuse to intimidate the sex workers into having sex with them, or even to forcefully rape them and steal their money. One group said:

"Police comes, saying they are patrolling at night to search for 'guns' and when they cannot find 'guns', they will rape us and take our money. When we have been raped, we have nowhere to report this. Anyone can do anything to you here. We are insulted and called names, even during the sex act. It would be good to report such incidents to the authorities but we do not speak Arabic or Dinka so that we cannot report these abuses to the police. And when you do report these cases to the police, they will take advantage of you and get you into trouble instead.

Sometimes, when you feel it is too much to bear, you go to the police station and report it, but the officers will then ask for the plate-numbers of the patrol car or motorcycle, or the name of the police officer. Yet, these abuses and rapes occur at night in your room and not on the streets, which means we cannot see the police number plates. It is a joke! Then the police will tell you to go back to Uganda where you came from and remind you that you do not belong to Sudan.'

Focus Group Discussion with a group of Ugandan sex workers.

When women feel that the only asset they remain with to survive is their body, becoming a prostitute is the only option left to sustain themselves and their dependants. The people who introduce the idea, or assist, these women to become sex worker range from close relatives through friends to distant acquaintances. These people act as counsellor in the phase when a vulnerable woman has to make a decision that will change her life forever. Whenever deceit or force is used, this becomes 'trafficking'. We discuss the consequences of this on page 30.

Female traffickers not only introduce women to the idea of earning money in the trade but also give tips on the dress code for sex workers. They advise them to dress suggestively in such attire as miniskirts, tight pants and low-necked tops, showing of their thighs and breasts.

When a novice prostitute enters one of the brothels, dressed like that, the lodge owners and -supervisors will immediately recognize her and scramble to be the first to engage her as sex worker. They point to the rooms that are available for rent with their keys. A new sex worker will accept any room when she starts with sex work, but after familiarising herself with her new surroundings, she will start to look around to rent an affordable room of her own choice.

The sex workers prefer the rooms that are rented per night, but when they cannot afford they opt for the cheaper 'monthly' rooms, where the rent is paid on a monthly basis. These rooms are less visible and appealing to the clients because the lodge owners and staff also live there.

Most sex workers at Jebel Market come from Uganda, with all the tribes of the southern and western parts of the country represented but with very few from northern Uganda. There are also several sex workers from Congo, from South Sudan and from Kenya. About 200 under age sex workers (12 to 17 years of age) and young sex workers of 18 to 25 years old work at Jebel too. The underage girls tend to be nearly all South Sudanese, most of them belonging to the Dinka and Kakwa tribes. They live together in one big lodge, ironically called the '*luak*'⁵.

In one of the focus groups with Congolese sex workers, participants told the researchers that there are at least 80 children of 0 to 12 years of age living at Jebel. Some of the older ones are already sexually active and gradually become involved in prostitution. The daily exposure to the sexual activities of adults, including their own mothers, creates an environment in which this comes naturally. The children present, were either born there or had come with their mothers who were sex workers. This raises serious cross-border child protection issues.

The researchers saw also several malnourished little babies of less than one year old. It was obvious that they had been born in the brothels of Juba, implying that the women had not practised birth control. This should be related to their inconsistent and often incorrect use of condoms, discovered during this research (see chapter 6.1.). This must be an alarming pointer to the silent and neglected HIV-transmission, bound to go on in Juba's sex business.

3.3. Custom (an Illegal Market)

The Custom brothel zone is part of the old Custom Market, located opposite the Nyakuron Cultural Centre, along the main road from Yei into Juba town, between the Dr. John Garang mausoleum and the Juba University roundabouts and bordering the Juba University and Custom army barracks. One finds all kinds of small businesses within the Custom Market, ranging from drug shops, take-away restaurants, small shops selling watches, clothes and toys, moneychangers and hawkers who sell all kinds of goods, from aluminium pans to sex-stimulating nuts⁶. The kiosks are built on top of pressed-down garbage on this former waste dumping site of Juba town. It is a vibrant, but illegal, market that has been re-established several times after its first demolition in 2009. Sex trade occupies a large part of this market.

Since 2008, the local authorities (CES and County) in Juba have implemented of forced evictions and demolition of illegally built structures, in some places up to twice a year. A special demolition task force, led by the CES government, has been coordinating the effort. This demolition policy affects in particular poor households that have not secure land titles, contributing in practise a lot to the creation of a class of families living in make-shift shelters and becoming 'street families'. Many informal businesses, including the sex trade, are also affected by the demolition policy, leading to a strong disincentive to invest in permanent buildings. See USAID 2011 (Section C), Martin E. & Mosel I. 2011: 20-21.

An estimated 400 to 600 sex workers live in this congested makeshift brothel, together with their children, which is made out of papyrus mats with mud floors and leaking roofs of old plastic sheeting. They endure the stench of rotten garbage that hangs in the air day and night.

The researchers carefully picked their way through very narrow corridors, while trying to avoid stepping on human excreta or on the crawling or squatting, fly-covered and potbellied, children, who defecate in the corridors. Most school-aged children in this brothel belong to the Congolese prostitutes. None of them goes to school. Custom is by far the dirtiest, most rundown and deplorable of all brothels in Juba. Soldiers are the exclusive owners of the sex trade here and they therefore protect it. On one occasion, a brothel owner followed the researchers and threatened them but luckily, they escaped from it by blending into the crowd.

Most sex workers from the Congo came to South Sudan through Western Equatoria. It was not possible to differentiate them from young South Sudanese prostitutes of the Zande tribe. Women and girls from Uganda and South Sudan, belonging to the Madi, are a large minority.

⁵ *Luak*: Dinka expression for a large round grass-thatched cattle byre. The *luak* is located in the centre of the homestead. The cattle are kept in the *luak* during the night and are strongly protected by the men.

⁶ A certain type of nut, originating from Congo, sold in Juba for their purportedly aphrodisiac properties.

A number of Kenyan women combine petty business, such as selling second-hand clothes, shoes, etc., with transactional sex work here. They solicit for sex through their daily business.

In between the papyrus walls and tiny plastic-sheeted rooms are restaurants. One prepares Ethiopian food, served by Ethiopian waitresses. Ethiopian girls working in these restaurants during day, work also as escort girls in nightclubs. They cited Mango Camp most frequently as the place where they solicited for clients but Green Roken, Nile Comfort, Disco Majanin, de' Havana, Malahaba Guesthouse, Bros Camp were also mentioned. They also 'hang around' at night at the parking lots of upper class restaurants, like Queen of Sheba or Juba Bridge Hotel, where they try to attract rich men who will take them to hotel rooms for paid sex.

At Custom, there were suggestions that, among the prostitutes themselves, there were those who were experts in assisting or performing abortions. The men interviewed at Custom, complained about their women or girlfriends who had carried out abortions, which, according to them, showed that they did not want to be dependent on them in long-term sexual relations.

3.4. Tong Ping

Tong Ping brothel, the smallest lodge visited by the researchers, has in total 50 rooms, constructed out of mud and wattle with corrugated iron-sheet roofs and doors. A prominent Sudanese man, who employs a relative to manage the business, owns it and collects the daily rent from the 'tenants'. It is about a kilometre from Kololo gate and is down the road from the Ministries. This is a more expensive lodge where rooms cost 25 SDG per night. Business is busy here with 'high-class' clients of all colours and races. These clients drive large and beautiful cars in which they pick up the sex workers to take them to a hotel of their choice. The sex workers also have middle-class clients who regularly visit them in the lodge.

This large building is visible from the main road. On entering the compound, three large mud blocks are visible, forming three sides of a square with each side consisting of a long row of rooms. In the middle of the compound, a large grass-thatched *tukul* has been constructed, which is littered with empty beer bottles that blend with the colourful curtains hanging in doors. A closed door, with clients' shoes or slippers left at the entrance, indicates that the worker is engaged with a client. A single woman can serve as many as six men per day, i.e. six 'shots'. Some said that they could even serve as many as ten clients in one single night.

The mud floors of the rooms are covered with plastic linoleum or a carpet. The sex workers burn incense inside their rooms, so that its strong odour will mask any offensive odours. The sex workers were not happy that they had to share only one pit latrine and claimed that the toilet was almost full. Whenever one uses the latrine, the odour from decomposing faecal matter gushes out of the pit like hot air. In spite of all this, they were quick to admit that this sex trade facility was still much better than all the other lodges in which they had been working.

The sex workers in Tong Ping brothel were all above 18 years of age and all came from northern Uganda, apart from two from western Uganda and another two from South Sudan. They relocated herein 2009, after the demolition campaign in Juba drove them away from Custom. Mary, one of the women, told the researchers how she ended up here as a prostitute.

"I saw my friends making money in this business and supporting their families, so I also decided to do the same to look after my two little children. Our families do not know that we do this work. We have all kinds of clients: NGO workers, Filipinos, Khawadjas, and others. Our customers come here because it is safe and peaceful at Tong Ping. There are a lot of rich people in this area."

3.5. Other Brothels: Gudele, Rock City, Airport road, nightclubs (Hadikas)

The prostitutes at Tong Ping told the researchers about other lodges where sex work thrived. However, due to limited time available, the researchers were not able to go and interview sex workers in other zones or assess the numbers working there. Some of the sex workers, interviewed in other brothels, had worked there before but had since moved on to Tong Ping. Based on their stories, the researchers got a picture of conditions and numbers of sex workers.

Gudele

The Gudele brothel is a part of the new Gudele market and is located along the new road connecting Jebel Lodge to the main Mundri road. Gudele and Rock City brothels are located strategically close to the new Gudele settlements, where many IDPs settled in recent years. These new low-income settlements are home to many vulnerable young and poor women and children. About 200 to 400 adult sex workers, of which many are adolescents, live and work there, according to the stories of the sex workers. Most of these are South Sudanese. It is striking that these South Sudanese sex workers tend to be young adults (below 25 years) and relatively many of these were even underage (12 to 18 years), as opposed to foreigners.

Rock City lodge is situated, close to the Rock City and Jebel Hotels. This lodge was reported to be mainly hosting Kenyan sex workers and is about the same size of Jebel brothel, with about 200 to 400 sex workers working within the lodge area. The sex workers talked about a new brothel, which had been established recently on the Yei road behind the IMATONGAS station, and had already become as big as Tong Ping. They also talked about another minor brothel, close to Smart Camp, where mainly Kenyan sex workers rented rooms to work from.

Along Airport-Ministries road

Apart from the large brothels ('sex camps'), in which prostitutes live and work, young South Sudanese sex workers also operate along the Airport - Ministries road where they stand at strategic points in the evenings and at night, dressed suggestively. They wave at drivers, in order to be picked up for paid sex, and are then taken by such a client to his hotel of choice.

Hotels and other places of entertainment (Hadika)

Some hotels and nightclubs e.g. Mango, South Sudan Park, Bros Camp, Smart Camp, New York Hotel, Queen of Sheba and de' Havana Lounge, stage live pop music bands from 11.00 p.m. to 5.00 a.m., usually on weekends. All visitors pay 5 to 20 SDG for entry, while alcoholic drinks are sold, also to underage persons. These venues are popular with in- and out-of-school youths but also with sex workers, who come to dance and 'have fun' all night long. In some places, sex workers openly solicit for sex inside the premises. Mango Camp is notorious for this. In other nightclubs, the soliciting goes on at the parking area and streets outside but is condoned by these clubs. Some venues, like Mango Camp, further abet sex work by letting out rooms or tents at full-night or hourly rates, knowing that sex work is the purpose.

The whole atmosphere is geared towards sex and it is here that sex workers meet clients from Juba's upper classes. A man will select a sex worker and hire a room for 50 to 70 SDG for the round of sex, or for the whole night. African clients pay the sex worker 50 to 100 SDG, while *Khawadjas* pay 50 to 200 USD, depending if it is for a 'round' only or for a whole night.

Among the sex workers' clients are NGO workers and expatriates, including *Khawadjas*. Vulnerable girls, as young as 12 years old, from the nearby slums like Konyo Konyo Market, St. Mary's, the graveyard, and also street girls, all try hard to get entry fees to be part of the action. Occasional exchange of sex for money is a widely accepted practice here. A large number of naïve and adolescent girls are very exposed in these places and likely to be drawn in prostitution. These places also attract criminal gangs, popularly known as 'Niggers'.

'Niggers' (pron. *Niggaz*) are youth, belonging to a number of emerging youth gangs in Juba (and also other South Sudanese towns). Often these youth grew up outside South Sudanese social control. Common characteristics are hip-hop style dressing (low hanging trousers etc.), rasta style hairdo's, *gangsta rap* music etc. 'Lost boys' who grew up outside South Sudan and now fail to integrate into South Sudan society after their return, are often drawn into these gangs. 'Niggers' tend to come also from well-off-to-do families, drive around in flashy cars etc. See Leonardi C. et. al. pp. 58-60, Martin E. & Mosel I. pp. 30-31, Pantuliano S. et. al. p. 7, ILO/IPEC 2010 p. 40, Schomerus & Allan 2010 p. 64-65 for more information on these youth gangs.

One night in October 2009, a young street girl, returning from South Sudan Park, was brutally raped by such a 'nigger' gang of four young men after they had been dancing there. For street girls, such rape often marks the start of their descent into child prostitution. According to the girls, quite often drunk men fight and shoot with firearms in some of these dancing halls.

4. Sex Workers in Juba: Three stories

This chapter describes the life-stories of female sex workers in Juba, based on the life stories of two women and one girl. The names of these sex workers are pseudonyms, in order to protect their identity, but their stories are real. The life-stories are typical of many sex workers.

4.1. Rosemary from Uganda

Rosemary is a 25-year-old Ugandan widow. She lost her parents during the LRA insurgency in northern Uganda and, as she was the oldest in the family, Rosemary dropped out of school and married in order to look after her siblings and herself. It was after her husband died in 2009 after a long illness that her life came crashing down. She had to make tough decisions so that she could look after her two children and five siblings. According to the traditions in her tribe, Rosemary and her two children belonged to her late husband's family. However, they were hostile to her siblings who depended on her for their food, education etc.

Her husband's older brother took advantage of her vulnerability and made her pregnant. He was already married with many children and it was clear that he was not going to support her and her dependents. In the meantime, her new co-wife insulted her for having intruded into her family, causing Rosemary a lot of domestic quarrels and stress. Rosemary realized that there was no chance to survive for her, with her two children and siblings, in her new 'family'.

The children did not have enough food to eat and cried a lot from hunger, further increasing the resentment that their new family felt towards her. She became depressed and cried a lot, not knowing where to go next. When her cousin Jane visited her one day to comfort her, she suggested to Rosemary the possibility of moving to Juba and doing '*Nkuba Kyeyo*' there. She thought she could get work as a restaurant servant, since plenty of jobs were available.

Nkuba Kyeyo; lit; "to sweep" in Luganda, is a term denoting the informal, manual / unqualified (and in a legal sense; illegal) migrant labour by Ugandans. This is a common coping strategy for large numbers of unemployed and disenfranchised Ugandan youth. In general, *nkuba kyeyo* is viewed upon favourably in Uganda because of the development and financial support it brings to the families back home. Although it is not Uganda's official policy to export its labour, President Museveni has often been recommending the unemployed youth in his public speeches, to engage in *nkuba kyeyo* and bring back the earnings to develop their home areas.

Rosemary was convinced straight away and within three days, she travelled to Juba to take up a job in a restaurant. She left her two children with their grandparents and divided her siblings among other relatives. When Rosemary arrived at Gumbo near the Juba Bridge, in January 2010, she realized that she had missed her period for two months. She enquired where she could get medical attention and was referred to Juba Teaching Hospital, where she was examined. There, the midwife confirmed her worst fear; that she was pregnant again.

The midwife also informed Rosemary that she was diagnosed HIV positive during the routine testing at the antenatal care clinic, and told her how to prevent mother-to-child transmission of HIV. At the same time, the job of restaurant servant she had expected did not materialise and her cousin was nowhere to be seen. A group of other northern Ugandan women, whom she met each day at Gumbo, challenged her to stop behaving like a sissy and start working as a sex worker to save her family. This was what all others did and she agreed to their advice.

Rosemary concealed her pregnancy for as long as she could and continued to work as sex worker for six months, until her belly was very big and clients were not willing to have sex with her anymore. She still had not earned enough money to send some home, yet was unable to work as a sex worker any longer. In order to save money, she moved from her daily paying room into a monthly paying one but still spent all the money that she had earned.

When the researchers interviewed her, she lived off the charity of a kind-hearted landlord who reduced her rent to 100 SDG per month. She was now doing laundry for others and running errands to earn money and lived otherwise on handouts. She was caught between a rock and a hard place, and did not even have the money to pay for her bus-fares back to Uganda.

4.2. Brigitte from Congo

Brigitte (32 years of age) came to Juba from the Democratic Republic of Congo via Uganda. Her parents had died long ago. She now works at Gumbo (Juba Bridge) brothel as a sex worker. She left her four older children, from 10 to 15 years of age, back home in Congo with her brother, and lives with her lastborn son, eight-year old Henri, in a small room in Juba. She has not received any news from home in Congo for a long time, which worries her a lot.

She is now living with HIV/AIDS but does not take her ARVs regularly because Juba Teaching Hospital does not supply them to patients that were not diagnosed there. Instead, she has to get them from Nimule (188 kilometres away) but does not have money to travel each month. As a result, her treatment has been inconsistent, risking the rapid onset of AIDS.

Brigitte left Kisangani, DRC, as a newlywed and moved to Uganda with her new husband, when his mission as a Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) soldier during the civil war in Congo, was over. Together, they travelled to his home in Gulu but, to her dismay, she found out there that he was already married and she expected to be his second wife. Her husband had never told her new in-laws either that he had married her so they did not accept her. She spent miserable years in an abusive marriage and never found love she had been longing for.

Her husband died after a long illness that is likely to have been AIDS. To make matters worse, her husband's family rejected her and her son after his death. She went to a nearby Voluntary Counselling and Testing Clinic (VCT) to test for HIV, and tested HIV-positive. This came as another bombshell to her but she had no time to mourn, instead she had to focus on surviving with her son, against all odds. Life's bitter experiences had hardened her and nothing mattered anymore, she just wanted to survive and fight for her son to grow up well. After the shock of the HIV test, Brigitte met a kind woman who convinced her to move to Nimule, a town on the Uganda and South Sudan border, where she would be able to work in a shop to earn money and look after her son. Like all the others, she would do *Nkuba Nkeyo*.

Brigitte got a soft loan and established herself in the market selling second hand clothes, charcoal, bananas and other goods. Business was good and she saved 700,000 Ugandan Shillings (about 300 USD). One night someone broke into her shack and stole all her money. At that point, Brigitte realised that the only asset she had left to earn an income was her body.

Brigitte worked as sex worker in Nimule for five months and saved some money. It was in this time that she got into contact with experienced sex workers and traffickers. When she heard from several women about the booming sex trade in Juba, she gave it serious thought and decided to try her luck. Brigitte thought she would earn good money selling her body to men and enable her to look after her son and live comfortably. She arrived straight at Gumbo brothel where she has been selling herself as a '*Malaya*' for 15 months now. When Brigitte was growing up, it never crossed her mind that she would be a '*Malaya*' one day. *"But look at what has become of me, a God-fearing woman selling her body to men for money every day."*

"It scares me to imagine that any of my relatives knows about what I am doing to survive, sometimes I wish to die but when I think about Henri, my son, I do everything possible to support him."

As she wiped tears rolling uncontrollably from her eyes she said; *"I am glad my mother never lived to see me stoop so low. I have never enjoyed sex (kumwaga maji) with any client, I do it without any emotions; it is like the way you use your computer in the office or a cup to drink water. I have a lot of back pain. With the help of God and some luck I earn enough to survive."*

She needs only 10 SDG for food; however, she has never made enough money to send some home. Brigitte has three regular clients and she does not ask them to use a condom.

"I have no desire for things like drinking or smoking when I have no clients, I just chat with the other Congolese colleagues or sleep. These days I am tired most of the time. As you can see I am very sick, I prefer one client for overnight sex. I get 30 of 50 SDG for that. My son sleeps next to my bed on the floor, on this thin mattress under the mosquito net."

The researchers asked Brigitte if her son did not hear anything when she had sex with men;

"I really hope he does not hear anything. He is a deep sleeper. Some clients who do not want to use condoms beat me at times and then it is noisy in the room, but I always pray that my son does not wake up. Some clients come with the intention to grab the money you have made; often they leave with your mobile phone and other valuables or refuse to pay after sex. Especially Sudanese boys can be violent and call us names such as Shara Muta, a derogatory word for prostitute. We can do nothing. I hope that eventually I will get the money but one is not always successful."

Brigitte plans to move to a monthly-rent room that costs 150 SDG per month because ten SDG per day is too expensive. She fears the treatment by the proprietor when she cannot pay; they beat those sex workers who fail to pay and lock them in their rooms. She plans to look for a steady 'lover' among her clients who will pay the rent. She shares her room with her son. The bed is separated from the rest of the room by a curtain and usually he sleeps on the other side of the curtain when she is working. Brigitte hopes her son does not hear her when she has sex or is beaten by the men but does not know for sure. It scares her every night.

Brigitte from Congo finally says:

"How can someone help me? If someone could help me out of the lodge, I can do housekeeping. I am looking for money to take my son back home. I can sell clothes if that is possible. I have an eight-year-old son. It is very expensive to go back because we will have to fly. We can go back if I get a small income-generating project. I need to take my son back to my mother so that he will be safe before I die."

Prostitutes like Brigitte find themselves in a downward spiral because, without an alternative source of income, it is very difficult to leave the work, while the high level of stigma surrounding prostitution means that ex-prostitutes do not find a job easily. The researchers asked women and girl prostitutes if they wanted to do a different job. Most of them indicated they would wish to participate in income-generating activities in order to make money, either to support their families or to go back home. Most would like to leave the sex trade but they do not see how they can, as they can get no job and need money to start any small business.

4.3. Kiden from South Sudan

Kiden (16 years of age) comes from Nimule, South Sudan, and belongs to the Lulubo tribe. Her father died and left six children with their mother. Kiden's mother remarried to a man who burns charcoal for a living. Kiden landed in Juba two years ago after running away from her stepfather who, in the course of an argument in which she refused to be married off to an old man, a move which would have reduced the cost of a mouth to feed and brought some income to the household, stabbed her in the back with a knife. She escaped after this ordeal to Juba with the help of her mother and was lucky to get there through a lift, on top of a truck.

In Juba, Kiden went straight to her aunt and helped her to serve tea in her teashop. Sadly, that same year her aunt died of cholera and her uncle wanted to marry her off to be free from the burden. Again, she refused and ran away again, this time to Konyo Konyo, a market located between Malakia and Juba Bridge, where she joined a group of street girls who lived and worked with their parents in the illegal bars of the market, commonly known as 'Indaya'. She associated closely with the women and children of these street families. They were traumatized by conflict, brewed *merissa* or distilled *siko* for the little financial gain it offered.

They slept at the back of the market where a large community of homeless, unemployed, alcohol-addicted and psychosocially traumatized people live in small dilapidated '*tukuls*' or in *rakuba*; little makeshift shacks concocted out of scavenged pieces of wood, carton or plastic.

The adults gave the appearance to have forgotten to take care of their children, who roamed in groups of five to ten girls. These girl-groups became gangs and lived with a lot of violence among themselves, as they imitated and associated with a notorious gang of '*niggers*'. With *niggers* as her role model, Kiden learnt to smoke, sniff glue, drink spirits and steal from shops.

The gang she joined often had violent fights with other youth-gangs. Once, when members of a rival gang caught the girls, the young men forced them to have sex with them in the market.

Kiden learnt also to brew 'merissa' and to distil 'siko' in old oil drums barrels set on open fire. By doing so, she got used to the drinking of beer and spirits within the community, leading to widespread alcoholism and violence, while she got used to daily alcohol consumption herself.

The brewing residues from sorghum, which contain a small percentage of alcohol, is often the only 'food' available in poor homes in Juba while the step from eating the residues of brewing to drinking from the beer-pot is very small. Little children, therefore, get easily introduced to the consumption of alcohol and it is not uncommon to see them drunk in the morning in the slums, because their breakfast contained too much alcohol. This nutrition pattern should be researched further, as the gradual induction of children to alcohol-consumption could possibly be linked to alcohol addiction, when they grow up into adults.

Together with the other street girls, Kiden scavenged in garbage heaps to find something to eat. They begged and ran errands for money during the day and then worked as barmaids in the local bars in the evening until they closed very late, after which they slept on the verandas.

The market was even more dangerous at night than during the day, as the street-boys, drunk or 'high' due to sniffing glue or petrol, also looked for shelter in the market. A group of 'Niggers' patrolled the market looking for girls: easy targets for rape. Kiden and her friends were often raped, and had sex for as little as three SDG when they lived there. After a while, the girls discovered that they could earn money by selling sex and that life on the market is not profitable and very dangerous. That is why they moved to the Gumbo brothel, for instance.

When a woman trafficker with an offer of 500 SDG approached Kiden, thereby bonding her, Kiden readily agreed. This woman rented a room for her at Gumbo and looked for clients to have sex with Kiden, so acted as her pimp. On an average night, Kiden had sex with five men and had to give nearly all money earned to the trafficker to pay her debt. She complained;

"Sometimes having sex with men is very painful, but I have nothing else to do."

"Once a man forced his way into my room and raped me, I made a lot of noise and the landlord came to my aid."

"But after this, a younger man came by to 'comfort me'; he 'used me' for a long time and he paid me 300 SDG for ten days."

Kiden was able to send half of that money to her mother and used the other half for rent and food. Life at Gumbo is safer than that in the market, according to Kiden, even though a group of boys attacked her one time in the corridors of one of the lodges on Gumbo compound, and raped her and stabbed her with a knife. On this occasion, her landlord came out with a pistol when she shouted and saved her life. When she lived in the market, she was raped more often, so she appreciates the improvement⁷. She now has a bed to sleep in and is able to have regular meals. Business is good for the young girls; after all the men say that they like 'firm breasts and tight vaginas' and the thoughts of breaking a girl's virginity excite them a lot.

Besides the five or so clients she serves each night, Kiden had one regular client for a long time and she still refers to him as her 'husband'. She uses condoms all the time and even tries to use two at once when she feels scared. When a man refuses to use a condom, she shouts to the owner of the lodge who will then send the client away. She finds sex a very painful experience and wonders if the condoms are not causing an infection inside her belly.

She was not the only person with whom the interviewers spoke, that expressed the suspicion that condoms cause pain or infection in the lower abdomen. The sex workers in Jebel Market also believed that the frequent use of condoms was causing them all kinds of health problems.

⁷ Veldwijk J. & Groenendijk C. 2011, Howden D. 2011, IRIN PlusNews 2010, Aids-Alliance 2009, IRIN News 2007, provide other vivid accounts of the life of (girl)child prostitutes in Juba's sex work zones.

5. Drivers of Transactional Sex Work

The testimonies of Kiden, Brigitte and Rosemary show that most women and girls do not opt consciously for transactional sex work as a career choice. But other than the demand for sex by the buyers – the men who solicit and buy the sex – and encouragement by 'middle men' – traffickers, brothel owners and 'pimps' – what drives these women and girls into transactional sex work? The life-stories of the interviewees identified a large number of inter-related factors that lead them into sex work. These factors included poverty or abuse in the home, whether in South Sudan or abroad, war, forced or early marriage, rape and sexual exploitation.

One 'driver' often triggers others, becoming a vicious circle into the descent into transactional sex work. The concept of trafficking in humans will be discussed and applied to the case of transactional sex work in South Sudan as well. The men who procure the sex from women and girls are also important drivers of prostitution. What drives men to demand for paid sex?

5.1. War

The second Sudanese Civil War started in 1983, although it was generally seen as a continuation of the first Sudanese Civil War of 1955 to 1972. This second war took mainly place on South Sudanese territory and was one of the longest lasting and deadliest wars of latter 20th century. The war officially ended with the signing of the CPA in January 2005. During these 22 years, over two million people were killed in South Sudan and more than four million were forced to abandon their homes and fled into exile or were internally displaced.

Asma Abdel Halim⁸ paints a grim picture of the use of violence, and in particular SEA, during the war. Rape, and other forms of sexual violence, were used by all sides as weapons of war.

"Testimony from African women presents a stark portrait of systematic violence, including sexual torture, rape, and sexual slavery, which is sanctioned by both state and opposition forces as a tactic of war and a political act to terrorize communities."

"Women are raped, either to show the southerners how they are defeated or because they are thought of as booty and do not have the right to object to the masters' whims. Southerners believe this is a genocidal war. Men from the west or north intentionally impregnate women so as to change the demography of the whole area (p. 94)"

"Women and children from conquered towns in the Sudan are also forced into slavery after being captured as booty. In many nations, women found in their homes, when the opposing forces attack, are subjected to gang rapes and brutal beatings with family members forced to watch."

The effect of these wars on the population of South Sudan has been devastating. Tens of thousands of families were displaced, away from their homes, or fled in difficult circumstances.

Women have had to survive with their children in the bush for years, trying to hide from the fighting. Many of the children that live on the streets of Juba and start working in prostitution belong to internally displaced families living in Juba. The Government of South Sudan has only a limited capacity to support the reintegration of returning IDPs, for example in the allocation of land. Indirectly, war trauma is a driver for prostitution in South Sudan because of the resulting poverty and lack of livelihood security. Moreover, the psychological effects of the wars are presumed to be significant but have not yet been researched. However, the findings of a large survey carried out in Juba in Nov. 2007⁹, showed that 36% of respondents were demonstrating clinical threshold signs of PTSD, and over 50% of clinical depression. These traumas will have a significant impact on people's initiative, productivity and resilience.

The researchers learned about a causal relationship between the war in Congo and the sex trade in Juba. Brigitte's husband was a Ugandan soldier there who asked her parents to marry. It was a common story of most Congolese women we interviewed at Gumbo and Jebel.

⁸ In Turshen & Twagiramariya p. 94. See also; Fitzgerald 2002: 85-96, Duany & Duany 2001, Jok Madut Jok 2006, ENOUGH 2011, for detailed narratives of war-inflicted psychosocial trauma of women.

⁹ In; Roberts B. et. al. 2010. Isis-WICCE, 2007, gives similar findings in a survey in rural Juba County.

They all were married, or had been married, to Ugandan soldiers, who went to fight in North Kivu in DR Congo between 2000 and 2009 and married local girls there. However, their lives became miserable when their husbands took them to their homes in Uganda after they were demobilised. When they reached the soldiers' homes, some soldiers died, often because of AIDS, while others divorced them. Others were rejected or abused by their in-laws' families, because many soldiers already had a wife at home and the family was not aware of the second Congolese wife. In the end, they decided to go to Juba, in the expectation of doing *Nkuba Kyeyo* as waiter or barmaid but ending up there as sex workers. War, domestic violence and -abuse¹⁰, poverty all served as 'drivers' for these women to become sex worker.

5.2. Effects of psychosocial stress

The psychosocial impact of traumatic experiences on the livelihoods' of people is already mentioned before. In many of the interviews held with South Sudanese sex workers, a secondary observation we made was that many of them are psychosocially traumatised. We could not ask direct questions about the sex workers' mental frame of mind, but the life-stories that many narrated had a lot of detail about each individual's psychosocial conditions. The causal relation between transactional sex work and mental stress has not come out clearly in this study but it is obvious that sex work, done out of desperation, is very stressful.

Psychosocial trauma had directly induced some women we talked to, to become sex worker, both foreigners and South Sudanese. They had lost all their self esteem and were often depressed. The only thing they still cared for was their children. On the other hand, the trauma of rape and sexual abuse emboldened other women to find a way out of the sex trade.

The indirect impact of psychosocial stress is significant. Traumatized parents do not have the will power or other capacities to protect and look after their children. More than half of roughly 25 street girls that receive daily care at CCC's drop in centre come from households where one or both parents or caretakers is seriously affected by psychosocial stress and may be described as a mental health patient¹¹. The stress is caused by a wide range of factors, e.g. the memories of aerial bombardments they witnessed during the war (Reeves E. 2011). Anxiety and fear about the future (Schomerus M. & Allan T. et. al. 2010) is a real cause of psychological stress. Another study (Tankink M. & Richters A. 2007) shows that South Sudanese women, forced to live outside their supportive home environment, have experienced high levels of mental stress because they employ silence as coping mechanism.

Two important studies in Juba County / town (Isis-WICCE 2007, and Roberts B. et. al. 2010) provide clues about the scope and severity of the mental health crisis in South Sudan and Juba in particular. 36% of respondents in the Roberts et. al. survey carried out in Nov. 2007 in a cross-section of Juba's South Sudanese adult population, showed a critical number of signs of PTSD while 50% of respondents suffered from mental depression. The implications are grave; traumatized people have a reduced capacity to guide and care for children and other community-members, who can then much more easily end up in a vicious cycle of a street-children's existence with substance abuse (glue sniffing is most common among children) while alcoholism and domestic violence drives teenage girls from home to sex work.

5.3. Alcoholism and substance abuse

Some of the interviewees the researchers met drank heavily, but alcoholism as such does not 'drive' women and girls into sex work. An alcohol-addicted sex worker loses appeal and 'market' and the sex workers know that. Some young girls that do sex work, regularly sniffed glue to get 'high'. The clients of sex workers nearly always drank beer or spirits before having their 'nights' or 'rounds' at the brothel, encouraged by the brothel owners who earn a lot of extra income through bar-keeping. Some sex workers complained that clients under the influence of alcohol acted very violently, and they were afraid of them but could not withdraw.

¹⁰ Demobilised soldiers face specific psychosocial pressure. Their sense of emasculation often leads to aggressive attitudes to women and to sexual violence. See Winkler N. 2010 and Jok Madut Jok 2005.

¹¹ This observation is corroborated by a quantitative social survey that CCC carried out in March - April 2011 among 94 households in the St. Mary slum of Juba. The report of this survey is shared on request.

Alcoholism, taking place within the households, is a very important indirect 'driver' for teenage girls to be drawn into sex work. Addicted parents or caregivers neglect their children and become unproductive, while they lose the authority, will power and strength to care for them. Two surveys on the street children situation in South Sudan show that alcoholism at home is a main cause for children to become a street child. When people resort to alcoholism to escape the daily stress at home, it directly affects their mental strength. Girls from such families are at a high risk to become sex worker at a young age, either directly from home to sex work or through the 'street children phase'. Kiden's case is typical of the latter situation.

The survey in Juba (EMDH: 2009) showed that 17% of street children left their homes due to '*alcoholism, domestic violence and exploitation*'. These factors are inextricably linked and it is revealing that all the girls interviewed talked about these as if it was one single issue. A survey carried out in Wau (Sudan Tribune, 2011) showed that almost 50% of street children ended up on the streets due to '*the abuse of their rights, cruelty and a lack of parental care*'.

5.4. Poverty

The signing of the CPA turned Sudan into a country with two governments; North Sudan and South Sudan. Juba became the capital city of South Sudan, which brought a lot of development to the city. As a result, Juba has become one of the fastest growing towns of Africa. The international community installed consulates and development agencies in Juba, to provide support for the post-conflict reconstruction of South Sudan. The increase of business and -employment in Juba also attracted many foreigners from neighbouring African countries. Ugandans, Kenyans and others, facing unemployment and poverty at home, came to Juba to find work or engage in petty trade - *Nkuba Kyeyo* - to support the families back home.

Rosemary was one of these women who came to Juba, because she faced extreme poverty at home after she lost her husband, and had children to support and was not able to find a job in Uganda. Rosemary and many other women from Uganda and Kenya thought they could make much money working in restaurants, to support their families back home. However, jobs and trade often do not work out as they expected. They then resort to all kinds of casual labour, like cooking snacks, cleaning etc., but these earnings often amount to little.

Out of desperation - the women and girls are under high pressure to send money back home - they resort to transactional sex work, a career option they would never have considered back home. Some sex workers interviewed did not start working in restaurants but had their own small businesses. Unfortunately, they were robbed and did not have the money to start all over again so they now wanted to earn enough money to return home as quickly as possible. However, some do not earn more than five to ten SDG a day, not enough even to cover their rent during periods where they have no clients at all for days or weeks on end. This kept them in debt to and bonded to lodge owners, even when using the cheapest rooms.

One Kenyan sex worker, Susan, came to Juba with the sole purpose of earning money in the sex trade because she has two children in school in Kenya to support. She charges 20 SDG per 'round' of sex and 60 SDG per night. She makes 500 SDG (about 180 USD) on a weekly basis and is able to support her family from her earnings. She refuses to have sex without a condom. Susan says no one at home knows how she earns the money and she will never disclose this to anyone at her home. It is her secret, which she will take with her to the grave.

Ogola F. describes in two reports¹² in 2010 how northern Ugandan girls were trafficked into Juba, often by their own relatives. The 'push factor' for this trafficking is the household poverty in an area with very little socioeconomic development and high psychosocial stress levels, after the LRA crisis devastated this area from 1986 to 2006. The parents of the trafficked girls may not have agreed but they were helpless to prevent their girls from being taken by traffickers. It should be noted that sometimes these traffickers are close relatives of the girls but, in spite of this, trafficked out of materialistic motives. They used deception to convince the parents this was their way out of poverty, and exploited the naivety of the girls.

¹² Ogola F. 2010 i., ii. Ogola's research was corroborated by communication with Cathy Groenendijk.

As narrated before, poverty is also one of the main drivers for South Sudanese girls, including children, to resort to sex work. The complex combination of psychosocial stress, due to the past war, displacement etc., domestic violence, insecurity about housing and other tenure in Juba, alcoholism and other factors contribute a lot to household poverty¹³. The life-story of Kiden is typical of several girls (under the age of 18) interviewed who resorted to sex work. Most of the roughly 25 street-girls, who regularly attend CCC's drop in centre, provided a lot of information, where possible, regarding the involvement of their peers in the sex trade.

5.5. Domestic Violence

The researchers discovered that in all life stories narrated by the sex workers, there was a history of violence in the family. Often women had been physically abused by their husbands and in-laws, as in Rosemary's and Brigitte's cases. Eunice is a 33-year-old Ugandan woman who divorced her husband in 2009 after he tried to kill her by stabbing her in her sleep one night. She moved from Uganda to Juba in 2010 to run away from this abuse and to find work.

Many girls, like Kiden, run away from home to the street, because of violence. Their abusers are often their own fathers, stepfathers, brothers or uncles. Even though they are vulnerable in these situations at home, they become even more vulnerable when they leave the home. The destruction in this country by the war produced many predators looking to exploit women and children for financial gain – the various traffickers and pimps described in Ch. 3 and 4. When the girls become street girls, they often have no (male) family member to protect them.

5.6. Early Marriage and changed gender perceptions

Another driver for girls to enter the sex trade is early marriage. It concerns mainly street girls from South Sudanese decent. Girls run away from forced early marriages, as Kiden did. An early marriage can also mean that a young girl has eloped with a man her family does not approve of. For instance, 15-year old Margaret in Jebel Market said: *"I dropped out of school to elope with a man who seemed really kind and sweet. I moved in with him, but now he beats me and makes me work here"*. Margaret was forced by the man with whom she ran away, to work in the Jebel Market as a sex worker. When she first arrived at the brothel, she had no idea what she was supposed to be doing. When the researchers spoke with her, she had only been there for two weeks yet and looked very much out of place in the environment.

Only a few girls or women interviewed were forced by their husbands to work in prostitution. However, in several other cases, the family of the men with whom the girls had eloped with, did not accept to receive her into the home. This means that the young couple had no place to stay in the paternal home and had to find a new home¹⁴, which is not easy in a town where housing is scarce and extremely expensive. This will put a lot of pressure on the marriage, resulting in the girl being left to survive on her own. It will be difficult for her to find a job when she has not finished school and does not speak English. Her circumstances become desperate and she may finally decide to become a sex worker, as she sees no other way out.

5.7. Rape and Sexual Exploitation

Even though almost all the interviewed women had experienced sexual assault, one way or another, the South Sudanese women and girls in particular had a history of being raped and sexually assaulted before they became transactional sex workers¹⁵. Many told us such stories.

Sexual exploitation and rape become drivers of prostitution when the girls realise that they can make money out of the sexual abuse that they are subjected to each day anyway. To become a sex worker, with a bed to sleep, food to eat, money to earn and some protection at least, is an alluring prospect for street-girls, who face violence, abuse and hunger each day.

¹³ Martin E. (2010) and Martin E. & Mosel I. (2011) provide useful background studies for the analysis of urban poverty in Juba. Pantuliano S. (2011) gives a succinct, yet comprehensive, overview of issues.

¹⁴ Shteir Sara (2007); on the changing function of marriage and bride-wealth in the Southern Sudan war.

¹⁵ Silbert M. & Pines A.M. 1981 and Marwitz G. et. al. 1993 researched the correlation between sexual abuse (rape) at a young age and the likelihood of becoming prostitute later in life. There is strong evidence that sexual abuse destroys girls' self-worth and lowers their inhibition to become a sex worker.

Even though there are 200 to 300 girls (EMDH 2009: 11) living on Juba's streets, and this number is rapidly increasing, only one drop-in centre, managed by CCC, caters for their needs. At the moment, it cares for about 25. The centre aims to keep the most vulnerable girls safe by keeping them off the street, and in school or vocational skills' training programmes¹⁶.

Interviews with the girls, taking part in the programmes of the centre, showed that all of them had been victims of rape and sexual exploitation, and most of them continued to be victims, as they did not have a safe place to sleep, as the centre could not yet offer accommodation for the night for most of them. Some girls are not even seven years old. In many cases, the perpetrators are not a family member. The story of 13-year old Dina is typical for many of them:

"My father is dead. My mother is 'already dead', because we all expect her to die of alcoholism soon. My sister works in a brothel and my brother lives on the street. My other sister is married to an SPLA-soldier but he abuses her. I have nowhere to go, except for CCC and school during the day and the market at night. I have been raped twice in the market and have been sexually abused and exploited by businessmen."

Because Dina's 15-year old sister already works in one of Juba's sex 'camps', Dina is already familiar with a brothel community. The move from the market where she has to endure violent living circumstances, to a brothel such as Gumbo, will be an easy one to make for her, as the story of Kiden showed. The director of CCC, Cathy Groenendijk, is very worried about Dina:

"We are very worried about Dina, because there is no one to care for her except us, here at CCC. Dina suffers from serious depression and we worry every night when she leaves to go back to sleep in the market, she may not come back the next morning."

A number of other girls the researchers interviewed, all between 12 and 15 and already working as transactional sex workers', had a history of sexual exploitation. The same man who sexually abused three of the younger girls that are now in the CCC programme sexually exploited Zahra. The man in the home where she worked as a baby sitter, had raped Jamila.

Sarah and Mary were also sexually abused when they were younger. They now sleep in the living quarters of soldiers near Konyo Konyo market. Because life in the market was even more violent than in Juba's brothels, some street girls decided to move on to Gumbo brothel. They said they rather earn some money from the sexual assault they will experience anyway. The five girls escaping from CCC's day drop-in centre (see foreword) told this story too. It just proves the point that the most vulnerable street girls need a safe shelter day and night.

Other forms of child sexual abuse and exploitation that the research uncovered are verbal sexual abuse, child pornography and child trafficking, linked to sexual exploitation. Research by Save the Children UK, in a multi-country study in Haiti, Cote d'Ivoire and South Sudan (2008:5), provides a comprehensive list of the types of sexual abuse and exploitation that under-aged girls are facing. All these forms of SEA were found to occur in Juba in this study;

trading sex; for food and other non-monetary items or services

forced sex; where an adult physically forces a child to have penetrative sex with them

verbal sexual abuse; where an adult says sexually indecent words to a child

child prostitution; where an adult pays money to have sex with a child

child pornography; where a child is filmed or photographed performing sexual acts

sexual slavery; where a child is forced to have sex with an adult by someone else who receives payment

indecent sexual assault; where an adult touches a child in a sexual manner or makes a physical sexual display towards them

child trafficking, linked with transactional sexual exploitation; where a child is recruited or transported illicitly for the purpose of child prostitution or sexual slavery.

¹⁶ JCCP, in partnership with CCC, carries out a vocational skills training programme, aiming at the rapid employability of street-boys and girls. Other vocational skills projects also operate in Juba, but are not specifically targeting street children. Less than 1% of all youth in Central Equatoria State enrol and benefit from vocational skills training courses (Population Council 2011), yet the need is very big.

Trading of sex for money happens often in one of the many markets in Juba, especially in Konyo Konyo. Children as young as six years old are trading sex with traders on the market, but also aid workers, in exchange for food, money, soap, sometimes even a mobile phone.

A high number of girls have been victims of rape by family members or, when they live on the street, by businessmen who search the street at night for vulnerable girls. According to the research, verbal sexual abuse and indecent sexual assault appear to happen simultaneously. In Juba, street girls spend their days on the street looking for food. In these situations, they are extremely vulnerable to (young) men who try to lead the girls on to have sex. Child prostitution, child pornography, sexual slavery, and child trafficking take place in every brothel in Juba. Table 1., on page 29, provides very rough estimates of their numbers.

Gumbo has a few big rooms that have been used as sets for the production of pornographic movies. Interviews with the under-aged girls, who work as prostitutes, revealed that they also participated in these movies by performing sexual acts. Child trafficking takes place in every prostitution zone in Juba as well, although the children interviewed stated that their peers usually took them to the brothel. Ogola F. (2010 i., ii.) provides a vivid description of the trafficking of young girls (13 to 16) from towns like Gulu, Atiak, among others, in Northern Uganda. Deception was clearly used as method in the trafficking of girls into Juba's sex trade.

The Save the Children Report (ibid.) notes that it is important to realise that all forms of sex with children below the age of consent are illegal. The minimum age of consensual sex varies around the world, but the most common minimum age condoning sexual consent worldwide is 16¹⁷. However, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) affirms that any person under the age of 18 is entitled to protection from sexual exploitation and abuse. This means: *"A child cannot be considered to have voluntarily taken part in a sexual act, and all forms of penetrative sex with a child are rape"*. (Save the Children UK, 2008: 5)

5.8. Trafficking

Sudan has been in the spotlight as a source-, transit- and destination country for men, women, and children, who have been victims of trafficking, specifically relating to conditions of forced labour and forced prostitution. The US Dept. of State (2011), reports the following:

"Sudanese women and girls, particularly those from rural areas or who are internally displaced, are vulnerable to forced labour as domestic workers in homes throughout the country. ... Some of these women and girls are subsequently sexually abused by male occupants of the household or forced to engage in commercial sex acts" (in: US Trafficking in Persons Report 2011 – SUDAN, Tier 3).

While the researches heard many accounts of women and girls who had been trafficked into transactional sex work, only two interviewees (out of the over 100) were actually physically forced into this work and forced to sell their bodies to make money for their 'pimps'. In most cases, the sex workers had been convinced and brought to the brothels through their fellow women. These women, in most cases sex workers themselves, painted a false picture to their 'victims' and became their traffickers by doing so. Work in hotels, bars, restaurants, was a common story. One interviewee stated: *"Some women bring other women and children here to 'work in restaurants' but it really is to make them to work in the brothels, and they know it."*

The women who traffic their 'victims' are often their family members or distant relatives. Rosemary's female cousin brought her to Juba under the pretext of becoming a waiter. Traffickers are often people they know well, who appear to be sympathetic with their situation and keen to help. These relatives assist them to come to Juba to help them earn the same money that they have become used to earning themselves there. Rosemary can still remember what her relative told her: *"I brought you for employment but there is no employment, except in prostitution. You have a vagina so let us use that one to make money."*

¹⁷ In the 'old' Sudan and the current North Sudan, the consensual age for marriage was 15 years but in South Sudan, this has been set at 18 years of age (in the *Child Act of Southern Sudan; 2008*). REDRESS & KCHRED (2008) describes the legal status of marriage in Northern Sudan and advocates for reform with regard to problems of underage marriage and sexual abuse within marriage.

Other interviewees contributed: *'if you can't use your hands to make a living, you also have a vagina you can use. It is just another part of your body, which serves as a means to an end.'*

5.9. The clients

The sex trade is booming in Juba, only because of the high demand for it. Most male employees of NGOs and UN organisations, foreigners¹⁸ but also many South Sudanese, are single or left their spouses back at home abroad or in rural South Sudan. According to the staff policies of most NGOs, their positions in Juba and the rest of South Sudan are non-family stations due to security and economic concerns. There are many unattached UNMIS 'blue helmets' based in South Sudan too. Most South Sudanese soldiers do not have their wives with them while on duty. This all brings a very high number of unattached male workers into South Sudan, and Juba in particular. Among those, many will engage in transactional sex to gratify their sexual desires, most occasionally but others regularly. The brothels are open to anyone with money, but each appears to attract a specific type of clients.

Back at the brothels, the women sit outside their doors while the men walk around the compound, making up their mind about which sex worker to choose. All types of men come to solicit for sex: 'Mundukuru', Ugandans, Kenyans, Asians, Chinese, South Sudanese etc. The sex workers can recognize their clients by the uniforms they wear or the cars they drive, which may bear GoSS registration plates or NGO logos. The clients include many businessmen, such as cattle traders, street vendors, money-changers, restaurant- or hair salon owners.

A class of younger sex workers goes often out at night to find *Khawadjas* as clients, because white foreigners generally do not visit the brothels. Mango camp organises club nights on Friday and Saturday, targeting the *Khawadja* community, where the girls meet clients on the densely crowded dance-floor and negotiate sex in tents on the premises, rented per hour or for the whole night. The going rate is 70 SDG per night per tent. If the man has found a girl, he will pay for the tent and pay the girl separately. After 'work' the girls hire *boda boda*s to take them back 'home'; a risky business as some *boda boda* riders are bandits or gang members who rob them of their money. This kind of sex work is very attractive to the girls as they can earn up to USD 100 per 'shot' or 'round' of sex. Other places sex workers go to in search of clients are nightclubs like Green Roken, Nile Comfort, Disco Majanin or Malahaba.

If business is slow, the more experienced sex workers have their friends at the bus stop who bring clients to them. This is especially the case for 'older' women - from their late twenties onwards - who are poor because business is slow for them because they lost their 'market'. The young girls have enough clients. One said: *"Men say I am beautiful because I am very young and my breasts are perky. They do not like old women because they have sagging tits."*

It often happens that a man has sex with a prostitute, but refuses to pay for this and when she demands for it beats her up instead. In addition, if they have ejaculated just before and want to have this again, they will want to prolong the intercourse a long time. Eunice explains:

"If the man does not ejaculate, he believes that "he has not got value for his money" and he often refuses to take his penis out of the woman. This is very painful. If the man wiggles, condoms can break. Some of the men produce blood with the semen. This is very scary but there is nothing we can do about it. If we have a good landlord, he will come to chase the bad customer away when we scream."

Every sex worker has special clients who are their 'regular' clients, often referred to by them as 'husband' or 'boyfriend'. Most women will have two or three 'husbands'. These clients will pay for their services in the form of monthly room rent. They do not have to use condoms. Therefore, even though some sex workers claim that they never have unprotected sex, they actually have this with their 'regular' contacts. Brigitte, for example, shares a lodge with eight other Congolese women. Between them they have 15 children, most of whom born in the brothel. Often the 'regular' clients had fathered these children but did not carry responsibilities.

¹⁸ See Chapter 6.5. about the involvement of UN-peacekeepers and NGO personnel in Juba in SEA.

6. Daily Struggles

It is obvious that the life of transactional sex workers in South Sudan is not free of struggles. Their living circumstances are dire, they do not have easy access to hospitals and medicine, and often they are robbed of their earnings. The availability and use of condoms is an issue, as is the situation of the children living in the brothels. They are very vulnerable to insecurity.

6.1 Access to condoms

Even though almost every interviewee claimed not to have sex without a condom, the numbers of babies and toddlers present in every brothel visited by the researchers, gives a strong indication otherwise. Answers to the questions about the use of condoms brought up many other issues. One man distributed condoms and charged five SDG per packet of 100 but the quality of these condoms was questionable. The women reported that this type tended to break during sex and seemed not to have been lubricated enough, so they burst whenever the client got a bit rough. In order to achieve effective protection, some sex workers used two or three condoms at once although this is widely known to be an incorrect use. When they are available in shops, good condoms are expensive; three condoms cost one SDG. Poor sex workers do not always have the money, while vulnerable ones tend to give in to men that refuse to wear condoms when they *"do not like to have sex with 'plastic'"*.

Some women said that they had been forced to have sex without condoms sometimes, when they did not have men around to protect them in the brothels. 'Femidoms' - female condoms - were available in Jebel Market, but it was almost impossible for the sex workers to use them because the men could become furious and suspect that the sex workers had a disgusting illness, when they saw them. Some sex workers opted to use condoms only if the men requested them to be on the safe side. All Kenyan sex workers that were interviewed said they refused to have sex without a condom, whatever the cost, but South Sudanese women (often underage girls) appeared have a lower condom use practise than foreign girls.

There is also lack of awareness about the benefits and harmful effects of the use of condoms. Some sex workers were so worried about the continuous use of condoms that they took their chances and had sex without them. They thought that continuous use of condoms, without a break, might result into some health hazards they did not know of so that at times they preferred to have sex without them, with partners they thought they could trust even though they were aware that the use of condoms prevents the spread of HIV and other STIs. Moreover, all the sex workers unanimously requested the researchers for drugs, which they could use routinely to prevent contracting STIs, implying that they may have unprotected sex or at least did not trust condoms. They confessed that STIs were very common among them.

6.2. Pregnancy, babies and abortions

During the research, we observed a number of pregnant sex workers, which meant that they used condoms incorrectly, had 'accidents' with them or did not use them at all, assuming of course that condoms were used as birth control method. None of the pregnant sex workers had planned to be pregnant. Several sex workers told us during the interviews that abortions were commonly carried out among sex workers. The Ugandan interviewees were very open about it; they were going back to Uganda to have it done there. The cost of transport was not a big problem to most. The Congolese sex workers, on the other hand, did not opt for abortions due to the costly travel, while some said it went against their Christian convictions.

At least two South Sudanese underage sex workers stated that they had had abortions; one at over six months in her pregnancy. For South Sudanese, this kind of boldness sounds like a new and terrible evil that women can only contemplate when they are facing a deep crisis¹⁹.

¹⁹ See Jok Madut Jok 1999 (i.), 2005. Due to a perceived strong social need by Dinka men to 'produce' children to make up for the losses of their fallen comrades in the civil war, they abandoned traditional birth-spacing practise (abstinence until the older sibling can walk) and put pressure on their wives to have babies much faster than traditionally practised. A 'nationalistic' but harmful obligation was put on women. This posed a serious health hazard to mother and child but caused also psychosocial stress to young wives. Out of desperation, they often resorted to abortions. This was unheard of before the war.

If an expectant mother has money, she can go to a health facility for delivery when she is due. Otherwise, she will consult a traditional midwife near the brothel who can assist with the delivery. In Jebel Market alone, one focus group estimated that there were 80 children below the age of 12 years living with them, some of whom were already forced to engage in sex work.

There is nothing like baby- or child-care in the brothels. A baby is usually put in a small cot behind a curtain, in the same room where the sex work goes on. If the clients make an issue of babies or toddlers in the same room, the mother will take them to a neighbour who will willingly accept to take care of the child while she is with a client. If a mother is well off, she may rent an extra room for the children if they are older. Sometimes several women rent one room and pool all their children together. The mothers interviewed said that they had gone to antenatal care clinics when they were pregnant, but the outcome of this appeared minimal. Most of the babies looked malnourished, were not immunised and had not been tested for HIV.

The women who had older children before they came to Juba had left those with family members in their home countries, because providing the upkeep for these children was a main reason to become prostitute in the first place. They now find living far away from their children very difficult because it is hard to stay in touch. Some failed to send money to the home and were now very anxious about the well-being of their children. They worried that they could be abused in the homes of their relatives. Two years ago, the sex trade used to be very lucrative; one could earn 100 SDG per client but now only five to ten SDG anymore, that cannot sustain the high cost of living in Juba, let alone allow for some extra to send home.

6.3. Lack of Access to ARV treatment and other health services

The findings by this research in Juba's brothels revealed that women in prostitution are at a serious risk of becoming infected with HIV. Interviews with the older sex workers (25 to 35 years old) showed that almost all of them were HIV positive. Some who had not yet tested were worried but could not confirm their fears. The women declined to disclose their HIV status in an FGD but were able to talk about this in individual interviews. Many interviewees wanted to have access to VCT services and others wanted ARVs, saying that it was the least we could do for them. They had an acute sense of the need for treatment and support, once they were proven HIV-positive, and weighed the sorrow of knowing their HIV-status with the access to ARVs and other care they could possibly get, before they were ready to be tested²⁰.

Ugandan sex workers, who were on ARV treatment and were tested and diagnosed at home before coming to Juba, were denied AIDS care at Juba Teaching Hospital because they had not been registered there and the staff tell those, who want to replenish their ARV drugs, to go back to the facility where they were first tested. This research estimates that about two-thirds of the sex workers in Juba are of foreign origin. Many who knew their HIV sero-status, were tested while still at home or on their way to Juba. The monthly return journeys back home is too expensive for most so that many women default on their monthly ARV treatment.

None of the brothels in Juba has organised health services, apart from private drug shops in the area, which prescribe and sell antibiotics to treat STIs at a very high cost. One course of treatment can cost up to 500 SDG, beyond the means of most sex workers. These drug shops are not medically controlled and their quality of diagnosis and prescription questionable.

6.4. Ill treatment by the police

As mentioned earlier, the lack of protection by the police and the abuse meted out to sex workers by these officers, is a big cause of stress to the women. A frequent story was that police officers often come at night to conduct raids in the brothels to search for guns held by brothel owners or -clients. When they do not find any, they vent their anger on the sex workers:

"The policemen make us stand naked outside our rooms while they search for guns. When they do not find any they take us inside to rape us and then take our money."

²⁰ Cf. Allen T. 2007 *Witchcraft, Sexuality and HIV/AIDS among the Azande of Sudan*. The respondents (in an area with the highest HIV/AIDS-prevalence of South Sudan) considered it 'social torture' to raise their HIV-awareness and offer HIV-testing etc. without also providing ARVs and other support (p. 394).

Moreover, many of the clients are violent as well: *"Sudanese men do not want to pay for sex but they threaten us with guns"*, some foreign sex workers said. When their clients threaten them with violence or with physical abuse, these sex workers cannot find protection anywhere.

It does not help them to file charges at the police station against men who have raped them or against clients who have refused to pay. Because prostitution is outlawed in South Sudan, their profession is considered illegal and liable to criminal prosecution. In addition, even though all foreign nationals are obliged to register with the police within three days after arrival, many foreigners, particularly from Kenya and Uganda, enter South Sudan illegally without official passport and stay inside South Sudan without valid residence- or work permit.

While the GoSS now put controls in place for the registration of foreigners residing in the country²¹, the foreign sex workers found this requirement expensive. It costs 150 SDG to be registered, an extra 150 SDG if you do not have a passport or travel permit and an additional 10 SDG fine for each day you are late before the immigration service starts with the process of registration. Moreover, work-permits are required too but rarely used in the informal sector.

6.5. Lack of Protection by Government and International Community

The newspaper publication²² of a report on sexual abuse of children in South Sudan caused a storm in UN and international NGO circles, as it explicitly implicated UNMIS 'bleu helmets' but also international UN and NGO personnel, in sexual abuse of children in South Sudan; both girls and boys. Four UN peacekeepers were quietly withdrawn out of South Sudan²³. In response, the UN and GoNU commissioned a task force to investigate these allegations²⁴ within a wider framework for coordinated monitoring and control of SEA in all States of Sudan.

More evidence of SEA of children in South Sudan (boys and girls) came out in subsequent reports.²⁵ The Save the Children UK (2008) report, which focuses on the SEA of children perpetrated by peacekeepers and foreign aid workers, quotes a young boy in South Sudan:

"Although the peacekeepers are not based here, they have abused girls here. They come here a few days at the time where they stay in a local compound. This compound is near to the water pump where everyone collects water. In the evening hours, the peacekeepers come out and stand near to the water pumps. Some of the girls from the village will come and collect water. The men call to the girls and they go with them into the compound. One of them became pregnant and then went missing. We still do not know where she is. This happened in 2007 (Save the Children UK, 2008:6)."

The same report also quotes a young girl in South Sudan: *"NGO workers bring a lot of young girls to the boarding school where they run a training. The trainers' abuse the girls and some of them [the girls] leave pregnant"* (ibid. 9). *The perpetrators are staff from several UN agencies and local and international NGOs, as well as religious groups."*

Another report (US, 2011), states the following: *"Sudanese girls also engage in prostitution within the country, at times with the assistance of third parties, including law enforcement officials"* (). One (underage) girl explained that she 'works' from Mango Camp, Bros and Smart Camp, but that others visit NGO-compounds for which they are cleared by security guards. These reports concur with interviews of under-aged girls we conducted for this study:

"We get 100 USD to sleep with NGO workers, who stay in Mango camp. If they are white, we can make up to 400 USD per night. Sometimes they come to the brothel. We recognise them by their cars or their ID badges."

²¹ There is no national registration card and -system yet although the GoSS has announced that this will be introduced after South Sudan's independence on 9-7-2011.

²² Holt, K. & S. Hughes, the Telegraph 2-2-2007. 'UN staff accused of raping children in Sudan'.

²³ Watchlist 2007 (p. 33)

²⁴ UN News Centre 18-1-2007 *Joint UN - Sudan Government task force to deal with the issue of sexual exploitation*. As an outcome, National and State level task forces to monitor cases of SEA were set up.

²⁵ IRIN News 25-6-2007 *SUDAN: Juba's street children survive at risk of HIV/AIDS*; Save the Children UK 2008. *No One to Turn To*; US Department of State 2011. *Human Trafficking in Sudan Report 2011*

In addition, the annual 'Trafficking in Persons' reports by the US Department of State show that some officials from the GoNU and the GoSS have been compromised with the sex trade of Sudan, mentioning both North as well as South Sudan. These officials are therefore likely to have an implicit interest to perpetuate the lack of legislation and lack of advocacy for the sex workers rights'. Sex workers told the research team that the owner of Tong Ping brothel was a prominent Member of Parliament. The report on Trafficking in Persons SUDAN (2011) concludes that the GoNU and GoSS both do "not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking and are not making significant efforts to do so. [...] The GoNU does not acknowledge the existence of forced labour nor forced prostitution in the country".

7. Conclusions

1. Scope and distribution of prostitution

In the previous chapters, a rough estimate has been made of the number of sex workers working full or part time in Juba's brothels or pick-up spots. Based on cursory counts of the number of rooms in the main brothel areas and on estimates by the sex workers themselves, the following numbers of sex workers were estimated to be working, in July and August 2010;

Table 1. Estimated numbers of sex workers in Juba

Prostitution zone	Estimated no. of sex workers	Estimated no. of South Sudanese sex workers	Estimated no. of underage sex workers
Gumbo (Juba bridge)	400 - 600	100	20
Jebel	600 - 800	400	200
Custom market	400 - 600	100 - 150	100
Tong Ping	50	2	
Others	550 - 700	300 - 350	150 - 180
TOTAL	2000 - 2750	900 - 1000	470 - 500

It should be noted that the locations where sex workers operate are subject to change; they are also affected by the forced eviction and demolition of slum areas frequently taking place in Juba (Martin E. 2010). It was not always possible to establish if sex workers were foreign or Sudanese; those from ethnic groups living on both sides of international borders (Acholi, Madi, Azande etc.) sometimes stated that they were South Sudanese while in reality they identified more with the neighbouring countries. Nearly all underage girls²⁶ (below 18) come from South Sudan, apart from some Northern Ugandan girls (reports by Ogola F. 2010 i., ii.).

2. Type of prostitution.

In this research, we only came across SEA of a heterosexual nature. That is not to say that homosexual SEA (men having sex with men) does not occur in Juba. Earlier research²⁷ unearthed the rape of boys, including street children, in many places in South Sudan during and after the war and other research described the widespread sexual abuse of street boys (mainly of South Sudanese origin) in Khartoum²⁸. The focus of this research was very much on the four main brothel-zones of Juba, where only women and girls work as prostitute. The possible 'scene' for homosexual prostitution could therefore have escaped the observations in this research. This particular type of sexual exploitation merits further study and advocacy.

3. The problem of trafficking into sex work and other forms of involuntary sex work.

Article 3 of the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (2000)²⁹ states;

²⁶ IRIN Plus-news 2010, Ogola F. 2010 i., ii., Aids-Alliance 2009, Howden D. 2011

²⁷ Human Rights Watch 1995; Holt K & S. Hughes 2007; IRIN news 2007; Save the Children 2008 (i)

²⁸ Lalor K. et. al. 1993

²⁹ In: United Nations 2000, see also World Vision 2009 for more definitions of trafficking.

"Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, 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. 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."

The vast majority of transactional sex workers in Juba are victims of human trafficking, according to this definition. Recruiters (traffickers) commonly used fraud and deception as a means to introduce and employ women and girls into sex work. Women from neighbouring countries, expecting to work in restaurants or bars but ending up as sex worker, were deceived. In most cases, the recruiters (traffickers) and pimps exploited the vulnerability of women one way or another. The brothel owners exploited the debts of sex workers for the renting of their rooms and kept them bonded that way. Law enforcement officers exploited the sex workers in many cases for sexual services and were unwilling to pursue criminal investigations when army, police etc. -officers were implicated in the abuse of sex workers.³⁰

4. Underage (children's) sex work.

A particular concern of the research is the increasing number of underage (below 18 years) girls engaged in transactional sex. Per definition, this is always classified as criminal child abuse (Child Act of Southern Sudan 2008) and as human trafficking. This research estimates now that about 500 girls work as sex worker in Juba; a number that appears to be growing³¹. Nearly all these girls are South Sudanese; the life-story of Kiden (Ch. 4. 3) is typical of many. The domestic situation of these girls is the main driver into prostitution and should be studied further. Over the last few years, a social class of 'street families' has emerged of households without secure income and without housing (some of Juba's slums have been forcibly evicted and demolished at least twice a year), so they live in makeshift shelters or *rakuba* made from pieces of plastic and carton that are scavenged from the garbage heaps. Poverty, GBV (see below), alcoholism, dysfunctional parental care at home, and the peer pressure from girls who are already working as sex worker, are main 'drivers' for girls to be drawn into this trade.

5. Gender aspects.

"In the context of a displaced, dispossessed and disenfranchised community, alternative and destructive forms of masculinity and femininity can emerge, in which aggressiveness and revenge come to the fore, perpetuated over generations." (El-Bushra J. & Sahl I. p. 41)

Jok Madut Jok (1999 (i, ii) and 2005) and Hutchinson S. & Jok Madut Jok (2002) studied the impact of Sudan's civil war on gender dynamics in Dinka and Nuer communities, at a time where most young men were away on the battlefields. Because the traditional roles of men; protection of the homes, cattle and families, and provider of basic housing and money, had been taken away from them, the women had to learn to take on these roles. In addition, a strong obligation to 'produce' children to replace the fallen comrades, was put on the women.

All this has caused changed masculinity - femininity roles and expectations, psychosocial stress, frustration, aggression, domestic violence and a breakdown of some social protective norms (e.g. child spacing practice, social control over excessive drinking). Although a few positive social changes (women taking initiatives in female headed-households) were noted³², Jok Madut Jok 2007:236 notes; *"Such emphasis as part of the war has produced a subculture of violence when young men read it as a license to sexual aggression, whether in domestic settings or elsewhere."* The impact of Juba's new individualistic urban life-styles on feelings of male emasculation (Silberschmidt M. 2001) could 'drive' male aggressiveness and indirectly the soliciting for paid sex. Both factors are likely to be neglected root causes of SEA.

³⁰ Human Rights Watch 2009, pp. 40-41

³¹ See also; IRIN Plus-news 2010, Aids-alliance 2009, ILO/IPEC 2010, Veldhuis and Groenendijk 2011

³² E.g. Duany & Duany 2001, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation 2010, Grabska K. 2011, Itto A. 2004

Similar dynamics are now observed in the slum areas of Juba, where most of the underage girls, who are gradually drawn into paid sex work, are growing up. Households lack the social control by the traditional justice they were used to in rural South Sudan (Leonardi et. al. 2010).

These slums are frequently evicted and bulldozed and therefore people do not have homes to speak of (USAID 2010) and gradually become 'street individuals and families', accelerating further a breakdown of social control systems. This causes a lot of frustration by men and women alike; in men because they become powerless to fulfill their roles of protector and provider of the families, in women because of their worry for the well-being of their children and elderly. This frustration leads to quarrels and a lot of domestic violence, which is exacerbated by uncontrolled drinking. Hardly any community structures that traditionally mediated and resolved such domestic violence cases are functional anymore in Juba's slums.

A main concern should be that this aggressiveness and violence will be '*perpetuated over generations*' (El-Bushra J. & Sahl I. p. 41). The children copy behavioral patterns from their patterns, and daily exposure to GBV, drunkenness and a lack of social control by community members, will induct them into a life where they carry this on, but also where there is little inhibition to get involved in transactional sex as a risky but 'normal' coping mechanism. We noted that girls who are sexually abused at a young age are less restrained to become a sex worker; they prefer to be rewarded for the sexual abuse they have grown up with in a brothel, rather than experiencing it at home or on the streets without any reward. We are concerned that this attitude can be perpetuated by cross-generational adaption (girls seeing their mothers involved in the sex trade) and by adaptation to the behaviour of the peers of the girls.

Effective governance structures in Juba's slums are lacking. While in South Sudan's rural areas a decentralized government's structure exists, with *Payam* and *Boma* officials, this is lacking in the slum areas. The slum-dwellers see very little of *Hakuma* (visible government presence) and have low expectations of them, also because all social services (health, education, water etc.) are expensive, when compared to rural areas where free health care or near-free education is the norm (even if they are of low quality at times). Traditional justice and governance systems (Leonardi et. al. 2010), which govern social life in the rural areas, are dysfunctional in the slums. Chiefs are absent because they remained in the rural areas and they have no equivalent in the slums. Civil society structures are very weakly developed.

Duffield (2010) paints a challenging perspective on the ignorance about the poverty and misery in Juba's slums by the UN and NGOs, taking as his starting point the architecture of 'gated communities' in which UN-staff (and to a lesser extent NGO-staff) live and work, physically and mentally far removed from the slum-dwellers. Their lack of knowledge and empathy about Juba's excluded is reinforced by the fragmentation of the town into protected enclaves - 'gated communities' - for the well-to-do, and slums for all others. Slum dwellers have been forcibly evicted, and their shelters demolished, by town authorities; on average twice a year since 2007 (Martin E. & Mosel I. 2011, USAID 2010). This reduces the initiative by households to improve their living situation, like shelters, latrines etc. and so structures become more and more makeshift. They become elusive 'street families'; a reality that is known to exist, yet far removed, from the daily living by insiders living in 'gated communities'.

6. The clients.

Even though SEA, perpetrated by foreigners, received much media attention in the past³³ (see Ch. 6.5), according to this research most SEA in Juba is caused by South Sudanese men. An upfront presentation is needed of the role by all clients as 'drivers' of SEA, because otherwise the perception that SEA is an imported vice, perpetrated by foreigners, may prevail, hindering government and civil society to 'own up' squarely to the problem situation. Having said this, the prosecution of SEA, perpetrated by foreigners, should remain on the agenda too. The investigations into this scandal, which were announced by the UN and GoNU (UN News Centre 2007), have not resulted in a public report, so this merits further advocacy.

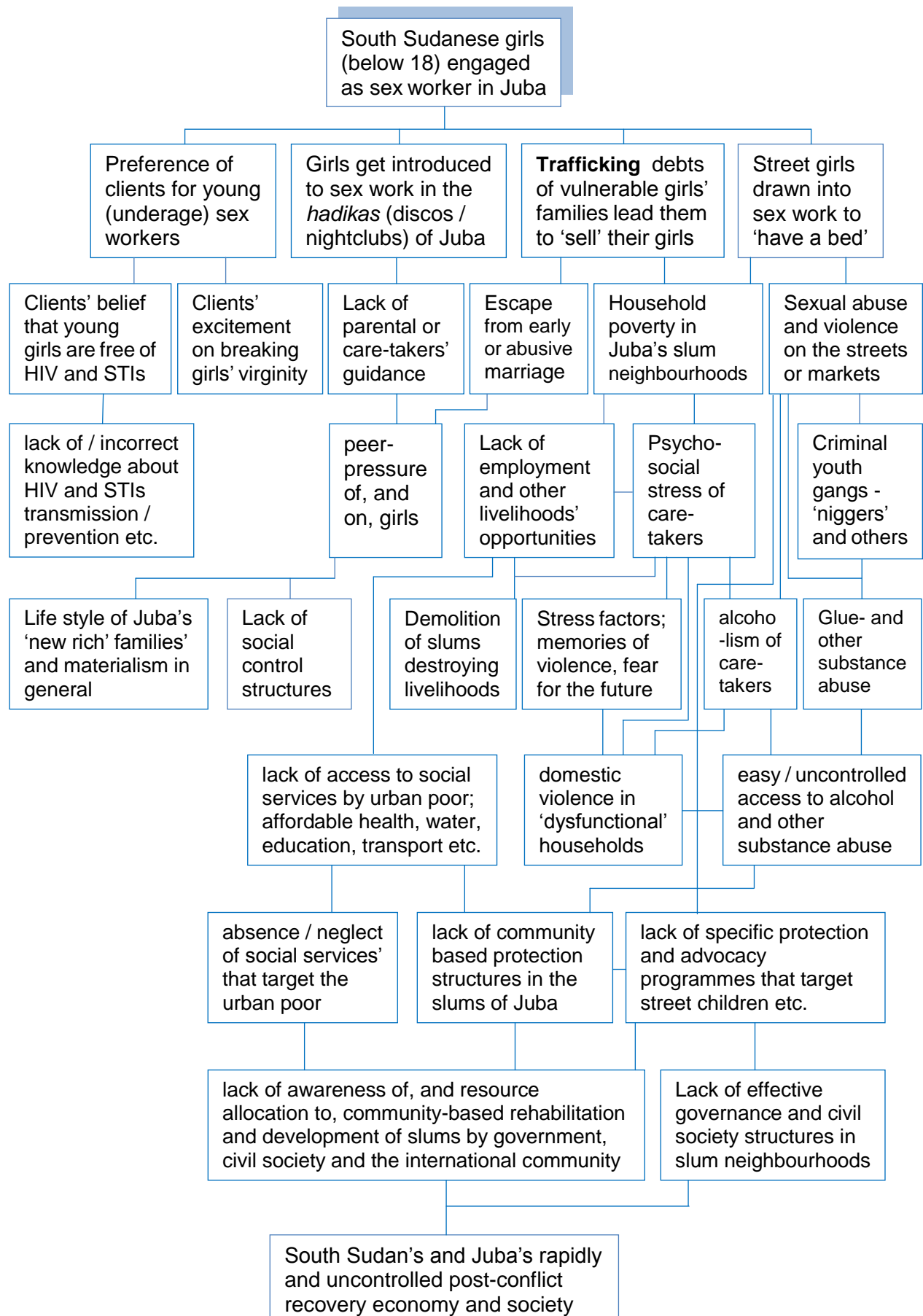
³³ Holt K. & Hughes S., 2007; UN News Centre, 2007; IRIN news, 2007; Save the Children, UK 2008 (i)

7.1. Summary; analysis of trafficking of women and girls into Juba for sex work

The 'drivers' or causes of the two key concerns in this research; the trafficking of women and girls into sex work, and exploitation of children into sex work, are presented in two respective diagrams. The main issues, and the way these are inter-related, are summarized in a logical form in these diagrams, although they can only capture a limited number, and not necessarily the most important, of details. However, the complexity of the sexual exploitation and -abuse problem situation in Juba is made clear. The problem analysis also helps as a logical step, by changing problems into opportunities, to the recommendations presented in the next chapter.



7.2. Summary; analysis of the engagement of girls in sex work in Juba



8. Recommendations

8.1. Rights holders and duty bearers

A rights-based analysis of all the stakeholders' involved, consciously and unconsciously, in the problem of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Juba, helps to determine who is responsible for what. All stakeholders are categorized as either 'rights holders', 'duty bearers' or both³⁴. The basic premise is that 'duty bearers' (governments, institutions and individuals) are obligated to respect, protect and fulfil the human rights of all people, with a stronger obligation to the most vulnerable people. Rights' holders are entitled to claim their own rights from duty bearers, but they also have to respect the rights of others. In the context of this study, most of them are considered as victims of Trafficking in Humans, according to the UN definition³⁵ when human rights of sex workers are to be taken as the starting point. (see Ch. 7).

By virtue of their actual or potential position to influence decision-making, some sex workers, but also brothel proprietors and law enforcement officials, are duty bearers. The duty bearers should be held accountable for the monitoring, reporting and stopping of SEA, while the rights' holders should exercise their claims for regulation of SEA and protection of vulnerable persons from it. The action to hold duty bearers accountable to rights holders is described as 'advocacy' while supporting the claim making capacity of rights' holders is 'empowerment'. Both these actions need to be addressed, when one adheres to a rights-based project design.

The knowledge that many women and girls are known to be victims of trafficking and other forms of abuse, despite the illegal status of prostitution in South Sudan, presents a serious moral dilemma. While they legally commit criminal offenses, at the same time they deserve and (in rights-based approaches) are entitled to support and protection. Adherence to the UN definition of the Article 3 of the Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (2000) - quoted on p. 30 - will help to maintain an unbiased support for women and girls engaged in transactional sex work. The cross border dimension of Juba's SEA 'scene', with most sex workers trafficked across international borders, poses additional questions. Is it morally right to expel such women back to their 'home' countries?³⁶ Male clients and brothel proprietors etc. should also be held accountable legally, through criminal proceedings for the illegal soliciting and employment of sex workers³⁷.

Table 2. Rights' holders and duty bearers in Juba's sex trade

Stakeholders	Rights holders	Duty Bearers	Both
Sex workers – leaders or spokespersons	x	x	x
Sex workers - trafficked	x		
Sex workers – under age	x		
Brothel / nightclub etc. proprietors		x	
Brothel clients		x	
Police officers		x	
Immigration officials		x	
Central and local government	x		
Legal professionals		x	
NGOs (int. and national)	x		
Civil society groups	x	x	x
Social workers (Ministry of Social Dev.)	x	x	x

³⁴ See Theis J. 2003; for a framework of rights-based design and monitoring of protection programmes.

³⁵ In; UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children; 2000.

³⁶ Limoncelli 2010 describes the legal and moral dilemmas of cross-border prostitution and trafficking.

³⁷ A lesson may be drawn from the 'Nordic' or Swedish model where clients of sex workers are primarily held accountable as criminal offender and the (female) sex workers secondarily. (Limoncelli)

The 'spectacle' of urban poverty in general, and of the sex work in the slums in particular, is one that is not seen by many people, as they commute between residence to work. There is a historical bias for the targeting of humanitarian aid in South Sudan on the rural hinterland, while the slums of big towns, which have emerged the past years, form a blind spot³⁸. Most NGOs share the common perception that town people are 'alright', compared to rural people.

However, this is not the case, which was corroborated by the research findings. Hardly any health services in Juba specifically target the urban poor and many go without treating basic ailments. Clinics in town universally charge users' fees to all patients, often at a cost that is prohibitive to the poor. Primary school education has become expensive, and prohibitively so for the very poor (annual school-fees in most schools are 350 SDG in 2011, additional school requirements like uniforms etc. cost an additional ± 400 SDG per child per year) while the acceptance and integration of poor children into schools is often difficult and needs support³⁹.

Clean water is also expensive and is out-of-reach for slum dwellers. Instead, they draw water from the polluted Nile or from seasonal streams in town. Basic pit latrines at the local homes are very rare in the slums. Instead, most of the slum dwellers, living in the Konyo Konyo area in Juba, have to resort to open defecation on the grounds of the main cemetery of the town.

The estimated 2,000 to 3,000 street-children in Juba need a lot of targeted care. The support currently provided seems comparable to a drop in the ocean, and then it is mainly from CBOs and churches, in the form of education and occasionally distribution of food or clothes.

During the research, absolutely no NGO-organised or -supported social services, specifically targeting the needs of sex workers, were found within or close to the brothel zones. There is no health-organisation or -project providing reproductive health care, STI clinics etc. to sex workers. In principle, they have access to regular clinics but the stigma will be high. Expensive herbalists and other unconventional practitioners operate clinics around the brothel zones but the quality is doubtful. There is no organized distribution of condoms, even though its consistent use is a critical HIV-transmission prevention method. HIV/AIDS infected sex workers find it hard to get access to ARV treatment⁴⁰ and as a result often default on this.

8.2. Recommendations; counteracting trafficking into prostitution

To the Government of South Sudan

- Carry out legal and criminal proceedings against all direct stakeholders in prostitution. This requires that the clients of prostitutes, prostitutes themselves, brothel owners, 'pimps' etc. should be legally prosecuted. The police forces need to be equipped for this⁴¹. The content of the South Sudanese penal codes, relating to prostitution, human trafficking etc. should be disseminated widely in the first place, targeting the very stakeholders that are perpetrating this. Public information campaigns may be necessary.
- Victims of trafficking, whether they are working in the sex trade or not, should be legally represented and supported. Legal aid to all SEA victims should be an accepted practice.
- Consistent border control and registration of foreigners, to regulate and prevent the trafficking of humans into sex work (and into any other occupation, for that matter). Regional cooperation agreements would need to be established or further strengthened.
- Ensure unhindered access to reproductive- and other health services for all sex workers. Cost sharing practices in clinics (both Ministry of Health and private ones) need to be monitored and controlled to ensure that basic health services are always accessible to all.

³⁸ As in; Martin E. and Mosel I. 2011, Pantuliano S. 2011, Pantuliano S. et. al 2011, Pavanello S. 2011.

³⁹ CCC integrates 300 to 350 children from slum areas into Primary schools. This requires regular counselling of children and mediation with teachers and education offices, besides providing materials.

⁴⁰ This is because foreign nationals are ineligible for free ARV treatment, while South Sudanese women can only access it at the health centre where they were diagnosed first, often far away from Juba

⁴¹ The publicised training of 500 police officers in South Sudan on 'gender sensitive' arrest and prosecution of Sexual and Gender Based Violence cases is, in principle, very helpful. See UNFPA 2011.

- Specific STI clinics, with VCT units, staffed by qualified, but also empathetic, nurses and counselors, are required to provide specific health services to sex workers. The legal aspects need to be clearly agreed on and the provision of health care services to sex workers should not be construed as practically aiding commercial sex work, because the right to basic health services should be overriding principle. Where NGOs support this type of health services', the government should create an enabling environment for this.
- Access to condoms, with quality control and advice on proper use, should be ensured. A (low cost) social marketing system may be more effective than a free distribution system.
- Ensure access to ARV treatment, also for women who tested and registered at other facilities than the centre where they seek support in Juba or elsewhere in South Sudan.
- Support the operations of rescue centre(s) for women (sex workers, but not limited to them) worst affected by trafficking e.g. those threatened by violence. While such a centre is likely to be NGO managed, the government can ensure an enabling environment.
- Support a social welfare system that targets (trafficked) sex workers. The government should create an enabling environment for community-based initiatives by sex workers who want to leave the 'trade' to be supported. These can include self-help groups formed by (former) sex workers who want to earn an income through (other) income-generating activities. Access to micro-credit loans should be extended to these groups.
- Sudanese sex workers are growing up and where they are still rooted in communities, vulnerable and traumatizing as they are. Integrated community development support to such communities will indirectly reduce the flight into paid sex work, and reduce sexual abuse. More security about their land entitlement should be given to these squatters with an assurance that they are not evicted unexpectedly. This would be an important step in the predictably difficult, long and slow rehabilitation process of slum dwelling communities.

To NGOs and other humanitarian actors

- Advocacy for the rights of trafficking victims. NGOs and UN agencies are well placed for this through their international connections and their capacity to lobby for the rights of trafficking victims. This includes cross border trafficking, as well as inside South Sudan.
- Provide legal aid to trafficking victims in conflict with the law, through legal aid clinics that are widely accessible. A 24-hours' telephone hotline could further support trafficking victims in difficult circumstances, and should refer callers to counselors and legal clinics.
- Support public information campaigns, in coordination with the GoSS. The illegality of sex work (according to South Sudan's laws and moral codes) and the responsibility of all stakeholders involved (i.e. blaming sex workers, while not talking about the clients or brothel owners etc.) must be emphasized. This must be balanced with factual information about the sex workers' position, their rights as victims of trafficking and possible actions to reduce stigma and support their access to social services. The exchange of public information in Juba takes place mainly through radio broadcasts and newspaper coverage.
- Initiate and support community initiatives where individuals or committees monitor their local neighborhoods for rights' violations, like trafficking and child abuse, and report this to relevant authorities. This requires training and intensive field visiting. See Ch. 8.4. on the different approaches possible. Such a community-based monitoring structure is vital to fill the void of effective policing- and local justice structures in Juba's makeshift slums.
- NGOs can play an important role in the provision of health services targeting sex workers. This includes the operation of special STI and HIV (VCT and ART) clinical services. It is necessary to have agreements with the Ministry of Health and with law enforcement departments about this as such clinics are bound to be visited by sex workers with illegal residence status in South Sudan, hence are legally in conflict with the law. General clinical services should be provided by such clinics as well, if possible.

- A social marketing scheme of condoms (both male and female condoms) is needed, targeting sex workers and their clients, with quality control of condoms marketed (and if possible also condoms sold commercially in shops, the market etc.). Social marketing (at low cost) of condoms may be more acceptable than free distribution. Instructions on the right use of condoms, including their hygienic disposal, should be given to sex workers and possibly also to clients. The sex workers' clients should also be advised on the risks of STIs and HIV through dissemination of appropriate information materials in the brothels.
- Psychosocial counselling of trafficked and/or sexually assaulted women and girls is much needed. NGOs and UN-agencies should support assessments⁴², identify local counsellors and organizations (FBOs and CBOs are well placed for this) and support these with training, incentives that enable them to carry out their tasks and provide an organizational structure in which counselling can be made to go on sustainably. This should therefore be planned in close coordination with the Ministry of Social Development.
- Initiation and support of sex workers' self help groups. A main, but not exclusive, focus of these groups should be on practical encouragement to leave the occupation. Self help groups need to be informed about possible access to legal support, need to have information about health services, and should, where possible, have access to life-skills' training that will help them get an orientation on profitable occupations outside prostitution.
- Building on the structures of self-help groups, exit programmes to support sex workers to leave prostitution should be initiated and supported. These can include vocational skills training and materials' provision to enable sex workers to gain alternative income, provide micro-credit loans to these groups etc. NGOs and UN agencies could actively support such initiatives in partnership with CBOs and FBOs, who tend to relate more closely to the needs and opportunities of community based initiatives. As we have seen in the context analysis, most sex workers are victim of circumstances and will need to be encouraged to take initiatives into their own hands and control their own 'career planning'.
- The large numbers of sex workers that come from the neighboring countries will need special cross-border reintegration programmes, facilitating their reintegration back home. International NGOs are well placed to support such programmes because of their international contacts. In practice, support to self-help groups of sex workers could be provided, with a comprehensive package of legal aid, counseling, livelihoods skills' training and access to micro-credit etc. within the towns where they came from. Coordination with the Ministry of Social Development structures and with the immigration service in South Sudan is a precondition in such programmes, as is the coordination with central- and local authorities in the home-countries and -towns of the foreign sex workers.
- Back in Juba, the integrated community-based rehabilitation of the brothel-zones can be supported by international agencies. This includes support to community-based monitoring and support to basic social services in the areas to prevent the re-emergence of brothels. The main focus should be on building local community structures, to prevent the existence of geographical 'zones' and social 'scenes' in Juba where SEA is tolerated.

To community groups, e.g. churches

- CBOs, FBOs and FBCs are in a strong position to support the care of trafficking victims. These local groups could carry out monitoring of human rights violations in the areas, including that of trafficking into the sex trade. Ch. 8.4 gives ideas on how to identify and support community-based monitors and -activists but many other lessons can be learned.
- Community groups are in the best place to carry out counselling of trafficking victims. Members could be trained in counselling and be helped to set up organisation structures, in partnership with social workers of the Ministry of Social Development and NGO staff.

⁴² As e.g. by Winkler N. 2011. This assessment analyses psychosocial support needs of demobilized soldiers; similar assessments of other groups at high risk of psychosocial suffering are equally needed.

- Community groups could support public information campaigns by the government and NGOs. Informing local groups in the community about the injustice of sex workers' trafficking could support their de-stigmatization and acceptance in local neighbourhoods.
- Community groups (CBOs and FBOs) should be equipped to provide basic social services to trafficking victims. They could implement livelihoods' skills training of self-help groups, formed by sex workers, laying the basis of income-generating activities. Potentially, the integration of sex workers and non sex workers into self-help groups, where members fully share responsibilities and benefits, could be a powerful mechanism to reduce the stigma in local communities although it may be difficult to achieve this ideal.
- Small income-generating activities by self-help groups should be further supported, with access to micro-credit etc. Community groups can support these projects in many ways.
- Finally, local groups should be at the forefront in rehabilitating their own neighbourhoods, also in the so-called brothel zones. Partnerships between local government, NGOs and local community groups to gradually rehabilitate the physical and social structures of deprived urban neighbourhoods should be a very effective approach. (World Bank, 2011)

8.3. Recommendations; counteracting children's involvement in prostitution

To the Government of South Sudan

- The government should provide legal protection of children, in accordance with the Child Act of Southern Sudan. In the context of children (anyone below 18 years of age) involved in prostitution, this means that the government is obliged to stop this by removing children from venues where prostitution takes place. The Social Welfare department of the local government should take a lead in this and be empowered to do so.
- Criminal proceedings should be carried out against all persons involved in sexual exploitation of children. These include the clients involved in their prostitution, but also the parents or care-takers of these children where they consciously did not prevent their involvement in transactional sex work. Brothel proprietors and -managers ('pimps') should be prosecuted as well, but also the law enforcement officers who neglect or refuse to report child sexual abuse, regardless if they just heard about it or witnessed it.
- Carry out public information dissemination on the rights of children to be free of danger of SEA and other 'worst forms of child labour'. Public information dissemination has been effective through radio broadcasts and newspaper coverage. Partnerships by government departments with NGOs could be an effective approach, with a focus on community-based monitoring (i.e. community policing; World Bank 2011) and -advocacy.
- The government should support an enabling environment for 'drop in centers' or 'rescue centres' that are set up to protect children from sexual exploitation in their home or neighbourhood situation and provide a protective and healing home for children that are sexually exploited and abused. While this is a last resort where community monitoring and -care is failing, such center(s) are vital to protect girls most at risk of sexual assault.
- Ensure access to education for children that potentially are at a risk from SEA. Education provides a daily structure to vulnerable children and is an effective prevention measure against SEA. Basic (primary) education should be affordable to the poorest households. The government should look into the actual costs that the schools in the area charge to parents, and ensure adequate funding (teachers' salaries, school grants) to maintain the principle (set in South Sudan's draft constitution) that basic education should be accessible to all children, who have a right to quality education in the first place.
- Support community-based rehabilitation initiatives of slum-dwelling neighborhoods, by ensuring better protected land-tenure and extension of basic services (health, sanitation, water, education) to these communities, to improve the well-being of their children and to prevent them of growing up as street child as we saw in the case of underage sex workers.

To NGOs etc.⁴³

- Support community-based monitoring of worst forms of child labour, including SEA, in Juba. This can be carried out through the identification, training and ongoing support of local voluntary monitors. The structure in which they work could be either as individual child protection volunteers or in community-based child protection committees (Ch. 8.4).
- Support public information campaigns on child right and child abuse, focused on, but not limited to, SEA of children. This should be implemented in coordination with the government departments concerned. Radio broadcasts, newspaper coverage and also use of the service of the mobile announcer ('Sultan Jambo'), are proven methods in Juba.
- Support 'drop-in' center(s) for abused girls. Such centers should provide 'safe havens' for girls that have been sexually (and otherwise) abused or are at a high risk of such abuse. These center(s) should provide a protective temporary home; ensure daily schooling, life-skills training etc., but most of all a stable and healing home for psychosocially traumatized children. Reintegration back into own homes remains the longer term objective; this latter aspect is best carried out by CBOs and FBOs. (Ch. 8.5).
- Ensure access to education for a much larger number of children, whose caretakers are otherwise not able to afford the high costs of basic education in Juba. This will take children out of the homes of frequently-evicted squatters in the slums, and prevent their decline into a street child existence and, finally, into child sex worker. Besides the prohibitive costs of basic education in Juba to the very poor, local socio-cultural factors reduce the attendance of children, especially of girls (UNICEF, 2007). These can be addressed through integrated school development programmes, involving in particular the parents and other community members, and cash transfers to needy parents. Basic education can be made much more effective with life-skills development of children with creative arts, sports, games etc. activities. CBOs and FBOs are well placed to implement this kind of activities in partnership with the Parents-Teachers committees of the schools.
- Carry out comprehensive exit programmes of girls that are now working as sex worker. This will require counseling support, life-skills training (in small groups), attendance of basic education, with a daily care and counseling structure. CBOs and FBOs could be well placed to carry out such activities, while coordination with the Social Welfare department is essential. Coordination with practical job skills' training will be important for the older girls (from about 14 - 15 years of age) to get a good chance for employment.
- As a preventive strategy, vocational (job) skills and life skills' training of children, which are most at risk to be drawn into sexual exploitation, should be supported. In practice, the main target group is in particular street girls, but also others in dysfunctional homes etc. The slum area, inhabited by squatter households who are frequently evicted and are gradually descending into an existence as 'street families', are the main geographical locations on which this support, and support to education in general, should be targeted.
- On a more limited scale as for trafficked women in general, cross-border reintegration is necessary where underage girls are found working in the sex trade of Juba. The focus must be on taking foreign girls back home and to reintegrate them there in their home-situations (Ogola 2010 i, ii). International NGOs are in a strong position to implement this.

To community groups, e.g. churches

- Community groups are vital as implementing partner of programmes since they identify much closer geographically (Duffield, 2010) and organizationally with the 'intended beneficiaries'. They are best placed to carry out community-level monitoring of SEA, awareness raising of communities on child abuse, integrated school improvement projects etc. and could be partner in direct key aspects of girls' recovery out of the sex trade, like counselling, life-skills and job-skills training, and reintegration into households.

⁴³ The International Labour Organization-IPEC, 2009 and 2007, sites provide practical frameworks for the support of, respectively, trafficked children and children experiencing sexual exploitation and abuse.

8.4. Where are the 'local heroes'?

As this study has shown, local government structures are largely absent in the slums that often have been forcibly evicted over the last years, while traditional justice systems have broken down. The local people see all these structures as *hakuma*, i.e. far removed from the daily living reality. As a result, feelings of disenfranchisement are rife and possibly building up. A real gap in community organization therefore exists that, on the shorter term, can only be filled by the community-based organizations (CBOs) and Faith Based Communities (FBCs).

Even though the problem of SEA in Juba appears daunting, it is important to believe in the agency of local individuals and groups that can be committed to take up the crucial role of local change agents within their communities. Danchurchaid (2010) narrates an inspiring 'model' (in this case in northern Uganda) where local volunteers are identified to become change agent and receive training in rights' based monitoring and -action. After this, they monitor the access and entitlements by local communities to social services, provided by the local government, and empower the local communities to claim for these. These voluntary monitors become the 'local heroes' in their own communities, they earn their respect and gradually grow into positions of activism and leadership. It should be noted that no formal committee structures are created first but that individuals are identified for their engagement with communities and trained in rights-based monitoring and -action. Committee structures are created later on, when the community monitors have become effective as change agent.

An effective network of community-based child protection committees⁴⁴ working in Juba's slum-dwelling communities will be an important prerequisite to monitor the ongoing SEA of children, as well as human trafficking. The creation of such a network needs a long term commitment to a close engagement with the local slum-dwelling communities. These are conditions for which CBOs and FBO/Cs are much better positioned than UN agencies and international NGOs. An integrated approach, aiming to identify and train voluntary monitors / activists, while developing a network of local community-based protection committees at the same time, is likely to be most effective. This should be done in a partnership between local government, (international) NGOs and CBOs/FBOs. This requires much flexibility by all partners; they need to think outside the 'boxes' of each ones' respective mandate, donor priorities and reporting systems, and they need to have a willingness to venture outside the 'comfort zone' of offices and homes⁴⁵ and immerse oneself in the communities one works with, to become effective. This refers in this context to slum-dwelling and brothel communities.

Possible roles of such community-based child protection committees are;

- Monitoring of cases of child-abuse related to sexual- and other violence, cases of human trafficking etc. in local communities and households, and reporting this to the authorities⁴⁶.
- Coordination with child protection officers of the Ministry of Social Developments' welfare department and with the local police stations. This includes reporting of all cases of abuse.
- Support community-level social services that are ongoing in the communities; e.g. mobilization for household sanitation with latrine construction, nutrition support to (moderately) malnourished children, or the mobilization for immunization campaigns etc.
- Support the rehabilitation of needy families, through e.g. the administration and monitoring of cash transfers or other forms of material support to vulnerable households.
- Support the acceptance and re-entry of former sex worker into society, through a close coordination with self-help groups, through community-level awareness raising about de-stigmatization of sex workers, and through practical support, e.g. by livelihoods' training.

The recognition of the moral scandal of the 500 or so underage girls in Juba exploited every day as sex worker, should lead to the 'buy in' by all the stakeholders concerned and to positive action. This action research intends to generate more engagement for this, and to be a catalyst for the practical and strategic partnerships between government authorities, UN agencies, NGOs and local community groups that form a precondition to resolve the problem.

⁴⁴ Save the Children UK 2008 (ii) for a description of structures and roles of such protection committees.

⁴⁵ See; Duffield M. 2010, for a challenging perspective on the need to 'immerse' in the 'target groups'.

⁴⁶ World Bank 2011 describes some 'best practice' cases of community policing by urban action groups.

8.5. Possible role of the churches in community-based monitoring and protection.

While civil society groups are largely absent in the slum communities and brothel zones, what remains are many local Faith Based Communities (FBCs) i.e. churches. They appear to be thriving, right within the slum areas. The capacity by churches to reconcile communities that are in conflict has been recognized in the past during the civil war (Jok Madut Jok, 2007) and is still appreciated, as a recent policy study by Save the Children UK (July 2011:7) shows;

"At the national level, the churches and other faith-based organisations play an important role in supporting processes of reconciliation, as well as in trying to foster a sense of national identity. They represent the main indigenous civil society institution present at the community level, have strong local networks and are well respected as a result of the support they provided to civilians caught in conflict during the war years. However, some civil society members we spoke to in Juba said that the church was often brought in to mediate too late, once disputes had escalated."

The potential capacity of churches to support reconciliation processes is equally important at community levels, especially in a deprived community like St. Mary's slum. Key challenges, besides the immediate need for the monitoring of human trafficking and child abuse advocated in this research, are the context of urban violence, the lack of access to basic social services by the most vulnerable, and the lack of community organization structures. Church members can be equipped and motivated to activate the 'local heroes' within their own membership but can also engage others in the community, precisely because they can be held accountable on social justice notions that are often lacking in government and civil society organisations, including care for the poor and oppressed, reconciliation and restoration.

The FBCs (mainly, but not exclusively, the churches) have their own styles of mediation and conflict resolution that appear to appeal especially to women. Leonardi C. 2010, p. 53, states:

"Women in particular often feel that it is more respectable to take their problems to church than to court; it seems that the churches present a similar form of mediation to that of the family or neighbourhood settlements, in that the goal is to reconcile and preserve relationships, including marriages. But they are perhaps an alternative for women in particular because they offer a different authority structure than the family, one in which women can also become church elders and can draw upon aspects of Christian teaching to argue their cases, such as against the drinking habits of their husbands."

The churches can form local mediation platforms that are especially appealing to women, which cannot be provided by the traditional and formal justice systems in urban areas. These platforms still resemble the traditional neighbourhood structures - the social fabric - that got lost in the transition from rural to urban environments, from traditional to modern values, from generosity to materialism etc. that many urban households have experienced the last decade.

However, churches have their weaknesses too as civil society partners. Samuels F. et. al. 2010, describe some of these pitfalls that often come up in the partnerships between international NGOs and FBCs. Common constraints can be judgmental attitudes and a lack of inclusion (i.e. members wanting to limit the benefits of social actions or external resources for themselves) on the part of church-leaders and -members. Churches may fear to engage with certain people, like sex workers or youth gang members, because of their reputation. On the other hand, the widespread effective engagement by churches in AIDS awareness raising and -care points to their potential role to reach out to these people as a civil society partner.⁴⁷

To conclude, we advocate for a greater engagement with and by churches in community-level protection, -monitoring and rehabilitation action in the deprived areas of Juba. Faith Based Communities offer a 'holistic' answer to some of the human needs and misery of Juba's sex workers by providing counseling and by supporting 'exit' projects of former sex workers. In addition, churches and other FBCs can play a key role to disseminate information about the plight of Juba's deprived households and can be active partner in advocacy actions.

⁴⁷ Samuel F. et. al. 2010, describes values and dynamics in the partnerships between NGOs and FBCs.

References

- Aids-alliance, 5-10-2009 'There's little Choice: Selling Sex in Sudan.' (Int. HIV/AIDS Alliance)
<http://www.aidsalliance.org/newsdetails.aspx?id=271>
- Allen, Tim. 2007 'Witchcraft, Sexuality and HIV/AIDS among the Azande of Sudan.' Journal of Eastern African Studies. Vol. 1, Issue 3, pp. 359-396.
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/section?content=a782946123&fulltext=713240928>
- Bauman, Zygmunt. 2004 'Wasted Lives: Modernity and its Outcasts.' Polity Press, Cambridge
- Bubenzer F. & O. Stern (eds.) 2011 'Hope, Pain and Patience: The Lives of Women in South Sudan.' Institute for Justice and Reconciliation; Fanele imprint by Jacana Media (Pty), RSA.
- 'Child Act', 2008 (Southern Sudan) <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/49ed840c2.html>
- Danchurchaid 2010 'Local heroes gain respect in Uganda.'
<http://www.danchurchaid.org/news/news/local-heroes-gain-respect-in-uganda>
- Duany, Julia Aker & Duany, Wal. 2001 'War and Women in the Sudan: Role Change and Adjustment to New Responsibilities.' Northeast African Studies. Vol. 8, No. 2, N.S. pp. 63-82. http://msupress.msu.edu/journals/neas/pdf/NEAS_8-2_Duany_and_Duany_63-82.pdf
- Duffield, Mark Dec. 2010 'Risk-Management and the Fortified Aid Compound: Everyday Life in Post-Interventionary Society.' Journal of Intervention and State-building, 4:4, pp. 453-474. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/17502971003700993>
- Duku B., Taban K, Joshua M. & Dijkman L. 2009 'Developing mental health and psychosocial support interventions in an extremely resource poor context' Intervention 2009; Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 138-144 <http://www.ourmediaourselves.com/archives/72pdf/Boniface.pdf>
- El-Bushra, Judy & Sahl I.M.G. 2005 'Cycles of Violence: Gender relations and armed conflict' ACORD <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.119.330&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- EMDH, 2009. 'Survey on Children in Street Situation in Juba.'
<http://www.gurTongg.net/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=tY%2Fu1r63giE%3D&tabid=124>
- Enough Project, 2011. 'Gender-Based Violence in Southern Sudan: Justice for Women Long Overdue.' <http://www.enoughproject.org/files/Lowenstein%20Study%20-%20Sudan.pdf>
- Fitzgerald, Mary Anne 2002. 'Throwing the Stick Forward; the impact of war on southern Sudanese women.' African Women for Peace Series, UNIFEM & UNICEF, Nairobi.
- Grabska, Katarzyna 2011 'Constructing 'modern gendered civilised' women and men: gender mainstreaming in refugee camps.' Gender & Development, 19:1, pp. 81-93.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13552074.2011.554026>
- Groenendijk, Cathy & SSMJ editorial team, August 2010. 'What shall we do about: Preventing Child abuse and neglect?' in: Southern Sudan Medical Journal, Vol. 3. Issue 3.
http://www.southernsudanmedicaljournal.com/assets/files/Journals/vol_3_iss_3_aug_10/Abuse.pdf
- Halim Asma Abdel, 1998. 'Attack with a friendly weapon' in: Turshen, Meredith and Twagiramariya Clotilde (eds.). 'What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflict in Africa'. Zed Books: London pp. 85-100.
- Holt K. & S. Hughes. the Telegraph 2-2-2007 'UN staff accused of raping children in Sudan.'
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1538476/UN-staff-accused-of-raping-children-in-Sudan.html>
- Howden D. the Independent, 7-1-2011. 'A failed state before it's born? Inside the capital of the world's next nation.' <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/a-failed-state-before-its-born-inside-the-capital-of-the-worlds-next-nation-2178075.html>
- Human Rights Watch, 2009. "There is no Protection" Insecurity and Human Rights in Southern Sudan.' <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2009/02/12/there-no-protection>
- Human Rights Watch, 9-12-1997. 'Human Rights Watch Asks Sudan Not to Execute Four Women Prostitutes.' <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/1997/12/08/human-rights-watch-asks-sudan-not-execute-four-women-prostitutes>
- Human Rights Watch, 1995. 'Sudan: Slaves, Street Children and Child Soldiers.'
<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6a8264.html>
- Hutchinson S. & Jok Madut Jok, 2002. 'Gendered violence and the militarization of ethnicity: a case study from South Sudan.' in: 'Postcolonial subjectivities in Africa' by R. Werbner (ed.), Zed Books, London & New York. pp. 84-107.
- IBCR (International Bureau for Children's Rights), 2010. 'Children and Armed Conflict: A Guide to International Humanitarian and Human Rights Laws.' Montreal, Canada.
http://www.ibcr.org/editor/assets/Conflict_Eng.pdf

- Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2010. 'Sudan's CPA viewed through the eyes of the Women of South Sudan.' Cape Town, South Africa.
<http://www.ijr.org.za/publications/pdfs/IJR%20AP%20Fellows%20OP3%20Sudan%20WEB.pdf>
- International Labour Organization / IPEC, 2010. 'The Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) in conflict and post-conflict settings; Southern Sudan (a country study).' Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, UK.
https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&pid=gmail&attid=0.1&thid=1321ad9003f5b4f5&mt=application/pdf&url=https://mail.google.com/mail/?ui%3D2%26ik%3Dbb28b182b4%26view%3Datt%26th%3D1321ad9003f5b4f5%26attid%3D0.1%26disp%3Dsafe%26zw&sig=AHIEtbSvkaO9og_GXaEiCh-7JL9nR5EQXA
- International Labour Organization / IPEC, 2009. 'Training manual to fight trafficking in children for labour, sexual- and other forms of exploitation.'
http://www.ilo.org/ipec/areas/Traffickingofchildren/lang--en/WCMS_111537/index.htm
- International Labour Organization / IPEC, 2007. 'Guidelines on the design of direct action strategies to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children.'
<http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/viewProduct.do?productId=8270>
- IRIN News, 25-6-2007. SUDAN: 'Juba's street children survive at risk of HIV/AIDS.'
<http://www.IRINnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=72907>
- IRIN PlusNews, 28-1-2010. SUDAN: 'Vulnerable girls risk sexual exploitation on Juba's streets.'
<http://www.plusnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=87900>
- Itto Anne & J. Tumushabe, 2004. 'Baseline Study on the Status of Women in the New Sudan: Report for Mundri and Yei Counties, Western Equatoria, Southern Sudan.' USAID
http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADT832.pdf
- Jok Madut Jok, 2007. 'Sudan: Race, religion and violence.' Oneworld Publications, Oxford.
- Jok Madut Jok, 2006. 'Violence and Resilience: women, war and the realities of everyday life in Sudan.' Ahfad Journal. Dec. 1, 2006
<http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Violence+and+Resilience%3a+women%2c+war+and+the+realities+of+everyday...-a0166944623>
- Jok Madut Jok, 2005 'War, changing ethics and the position of youth in South Sudan' in: Abbink J. & Kessel W.M.J. eds. 'Vanguard or vandals: youth, politics and conflict in Africa.' Brill, Leiden - Boston. pp. 145-162. <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/14741>
- Jok Madut Jok 1999 (i.) 'Militarism, gender and reproductive suffering: the case of abortion in western Dinka.' Africa / International African Institute: vol. 69, no. 2, pp. 194-212.
- Jok Madut Jok 1999 (ii) 'Militarization and Gender Violence in South Sudan'. Journal of Asian and African Studies. Vol. 34, 4. pp. 427-442.
- Isis-WICCE. 2007 'Women's Experiences during Armed Conflict in Southern Sudan, 1983-2005: the Case of Juba County, Central Equatoria State.' Kampala
http://www.isis.or.ug/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_details&gid=115&Itemid=89
- Lalor, K. 2004 'Child sexual abuse in sub-Saharan Africa: a literature review.' in; Child Abuse and Neglect, Vol. 28, pp. 439-460.
<http://arrow.dit.ie/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=aaschsslarts>
- Lalor, K., Taylor, M., Veale, A., Hussein Ali, A. & Elamin Bushra M. 1993. 'Victimisation amongst street children in Sudan and Ethiopia: A preliminary analysis.'
http://www.unicri.it/documentation_centre/publications/series/understanding/26_VICTIMISATION_AMONGST_STREET_CHILDREN.pdf
- Leonardi, Cherry, Leben Nelson Moro, Santchi Martina, Deborah H. Isser 2010 'Local Justice in Southern Sudan.' Peaceworks 66, United States Institute of Peace / Rift Valley Institute.
<http://www.usip.org/publications/local-justice-in-southern-sudan>
- Limoncelli S.A., 2010. 'The politics of trafficking: the first international movement to combat the sexual exploitation of women.' Stanford University Press, Stanford, California
- Martin, Ellen 2010. 'Gender, Violence and Survival in Juba, Southern Sudan.' HPG Policy Brief 42, ODI, London <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/5072.pdf>
- Martin, Ellen and Irina Mosel 2011. 'City limits: urbanization and vulnerability in Sudan. Juba case study.' HPG, ODI, London <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/5290.pdf>
- Marwitz G., Hengst I., Hornle R. 1993. 'Prostitution as a consequence of sexual abuse.' Int. Conference on AIDS. 1993 June 6-11; 9(2):830 (abstract no. PO-D09-3673).
<http://gateway.nlm.nih.gov/MeetingAbstracts/ma?f=102206974.html>

- McKay, S., Veale, A., Worthen, M. & Wessells, M. 2010. ‘Community-based reintegration of war-affected young mothers: participatory action research (PAR) in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Northern Uganda.’ <http://www.uwyo.edu/qirlmotherspar/files/pubs-final-report.pdf>
- Nordstrom, Carolyn 2004. ‘Girls and Warzones: Troubling Questions’ - second edition, Women & Non-Violence Series; Life & Peace Institute, Uppsala, Sweden. http://www.essex.ac.uk/armedcon/story_id/000479.pdf
- Ogola, F. IWPR.net 10-11-2010 (i.) ‘Ugandan girls entering Juba Prostitution racket.’ <http://iwpr.net/report-news/ugandan-girls-entering-juba-prostitution-racket>
- Ogola, F. IWPR.net 13-12-2010 (ii.) ‘Story behind the Story; Ugandan girls entering Juba Prostitution racket.’ <http://iwpr.net/report-news/ugandan-girls-entering-juba-prostitution-racket-0>
- Pantuliano, Sara, Margie Buchanan-Smith, Victoria Metcalfe, Sara Pavanello & Ellen Martin. Jan. 2011 ‘City limits: urbanisation and vulnerability in Sudan: Synthesis report.’ UKAID/ODI <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/5294.pdf>
- Pantuliano S. 2011 ‘City Limits: Urbanisation and Vulnerability in Sudan.’ House of Lords UK 25 -1-‘11 HPG <http://www.odi.org.uk/events/documents/2545-presentation-sara-pantuliano.pdf>
- Pantuliano, Sara, Margie Buchanan-Smith, Paul Murphy and Irina Mosel. Sept. 2008 ‘The long road home’: Opportunities and obstacles to the reintegration of IDPs and refugees returning to Southern Sudan and the Three Areas.’ Report of Phase II. HPG/ODI, London. <http://www.cmi.no/sudan/doc/?id=1211>
- Pavanello, Sara Jan. 2011 ‘Urbanization in Sudan: An Overview of International Engagement.’ MEI-FRS (c) http://www.refugeecooperation.org/publications/Sudan/03_pavanello.php
- Population Council, March 2011 ‘Needs Assessment of Young People in Central Equatoria State’. Juba, South Sudan.
- REDRESS & KCHRED 2008. ‘Reforming Sudan’s Legislation on Rape and Sexual Violence.’ Position Paper. Khartoum, Sudan <http://www.redress.org/downloads/country-reports/Position%20Paper%20Rape%205%20SEPT%2008%203.pdf>
- Reeves, Eric, May 2011. “They bombed everything that moved.” Aerial military attacks on civilians and humanitarians in Sudan, 1999-2011.’ http://www.sudanbombing.org/files/Full_Sudan_Bombing_Report.docx
- Roberts B., Damundu E.Y., Lomoro O., Sondorp E. 2010 ‘The influence of demographic characteristics, living conditions, and trauma exposure on the overall health of a conflict-affected population in Southern Sudan.’ BMC Public Health 2010, 10: 518. <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2458/10/518>
- Rubinstein, R. A. & Lane S. D. 2003. ‘Population, Identity and Political Violence.’ in: Social Justice: Anthropology, Peace and Human Rights, 3(3-4), pp. 139-152. <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/rar/Papers/Population%20Identity%20and%20Political%20Violence.pdf>
- Samuels F., R. Geibel & F. Perry 2010. ‘Collaboration between faith-based communities and humanitarian actors when responding to HIV in emergencies.’ ODI - World Vision - Tearfund <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/4821.pdf>
- Save the Children UK, July 2011. ‘South Sudan: a post-independence agenda for action.’ http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/en/docs/South_Sudan_-_post-independence_agenda_final_2.pdf
- Save the Children UK. 2008 (i). ‘No One to Turn To: The under-reporting of child sexual exploitation and abuse by aid workers and peacekeepers.’ London: Save the Children Fund. http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/en/docs/No_One_to_Turn_To.pdf
- Save the Children UK. 2008 (ii). ‘A Common Responsibility: The role of community-based child protection groups in protecting children from sexual abuse and exploitation.’ London. http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/en/docs/A_Common_Responsibility.pdf
- Schomerus, M., T. Allen et. al. 2010 ‘Southern Sudan at Odds With Itself: Dynamics of conflict and predicaments of peace.’ LSE Development Studies Institute (DESTIN) London <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/businessAndConsultancy/LSEConsulting/pdf/southernSudan.pdf>
- Shteir, Sarah 2007. ARRA ‘Briefing Note on Southern Sudanese Women & the Institution of Bride Wealth: The Changing Nature of this Practice through Conflict, Displacement and Resettlement.’ http://www.refugeecouncil.org.au/docs/resources/reports/arra08_bride_wealth.pdf
- Silberschmidt M. 2001 ‘Disempowerment of Men in Rural and Urban East Africa: Implications for Male Identity and Sexual Behavior.’ in: World Development, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 657-671 <http://users.drew.edu/jolmsted/ecws29/silberschmidt.pdf>

- Silbert, M.H. & Pines A.M. 1981 'Sexual child abuse as an antecedent to prostitution.' *Child Abuse & Neglect*, Volume 5, Issue 4, pp. 407-411.
- Spaulding, J. & Beswick S. 1995. 'Sex, Bondage and the market: The Emergence of Prostitution in Northern Sudan, 1750-1950.' *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 5(4) pp. 512-534.
- Sudan Tribune (April 7, 2011) 'South Sudan: domestic violence drives children onto the streets' <http://www.sudantribune.com/South-Sudan-domestic-violence,38516>
- Tankink M. & Richters A. 2007 'Giving Voice to Silence: silence as coping strategy of refugee women from South Sudan who experienced sexual violence in the context of war.' in: Droždek B. & Wilson J.P. eds. 'Voices of Trauma; Treating Psychological Trauma Across Cultures' Springer, New York. pp. 191-210.
- Theis, Joachim 2003. 'Rights-based Monitoring and Evaluation; a Discussion Paper.' SCF-UK http://www.crin.org/docs/resources/publications/hrbap/RBA_monitoring_evaluation.pdf
- Turshen, Meredith & Twagiramariya Clotilde (eds.) 1998. 'What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflict in Africa.' Zed Books: London
- UNFPA 2011. 'Working with Police in South Sudan to Assist Survivors of Gender-Based Violence.' <http://www.unfpa.org/public/home/news/pid/7156>
- UNICEF Nov. 2008. 'Socio-economic and cultural barriers to schooling in southern Sudan.' http://www.unicef.org/sudan/SOCIO-ECONOMIC_AND_CULTURAL_BARRIERS_TO_SCHOOLING_IN_SOUTHERN_SUDAN.pdf
- UN News Centre, 18-1-2007. 'Joint UN-Sudan Government task force to deal with the issue of sexual exploitation.' <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=21274&Cr=sudan&Cr1>
- United Nations, 2000. 'Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations convention against Transnational organized crime.' http://www.ungift.org/doc/knowledgehub/resource-centre/UN_Protocol_2000.pdf
- USAID, 2010. 'A case study of informal settlements in Juba' Section C in: 'Land Tenure Issues in Southern Sudan: Key Findings and Recommendations for Southern Sudan Land Policy.' <http://usaidlandtenure.net/library/country-level-reports/land-tenure-issues-in-southern-sudan-key-findings-and-recommendations-for-southern-sudan-land-policy/view>
- US Department of State; Office to monitor and combat trafficking in persons. 'Trafficking in Persons Report 2011 SUDAN' <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2011/164233.htm>
- Veale, Angela 1992. 'Towards a Conceptualisation of Street Children: The Case from Sudan and Ireland.' *Trócaire Development Review* 1992, Dublin, pp. 107-121. http://www.trocaire.org/sites/trocaire/files/pdfs/tdr/DR1992_towardsaconceptualisationofstreetchildren.pdf
- Veldwijk, Jolien & Cathy Groenendijk 2011 'If you can't use your hands to make a living...'; *Female sex workers in Juba, South Sudan* in: Friederike Bubenzer and Orly Stern (eds.) 'Hope, Pain and Patience: The Lives of Women in South Sudan.' Institute for Justice and Reconciliation; Fanele imprint by Jacana Media (Pty), South Africa. pp. 79-109.
- Watchlist (April 2007) 'Sudan's Children at a Crossroads: an Urgent Need for Protection.' http://www.watchlist.org/reports/pdf/sudan_07_final.pdf
- Winkler N. Nov. 2010 'Psycho-social intervention needs among ex-combatants in Southern Sudan.' Southern Sudan DDR Commission (SSDDRC) and BICC, Juba. http://www.ssddrc.org/uploads/SSDDRC_Psycho_Social_Assessment.pdf
- World Bank, April 2011. 'Violence in the City: Understanding and Supporting Community Responses to Urban Violence.' http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1164107274725/Violence_in_the_City.pdf
- World Vision, Asia-Pacific. 2009 '10 things you need to know about human trafficking.' <http://wvasiapacific.org/downloads/publications/10Things.pdf> ⁴⁸

⁴⁸ All online documents and links have been last accessed on 20th August 2011

Annex 1. Checklist used as guide in sex workers' interviews.

Name of respondent:

Date of interview:

Time of interview:

Place of interview:

Explain and ensure that informed consent is achieved: y/n

1. Family Background and Origin of Respondent

Sex:

Age:

Religion:

Marital status:

Country of origin:

State / District-County:

What tribe / ethnic group, do you belong to (optional):

Parents

Describe your history – your home situation.

2. Children

No. of children you have (are responsible for):

Where are they?

Are your children in school?

Do you know the father(s) of your children?

Name of the father(s) - optional

No. of wives (of your husband, i.e. your co-wives)

Occupation of husband:

Status in society - employed / prosperity / 'stability' of home?

3. Experience of as a sex worker / trafficking

When did you come to Juba for the first time?

What were you doing when you first came to Juba?

When and how did you start this work?

Are there special people who help girls / women to find sex work?

Did you pay them – did they demand pay / favours?

Can you tell us anything else about traffickers (not only yours)?

4. Clients

Do you enjoy sex with clients?

How much do you charge?

Where do you work from? If more than one place, which others?

Where, in Juba, do other sex workers you know come from?

Do you have regular clients?

What sort of men visit the compound for sex? *Probe for*, nationality, race, ethnic group, occupation etc.

5. Income and expenditure of the respondent

How much money do you earn per day?

What do you use this money for?

Do you send money home? How often and how much?

5. Psychosocial

What do you do, when you do not have a client?

Do you drink?

Do you smoke?

Do you take - are you addicted to - any drug?

7. HIV/AIDS

Do you know your HIV status?

Are you on treatment (for STIs, for AIDS)? Yes/No _____ What is the treatment?

Where do you get your treatment?

Are you required to go for regular health checks?

Do you tell your clients about your HIV status?

Would they come to you, if they knew that you had HIV/AIDS?

8. Condom Use and Availability

When do you use a condom?

When do you not use a condom?

Additional information (e.g. what do you do when a client refuses)

10. Relationship with the Landlord and Payment

Who is your landlord? What does he/she do?

What do you like in this place (rented room)?

What do you not like about this place?

When are you required to pay rent?

11. Child Sex Workers

What do you think about child (underage) sex workers?

How could someone help you to leave this work, if you want to leave?

What organizations are working here?

What do these organizations do?

What do people in this area think about the sex trade?

12. Future Plans

When do you plan to retire?

What are you planning to do next?

OBSERVATIONS (describe environment in- and outside the rooms, clients etc.)

Confirm that the interviewee answered willingly and was informed about the purpose of the research. y/n

Interviewer:

Name: