

Researching livelihoods and
services affected by conflict

Women engaging in transactional sex and working in prostitution:

Practices and underlying factors
of the sex trade in South Kivu, the
Democratic Republic of Congo

Report 10

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Executive summary

This study reports on transactional sex and prostitution in the province of South Kivu in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It examines the importance of transactional sex as an element in women's survival strategies and seeks to understand women's motivations and their agency in engaging in prostitution and transactional sex. Transactional sex is often differentiated from prostitution in the literature. Prostitution refers to predetermined forms of remuneration (usually cash) to those who provide sex on a professional basis. Transactional sex is constructed differently and the exchange of gifts is part of a broader set of relations. Transactional sex in humanitarian crises is mostly associated with what is often called 'survival sex': sexual exchange in order to meet basic needs, often the needs of the entire family. This research covered both phenomena, aiming to understand the practices, perceptions and organisation of prostitution and transactional sex in South Kivu. It also considered how women protect themselves against risk, in particular pregnancy, rape and abortions.

As part of the research, a literature review was performed on transactional sex in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) (Formson and Hilhorst, 2016). Transactional sex is influenced by gendered socio-economic and cultural factors and often takes place in a context in which choice and opportunities for women are limited. The literature reviewed indicates that transactional sex is a common aspect of everyday relationships in SSA. Like prostitution, transactional sex exists in highly unequal gendered power relations and may be explicitly or implicitly coercive in the context of women's limited livelihood opportunities. The distinction between transactional sex and prostitution is difficult to draw in analytical terms as there are 'grey area' practices that border both phenomena.

Some literature distinguishes between meeting consumer wants and meeting *basic needs*. However, the distinction between 'needs' (survival sex) and 'wants' (consumer sex) seems to be too simplistic, and the report proposes to replace the value-laden and imprecise term of 'consumer sex' by 'strategic sex'. Survival sex is also strategic, yet connotes situations where women have extremely limited

options, whereas in other contexts women may choose to engage in transactional sex for different purposes, including investing in a stable future through education or engagement in social networks.

In humanitarian contexts, the primary motivation for entering into transactional sex relationships concerns food insecurity and extreme poverty. Several studies contain evidence that conflict or disaster can lead to an upsurge of transactional sex. These studies raise the question of whether the effects of conflict or disaster can be seen in isolation, as their effects may work through compounding other factors such as poverty or food insecurity, or male violence towards women.

While there are strong indications that humanitarian crises forge transactional sex (including through the presence of peacekeeping forces), the wider literature makes it unlikely that humanitarian crisis is a single driver of transactional sex, which is an increasing part of everyday realities in broader contexts. The issue of choice is paramount in the question of how women engage in transactional sex, moving between victimhood and exploitation on the one hand and expressions of agency and power on the other.

Transactional sex may have institutional significance. Shifts in gendered labour conditions can be a contributing factor to changes in the prevalence of transactional sex, next to other factors such as gender power relations, male responsibility for violence against women, and legal protection of women's rights, and transactional sex may in turn affect these institutions.

Engaging in transactional sex leaves women vulnerable to health, physical and emotional risks. Evidence links transactional sex to undesirable sexual and reproductive health outcomes including sexually transmitted infections (STIs), unintended pregnancies and unsafe abortions. There is also a correlation between transactional sex and violence. Several studies reveal that violence against women who engage in transactional sex is common; the practice is associated with increased risk of rape and physical violence.

Women engaging in transactional sex and working in prostitution: Practices and underlying factors of the sex trade in South Kivu, the Democratic Republic of Congo

This study focuses on the factors that condition transactional sex and prostitution, and especially the experiences and ideas concerning the practices of the women and other actors involved. One component of the research was a survey among 480 sex workers in four sites of South Kivu. The second component consisted of focus groups. The focus groups were held in two phases: 20 focus groups were held across the four sites of investigation; these were then complemented by six focus groups designed specifically to cover five milieus known for their high prevalence of transactional sex – educational institutions, workplaces, poor environments, religious environments, and trade and transport settings.

The survey was conducted at four sites in South Kivu – Bukavu, Kamituga, Kavumu and Uvira – deemed to represent hotspots where prostitution and transactional sex take place: an urban environment, border communities, a strategic crossroads and a mining town respectively. The survey on prostitution was conducted in April 2015. In total, 480 women were met at least once to be questioned individually. Data collected on the basis of individual surveys were supplemented by data obtained in focus groups (20 in total): five focus groups involving 10 to 12 people per session and per site, or 200 people contacted. These focus groups were held to obtain the views of other stakeholders and facilitators of transactional sex and prostitution. In each site, a focus group was held with owners, operators and workers in nightclubs, hotels and brothels in order to gain more insight into the organisation of prostitution. The other focus groups were held with students, households around nightclubs, and carriers (boats, trucks, buses, taxis, motorcycle taxis). The last group targeted by the investigation was merchants working in the same areas. After an initial analysis of the findings in June 2015, six additional focus groups were designed to cover specific milieus with a high prevalence of transactional sex. These focus groups were held with 10 respondents each in the town of Bukavu.

One limitation of the study is an imbalance in the data obtained about prostitution on the one hand and transactional sex on the other. The analysis of the two categories differs. The survey of prostitution allowed us to map this phenomena in quantitative terms, whereas the analysis of transactional sex is purely qualitative.

According to Congolese law, prostitution in itself is not illegal. However, activities that incite minors or promote the prostitution of others have been criminalised. Obviously, this law has no real meaning in restricting nightlife or prostitution, but it can be seen in its effects on

services and policy related to education, health provision and other forms of protection for women engaging in prostitution or transactional sex. In the province of South Kivu, there are no NGOs specialising in prostitution or transactional sex, but a number of NGOs that provide health services in the context of a general programme addressing sexual and reproductive health include sex workers in their target groups.

Section 5 presents the findings on prostitution and is based on the survey and additional information from the focus groups. Ninety percent of the women report prostitution as their main activity. The majority are single (56%) and a large proportion of 39% never went to school. Poverty is the main reason for entering prostitution, while family conditions also play a major role. Traders make up the majority of clients, representing up to 78% of clients, followed by officials working for national and international NGOs (12%). Both categories frequently travel for their work.

A number of findings pointed to the role that affection can play in differentiating between clients. In these cases, the distinction made in the literature between prostitution and transactional sex dissipates. Data from male participants of focus groups indicate a number of reasons why men frequent sex workers. Underlying these reasons is a strong discourse about how men are entitled or require access to sex at all times.

There are common signals and gestures involved in attracting and negotiating with clients. While sex workers are often in competition with each other, they also bond and use gestures to pass on information about clients or prospective clients. Some signals indicate that even as sex workers, women still expect a minimum of pleasure from the client.

The price is based primarily on the appearance of the client and the requested service duration. Many sex workers earn 2 to 5 dollars, while women in nightclubs receive between 10 and 20 dollars. Apart from payment in cash, transactions may involve flour, cassava or corn, cans of oil, grams of gold and free transport in vehicles. There are cases of sex workers earning more by drugging, robbing or extorting clients, but these practices are highly risky, because sex workers suspected of stealing are often beaten by their clients.

The socio-economic indicators analysed in this research show that most women are sex workers at subsistence level and remain poor, although some manage to send

their children to school or buy a mobile phone. The majority hope to find a husband and leave the trade. A small minority of women makes a profitable business out of prostitution. They are better educated and manage to accumulate assets, such as land and a house. Cross-border sexual transactions involve women carrying out sexual business transactions; Burundian and Rwandan women are the main groups here.

Contrary to a widely held image, we found prostitution in South Kivu not to be governed by a selected group of wealthy and well-connected people, but rather that its organisation tends to be small-scale and scattered. Almost half of the women work from home. Nightclubs are small-scale and range from very informal to more formalised. The level of security for the women varies. In some cases, security guards will protect the women, in other cases they are corrupt. Almost half of the respondent uses the service of intermediaries, although most of these only do so from time to time. Interestingly, 36% of sex workers claims to be a member of an (informal) organisational structure of sex workers.

Prostitution is permeated by violence and risks. The most common problem is when the client refuses to pay, which is often accompanied by beatings and torture. In rare cases, women seek recourse to justice, and they sometimes seek amicable arrangements with the perpetrators. Threats by soldiers are continuous and women often cannot avoid providing free sexual services to soldiers or police. Remarkably, women do not label this as rape. Women also encounter violence from husbands or former lovers, other sex workers and relatives. Parents may force or strongly encourage women to become sex workers, or conversely they may reject her.

Women are most afraid of catching HIV. They frequently contract sexually transmitted diseases; seventy percent of the women had had a sexually transmitted disease. Most of them have health checks regularly. The occurrence of STIs is strongly related to unprotected sex. Women generally have a positive attitude towards condoms and easy access to them, but they often refrain from using them because without them they can charge a higher rate, win the confidence of a new client, or bind regular clients. Most women have become pregnant at least once from a client. On average, they have three children. Women may decide to keep the baby, especially when it is clear who the father is and there is a likelihood that he will pay for the child. Forty-three percent of the women report having had an abortion at least once. As abortion is illegal it is generally performed in dangerous

conditions and through self-medication. Abortions have also been carried out in informal health services or – for a considerable fee – after hours in the formal health facilities.

Section 6 deals with transactional sex in different milieus. Focus groups with students bring out that transactional sex is common among students, within and outside the institutions. The value of transactional sex varies from free transport, to presents or a reduction in the school fee. The motivation for transactional sex varies. Students also mention the influence of parents who often encourage girls to fend for themselves to meet their needs.

In poor urban areas, transactional sex is a widespread reality that is intimately related to survival and powerlessness. Young girls often have no choice but to engage in transactional sex or relent to aggressive advances of men in their environment. At the same time, participants in the focus groups observed that transactional sex has become a kind of ‘fashion’. The stories of women rarely display a single motivation. Another recurring element is the fact that a high value is attached to discretion. An additional benefit from transactional sex is sometimes sought through demanding money from the alleged father of a child, or extorting money by threatening to file a sexual violence case.

Transactional sex in workplaces has become common in the perception of participants and appears to be linked to benefits such as promotion, service missions and training trips, or to avoiding harm from malpractice or ‘reorganisation’. The stories that women tell are complex webs where advances by managers and the desire to avoid harm are interwoven with aspects of attraction and satisfaction. Despite the high prevalence of office affairs, discretion is nonetheless considered important.

In trading environments, transactional sex is rampant. Sexual relations in this environment seem to rely less on discretion, except when it concerns minors. For many women sex appears to be a vehicle for enhancing their trade. Patterns of transactional sex vary with the economic status of women.

Finally, in religious environments, transactional sex is widespread among Catholics, Protestants, and particularly in revivalist churches. Transactional sex is associated with high rewards, yet there is also the power of domination and mysticism and, for many women and

girls, refusing the advances of pastors or priests is not possible. Priests and pastors care highly about discretion, which is an important reason why transactional sex with religious leaders is materially rewarding.

Major risks of transactional sex throughout all the categories are health-related and concern the risk of HIV and AIDs, STIs and unwanted pregnancies. There are many social problems associated with transactional sex, especially with the primary partner, and this may lead to periods of separation or divorce. There is also the risk of public scandal and humiliation. Merchants are vulnerable to theft, especially when they engage with young lovers abroad.

It is often unclear to what extent women choose to engage in transactional sex or whether they consent to sex out of fear or by lack of choice.

Section 7 draws conclusions. These are grouped under the following main conclusions:

The difference between transactional sex and prostitution is difficult to draw

The findings put important question marks with the distinction between prostitution and transactional sex as found in the literature. In the first place, in many instances of transactional sex, these were not 'boyfriends with benefits', but many (young) women seek loose sexual encounters to survive the day, in exchange for food or token payments like a short taxi-ride. In the second place, we find women engaging in affairs for many reasons, apart from material gain, among them sexual pleasure. In these cases, the line between transactional sex and extra-marital affairs is hard to draw. In the third place, we find that the social acceptance of transactional sex is not very high, unlike in other parts of SSA. There are thus fine lines between prostitution, transactional sex and love affairs and it is difficult to put clear boundaries around the different phenomena.

Prostitution and transactional sex is diverse and differentiated

Our major assumption that prostitution and transactional sex constitute an amalgam of practices, shaped by various economic, social, cultural and political conditions has been warranted by the findings. Both in prostitution and in transactional sex, we find on the one end of the spectrum a large majority of poor women, ranging to a smaller number of VIP sex workers who only work from

hotels, and international merchants who use sex to enhance their business.

Transactional sex and prostitution often signal a lack of choice, yet women's agency and sexual pleasure is important too.

The literature on humanitarian crises depicts transactional sex in these conditions as motivated by immediate needs of survival. In DRC, the discourse around transactional sex is moreover heavily informed by sexual violence. Our findings caution against a singular interpretation of transactional sex as a practice that women resort to out of despair, and from a position of victimhood. A major finding throughout the different categories is the element of sexual pleasure that women derive from their practices. We found that both prostitution and transactional sex consist of varied practices, where the level of choice and agency involved is equally varied. Women who have little choice may welcome the peace of mind that comes from knowing that at least they can feed their children and send them to school.

Transactional sex and prostitution involves risks, violence and rape although the latter is rarely recognised by victims

In both practices, health risks are paramount, with risks around sexually transmitted infections, HIV and AIDS, unwanted pregnancies and dangerous abortions. Almost half of the interviewed sex workers had had at least one abortion. Women engaging in prostitution relate of many ways in which they encounter violence in their work, relations and domestically. They face the risk of men not paying and turning violent, and often give free sex to soldiers or police that meet them when they return home late. A striking finding of the study is the way in which respondents talk about violence they encounter. Finding an explanation for this is a matter of future research, and may be grounded in the large literature on 'rape myth acceptance'. A major issue emerging from our research is the vulnerable position of young and adolescent women. They are particularly prone to be forced into transactional sex or prostitution. The fact that they receive some compensation is not a token of a transaction in such cases.

Power abuse plays an important role in transactional sex, also when it is consensual

The often-held idea that many figures of male authority, such as military, border patrol, employers, religious leaders or teachers demand sexual favours in exchange for services, needs to be nuanced. Transactional sex may be more consensual than often assumed, but appears nonetheless to be highly related to forms of abuse of power and corruption. The role of the women involved can be interpreted in different ways, and ranges from a position of victim to a position where women are implicit in illegal practices of bribing of authorities.

Concluding

The overall conclusion of our research is that prostitution and transactional sex are varied phenomena that form a substantial part of everyday urban life in South Kivu. The law in DRC does not criminalise prostitution itself, but its exploitation. Because of the significant gap between acts forbidden by law and other regulatory texts and the reality on the ground, the state has no role in regulating this sector effectively. This leaves women largely deprived of medical services and unprotected against police or military abuse. The law further considers all sex with women under 18 as criminal. While the need to protect minors against abuse is clear, the research also brings out a shadow side to this. The criminalisation of the sexual activity of minors brings about a legal approach to sex among minors that seems to disable social discussion and education about responsible parenthood (which does not include setting up daughters for prostitution), sexual hygiene and the availability of condoms for young women, leaving them vulnerable to the effects of unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases.

Section 8 provides the following recommendations.

- 1 There is an enormous spectrum of sexual activity captured in the term transactional sex and there's a need to more clearly differentiate strategies for engagement at various parts of this spectrum and across different sectors. These might include strengthening the justice system's ability to respond to sexual violence, to tackling the poverty and restricted livelihood options that constrain women's choices, and working over the long term on the social norms and relations between men and women that enable exploitative or abusive sexual relations. Attention for these issues is needed from government, civil society, international aid and peacekeeping actors and across a wide range of sectors.
- 2 The upsurge of practices of prostitution and transactional sex in DRC is related to (post)-conflict conditions, but it has to be realised that it has become an enduring part of everyday social relations in South Kivu, especially in urban area, border areas and large cross-roads. This means that efforts to reduce, prevent or make less exploitative transactional sex will entail a long, slow process of tackling deeply embedded gender norms and social relations.
- 3 While many women engage in transactional sex out of choice and in strategic ways to secure their future or expand their abilities in life, the majority of women enter this lifestyle to cope with or escape extreme poverty. In order to protect women, underlying poverty needs to be addressed and opportunities for more resilient livelihoods and better employment promoted.
- 4 It must be recognised that using violence against sex workers, forcing sex workers to freely provide sexual services (especially among police and military), or forcing young people to engage in sexual relations where they are being materially compensated, all constitute cases of sexual violence and rape, and should be treated as such by law-enforcing agencies.
- 5 The legal prohibition of sex with minors below 18 should not stand in the way of providing education about sex and health services and make contraceptives available for young women and men that are sexually active.
- 6 A major risk of prostitution and transactional sex is constituted by health issues and so there should be a policy to make health services, including family planning, more available to sex workers.

1 Introduction

Transactional sex in settings of humanitarian crisis has recently begun to be a topic of interest, especially in the wake of several cases where peacekeepers or aid workers were caught trading aid for sexual favours. Transactional sex – engagement in sex in exchange for cash, goods, services, commodities, or privileges in order to meet the needs and wants of the parties involved – in humanitarian crises is mostly associated with what is often called ‘survival sex’: sexual exchange in return for providing for basic needs, often for the entire family. Because of the dire constraints they face in such crisis situations, women are not considered to have much of a choice. For this reason, transactional sex during humanitarian crises may be considered to be an abuse of power and a form of sexual violence.

Recent research shows that transactional sex plays a large role in the survival strategies of poor and conflict-affected households (Formson and Hilhorst, 2016), yet we know little of the different arrangements and practices that come with it. Are they all equally exploitative? Can transactional sex in some cases be seen as a livelihood strategy that provides women with options and room for manoeuvre in dire circumstances? What are the practices and risks involved? This research aims to begin to answer some of these questions in the case of the Province of South Kivu in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Transactional sex is part of many domains of social life and is a differentiated phenomenon. In order to analyse its practices, effects and social implications, it is necessary to map out what is happening under the broad label of transactional sex.

A growing body of public health and social science studies from sub-Saharan Africa demonstrate how transactional sex differs from prostitution (Hunter, 2002, 2010; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Dunkle, 2004; Ankomah, 1992, 1998). While ‘prostitution’ implies predetermined forms of remuneration (usually cash) to those who provide sex on a professional basis, in transactional sex the exchange of gifts is part of a broader set of relations.

The interest in the realities of transactional sex in South Kivu stemmed from previous research by some of the authors of this report on responses to sexual violence (Douma and Hilhorst, 2012, 2016) in which transactional sex surfaced as an important issue during interviews. It examines the importance of transactional sex as an element in women’s survival strategies and seeks to understand the motivations of women and the roles they play in prostitution and transactional sex in relation to justice and security.

Sexual transactions can cover a wide range of situations, ranging from desperate girls offering sex for a pittance, to business women using sex as a means of influence to ensure their economic and social success. This research is therefore exploratory and intends to map prostitution and transactional sex in South Kivu. It has identified the language and organisation of transactional sex and various categories of practice. It takes individual women's perspectives as the starting point.

The central question of this study is: what are the practices, perceptions and organisation of prostitution and transactional sex in South Kivu? We also consider how women protect themselves against risks, in particular pregnancy, rape and abortions.

The primary research assumption is that prostitution and transactional sex concern a combination of practices shaped by various economic, social, cultural and political factors.

Based on a literature review (see next section), the following specific research questions have been formulated:

- What are the practices and categories of transactional sex and prostitution?
- What is the vocabulary used for different types of transactional sex and how are these terms perceived from the point of view of power and morality?
- What is the motivation for women to engage in different types of transactional sex and prostitution?
- How are the different types of transactional sex and prostitution organised and priced?
- What are the risks and what is the place of violence in transactional sex and prostitution?

The study has been informed by an unease among the researchers with the dominant discourse in which women engage in transactional sex in humanitarian crises only as victims. We wanted to do justice to the agency of women by maintaining an open mind as to the motivations and outcomes of transactional sex and to acknowledge the highly varied realities of transactional sex. Unravelling the story of transactional sex in DRC, we hope, will eventually lead to a better understanding of legal and institutional change, and in particular changes in gender relations. Transactional sex appears to have a bearing on the duality of the exploitation of women on the one hand and the expression of women's power on the other, and as such may have an impact on broader themes of masculinity and femininity, the perception of marriage and the practice of cohabitation.

The authors have found it difficult to choose the language used in this report with regards to prostitution. An increasing number of authors avoid the term of prostitution because of the stigma attached to the term, and prefer to use the concept of sex work. As pointed out by one of the reviewers of this report, the terms prostitution and sex work depict different sets of assumptions about the women who practice formalized sex for money exchange. Sex work came in to lexicon in protest of the stigmatization of "prostitute" and as a means to legitimize sex work as work, rather than taking a moralist stance on the need to abolish prostitution as a form of sexual violence.

Although the authors sympathize with the position advocating the use of the term of sex work, it is difficult to apply this notion to a research aiming to map local practices and vocabularies, where prostitution is the accepted term in DRC. Besides, we did not find voices among our respondents expressing views that framed prostitution in term of worker's rights. In the end we have opted to speak of prostitution when denoting the business of sex trade and sex workers to denote the women involved. In this way, we stay close to local parlance (that speaks of prostitution yet may talk indeed of sex workers) while avoiding the personal stigma attached to the term prostitute.

This project also serves the objective of setting up the Research and Expertise centre in Gender and Development (CREGED) at the *Institut Supérieur de Bukavu Rural* (ISDR-Bukavu) in DRC, which will be the first of its kind in the sub-region and could offer the missing components of documentation, research and training on gender and development at university level, post-university level and to organisations working in this field.

This research is limited to transactional sex where men exchange goods for sex from women or girls. There are indications that warrant the need to closer examine the question regarding whether and how men are selling as well as buying sex, but this is a great taboo in DRC and outside the scope of this research.

2 Transactional sex in sub-Saharan Africa and in humanitarian crises

As part of this research, a literature review was performed on transactional sex (Formson and Hilhorst, 2016). The evolving literature dealing with transactional sex during humanitarian crises suggests that women engage in transactional sex in these situations primarily to meet the basic needs of their households. Women's engagement in various sexual relationships for material and financial gain in an effort to mitigate the impact of food insecurity has also been referred to as 'survival sex'.

There is very little literature specifically on transactional sex on DRC so we have also reviewed literature dealing with transactional sex in other settings in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Overall, transactional sex as a phenomenon takes place in diverse contexts and is motivated by various factors. It is influenced by gendered socio-economic and cultural factors and often takes place in a context in which choice and opportunities for women are limited. The broader literature on transactional sex has mainly been triggered by the HIV and AIDS pandemic and it often focuses on the health implications of transactional sex to inform HIV prevention policy and programming. Such studies offer some insight into why women engage in transactional sex and the different forms of transactional sex that exist, often distinguishing survival sex from other practices. The literature reviewed indicates that transactional sex is a common aspect of everyday relationships in SSA.

The full reference to the literature review can be found in the Bibliography of this report. This section summarises aspects that relate to the current research.

2.1 The difference between prostitution and transactional sex

The term transactional sex is used by scholars to refer to sex in exchange for cash, goods, services, commodities or privileges in order to meet the needs and wants of the parties involved (Chatterji et al., 2005; Dunkle et al., 2004). A recurring theme in the literature is that definitions vary and that interpretations of transactional sex are culturally determined and constructed.

While the definition of transactional sex could include prostitution, the literature on SSA in particular uses the term to differentiate the practice from 'commercial sex' and prostitution and their stigmatising connotations (Blommaert, 2014; Hunter, 2002; Cole, 2007). In transactional sex, participants are typically constructed as 'girlfriends' and 'boyfriends', and the exchange of gifts for sex is part of a broader set of obligations that

might not involve a predetermined payment (Hunter, 2002). Prostitution refers to sexual exchange based on predetermined forms of remuneration (usually cash) to those who provide sex on a professional basis (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; also see Hunter, 2002 and Cole, 2007). In 'everyday' transactional sex relationships, 'exchange is not necessarily a straightforward cash transaction and sex is not pursued on a professional basis' (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Watson, 2011; Hunter, 2002; Luke, 2003).

Stoebenau et al. (2011), summarise that transactional sex:

- is shaped by a number of economic, social and political conditions motivated by either the need for survival or consumption
- is motivated by the material and/or monetary gains forthcoming
- is conceptualised in a distinct language among those engaging in such practices, where various phrases and expressions are used to articulate the positive and negative aspects of the phenomenon
- relationships are often categorised as love relationships in the context of boyfriend/girlfriend relationships where gifts are an expression of love
- exists in highly unequal gendered power relations and as such is implicitly coercive in the context of women's limited livelihood opportunities.

The difference between transactional sex and prostitution is difficult to draw in analytical terms as there are 'grey area' practices that border both phenomena. It is important to note, however, that the difference between transactional sex and prostitution is maintained in many local vocabularies and hence the distinction is socially relevant in many contexts, despite the overlap between the two phenomena. In DRC, prostitution is considered separate from transactional sex. Prostitution is often believed to be a recent and 'imported' phenomenon. This research has followed this distinction and has collected separate data-sets about prostitution and about environments where transactional sex is highly prevalent, such as in educational institutions, workplaces, poor environments, religious environments and trade.

2.2 Motivations and acceptance of transactional sex

Hunter (2002) established three factors that collectively bring about transactional sex in South Africa and that may be relevant for other contexts as well:

- The privileged economic position of men, rooted in their access to the most lucrative segments of the formal and informal economy as well as to resources such as housing.
- Masculine discourses that place a high value on men having multiple sexual partners
- Women's engagement in transactional sex is an expression of agency. Women engage not as passive victims but rather in order 'to access power and resources in ways that can both challenge and reproduce patriarchal structures'.

The literature suggests that in SSA transactional sex is a common element of modern day life in various socio-cultural contexts. Qualitative evidence further suggests that this material exchange is may be seen as an expression of the worth of a woman to a man (Gorgen et al., 1993; Luke and Kurz, 2002).

In a review of the factors influencing transactional sex among young men and women in 12 SSA countries, Chatterji et al. (2005) found that young unmarried men and women were more likely to engage in transactional sex than older and/or married men and women. Other studies on transactional sex in the same region indicate that among the youth, engagement in transactional sex relationships is both for economic and consumer purposes (Stavrou and Kaufman, 2000; Leclerc-Madlala, 2001; Leclerc-Madlala, 2002; Nyanzi et al., 2001; Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001; Hunter, 2002; Thorpe, 2002; Selikow et al., 2002; Wojcicki and Malala, 2001; Wojcicki, 2002a; Plummer et al., 2004). As articulated in Caldwell, et al. (1989), for many young women, engagement in transactional sex 'is the only way of having a relationship with a high-status or powerful man and of gaining an entrée to society. It is also often only one part of a strategy for advancement, success, and high income in the world of government and business'. Peer pressure and parental pressure are cited as other factors behind why youths exchange sex for material gain. Youths feel pressured to keep up with their peers with regard to 'luxury items, such as expensive clothing, jewellery, fashionable hairstyles, accessories, and makeup' (Chatterij et al., 2005; see also: Bledsoe, 1990; Calvès et al., 1996; Meekers and Calvès, 1997; Ankomah, 1998; Temin et al., 1999; Hulton et al., 2000; Nyanzi et al., 2001; Gregson et al., 2002; Longfield et al., 2002). In post-conflict Uganda and Liberia, Agiresaasi (2011) and Atwood et al. (2011) respectively found that parents in fact uphold this practice.

Some sources distinguish transactional sex to meet consumer wants as compared to meeting *basic needs*. While these are all forms of transactional sex, the motivations differ. However, the distinction between ‘needs’ (survival sex) and ‘wants’ (consumer sex) seems to be too simplistic. It glosses over the fact that the two motivations are not mutually exclusive and can overlap. It also ignores that in some societies a seemingly luxury item, like a mobile phone, can be considered a necessity of life. Finally, the distinction does not acknowledge that transactional sex can also be an investment in a more solid future, for example through education or social mobility.

We consider the term ‘survival sex’ appropriate for specific situations. We propose, however, to replace the value-laden and imprecise term of ‘consumer sex’ by ‘strategic sex’. Survival sex is also strategic, yet connotes situations where women have extremely limited options, whereas in other contexts women may choose to engage in transactional sex for different purposes.

Transactional sex relationships are found to be characterised by multiple concurrent partnerships of varying lengths. In many African countries, the term *sugar daddy* is synonymous with transactional sex relationships (Hunter, 2002). These relationships are often relatively long term and may involve multiple concurrent partnerships by both parties. While extensive research exists on transactional sex among the youth, limited research has been conducted on transactional sex among women of older age groups. The current research has not been organised to focus on a specific age group because it aims to explore the full picture. Women of different age groups were interviewed.

2.3 Transactional sex in humanitarian crisis and conflict

In humanitarian contexts, the primary motivation for entering into transactional sex relationships concerns food insecurity and extreme poverty. This type of transactional sex, which is associated with meeting basic needs, is often referred to as ‘survival sex’. Survival sex arises in direct response to basic needs in instances of poverty/food insecurity (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). Women’s lack of choice or opportunities provides the context in which various transactional sex relationships take place in order to offset the multiple adverse shocks that arise from violent conflict situations (Watson, 2011).

The literature further suggests that women’s engagement in transactional sex is not only to meet their personal basic needs but often those of their entire family. In post-conflict DRC, for example, as is the case in Uganda and Liberia, the changing socio-economic structures that have emerged have forced women to take responsibility for their households as men lost livelihood opportunities (Agiresaasi, 2011; Dewey, 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2012; Unger, 2012; UNHCR, 2011; Hynes, 2004). According to the World Bank (2015), in the artisanal and small-scale mining areas of North and South Kivu in eastern Congo, women were forced to engage in transactional sex in order to gain access to and maintain employment, highlighting the link between economic and sexual exploitation (World Bank, 2015).

There is also evidence from different contexts of where young people, under pressure from their parents, felt compelled to engage in transactional sex to feed the family. This was found in post-conflict Liberia (Atwood et al., 2011), Uganda (Muhwezi et al., 2011) and the DRC (Kelly et al., 2011).

Several studies contain evidence that conflict or disaster can lead to an upsurge of transactional sex, such as in Liberia (Atwood et al., 2011) and Haiti (UNHCR, 2011). These studies raise the question of whether the effects of ‘conflict or disaster’ can be seen in isolation, as their effects may work by compounding other factors such as poverty, food insecurity or male violence towards women.

Over the last two decades there have been allegations of peacekeeping forces engaging in transactional sex with refugees and internally displaced women and children (Beber et al., 2015; Hynes, 2004). According to a World Health Organisation (WHO) study (WHO, UN Action, MRC South Africa, and SVRI, 2012) ‘sexual exploitation (including sexual coercion for protection and/or basic necessities such as food’ constitutes a form of sexual violence. According to United Nations Office of Internal Oversight Services (UN OIOS, 2015), ‘transactional sex is quite common but underreported in peacekeeping missions’. In post-conflict Liberia, which has had a peacekeeping mission in place since 2003 when the civil war ended, Beber et al. (2012) found that among a (specific) sample of 475 women aged between 18 and 30, more than 75% had engaged in transactional sex with peacekeeping personnel. Allegations of similar acts around transactional sex and sexual exploitation by peacekeeping forces and aid workers have been reported for the Central African Republic, DRC and South Sudan.

The classification of survival sex as sexual violence recognises the limited choices women have in some conditions in refusing or opting out of transactional sex. On the other hand, this may cloud some of the dynamics of transactional sex. While there are strong indications that humanitarian crises forge transactional sex, the wider literature shows that it is unlikely that humanitarian crisis is a single driver of transactional sex, which is an increasing part of everyday realities in broader contexts. Also, the predominance of survival sex in humanitarian crises does not preclude that women also engage in transactional sex for other strategic reasons.

2.4 Transactional sex and women's agency

The issue of choice is paramount in the question of how women engage in transactional sex, moving between victimhood and exploitation on the one hand to expressions of power on the other. According to Kabeer (1999), the ability to make effective choices in both the household and society at large incorporates three inter-related dimensions: resources (defined broadly to include not only access, but also future claims, to both material and human and social resources); agency (including processes of decision making, as well as less measurable manifestations of agency such as negotiation, deception and manipulation); and achievements (well-being outcomes). A review of the existing literature, while not conclusive, suggests that women's engagement in transactional sex provides women with a certain level of control over their lives. Hunter (2002) argues that 'women approach transactional relations not as passive victims, but in order to access power and resources in ways that can both challenge and reproduce patriarchal structures.' In humanitarian settings however, the literature reviewed suggests a lack of choice. For many women in such contexts, one of the only means to meet basic needs is to engage in transactional sex relationships. On the other hand, in an analysis of transactional sex in post-conflict Monrovia, Liberia, Beber et al. (2012) argue that women stood to gain considerable income and status from such relationships. In this regard, it is important to acknowledge that in post-conflict contexts, women 'are not only victims but also survivors who have agency to make consensual decisions' (Maclin et al., 2015).

With regard to the negotiating power of women, a consistent picture emerges irrespective of the setting, where women have bargaining and negotiation power over the choice of partners and the terms of the relationships, but very little power over the actual sexual encounter. Sex becomes a commodity that, once

purchased, results in the male partner maintaining power over the sexual encounter (Bledsoe, 1990; Castle and Konaté, 1999 in the Malian context; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003 in the context of Durban South Africa). Nonetheless, some studies find that women also exploit transactional relationships to further socio-economic aspirations (for example Leclerc-Madlala 2003). A question remains whether this is an expression of women's agency that has *transformatory* significance? That is, does the choice to engage in transactional sexual relationships have the potential to challenge and destabilise social inequities or does it in fact 'merely express and reproduce those inequities' (Kabeer, 1999).

This exploratory study does not allow such an in-depth analysis of the institutional significance of transactional sex. A recently published study on DRC by Maclin et al. (2015), however, found some interesting implications of transactional sex. This study suggested that the normative construct of familial roles and power relationships changed as women were forced to take financial responsibility in response to men's joblessness. The study found that women's engagement in transactional sex as a response to lack of family income has resulted in men's greater dependence on women amidst shame and the inability to speak out against their wives' engagement in extramarital activities. Both men and women 'struggled with shifting gender roles as women became family leaders and men lost most, if not all, of their control at home.' Men felt threatened by the shift in power and both women and men expressed frustration over men's inability to provide for their families. A 'sense of failure often results in unhealthy outlets for asserting masculinity'. This research implies that shifts in gendered labour conditions can be a contributing factor to changes in the prevalence of transactional sex, next to other factors such as gender power relations, male responsibility for violence against women, and legal protection of women's rights.

2.5 The risk factors

The literature reveals that engaging in transactional sex irrespective of socio-economic factors leaves women vulnerable to health, physical and emotional risks (Farley and Barkan, 1998; Dunkle et al., 2004; Luke, 2003). There are clear indications in the literature that transactional sex 'often coexists with other risky sexual behaviours like an early sexual debut, multiple concurrent sexual partnerships, and inconsistent condom use. Evidence links transactional sex to undesirable sexual and reproductive health outcomes including sexually

transmitted infections (STIs), unintended pregnancies and unsafe abortions' (Choudhry et al., 2014; Dunkle et al., 2004; Hunter, 2002).

While various studies suggest a correlation between transactional sex and violence, the precise causal relationship is unclear. Based on the existing research in this area it can be inferred that exposure to sexual violence and the resulting social and cultural rejection and psychological trauma predisposes women's engagement in transactional sex. For example, Dunkle et al. (2004), found that in Soweto transactional sex was more likely to be reported by women who also reported a lifetime experience of violence by male intimate partners. Other factors include childhood abuse and problematic alcohol or drug use (ibid). In a review of transactional sex

practices in IDP camps in Haiti, UNHCR (2011) found that research 'conducted in other emergency contexts has found that aggravated conditions of poverty may increase sexual violence (although SGBV in itself is obviously not a 'low class' phenomenon)' (UNHCR, 2011).

Armed conflict has been identified with increased risks and vulnerability for women and girls. Amidst the trauma of war, displacement and food insecurity, women also experience sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) (Farley and Barkan, 1998; Hynes, 2004; Harrison, 2007). Several studies reveal that violence against women who engage in transactional sex is common; the practice is associated with increased risk of rape and physical violence (Dunkle et al., 2004).

3 Methodology and organisation of the study

This study focuses on the factors which condition transactional sex and prostitution. For this reason we favoured qualitative analysis, complemented by some quantitative data

In order to map the full spectrum of transactional sex, including prostitution, the study consisted of two parts. One component of the research consisted of a survey among 480 sex workers in four sites of South Kivu. Questions concerned the motivations to enter the trade, conditions and sums received, symbolic languages around prostitution, client profiles, organisation of the sector, number of children and number and methods of abortions, visits to health facilities, and violence encountered. The other component consisted of focus groups, and was mainly geared to transactional sex. The focus groups were held in two phases: 20 focus groups were held in the four sites of investigation; and five focus groups designed specifically to cover five kinds of setting known for a high prevalence of transactional sex: educational institutions, workplaces, poor environments, religious environments, and trade and transport settings. These milieus were identified on the basis of the first round of data gathering, as well as the tacit knowledge of the Congolese researchers.

3.1 Study sites

The study was conducted at four sites in South Kivu – Bukavu, Kamituga, Kavumu and Uvira – deemed to represent the hotspots where prostitution and transactional sex take place, without underestimating the extent of the phenomenon in other mining towns, shopping centres and poor areas, or areas with a high demographic concentration.

Two sites are major towns (Bukavu and Uvira) and the other two are in rural areas (Kamituga and Kavumu). Bukavu is the administrative capital of the province of South Kivu. It is the seat of provincial institutions and all companies and organisations in the region. In 2014, its population was estimated at 850,546 inhabitants spread over 60.8 square kilometres, which gives it a high population concentration of 13.989/km².

The port town of Uvira on the shores of Lake Tanganyika is a trade hub, giving it a strategic position between Burundi, Tanzania, Zambia and the Province of Katanga.



The town of Kavumu is a rural agglomeration with a high level of commercial traffic thanks to its strategic position on national road 3 between Bukavu and Goma (the capital of the North Kivu Province) as well as its proximity to the national airport of Kavumu).

The choice of the town of Kamituga was motivated by the fact that this mining town has long been the major trading centre for artisanally mined gold.

3.2 Survey on prostitution

The survey was conducted in April 2015. Sixteen investigators including four supervisors (one per site) and 12 investigators (three per site) were responsible for holding the focus groups for the first category, and for administering individual questionnaires for the latter. The investigators were all Congolese, and part of the ISDR. The investigators were deployed to the four sites to collect field data after receiving training on the conduct of an investigation. During this training, the questionnaires were amended and revised.

In each of the sites, the team consisted of one woman and two men. The reasons to include men in the research teams were twofold. In the first place, it turned out during initial interviews that many sex workers preferred to talk to men. They are used to talk to men – who are their usual clients - about their work and they are sometimes afraid to talk to women whom they fear will look down on them and their choices of lifestyle. In addition, there were concerns of security. The research often had to take place at odd and nightly hours which presented a security risk for women-only teams.

Each investigator received 40 individual questionnaires. In total, 480 women prostituting themselves were met at least once to be questioned individually. The investigator completed the questionnaires as and when the people surveyed responded. Sometimes closer ties of friendship were forged with the people surveyed as investigators spent convivial time with them in *Nganda* restaurants, at their homes or at meeting places, sometimes late in the evening.

The team had anticipated many refusals, but in reality there was only one occasion where women did not want to be interviewed, because they did not trust the researcher. Remarkably, many women liked to collaborate with the research and convinced colleagues to join in by saying: “This time, they will talk about us”.

All researchers identified themselves as staff of ISDR and had a letter (*ordre de mission*) stating that the interview was part of an official research. Anonymity was guaranteed and the researchers never noted the names of the participants. In many cases, a drink was offered to the woman during the interview, and occasionally a Dollar was given for the taxi ride home.

A complication of the research concerned the age of women. For ethical reasons, the research only wanted to interview adult women. However, because sex below the age of 18 is forbidden in the law, young women are used to lie about their age and it can therefore not be excluded that some survey interviews were held with this younger age category. As age is a complicated issue, data on age were not likely to be reliable and the survey did therefore not ask about the age of the respondents.

Interviews were held at the times that women preferred, usually between 10am and 3pm, before they would prepare themselves to start to work. Many interviews were also held at the place of work, sometimes interrupted when the participant took on a client.

In Kavumu, the shopping centre was the main place for finding respondents. As the town is located between two other major shopping centres, Miti to the south and Katana to the north, a researcher was deployed to Miti to cover the sub-sites at Mudaka and Miti, and another researcher deployed to the central Katana and Kabamba sub-sites. It should be noted that all of these sites are located along national road 3 connecting the towns of Bukavu and Goma via Kavumu. Here, the local NGO Hant Sida played the role of facilitator between our team and commercial sex workers.

They put us in contact with the president (known as the ‘second mother’) of the association of sex workers in this area. This lady has the confidence of the sex workers. She acts as liaison for NGOs working in the area and intervenes when women have problems (health problems, arrests and so on). All members of the association are adults, as the president is strongly opposed to minor sex workers. She phoned the members of her group to ask their participation in the interview and the collaboration of the president facilitated the confidence of the participants in the research team.

At Kamituga, the team of researchers collected data from sex workers using the snowball technique. They started by identifying the bars and *Nganda* restaurants where prostitution activity was intense. From there, the sex workers contacted helped the team to reach others.

At Uvira, two sites were targeted, namely the Mulongwe and Kavimvira shopping centre, the entry point into the town for vehicles and passengers from Burundi, Rwanda and Bukavu. The survey schedule took job requirements into account. Before 10 am and after 5 pm were not good times to do interviews in Uvira and Kavumu, except by appointment (before 10 am is a time of rest and after 5 pm is the time for work). In Kamituga and Bukavu, preference was also given to these times, but sex workers were met at any time that they were unoccupied.

In Bukavu, for reasons of efficiency and to reach the various survey categories, the site was segmented. The three communes each had an interviewer. Here, our team of interviewers relied on SOFEDI (*Solidarité Féminine pour le Développement Intégral*), a local NGO

that supports sex workers. This organisation helped identify bars and nightclubs and facilitate contacts with sex workers. While our team was carrying out its research, the SOFEDI team was raising awareness, distributing condoms and STI medication and carrying out voluntary testing. This collaboration with SOFEDI has been a positive experience for our team and may be capitalised on in the future.

3.3 Focus groups and individual interviews

Data collected on the basis of individual surveys were supplemented by data obtained in focus groups (20 in total): five focus groups involving 10 to 12 people per session and per site, or 200 people contacted.

These focus groups were held to obtain the views of other stakeholders and facilitators of transactional sex and prostitution. In each site, a focus group was held with owners, operators and workers in nightclubs, hotels and brothels in order to gain more insight in the organisation of prostitution.

The other focus groups were held with students, households around nightclubs, carriers (boats, trucks, buses, taxis, motorcycle taxis) who transport goods to places such as Goma, Uvira, Kamituga in DRC and in Bujumbura, Kigali, Dar-es-Salaam, Kampala outside DRC. The last group targeted by the investigation was merchants working in the same areas.

For the focus group on drivers, participants were found through the association of drivers, that are active in all sites. For the students, permission was obtained from the management of these institutions. Student associations (called *collèges*) were asked to propose participants in such a way that these would include internal and external students and well as students from the different years. For the owners of bars and nightclubs, the researchers have approached the owners of the places where they stayed and then used snowballing techniques. For the people in the neighbourhood of bars, the researchers have presented themselves at random houses to explain the research. When the inhabitants of several houses were interested to participate, a meeting was organised. The merchants were approached through associations of traders, that are organised according to the area where they trade with. Several of these groups were approached to find participants.

In these focus groups, the two categories of prostitution and transactional sex were not always distinct, as the two phenomena to some extent overlap in practice, and respondents tended to discuss and comment on both.

After an initial analysis of the findings in June 2015, it was decided to organise six additional focus groups designed to cover specific milieus with a high prevalence of transactional sex. These focus groups were held with 10 respondents each in Bukavu, enabling us to increase our total sample to 730 respondents. The second round of the educational focus group and the merchants, the same selection method was used as detailed above. For the focus group of professionals, all researchers were asked to propose a participant from their own network. With regards to the urban poor, the chiefs of urban poor neighbourhoods were requested permission to organise the interview, and then helped to find people that were available for the focus group. Participants were given a token amount to cover their transportation costs. With regards the religious milieu, it was not possible to have a focus group, as possible participants would only want to talk individually, per telephone or in meetings. Interviews were held with one nun and three catholic priests, and 6 protestant pastors, of which 4 were men and 2 women.

These group discussions enabled us to enrich the information previously collected in professional, religious, poor, educational, and commercial environments. The focus groups used open questions. Participants to the focus groups were guaranteed confidentiality, and the discussion was facilitated by never asking about personal experiences, but always framing questions in non-personal language such as “Do you know of cases...”, and “What do you observe in your environment...”.

In Bukavu and Kavumu, the focus groups were followed by a number of individual interviews with members of the focus groups. In Kavumu, two interviews were held with women who had not said anything during the focus group. In Bukavu, likewise, one additional interview was held with a woman who appeared to want to talk yet did not say anything during the group discussion. These individual and confidential interviews brought out many personal stories.

3.4 Limitations of the study

One limitation of the study is an imbalance in the data obtained about prostitution on the one hand and transactional sex on the other. Sex workers are clearly recognisable. They openly advertise themselves and have distinct styles of dress and specific places of work. This enabled us to do a survey among this category of women. Practices of transactional sex, on the other hand, are more difficult to locate. For this reason, the data on transactional sex were gathered through focus groups, where participants could choose to phrase their responses as speaking from their own experience or as making observations about people in their social network engaging in transactional sex. Even though the topic was sensitive, the focus group discussions appeared to be very informative, especially as participants could choose to speak on the basis of their own experience or about third parties. As a result, the analysis of the two categories differs. The survey of prostitution allowed us to map this phenomena in quantitative terms, whereas the analysis of transactional sex is purely qualitative.

A limitation with the scope of the study is the omission of the political environment as a milieu of transactional sex: offices of politicians, such as heads of public services, members of provincial cabinet, ministers, parliamentarians, leaders of the Congolese opposition, and leading army and police officers. While it is recognised that milieu is known for a high prevalence of transactional sex, this voluntary omission is related to the fact that the political environment is very sensitive and difficult to penetrate under current conditions.

A final limitation concerns the fact that participants were asked about their perception on the prevalence of transactional sex, and it is not clear to what extent this corresponds with real practices. It is likely that statements such as ‘everybody is doing it’ constitute a strong exaggeration, and we could not verify the level of actual practice within the context of this study.

4 The law and national policy on prostitution and involvement of NGOs

This chapter reviews Congolese law and policy on prostitution. There is no policy on transactional sex. It also discusses NGO activities on sex workers and transactional sex.

4.1 Prostitution and the law

The Penal Code from colonial times, dated 30 January 1940 [Decree - Penal code (O.J., 1940, p. 193)] contains provisions in the various legal and regulatory texts which are scattered across a number of subjects but which provide for criminal sanctions. Significant changes and amendments to the code were made by law no. 06/018 dated 20 July 2006.¹

Prostitution is punishable under well-defined conditions. Activities that incite minors to 'debauchery' or those that promote the prostitution of others or which allow people to derive profit, or those which involve using force or threatening behaviour to force people into prostitution have been criminalised. In this sense, the Congolese penal code punishes pimping, running a bawdy house or brothel, the exploitation of debauchery or prostitution, as well as forced prostitution. Article 174 b, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code states:

Shall be punished by three months to five years imprisonment and a fine of fifty thousand to one hundred thousand constant Congolese Francs: any person who, to satisfy the desires of another, has hired, led or abducted, for the purposes of debauchery or prostitution, even with their consent, a person under 18 years of age; the age of the person may be determined in particular by medical examination, in the absence of civil status; anyone who has run a bawdy house or brothel; the pimp; anybody who habitually carries out in any other manner, the debauchery or prostitution of others.

This provision highlights violations by the pimp and the procurer on the one hand, and on the other hand forced prostitution and child prostitution. Pimping is defined as any activity which tends to encourage debauchery or prostitution or profits from it: the hiring, leading, abduction, displacement, capture of a person for the purposes of debauchery.

This ban on running a brothel reinforces the conditions of Order No. 75-153 dated 31 May 1975, regulating bar

1 Official Journal dated 1 August 2006, no. 15, p. 13

opening hours and prohibiting nightclubs.² This order states in Article 6 that nightclubs (given to refer to all places of entertainment open at night where alcoholic beverages are sold and consumed and where people dance and attend performances of all kinds) and brothels (defined as all establishments set out for prostitution) are prohibited. Obviously, this law has no real meaning in restricting nightlife or prostitution. On the other hand, the law can be seen to effect in outlawing services and policy related to education, health provision and other forms of protection for women engaging in prostitution or transactional sex.

It also means that prostitution activity cannot be formally taxed because sex workers are engaged in an illegal activity and pay no sums directly related to the exercise of prostitution. It does not preclude that these activities are subject to informal taxation.

4.2 Elements of government policy and the responsibility of the Ministry of Health, the police and the justice sector

With regard to (forced) prostitution, article 174c states:

Anyone who has required one or more persons to perform an act or acts of a sexual nature, by force, by the threat of force, or coercion or who takes advantage of the inability of such persons to freely give their consent to obtain a financial or other benefit, will be punished by three months to five years imprisonment.

Concerning the prostitution of children and youth, article 174n states: 'Anyone who has used a child under 18 for purposes of sex for remuneration or any other form of benefit will be punished by imprisonment for 5 to 20 years and a fine of two hundred thousand constant Congolese Francs'. All the above offences have been grouped into a section dealing with 'other offences of sexual violence' under the heading of offences against the family order by the criminal legislator.

During the colonial era and the years that followed independence, the Ministry of Health, through its health service, to some extent organised the sector. In the town of Bukavu, it was possible to identify districts with a lot of prostitution. The most famous *camp mbaraga* (prostitution camps) were in Chimpunda in the Commune of Kadutu and in District D in the Commune of Bagira. These sex workers had calling cards identifying them as professional sex

workers and through these cards they received medical health checks in public health facilities and their movement at night was regulated.³

With the increasing weakening of the Congolese state in the 1980s, this social category was abandoned to its fate. At this point, the sale of calling cards to sex workers was only used to line the pockets of health service officials. Medical health checks no longer took place and the night movement of sex workers became increasingly dangerous. Soldiers and police on patrol abused their power, often raping sex workers returning home late.

It was then, in the late 1980s, that some national and international NGOs partially took over to compensate for this state failure, in particular to raise awareness and provide training on sexual and reproductive health. By mutual agreement between NGOs and the Provincial Health Inspectorate (IPS), calling cards are no longer sold to sex workers because supplying a calling card without health checks offered false assurance.

4.3 Involvement of non-state actors

In the province of South Kivu, there is no international NGO that deals specifically with sex workers or transactional sex. There are, however, a number of NGOs that provide health services in the context of a general programme addressing sexual and reproductive health, and include sex workers in their target groups. A number of sex workers declared during the research that they had free medical care and visits in all health facilities supported by MSF (*Médecins Sans Frontières*).

Of the local NGOs encountered, only SOFEDI specifically targets sex workers. Halt Sida and SOS Sida are also notable actors in the province that include sex workers among their activities for sexual and reproductive health.

Issues of transactional sex are rarely addressed by NGOs. Religious institutions are more prone to address these issues, albeit from a strong moral perspective. The law prohibits sexual relations with minors below the age of 18. This means that a large group of young and sexually active women are not addressed or educated about the risks of transactional sex, and do not receive education and services regarding the importance of the use of condoms.

2 Official Journal of Zaire, no. 16, 15 August 1975, p. 927.

3 This information was drawn from an interview with a teacher-researcher of 66 years old, who was born and grew up in Chimpunda quarter where camp Mbaraga was located.

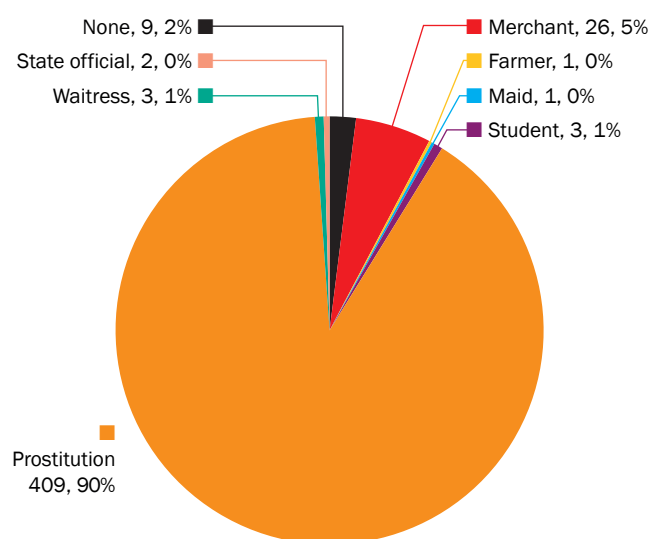
5 Findings on prostitution in South Kivu and its surroundings

This section presents the findings on prostitution based on the survey and additional information from the focus groups. The section starts with a general profile of the 480 respondents to the survey, including an analysis of how sex workers entered their trade. The next section deals with the clients of sex workers: their profiles, how they justify their use of sex workers, and the way sex workers talk about them. Section 5.4 is about the communication and signals used in the transactions to have sex, with a particular focus on the ways in which sex workers relate to one another in the managing of their clients. After detailing a discussion of different types of prostitution, the chapter discusses the organisation of prostitution. It ends with the discussion of the prevalence of violence and other risks associated with prostitution.

5.1 Profile of surveyed sex workers

The survey confirms the separate and specialised status of sex workers, as 90% of the women report prostitution as their main activity (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Main activity of sex workers



The majority of women sex workers are single (56%), followed by divorcees or separated women (22%). A small group of 2% constituted married women, and an additional 12% lived in common-law unions, and 8% of the respondents are widowed.

Figure 2: Civil status of sex workers

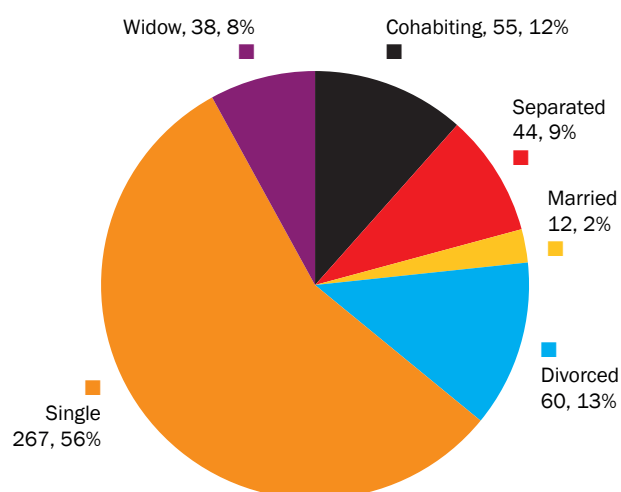
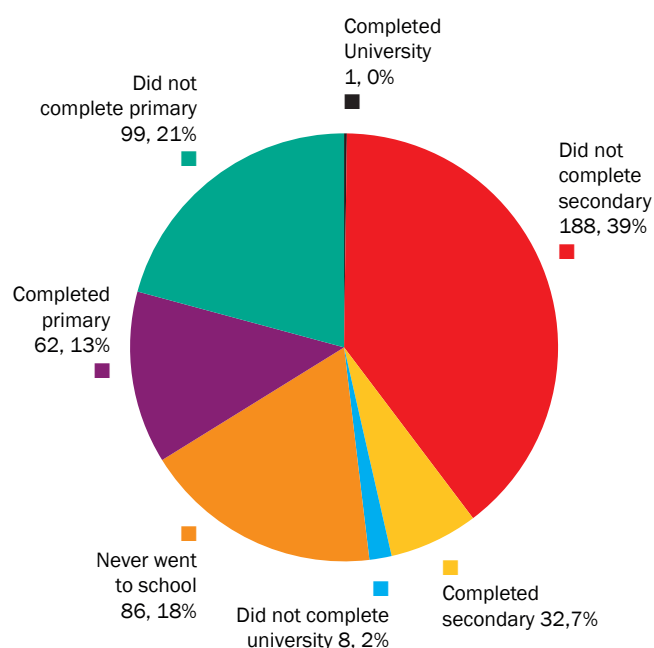


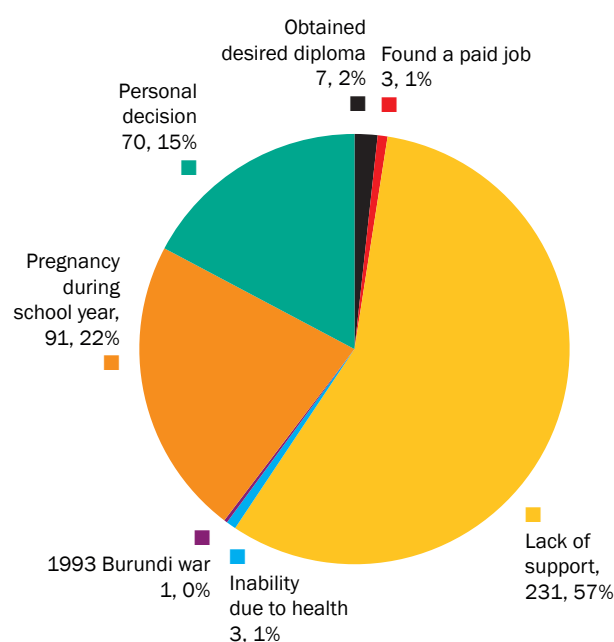
Figure 3 shows the educational level achieved by respondents. Strikingly, 39% of the women never went to school or did not finish elementary school. Only 7% of the respondents completed secondary school.

Figure 3: Level of education of sex workers



According to the sex workers, the main reason for dropping out of education is the lack of financial support in a country where primary, secondary and higher education is mainly paid for by parents, who pay for uniforms, school items, transport and a portion of the teachers' salaries (totalling \$50-100 per year), while household sizes are typically of around eight people with several children to be supported. Another considerable proportion of women (22%) cited pregnancy as the main reason for abandoning schooling (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Reason for dropping out of education



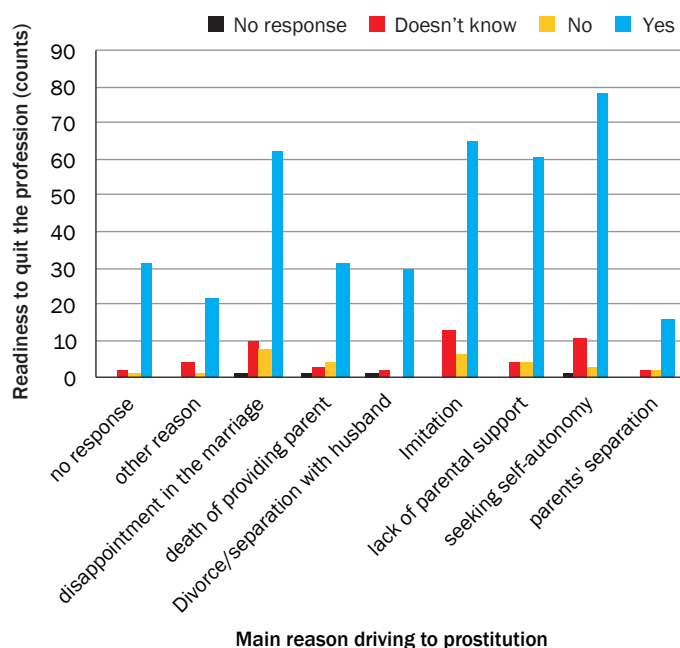
5.2 Entering prostitution

Poverty is the main engine for prostitution, while family conditions also play a major role. The main reasons (Figure 7) include disappointment in marriage, lack of parental supervision, death of parents, separation/divorce and separation of parents. Other motivations include the search for independence and initiation by girlfriends. Occasionally, women are encouraged to enter by a daughter or husband (or partner) or other close relatives. Several girls find themselves in prostitution because of pregnancy while young.

Additional reasons cited by respondents include sexual curiosity, witchcraft and bewitchment, exposure to pornographic films, and the consumption of strong alcoholic beverages.

During the multiple wars repeatedly waged in eastern DRC, some girls lived in concubinage with soldiers who subsequently abandoned them or died. These women can no longer marry easily and some have opted to work as sex worker.

Figure 5: Reasons for choice of prostitution



5.3 Clients of prostitution

This section is based on the surveys, with additional data from male participants to the focus groups.

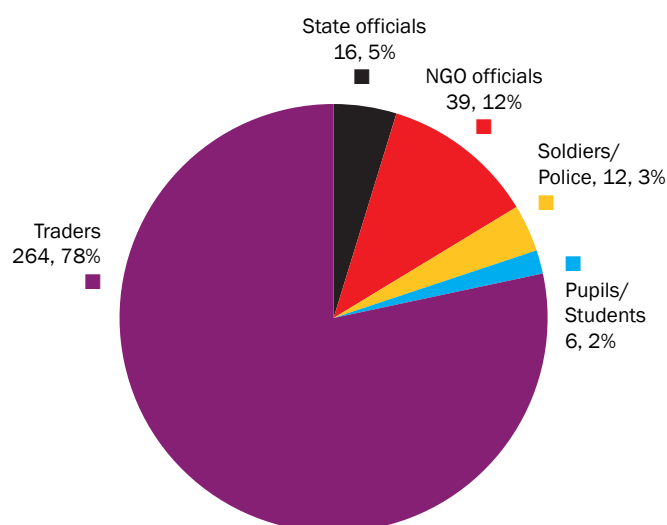
5.3.1 Client profiles

Traders make up the majority of clients, representing up to 78% of clients (see Figure 5.3.2). They are followed by officials working for national and international NGOs (12%). Other clients represent broad segments of the population, including manual workers, foremen, civil servants, travelling representatives, pupils and students, and small-time local criminals.

A reason for the overrepresentation of traders and NGO workers may be found in the mobility of these two main categories, with both frequently travelling for their work. Visiting sex workers meets disapproval and men appear less likely to resort to prostitution in their own town, where they can easily engage in other forms of transactional sex.

A puzzling finding is the low percentage of soldiers and police in the responses to the survey, who appear regularly in narratives of women. It needs to be feared that this is due to the fact that many police and soldiers demand 'free services' (forced intercourse) and hence are not considered clients.

Figure 6: Professions of clients

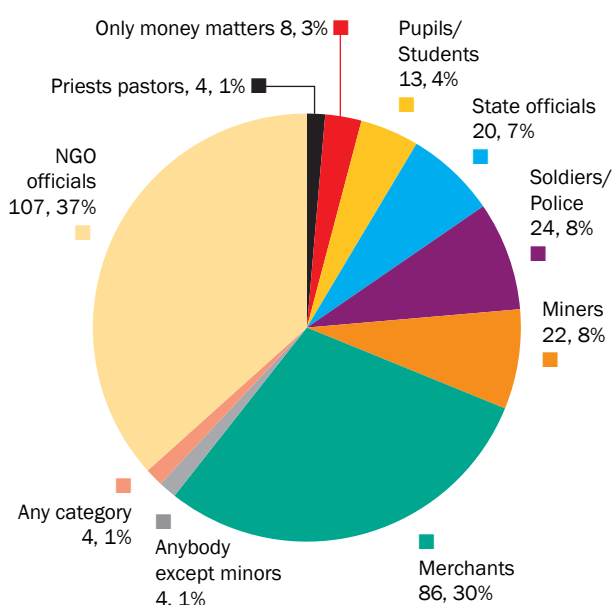


5.3.2 Preferences of women

As part of the survey, we asked women about their preferred clients. With regard to the age of clients, a majority of women has no preference, as long as clients are not of a minor age. Where a preference is expressed, men from the 30-40 age group are preferred, followed by those aged between 20 and 30.

With regard to the professional profile of clients, NGO officials are the most preferred (37%) followed by merchants (30%).

Figure 7: Preferred clients



5.3.3 Affection

A number of findings point to the role that affection can play in differentiating between clients.

There are different vocabularies used by women to denote different categories of clients. The word 'handbag', for example, designates a good payer, while 'gold chain' is used where a real sense of love may be involved. A 'sandal' indicates a vulgar client of lower class, who is only accepted in times of economic crisis and a shortage of money.

Especially with regard to the so-called 'gold chains', the distinction between prostitution and transactional sex dissipates. To some extent, the relationships that self-defined sex workers have with certain men could be categorized as informal, more akin to transactional sex than to prostitution. Where clients become subject of affection, a relation evolves where the person pays when he wants, as long as he does not continue without ever paying. He may also prepay an amount that will guarantee the service for a prolonged period of time.

5.3.4 Justification for the use of sex workers

Data from male participants of focus groups indicate a number of reasons why men frequent sex workers. Underlying these reasons is a discourse around how men are entitled or require access to sex at all times. Men cite travel, problems in their households, or the unavailability of their wives for reasons of health (menstruation, pregnancy, disease). Other participants said that with a sex worker they could do what they want and in the positions they want.

5.4 Communication and signals used

This section discusses some of the signals and gestures used in communication around sexual transactions.

5.4.1 Gestures of attraction between men and women

The back and forth:

When the women find that nobody is paying particular attention to them, they will move back and forth around the table of a group of men at the bar, or around a residence or office during hours when the men they are targeting are expected to be free. They throw a leading glance at the target men and move their hips.

At this stage, the woman waits for the target to speak since, if she took further initiative, it would mean that she is selling herself on the cheap. If three back and forth movements have no effect, she abandons the session, and changes target or site.

The thumbs up 'OK' gesture and wink:

The thumb up 'OK' gesture by the man indicates a tacit invitation which the woman replicates with her thumbs up. This can happen while standing or sitting and represents an unequivocal communication. If the woman is not available due to illness or an engagement with another man at that particular time, she makes the thumbs down sign. This may also happen if this man's appearance is not promising. The wink is also used to attract or receive the attention of a potential client.

Beer caps:

Beer caps are also used as a means of communication. The cavity facing up indicates an agreement. The cavity facing down indicates a refusal or unavailability as shown in the images below.



Cap showing agreement or unavailability for the sexual transaction

Warm welcome:

In shopping centres such as Kamituga, Bunyakiri and Nyabibwe, women rush when trucks arrive, take the luggage of target clients and lead them to their accommodation and provide water and soap for washing. This is an explicit invitation to the man.

5.4.2 Gestures and communication signs between women

While sex workers are often seen competing with each other, they also bond and use gestures to pass on information about clients or prospective clients.

The closed fist and sliding the thumb and index finger together:

Sliding the thumb and index finger together is an assurance given by women colleagues that a prospective client is reliable in paying for the services. As clients are often the same and already known, this supportive and friendly testimony is based on personal experience.

Women also discreetly exchange information about the price they were able to negotiate. A closed fist, for example indicates a rate of \$50.



Sign of the closed fist and sliding the thumb and index finger together

Lifting the index finger and tapping the right biceps:

Women also have a way of signalling exceptional penis sizes among clients. When women tap their biceps with her hand, she indicates that the man has a large penis, and pain could be expected. Opposite, when they lift the index finger, leaving the rest of the fist closed, this indicates that the client has a small penis and not much pleasure is expected from him, apart from his payment. The use of such a gesture also indicates that sex workers would still expect a minimum of pleasure from the client.



Sign of lifting the index finger and tapping the biceps

Bumping fists together:

A woman returning from sexual activity bumping fists with fellow women means that everything went well and the payment was made smoothly. As a result, the other woman will keep an eye out for this man in case he shows up again, because he is a good client, again suggesting a level of cooperation and communication between sex workers.

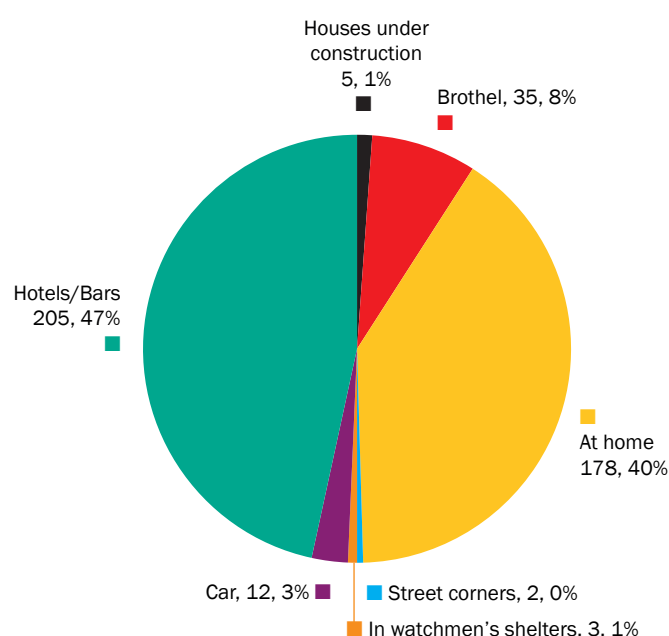


Fists bumped

5.5 Favourite places of predilection and market negotiation

Sex may take place in the woman's home (45%), in the small bedrooms of *Nganda*, nightclubs or hotels (42%), or even just by telephone contact (Figure 8). If a *Nganda* does not provide a few small bedrooms, it cannot sell beer properly because sex, beer and food are sold in a way in which they complement each other. This is valid both in urban and rural areas. Brothels only represent 4% of sexual encounters.

Figure 8: Places where sex take place



Students who are sex workers can be seen to change out of their school uniforms into sexy attire around schools and take a bus, taxi or motorcycle to their place of work in a nightclub, bars or hotel.

Apparently, married women have a preference for workplaces near markets, such as the large market at Kadutu, the Beach Muhanzi market and the Brasserie market, as this allows them to pretend that they are simply going to the market.

The price is based primarily on the appearance of the client and the requested service duration. VIP sex workers often live in hotels and this means that they are better paid compared to those found in brothels. The price of the transaction varies according to the sex worker's standing, the environment and the client's physical appearance. In brothels, the price of the transaction varies between 2 and 5 US dollars, in nightclubs it is between 10 and 20 dollars, and in hotels up to 100 USD. In both towns and

mining areas, the rates are higher in accordance with their standing. Also, apart from payment in cash, transactions may involve flour, cassava or corn, cans of oil, grams of gold and free transport in vehicles, and sexual services may be provided on credit to regular partners.

Foreign girls (mainly from Rwanda and Burundi) are also recruited in hotels in Bukavu and Uvira. They say they are better paid here because their salary is around \$100 a month. They can earn up to four times as much when tips and sexual transactions are included. This results in an underlying conflict between foreign and Congolese women.

Travelling Congolese women merchants also have sexual transactions with Ugandans and Kenyans at the rate of \$8 per night, yet they can receive up to \$100 for a week.

5.6 Strategies to earn more

In the town of Bukavu the transaction is around \$5, but as women say, 'when luck smiles at us, we stumble upon a drunkard and can take his entire monthly salary by drugging or distracting him'. What often happens is that sex workers drug their clients before robbing them and disappearing into the night. It has been reported that some employees in nightclubs are complicit. This strategy is not without risks: thefts are often reported and sex workers who steal or are suspected of stealing are often beaten by their clients.

Another practice to extort men looking for paid sex is the 'ambush' system. This involves couples that have an understanding that the woman will go to seduce a well off-man. Once she is with the man, she calls her husband who then 'catches' them together and demands compensation.

In times of crisis, sex workers often agree to sex without condoms, despite all the risks, because it pays more. To illustrate, in the jargon of sex workers 'jojo' or 'biscuits' means condom and the expression 'bag of sweets' is a penis sheathed in a condom. The latter term is used during haggling to agree whether or not to use condoms during sex. Sex without condoms is more expensive and might cost double the usual rate.

5.7 Typology of prostitution

The socio-economic indicators analysed in this research allow us to distinguish three categories of prostitution: subsistence-level prostitution, VIP prostitution and cross-border prostitution.

The largest category consists of poor women who have been abandoned or who receive little material and moral support from their parents or husbands. They enter prostitution to survive, despite themselves, faced with the pressures of life. There are also women who are reduced to prostitution following early pregnancy and the resulting social abandonment. This category represents 67% of the respondents, or 322 out of 480.

A minority of respondents can be labelled 'VIP sex workers' (following the jargon used for these women among sex workers). This involves middle-class women who did not want to submit to capricious, dependent or domineering men. These women seek pleasure and money at will and can afford to be highly selective with regard to their clients. This category also includes women who succeeded in school and in their professional lives through sex and have used it as a tool for social progress. This category represents 17% of the respondents, 82 respondents.

Cross-border sexual transactions involve women carrying out sexual business transactions. These are internationalised sex workers on a regional level with a variety of agendas. This includes trading women accustomed to long journeys as well as regular sex workers from Burundi who work in Uvira, which is very close to Burundi. This category is more varied in terms of their profile and income, and represents 16% with 76 respondents.

5.7.1 Survival prostitution

Poor women are found in all sites. Unlike the other categories, they do not migrate occasionally to mining towns or humanitarian hotspots but stay in their areas. These women predominantly have little or no education, and they are rarely affiliated to an association. On average, they are younger than the other women: 61% of them are between 15 and 24 years of age.

They typically earn \$1 to \$10 per sexual act. This price depends above all on the appearance of the client and the duration of their occupancy. Frequency of visits also influences the price in one way or another. For occupancy of a few hours, they earn \$1 to \$10, sometimes \$11 to \$20. For a week, this could typically be \$20 to \$100, and rarely more than \$200. They have non-paid sex occasionally with strangers and soldiers/police.

Overwhelmingly, these women are tenants (94%) of studios or semi-sustainable houses, where they live with their children, fellow sex workers, parents or alone. Some reside in their place of work.

They are almost all predisposed to give up prostitution, and more than half hope to be able to leave the trade through finding a husband (51%). Others hope to raise capital (36%) or learn a trade (13%). In exceptional cases, where they are not predisposed to leave prostitution, women cite the need to support themselves, the fact that prostitution pays well, the husband's failure to satisfy her sexual needs and one woman resigned to the idea that no man can accept her with seven children and the moral burden of her profession.

In terms of advantages, they have strengthened their social relationships (26%); their children go to school (15%). A number of them have purchased mobile phones (17%), jewellery (8%) and high-value clothes (4%).

5.7.2 VIP prostitution

Higher up prostitution is referred to by people in the milieu as VIP prostitution. VIP sex workers usually operate only from hotels, not nightclubs.

They usually have a higher education and are found in higher age categories. A significant proportion are members of a tontine type organisation (27%). Many of them (65%) migrate occasionally; especially towards mining areas, nearby towns, neighbouring farms and rural shopping centres. The small number who do not migrate (35%) believe that they earn more than those who do and they also say they do not want to lose their clients.

They earn between \$50 and \$100 for each sexual encounter. The client's appearance as well as how frequently they visit are decisive when setting the price. The duration of the service is also taken into account.

An important difference concerns the accumulation of assets of these women. The percentage of owners of houses (86%) is far greater than tenants (14%). This does not mean that the sex worker is living in her house at the time of the survey, but that she owns somewhere. A majority has purchased a piece of land. These women are happy to have easy access to money, to have friendly relations and extensive networks, to have acquired land or houses, or to be able to help their families. They are free in their movements and highlight their femininity. There are also downsides to their work, as they realise that they are not likely to find a stable partner, face many risks and perform a socially despised job.

The majority of women in this category want to leave the profession and achieve a stable home, yet a number do not because of the money and freedom it provides.

5.7.3 Cross-border professionals

Cross-border professionals form a more mixed population. From the ethnicity or nationality point of view, 44% of the respondents in the cross-border area of Uvira are from Burundi (27%) or Rwanda (17%) with the remainder of the women originating from different ethnic groups in DRC. Cross-border professionals are typically slightly older, although their age is more evenly spread with more representation in the older and younger categories. They are also likely to migrate. Significantly, half of the group belongs to an 'affinity association' type organisation or to tontines.

They generally earn less than the business-oriented professionals, and most of them are tenants.

A large majority wish to set up a stable home. Their main hope of exiting the profession is the accumulation of enough capital to start a business.

5.8 Organisation of prostitution

Contrary to a widely held image, we found prostitution in South Kivu not be governed by a selected group of wealthy and well-connected people, but rather that the organisation of prostitution tends to be small-scale and scattered.

5.8.1 Tenants of nightclubs

Tenants of nightclubs are usually merchants from the area. Their main motivation is to earn money, and they rent out their rooms to whomever they like. The arrangements with the women varies. There are clubs where women pay a flat rate to rent a room. There are also arrangements where girls live in a club. They are expected to work for the club for free (as waiter and cleaner) and they only get to keep a share of their income.

The organisation ranges for very informal to more formalised. Many tenants operate on the rule that a sex worker who brings armed thieves onto their premises will be thrown out and can no longer operate in that particular nightclub or guest house. Other tenants have opted to secure their premises using private services security services such as the famous *Chez Munganga* house at the Beach Muhanzi market. *Chez Munganga* also housed an army officer free of charge who could intervene if people suspected of causing disorder or insecurity were found.

Women engaging in transactional sex and working in prostitution: Practices and underlying factors of the sex trade in South Kivu, the Democratic Republic of Congo

The level of security for the women also varies. In one focus group with sex workers, one of the women told us:

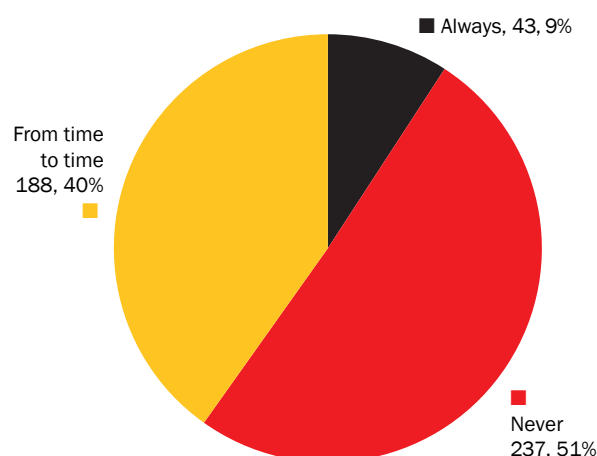
When a client refuses to pay, we call the security guard of the hotel. Some of them work together with us. When you call them, they will lock the client into the toilet until he pays. However, there are also security guards that are corrupt. They accept a small payment of the man so that he can leave without paying us.⁴

5.8.2 The place and role of intermediaries in the transaction of sex

Intermediaries are brokers between sex workers and their clients, and may receive commissions from both sides.

As may be seen in Figure 9, a slight majority of respondents says never to use intermediaries whereas the share of professionals using the service of intermediaries is significant. In total, intermediaries are called upon in 49% of cases, with 40% of women doing so from time to time, against 9% who only use intermediaries.

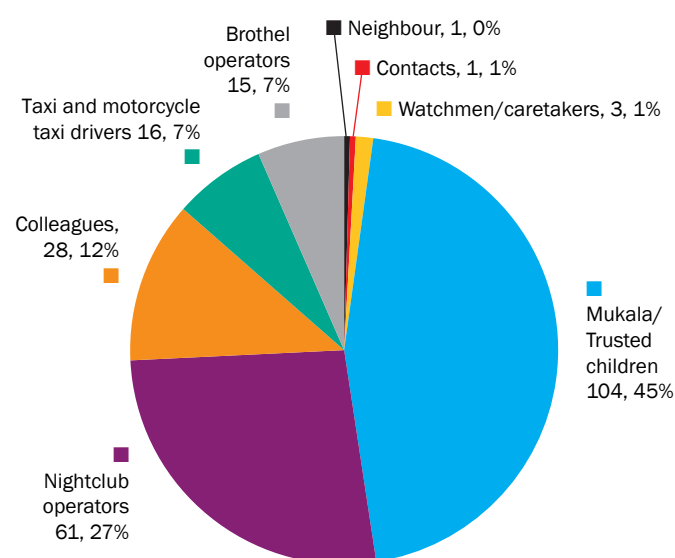
Figure 9: Frequency of use of intermediaries by sex workers



Both in towns and rural settlements, the intermediaries are motivated by small payments for transport and telephone calling card fees. A small meal or a beer offered in the restaurant or sexual favours are also accepted. In some rare cases, \$5 may be handed over to the facilitator as a dividend on the amount paid by an important client, while the tenants of brothels and hotels testify that they often give rooms on credit to regular sex workers at the premises or for sex.

Intermediaries can be very different kinds of people, including a large category of what is called *mukala*, or trusted children, as well as nightclub or brothel operators, taxi drivers, security guards and colleagues (Figure 10).

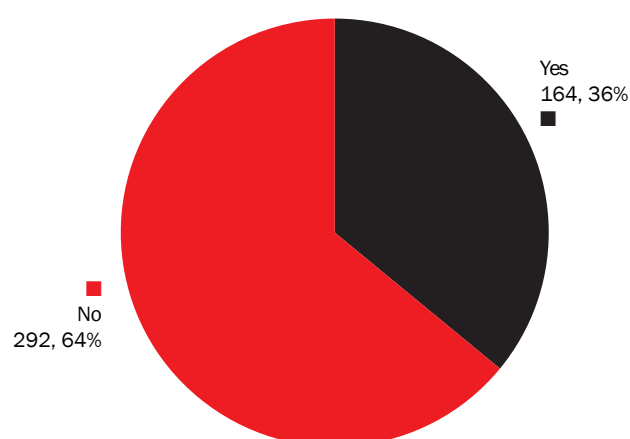
Figure 10: Diversity and relative importance of intermediaries in the sex profession



5.8.3 Social networks of sex workers

Examples have already given of how women, despite being competitors, also act in solidarity with each other. They signal messages about clients – who pays up and what to expect from them – and they may pass on clients as intermediary. Remarkably, 36% of sex workers claim to be a member of an organisational structure of sex workers (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Rate of membership of a sex profession structure or organisation

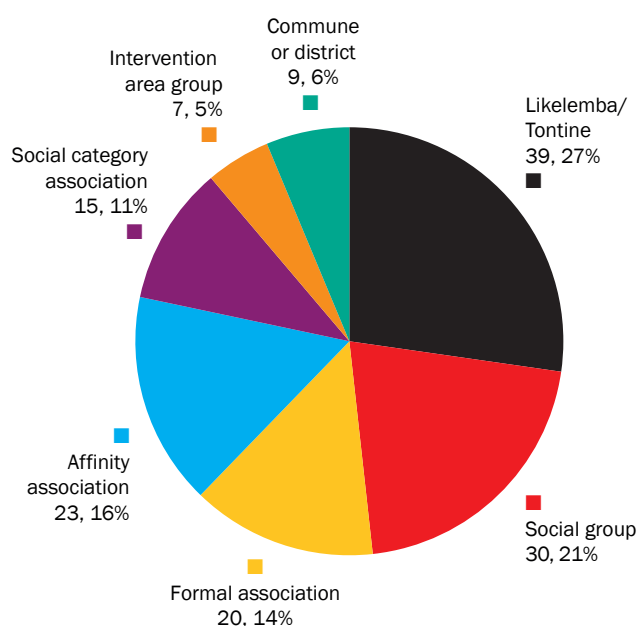


⁴ Focus group in Bukavu 23 May 2014. This focus group was held in the context of a parallel research on responses to sexual violence, see Douma and Hillhorst (2016).

These structures are mostly informal. They include tontines/likelemba (27%), social groups (21%) and affinity associations (16%). Tontines or Likelemba in the Lingala language refers to rotating saving groups, where members regularly contribute money, and take turns in availing of the collected sums. These groups are very popular in DRC, and often organised among women in similar social conditions, such as neighbourhoods, offices or church groups. Social groups in this research refers to small groups of women mainly based on friendship and long-time bonding, without being formally regulated. Affinity associations are more regulated and have a membership and elected president, such as was described in section 3.2 in the case of Kavumu.

In rare cases, these are groups organised by commune or district, intervention groups associated with NGOs, associations, or formal associations. Needless to say, that where associations exist, they are not recognised by the state and are very loosely structured.

Figure 12: Types of associations



5.9 Violence and other risks related to prostitution

Prostitution is permeated by violence and risk. After discussing violence and social problems, this section will deal with sexually transmitted diseases and (illegal) abortion.

5.9.1 Violence and social risks

Sex workers are highly vulnerable to the risk of violence. The most common problem cited constitutes of *karí* – when the client (called a *kariste*) refuses to pay. Often, unpaid sex is accompanied by beatings and torture. It also often concerns unprotected sex after threats by drunk and/or aggressive clients. As stated above, security guards in the place of work can sometimes assist in these cases. In rare cases, women seek recourse to justice, which is strongly hampered by the illegal nature of their work (as well as the general problems of the justice system). Women also seek amicable arrangements with the perpetrators.

Threats by soldiers are continuous. Especially when women return home late at night, they often have to provide free sexual services to soldiers or police on patrol to avoid arbitrary arrest. Note that when the women say they have to provide free sex, they actually relate that they are being raped. This was reported by more than half of the respondents.

Women also encounter violence from husbands or former lovers who beat or insult them every time they meet. They may be attacked by partners or wives of their clients, or by other women in the profession, for example when fighting over a client. Fights are often accompanied by threats of witchcraft, which may severely affect the women.

There is a lot of competition among sex workers, with a constant inflow of new women who start on the cheap, meaning income may be hard to come by. Women at the lower end of the pay scale sometimes offer sex for less than a dollar.

There are social problems with relatives. Parents may force or strongly encourage women to become sex workers, or conversely may reject the woman. Parents often expect adolescent daughters to contribute to the family income, and there may be unspoken consent to the choice of work. One woman in a focus group told us that her family appreciates that she brings home money for the rent and food and never ask where the money comes from.

Finally, women encounter social exclusion and derision on account of their profession.

5.9.2 Unprotected sex and sexually transmitted diseases

Women are most afraid of catching HIV. HIV testing is common among women. The last screening was usually within the past few weeks or months, but in some cases it was a year or more. Some do not attend health facilities to avoid possibly finding out that they are infected.

Women frequently contract sexually transmitted diseases. 23% of the respondents reports regular diseases, 47% once in a while and 30% never. Most of them regularly get health checks, and their last consultation was between a week and two months ago. These consultations are at the hospital or health centre and health posts, and only rarely with traditional practitioners.

The occurrence of STIs is strongly related to unprotected sex. Women generally have a positive attitude towards condoms and have easy access to them, mostly through the brothels, hotels, kiosks and bars, rather than from pharmacies or health facilities. Yet, unprotected sex occurs a lot, and 64% of the respondents sometimes have sex without condom, while 25% never use a condom. Only on rare occasions is the female condom used. Many clients refuse to use a condom and the women can ask a higher rate without it. Sex without condom can also be done to win the confidence of a new client. Men who contribute to school fees might be exempted from using condoms.

5.9.3 Abortions and pregnancies

Most women have become pregnant at least once from a client. Women may decide to keep the baby, especially when it is clear who the father is and there is a likelihood that he will pay for the child. The participants to the study have an average of three children.

A staggering 43% (204) of the women report having had an abortion at least once (Figure 13). Of those who had had an abortion, 43% of them had had one, 27% two, and a number had even had three to five. Abortion is illegal and hence often done in the most dangerous conditions, through self-medication. There have also been abortions in informal health services or, for a considerable fee, after hours in the formal health facilities (Figure 14).

Figure 13: Number of abortions (204 out of 480 respondents)

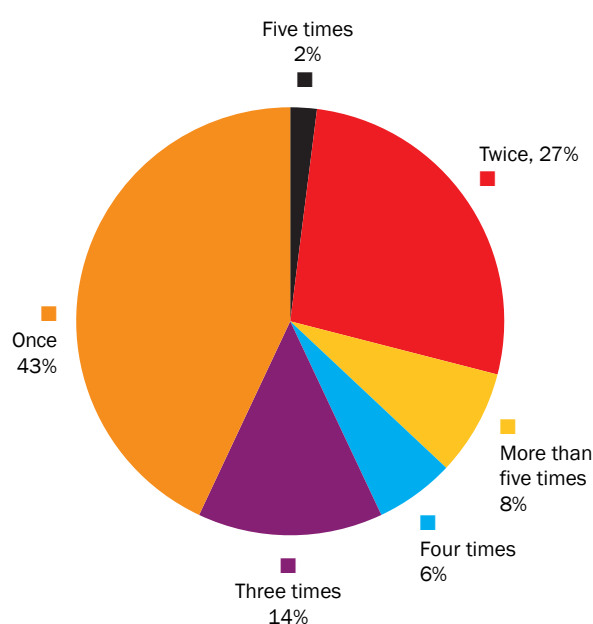
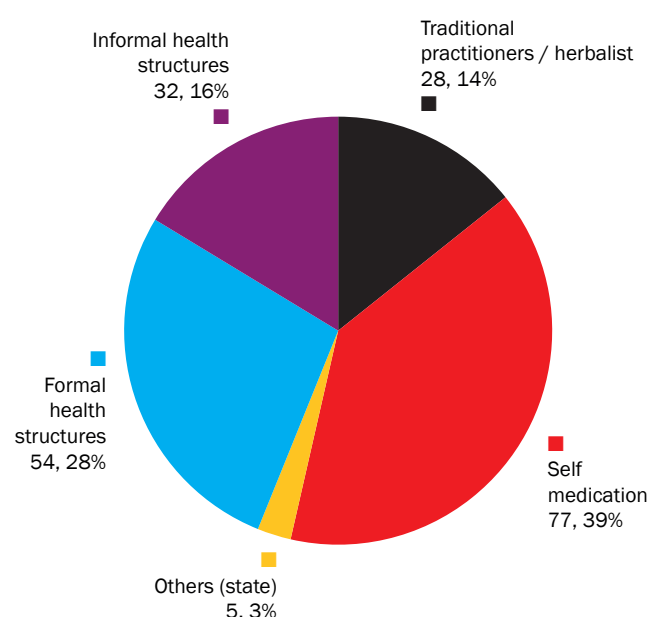


Figure 14: How abortions take place



6 Transactional sex in various social categories

6.1 Transactional sex in schools and universities

Four focus groups were held with students. Two of these groups specifically focused on the practices of students, while two were more general in nature.

Transactional sex is common among students, and occasionally girls combine study with a part-time and hidden practice as sex worker. These girls change their clothing after school and have drivers drop them off at clubs that are remote from their institute.

According to the participants of one focus group, many girls start their sexual debut between the age of 10 and 15 and often maintain multiple sexual relations. Students and staff are familiar with the expression *chic-choc-cheque*, which refers to a situation where a girl has three lovers. *Choc* stands for the love of one's heart, and may be considered the regular boyfriend; this is complemented with an older lover, who provides the cheque; while *chic* stands for a third lover who is good-looking and well-dressed and is a preferred partner to go out dancing and be seen with.

Transactional sex happens within and outside the institutions. Within the institution, this concerns relations with other students, administrative staff or even teachers. Participants in one of the focus groups emphasised that in the latter case, there is often love involved, at least on the side of the girl who has a crush on the teacher. Outside of the institution, this can concern a variety of men, including civil servants, NGO staff, taxi drivers or military personnel. The value of transactional sex can rarely be expressed because compensation comes in many forms, depending on the partner. It can vary from free transport to presents or a reduction in school fees.

The motivation for transactional sex varies. Often, it concerns poverty and the immediate need for food. Where sex is intertwined with affection, it can also happen that partners help out in these cases without expecting sex in return. It may also be geared to the purchase of luxury goods, where girls want to match the clothing style of their friends or otherwise imitate their friend's practices. Finally, they engage in these relations to enable their academic completion or to access a higher social status by going out with influential men ('so that people say they know that such-and-such a girl is going out with such-and-such a political, religious, military, etc. authority').

Students also mention the influence of parents who often encourage girls to fend for themselves to meet their needs. Curiously, when a girl is about to get married, this can intensify transactional practices, because of the expenses incurred in the celebration.

Common terms for transactional sex in the context of educational institutions are PST (sexually transmittable points) or PCS (points against sex). Stories abound in DRC about teachers making the passing of exams conditional upon sexual favours. On the other hand, ISDR has also encountered cases where failing students tried to bribe teachers with sex to cheat the exam and obtain a higher grade. To prevent such practices, the institute has enforced several policies. Exams are anonymised and then scored by two different teachers.

6.2 Transactional sex in poor areas

This section is based on five focus groups. Four of these were held in poor neighbourhoods and focused on prostitution and transactional sex, and an additional focus group was held with urban poor women focused specifically on transactional sex.

In poor areas, transactional sex is a common reality intimately related to survival and powerlessness. Young girls confronted with poverty and exorbitant school fees often have no choice but to engage in transactional sex or relent to the aggressive advances of men in their environment.

Urban poor women readily admit to engaging in transactional sex to overcome the inadequacies of the family budget, especially when the man has no job or a low-paying job. At the same time, participants to the focus groups observed that transactional sex has become a kind of fashion:

Nowadays, poor and rich, young and old, minors and adults, students and teachers, married and single people, city and rural folks, everybody seems to plunge into transactional sex. The girls here want to imitate the girls in Bukavu, those in Bukavu like to copy the ones in Kinshasa, and so forth.⁵

The following stories of transactional sex were related during the focus group discussion by participants. One woman said:

I've been married for six years. After eight months of marriage, my husband went looking for minerals in the mining areas of the South Kivu Province. I was already pregnant. I gave birth to a boy. So far, my husband has not come back. How can I live with this child? How can I cover my material needs? How can I sexually satisfy my body? I am forced to have extramarital sex with a clearly identified man who knows my problem. I have taken care to avoid any pregnancy. Everything must be well planned and in a discreet place.

A second woman said:

I'm a child-mother with two children. I have never been married. The two children have different fathers. I no longer want to have children. My tubes have been tied. So, I can have sex at will. I have no job and my family cannot help me. My male friends support me easily. I still live with my family and I have no more hope of finding a husband because of these two children.

A third woman tells her story in a working-class area of Bukavu:

I'm married, my husband doesn't have a job and we have four children to feed. To find them food to eat I have a guy who takes care of me. He is committed to satisfying me sexually and financially. He doesn't like to see my hair dirty or messy. He does what he wants with me in hotels, outside the town, discreetly – sometimes in Kamembe, a Rwandan border town where the hotels costs are less exorbitant.

A fourth woman told that she goes out with her indirect brother-in-law (the husband of her cousin) who takes care of her and gives her money. 'Everything is done so that my husband will never know'.

Finally, a fifth said that she kept a man at the hotel for a week, mainly to punish his wife who boasted in a shocking manner that her husband was faithful (he was a pastor) and that she herself was very pretty. 'In my case, at home, I had an easy explanation for my absence because my husband was travelling and I had to do my business in another town in Uvira.'

These stories contain a number of recurring elements. Firstly, they rarely display a single motivation. As well as economic considerations, other motivations play a role – even the motivation to spite a woman who was

⁵ This statement was made during the focus group in Kavumu with transporters and families living around the nightclubs.

disliked. Remarkably, the stories all signal that women partly engage in transactional sex for their sexual satisfaction, as the third woman states that her man 'is committed to satisfy me sexually and financially'. A lack of sexual activity or satisfaction is thus an argument for women as well as men for engaging in extra-marital and transactional sex.

Another recurring element is the fact that a high value is attached to discretion. While transactional sex appears to be widely engaged in, this does not mean it is socially acceptable. The revelation of an affair continues to be a public scandal for a married woman.

Finally, in a number of cases, what passes as transactional sex may also hide a reality where women are abandoned and find a new partner. When a man goes to a mining area to find his fortune and does not come back for years, his wife may be inclined to find another partner even though she is still considered married.

From the point of view of husbands, unemployment presents a great risk as it may encourage women to engage in affairs. One man said:

Marrying a beautiful woman and being unemployed means exposing her to temptations related to material deprivation. Thus, finding a good job in an NGO (since NGOs pay well) would be revenge against my wife because I know that she had been seduced by another man simply because of my poverty.

An additional benefit from transactional sex may be sought through demanding money from the alleged father of a child. Having a child with a well-off man has become a true business asset. Indeed, the children of women practising transactional sex may be used to justify the need for money, sometimes falsely. The costs of medical care and schooling for children may be multiplied by several factors, and sometimes pregnancy is blamed on two men simultaneously to earn more.

A related reality documented in one of the focus groups is that girls may be encouraged by their parents to accuse their partner of sexual violence in order to extort money. A participant said:

In our neighbourhood many parents encourage their daughters to find a wealthy man and cry 'rape', so that a compensation can be claimed to avoid a scandal. One can hear parents say: 'You are young, why don't you cope like the other girls?'

6.3 Transactional sex in the workplace

This section is based on two focus groups with working people: one in general offices and one specifically with NGO workers.

Transactional sex in workplaces appears to be linked on the one hand to benefits such as promotions, service missions and training trips, and on the other hand to avoiding harm from malpractice or 'reorganisation'.

The stories that women tell are complex webs where advances by managers and the desire to be protected from harm – indicating the prevalence of abuses of power by office holders – are interwoven with aspects of attraction and satisfaction.

What is striking about the two focus groups is how common transactional sex in the workplace has seemingly become. In the focus group on general office workers, it was said that: 'married, divorced and single, everyone ends up in transactional sex'. When asked about an estimation of the proportion of women engaging in affairs, the figure given was 30%.

Women in the general workplace group summed up the qualities of a suitable man in these terms:

He is the man who gives money without counting and who changes the social conditions of others without hesitation (apesaatala te, afulaatala te). And he is the man whose shoes are the right size (meaning that his penis is of the correct dimensions).

Whereas the actual occurrence of transactional sex in the workplace cannot be gauged through this research, the fact that there is a certain language around it, testifies to its regular occurrence. For example:

The word 'tubeless' is used for quick sex in the workplace. The woman removes her short and bra before the encounter, like a tire without inner tube.

'Empty the tank or run out of fuel' means that the right opportunity is offered in a hotel or on mission service. This refers to elaborate sex, where the man "no longer needs sex with his lawful wife when back home".

Most of stories in the focus groups brought out the importance of problems in the primary relationship as a cause for engaging in affairs. In some cases, there was a clear link to economic reasons.

One woman kept two households. She was married to an older European man working in an international NGO 'because I need money'. She has a second partner, whom she refers to as her second husband, whom she loves. When she was pregnant, she gave birth to a black child. She told her official husband that the child had died at childbirth and gave the baby to her love-husband:

By day, I go to breastfeed the child. As soon as my husband phones me, I rush home. So, I have two homes. To maintain both relations, I financially support the African and he rewards me sexually. As the European is well off, he gives me enough for my second home to live.

Another woman asked what else she could do when her husband left for a trip without warning and without leaving money to sustain the family:

How can you imagine that a responsible husband would set off on a work trip with all of his salary and expenses in his pocket, leaving his wife in the hospital with a sick child and five others at home, without no food and no money. Just think that his trip is announced when it is already halfway through. His colleagues tell you that their wages were paid the day before he left. What can a wife do if during this time her own boss or a colleague suggests going out together and offers a few banknotes? Wouldn't this be a good time for a heart massage?

Material benefits play a secondary role in many stories, which centre on fidelity and revenge more than anything else.

One woman was vexed by her husband who responded 'arrogantly' whenever she reproached him for his obvious escapades with young girls, until one day she found a man whose wife found him unsuitable. This man stuck to her like 'pattex' (very strong glue), and now she does not want to end the relation with him.

Conversely, a woman can also react to a man who is very jealous, deciding that she may as well live up to his suspicions. A woman said:

My husband couldn't cope with me having a conversation with another man. He didn't even want me to finish my university studies fearing that this would expose me to the world. He gave me everything except confidence. Disappointed, I became frigid for months. One day, I stumbled upon a senior army

officer and I admit that I will never forget that time because, after 17 years of marriage and five births including twins, a man thanked me for the first time after the sexual act. My husband and the officer are both already dead. I am free now, but I limit my transactional sex to two or three men.

Another wife of a jealous man said:

My husband has already beaten me twice in front of the children. Once, he tried to smother me with a pillow at night, and once with a belt around my neck while I was fast sleep. For revenge, I decided to go out of town with my boss who is a friend of my husband. Everything went well. We were on a work trip. I got a taste for this game, particularly since my husband had just got my cousin, who lived with me, pregnant and he went out with her without my knowledge.

One woman did not get a child in six years after her first four babies, and feared infertility. When she became pregnant from a colleague, she understood that if there was at all a problem with infertility, it was her husband's. As she said:

I managed to hide the truth from my husband and this partner. My husband prides himself that it is his child and the NGO colleague also believes that it is my husband's child. My husband loves me a lot and I love the other one because he gave me a child and gives me money when necessary, but it is more because he is very much in love.

While promiscuity and power is usually associated with men, several stories contained elements of reversed gender roles. One man told that he was seduced by a woman who struck him 'like a bolt of lightning'. They worked together, and the man took this relationship seriously and intimately. Unfortunately and to his great surprise, he found out that she already had two other lovers.

Similarly, a story came out of an NGO office where the human resource manager announced cut-backs and named one woman whose job was to be terminated. The woman stood up and threatened him: 'it is you who has dared to suggest my departure even though you were my lover for the five years that I spent in this NGO?' Apparently, no less than four other men at this NGO were bewildered to learn so suddenly that they were not alone in being her lover.

As in the previous section, despite the high prevalence of office affairs, discretion is nonetheless considered important. Even though secretaries and drivers are often in the know, secrecy is expected. The locations where affairs take place vary. Some managers rent houses in the town but only use them for transactional sex. Others are important clients of local hotels and enjoy preferential prices or sometimes free rooms. Offices are also used outside working hours or at the weekend.

6.4 Transactional sex in the merchant community

This section draws on eight focus groups with transporters and merchants about prostitution and transactional sex as well as a focus groups specifically focused on transactional sex.

In the trading environment, transactional sex is rampant. Merchants form a large proportion of the clients of sex workers and engage in all kinds of sexual relations. Sexual relations in this environment seem to rely less on discretion, except when it concerns minors. Some merchants rent houses and sub-let to young caretakers, but regularly pay the rent. They use these houses as houses of pleasure. They keep a copy of the key and reserve one bedroom for secret relations.

There is also a high proportion of women involved in transactional sex, disregarding their marital status and age. For many women sex appears to be vehicle to enhance their trade. Women are known to engage with other merchants, wholesale merchants and immigration, tax and customs officials. With regard to the latter categories, participants in the focus group said that women ‘seduce’ these officials, but it is not clear whether indeed women use their sexual power to facilitate passage and evade payments, or whether this expression disguises cases of abuse of power where women are compelled to pay with sexual services for right of passage and other services.

Patterns of transactional sex vary with the economic status of women. Poor women engaged in small trade are known to offer sexual services in exchange for transportation. At the lower end of the scale, where women engage in ‘petit commerce’ (small trade), transactional sex may provide additional income or even a main source of income. As one informant said: “Petit commerce is often an alibi”. On the other hand, wealthy long-distance business women also use sex to facilitate their trade. Examples that were mentioned are:

- Women merchants who seduce young handsome men in Uganda, China or Dubai obtaining in addition to sex during their stay abroad an interpreter service.
- Women merchants engaging with merchants and other Chinese and Lebanese wholesalers, with the aim to strengthen economic capital and be granted goods on credit.
- Women merchants engaging with public service officials such as customs, the tax department, immigration, in order to facilitate their business.
- Women merchants may hook up with transporters or fellow passengers, in order to access free transportation, housing and meals on the way. One transporter related: ‘These women when they go to Bujumbura, Kampala or Dar es Salaam do not like to spend money, even if they have more money than the partner. The partner can end up paying for the transport, hotels and meals and even the custom fees, just for having an affair along the way’.

One woman trading between Bukavu and Kampala testified that she was not engaging in transactional sex because of her religious beliefs. She discussed this with one of her colleagues: ‘She told me that with my religious beliefs, I would not be a good merchant. She gave me many examples of colleagues who have purchased houses in Bukavu thanks to transactional sex’.

6.5 Transactional sex in a religious environment

This section is based on one focus group. In religious environments, transactional sex appears to be more prevalent than might be imagined, and is a reality among Catholics, Protestants, and particularly in revivalist churches.

For pastors and priests, young widows are the sexual partners of choice, as well as nuns and *Kiongozi* mums or *Mokambi* mums (women in charge of prayer groups or women’s groups, members of a church). They could also involve choir girls or members of youth groups.

Transactional sex is related with high rewards, yet there is also the domination and mystical power that binds women to religious figures.

In a protestant religious environment, pastors may latch on to a woman, often one who confides in him about her infidelity, absent or unsatisfying husband, or financial needs. Pastors and priests are often told of financial

grievances, with the range of topics covering school fees, medical care and food problems.

In Catholic parishes, priests are often known to have an informal wife, who people speak about as the first lady in the parish or church. They may also engage sexually with other women too. There are also stories about Catholic priests granting religious outfits and false religious cards to girls who practice transactional sex with them, so they can travel with them as their servants.

For many women and girls, refusing the advances of pastors or priests is not possible due to the overbearing character and dominance of these figures. In certain revivalist churches, there was a notion that to become a good preacher, a preacher should have slept with 12 young virgins.

Priests and pastors care highly about discretion, which is considered an important reason why transactional sex with religious leaders is materially rewarding. They also have substantial assets that they can bring to bear. The emoluments include the acquisition of houses in the town centre, houses in working-class districts, plots of land, the schooling of children in exclusive schools, medical care, and occasionally, money.

One woman said that a priest had taken her to the cemetery to compel her to have sex after having diverted her with the offer of a lift from the town centre. After a great deal of discussion, the Catholic prelate offered \$500 to get on with the act and close the matter. Another woman stated that the relationship of her daughter with a religious leader had bought her two houses: one in Bukavu and one in Goma.

6.6 Risks associated with transactional sex

Major risks of transactional sex are health-related and concern the risk of HIV and AIDS or sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies. These risks are especially pertinent among poor women who resort to high-risk sex in search of livelihoods and who are easily exposed to aggression by men who may refuse to use condoms.

There are many social problems associated with transactional sex, especially with the primary partner, and this may lead to periods of separation or divorce. There is also the risk of public scandal and humiliation.

In case of merchants, they are vulnerable to theft especially when they engage with young lovers abroad.

It is often unclear to what extent women choose to engage in transactional sex or whether they consent to sex out of fear or lack of choice. In the workplace, benefits often concern protection from wrongdoing may otherwise be imposed on women. Similarly, transactional sex with officials, teachers and other men in positions of power may to a large extent be enforced, although women in the focus groups rarely used these kind of terms. In the case of religious environments pressure from dominance or ritual power is more frequently mentioned. On the other hand, because of the large compensation in these cases, there is also the risk of social competition, for example among nuns competing for the attention of a priest.

For men engaging in transactional sex, there are also distinct risks, including contracting diseases, losing jobs, being convicted of rape (and going to prison or having to pay heavy fines), and the loss of credibility and respect.

7 Analysis and conclusion

This review mapped the occurrence, practices, benefits and risks of prostitution and transactional sex in South Kivu in DRC.

The research consisted of a survey among 480 sex workers in four sites and 24 focus group discussions, resulting in a total of more than 700 participants. The data on sex workers mostly relied to a large extent on a survey, whereas data on transactional sex were drawn from focus groups and individual interviews.

This chapter groups the analysis and conclusion around different themes:

7.6.1 The difference between transactional sex and prostitution is difficult to draw

Literature on SSA usually distinguishes prostitution from transactional sex, whereby the first concerns more obvious material arrangements whereas in the latter the material aspect is embedded in broader relationships that are often framed in the language of boyfriends, girlfriends and love.

To some extent our data confirm the distinction between prostitution and transactional sex. A similar distinction can be observed in DRC, where prostitution is considered a recent, imported and despicable phenomenon whereas transactional sex appears to be more accepted, although it is often considered immoral.

The findings also put important question marks with the distinction between prostitution and transactional sex as found in the literature.

In the first place, we found that many instances of transactional sex that may not be labelled as prostitution (in the sense of being done by identifiable women in exchange for pre-determined monetary payment), are nonetheless remote from regular descriptions of transactional sex. Rather than having 'boyfriends with benefits', many (young) women seek loose sexual encounters to survive the day, in exchange for food or token payments like a short taxi-ride.

In the second place, transactional sex is depicted in the literature as being inspired by material aspects: ranging from survival sex to more strategic forms of transactional sex where women seek status, social mobility, desirable possessions or a stable future. To some extent, especially in the environment of work places, we find women engaging in affairs for many reasons, among them sexual

pleasure. The material aspects may be of less importance, although it is clear that they play a role in the choice of partners, where women fancy ‘men who spend’. In these cases, the line between transactional sex and extra-marital affairs is hard to draw.

In the third place, the literature on sub-Saharan Africa suggest a string rejection of prostitution and a high acceptance of transactional sex. The findings in DRC partly confirm this picture. The immoral connotation with prostitution is high and prostitution is considered an imported and new phenomenon. On the other hand, we find that the social acceptance of transactional sex is also not very high, despite its widespread occurrence. Discretion is an important element of the stories of transactional sex, especially when this concerns married women and especially in workplaces and religious environments.

There are thus fine lines between prostitution, transactional sex and love affairs and it is difficult to put clear boundaries around the different phenomena.

7.6.2 Prostitution and transactional sex is diverse and differentiated

Our major assumption that prostitution and transactional sex constitute an amalgam of practices, shaped by various economic, social, cultural and political conditions has been warranted by the findings. Both in prostitution and in transactional sex, at one end of the spectrum are many poor women primarily motivated by their livelihood needs to engage in transactional sex. At the other extreme are a smaller number of VIP sex workers who only work from hotels, are selective about their clients and manage to accumulate considerable assets. In the case of transactional sex, we find successful international merchants who use sex to enhance their business, for example by choosing a young lover while abroad who can at the same time provide translation services.

In between these extremes, we find a group of women sex workers who manage to earn a living and send their children to school. With regard to transactional sex, we find a multitude of practices where women engage in transactional sex with different motivations, including problems at home, revenge, love, sexual pleasure and the pleasure of being well-treated financially (where the actual material aspects seem to be less prominent). We also find a large group of young women, who resort to transactional sex for a mix of reasons, including the desire to invest in their future by seeking to complete their academic degree while building a social network that will allow for upward mobility.

7.6.3 Transactional sex and prostitution often signal a lack of choice, yet women's agency and sexual pleasure is important too.

The literature on humanitarian crises depicts transactional sex in these conditions as motivated by immediate needs of survival, where women face such restricted choices that transactional sex should be considered an act of sexual violence, especially when their partners are peacekeepers or aid workers. In DRC, the discourse around transactional sex is moreover heavily informed by sexual violence. With the high prevalence of sexual violence in the country, it is easy to assume that all transactional sex is a form of sexual violence. Our research nuances this picture in several ways.

Our research concerned practices in one of the most conflict-affected provinces of the country, South Kivu, but was concentrated in urban environments that are removed from the most dire humanitarian crises. Without contradicting the realities of survival sex in some of the most crisis-affected parts of the country today, our research cautions against a singular interpretation of transactional sex as a practice that women resort to out of despair, and from a position of victimhood.

A major finding throughout the different categories is the element of sexual pleasure that women derive from their practices. Sex workers avoid certain clients and may favour clients that are well-shaped and where pleasure can be expected. The stories of office workers are permeated with hints that women – like men – seek physical pleasure in their affairs and consider sexual deprivation in their primary relationship as a legitimate reason to seek other engagements.

We find that both prostitution and transactional sex consist of varied practices, where the level of choice and agency involved is equally varied. On the one hand, we find many vulnerable women that see no choice but to accept or engage in transactional sex. Even for these women, there is agency involved and they may find advantages in the arrangements. One woman who had undergone a particularly violent life said in a focus group that ‘even though I still encounter violence from clients, at least I now keep the money in my own pocket’. Women who have little choice may welcome the peace of mind that at least they can feed their children and send them to school.

On the other hand we find women displaying strategic agency and have more room for manoeuvre in choosing partners, claiming their sexuality, and negotiating the

terms of engagement. On the basis of our findings it is not possible to say anything conclusive about the extent to which practices of transactional sex eventually lead to a renegotiation of gender relations in general.

7.6.4 Transactional sex and prostitution involves risks, violence and rape although the latter is rarely recognised by victims.

In both practices, health risks are paramount, with risks around sexually transmitted infections, HIV and AIDS, unwanted pregnancies and dangerous abortions. Almost half of the interviewed sex workers had had at least one abortion.

Women engaging in prostitution relate of many ways in which they encounter violence in their work, relations and domestically. They face the risk of men not paying and turning violent, and often give free sex to soldiers or police that meet them when they return home late. Women also experience violence in their domestic environment from their partner or relatives.

A striking finding of the study is the way in which respondents talk about violence they encounter. Many stories about transactional sex contain an element of force, and sex workers often speak of the (forced) provision of free sex. The participants in the study rarely labelled such violence as rape. Finding an explanation for this is a matter of future research, and may be grounded in the large literature on 'rape myth acceptance'. Rape myths are 'prejudicial, stereotyped or false beliefs about rape, rape victims and rapists' (Burt, 1980), such as for example the belief that 'women ask for it'. These rape myths can be maintained for different reasons and people who believe such myths are less likely to label them as rape. Additional explanations may also be sought in the large gap between legal definitions of rape in DRC and customary practices regarding the subservient role of women.

A major issue emerging from our research is the vulnerable position of young and adolescent women. Whereas students may engage in transactional sex for many different reasons, we find a high degree of vulnerability in all the other groups. Among sex workers, young women are overrepresented in the group of poor women seeking survival. They are particularly prone to be forced into transactional sex by men in the poor urban areas, particularly by merchants. Similarly, in the case of religious environments, the powerful status of religious leaders may leave young women no choice but to give in to their advances. The fact that they receive

some compensation is not a token of a transaction in such cases. There are also many accounts of how poor young women are encouraged or set up by their parents to engage in prostitution or transactional sex.

7.6.5 Power abuse plays an important role in transactional sex, also when it is consensual

The often-held idea that many figures of male authority, such as military, border patrol, employers, religious leaders or teachers demand sexual favours in exchange for services, needs to be nuanced. There are many instances where such sexual transactions are consensual, or could be framed as women seducing or bribing officials. Nonetheless, it is obvious that abuse of power plays a large role in transactional sex. Managers and human resource personnel are much more likely to find women lovers than other male workers. They misuse their position to turn professional assets into privileges to bestow on office favourites. In a similar vein, religious leaders abuse their position of power by using church assets, such as land, and other benefits to buy sexual servants.

Transactional sex may be more consensual than often assumed, but appears nonetheless to be highly related to forms of abuse of power and corruption. The role of the women involved can be interpreted in different ways and ranges from a position of victim to a position where women are implicit in illegal practices of bribing of authorities.

7.6.6 Concluding

The overall conclusion of our research is that prostitution and transactional sex are varied phenomena that form a substantial part of everyday urban life in South Kivu. The law in DRC does not criminalise prostitution itself, but its exploitation. Because of the significant gap between acts forbidden by law and other regulatory texts and the reality on the ground, the state has no role in regulating this sector effectively. This leaves women largely deprived of medical services and unprotected against police or military abuse. The law further considers all sex with women under 18 as criminal. While the need to protect minors against abuse is clear, the research also brings out a shadow side to this. The criminalisation of the sexual activity of minors brings about a legal approach to sex among minors that seems to disable social discussion and education about responsible parenthood (which does not include setting up daughters for prostitution), sexual hygiene and the availability of condoms for young women, leaving them vulnerable to the effects of unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases.

8 Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions, the researchers have the following recommendations.

- 1 There is an enormous spectrum of sexual activity captured in the term transactional sex and there's a need to more clearly differentiate strategies for engagement at various parts of this spectrum and across different sectors. These might include strengthening the justice systems ability to respond to sexual violence, to tackling the poverty and restricted livelihood options that constrain women's choices and working over the long term on the social norms and relations between men and women that enable exploitative or abusive sexual relations. Attention for these issues is needed from government, civil society, international aid and peacekeeping actors and across a wide range of sectors.
- 2 The upsurge of practices of prostitution and transactional sex in DRC is related to (post)-conflict conditions, but it has to be realised that it has become an enduring part of everyday social relations in South Kivu, especially in urban area, border areas and large cross-roads. This means that efforts to reduce, prevent or make less exploitative transactional sex will entail a long, slow process of tackling deeply embedded gender norms and social relations.
- 3 While many women engage in transactional sex out of choice and in strategic ways to secure their future or expand their abilities in life, the majority of women enters this lifestyle to cope with or escape extreme poverty. In order to protect women, underlying poverty needs to be addressed and opportunities for more resilient livelihoods and better employment promoted.
- 4 It must be recognised that using violence against sex workers, forcing sex workers to freely provide sexual services (especially among police and military), or forcing young people to engage in sexual relations where they are being materially compensated, all constitute cases of sexual violence and rape, and should be treated as such by law-enforcing agencies.
- 5 The legal prohibition of sex with minors below 18 should not stand in the way of providing education about sex and health services and make contraceptives available for young women and men that are sexually active.
- 6 A major risk of prostitution and transactional sex is constituted by health issues and there should be a policy to make health services, including family planning, more available to sex workers.

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Annex 1: Guide for transactional sex focus group discussion

GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN POUR FOCUS GROUP

1. Populations Cibles

Agents de la BRALIMA à la Brasserie, Quartiers pauvres comme Nyamugo-Buholo carrière- Nyarwizimya-Keredi, Milieux universitaires UCB-ISDR-ISTM-UEA, Régies financières publiques DGI-DGRAD-DGI, Les humanitaires Monusco-CICR-FHI-CARITAS + Quelques prêtres et pasteurs ciblés sur base de relations amicales ou familiales sincères, et les femmes commerçantes trafiquant entre Bukavu- Dar-es-salaam, Kampala, Nairobi, Dubaï.

2. Profil des femmes pratiquant la sexualité transactionnelle / :

- Qu'est-ce qui les caractérisent, statut marital (mariées, divorcées, en union libres, célibataires), vivent-elles chez/avec leurs parents ?
- A quelle tranche d'âge appartiennent-elles essentiellement?
- Depuis combien de temps vivent-elles dans ces milieux de vie ou professionnelles/ quartiers pauvres (résidentes permanentes/ sédentaires/ déplacées ou non), travail ou profession?
- Nombre d'enfants légitimes + composition familial (enfants légitimes + dépendants)?
- Activités principales et secondaires?
- Leur milieu de provenance géographique ou d'origine?
- Recourent-elles à des intermédiaires et qui sont-ce ?

3. Sexualité transactionnelle proprement dite

- Qu'est-ce que la sexualité transactionnelle dans le vocabulaire locale/ qu'entend-t-on par sexualité transactionnelle dans le milieu ? Ces actrices, s'engagent-elles sur cette voie elles-mêmes ou elles sont entraînées/ influencées ? Notez tout ce que les enquêtées déclarent.
- Pourquoi de manière générale, les femmes s'engagent-elles dans la sexualité transactionnelle ?
- Peut-on y avoir une classification/ typologie ou des terminologies utilisées couramment dans le milieu pour catégoriser ce genre de relations ainsi que les acteurs?
- Type de rémunération (paiement le plus élevé, le plus bas, la fréquence des paiements, les sortes des paiements (argent, biens, services, valeur/ influence sociale, etc.)
- Comment ceci se passe, où, quand, avec qui, quels sont les acteurs impliqués ?
- Y a-t-il recours aux stimulants (boisson fortement alcoolisée, drogue)?
- Quel rôle jouent les hôtels et autres exploitants des bars ?
- Types de convention/Contrat et à quel moment ces conventions sont conclues.

4. Risques et exposition aux maladies

- Encourent-elles de la violence)/ avec quelles stratégies agissent-elles pour gagner plus/ type de partenaires préférés/ réels/ préférés pourquoi/ quelques exemples de paiements exceptionnels moyen/ faibles/ à quoi cela abouti/ quels sont les faits sociaux qui ont propulsé ce phénomène?
- Perception des actrices de la ST par rapport à la prostitution (pensent-elles qu'elles sont différentes des prostituées) ?
- Connaissent-elles des cas concrets où les femmes ont accusé les hommes d'avoir commis sur elles des violences sexuelles ?
- Recourent-elles à la contraception?
- Ont-elles eu des grossesses ou fait des enfants dans la sexualité transactionnelle ?
- Ont-elles eu à pratiquer des avortements à l'insu ou en complicité avec leurs maris légitimes?
- Y-a-il parmi elles des femmes qui ont contracté des maladies/IST/ VIH, Hépatite B ?

5. Souhaits et recommandations pour l'avenir

- Qu'advierait-il dans les communautés locales, selon les praticiennes de la sexualité transactionnelle au cas où la sexualité transactionnelle arrivait à être abolie ?
- Ce phénomène est-il permanent ou occasionnel? Qu'est-ce qui peut être fait pour que ces femmes abandonnent la sexualité transactionnelle ?
- Y a-t-il des indiscrettes/ des femmes qui étalent au grand jour ce qu'elles font?

6. Pouvoir

- a. Quel est le rôle de la police/ de la justice/de l'armée/ Etat et comment jouent-ils leur rôle?
- b. Que disent ou prêchent les églises en matière de sexualité transactionnelle ? Qui sont pour et qui sont contre ? Que disent-ils exactement en cette matière?
- c. Est-ce qu'il y a pratique de la sexualité transactionnelle en milieu religieux/ dans les églises aussi ? Comment est-ce que ça s'y passe ?
- d. Y a-t-il des femmes qui vont vers les hommes ou se sont les hommes seulement qui vont vers les femmes ?
- e. Arrive-t-il aux hommes de ne pas payer les rapports sexuels tel que convenu ou arrive-t-il aux hommes de faire des rapports sexuels forcés/ non souhaités ?

Mapping
diversity of
prostitution
and
transactional
sex in South
Kivu
Province,
DR Congo

2015

Questionnaire d'enquête : Produit par l'équipe des chercheurs et enquêteurs du Centre d'Etudes et de Recherche pour la Promotion Rurale (CERPRU) sous le coaching du Prof Bagalwa Mapatano Jules, Ass2 Ruhamy Mugenzi Joachim et ATR Kadjunga Ngaboyeka John.

Chères enquêtées,

Nous aimerions comprendre comment fonctionne votre activité professionnelle, quels en sont les difficultés, quels réseaux sociaux permettent de le construire et quels résultats cela produit pour vous et pour votre entourage. Ceci nous aiderait à comprendre vos intérêts personnels et ceux des vos collègues engagées dans cette activité dans notre société. Merci pour votre collaboration.

Partenaires :
WUR/ISDR

	Nom	code	Signature
Enquêteur			
Superviseur			
Encodeur			
Site			

Date de l'entretien	Le...../...../2015	
Heure de début d'entretien	HH	MM
Heure de fin d'entretien		

Résultat de l'entretien

1. Complet
2. Incomplet
3. Refus de participer

Révision du refus

1. Manque de temps
2. Pas intéressée
3. Autre (à signaler)

I. De l'identité de l'enquêtée

	Questions	Réponses/ Modalités	Codes
01	ID du questionnaire		
02	ID du site d'enquête		
03	Etat matrimonial de l'enquêtée	Mariée Célibataire Union libre Veuve Divorcée Séparés de corps Autre (à signaler)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
04	Situation familiale des parents de l'enquêtée	Tous deux en vie Père en vie Mère en vie	0 1 2

		Divorcés Séparés de corps Décédés Autre (à signaler).....	3 4 5
05	Niveau d'études	Jamais à l'école Primaire inachevée Primaire achevée Secondaire inachevée Secondaire achevée Universitaire inachevée Universitaire achevée Formation professionnelle (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
06	Age de l'enquêtée	Moins de 10 ans 10 à 14 ans 15 à 19 ans 20 à 24 ans 25 à 29 ans 30 à 34 ans 35 à 39 ans 40 à 44 ans 45 ans et plus	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
07	Age de l'enquêtée à la rupture scolaire/ à la fin des études		
08	Raisons de rupture scolaire	Manque de prise en charge Grossesse en cours d'année scolaire Décision personnelle Obtention de diplôme visé Incapacité liée à mon état de santé Obtention d'emploi rémunérateur Autre (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
09	Activité principale		
10	Autres occupations		
11	Nombre de personnes à charge de l'enquêtée		
12	Nombre d'enfants légitimes en vie		
13	Nombre d'enfants décédés		
14	Tribu d'origine		
15	Milieu de provenance	Village Milieu périphérique Centre-ville Pays voisins Autres (à signaler)	0 1 2 3 4
16	Appartenance religieuse	Catholique Protestante Musulman	0 1 2

	Kimbanguiste	3
	Salutiste (Armée du salut)	4
	Témoin de Jéhovah	5
	Sans confession	6
	Autre (à préciser)	7

II. De l'initiation, de l'engagement et de la possibilité d'abandonner la prostitution

	Questions	Réponses/ Modalités	Codes
01	Initiation à la profession/ Personne vous ayant initié à la prostitution	Moi-même Ma mère Mon mari (partenaire) Mes copains Mes proches parents Mes Copines Autres (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
02	Principal mobile ayant conduit au choix de la prostitution	Déception dans le mariage Séparation des parents Décès parents pourvoyeurs Divorce/ séparation avec mon mari Imitation Recherche de l'autonomie Manque d'encadrement parental Autre (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
03	Contexte ou circonstance ayant conduit au 1 ^{er} rapport sexuel tarifé		
04	Age de l'enquêtée au premier rapport sexuel tarifé	Moins de 10 ans 10 à 14 ans 15 à 19 ans 20 à 24 ans 25 à 29 ans 30 à 34 ans 35 à 39 ans 40 à 44 ans 45 ans et plus	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
05	Combien d'argent aviez-vous perçu approximativement pour ces premiers rapports ?	Moins de 1\$ 1 à 5\$ 6 à 10\$	0 1 2

		11 à 20\$ 21 à 50\$ Plus de 50\$	3 4 5
06	Date des derniers rapports sexuels tarifés		
07	Combien d'argent aviez-vous perçu approximativement pour ces derniers rapports ?	Moins de 1\$ 1 à 5\$ 6 à 10\$ 11 à 20\$ 21 à 50\$ Plus de 50\$	0 1 2 3 4 5
08	Age du tout premier partenaire	Moins de 10 ans 10 à 14 ans 15 à 19 ans 20 à 24 ans 25 à 29 ans 30 à 34 ans 35 à 39 ans 40 à 44 ans 45 ans et plus	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
09	Age du tout dernier partenaire	Moins de 10 ans 10 à 14 ans 15 à 19 ans 20 à 24 ans 25 à 29 ans 30 à 34 ans 35 à 39 ans 40 à 44 ans 45 ans et plus	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
10	Relation parentale avec le premier partenaire ou non	Parent de 1 ^{er} degré Parent de 2 ^{ème} degré Collègue d'enfance Aucune relation Autre (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4
11	Prédisposition à abandonner la prostitution	Oui Non Ne sait pas	0 1 2
12	Si oui, à quelles conditions ?	Trouver un mari Réunir un capital consistant Apprendre un métier Autre (à préciser)	0 1 2 3
13	Si non, pourquoi ?		

14	Souhaitez-vous fonder un foyer stable, un jour ?	Oui Non	0 1

III. De l'éventuelle structuration du groupe et du déroulement de l'activité

	Questions	Réponses/ Modalités	Codes
01	Etes-vous organisées ou structurées de quelque manière que ce soit ?	Oui Non	0 1
02	Nature de la structure	Association formelle Association par affinité Association par catégorie sociale Likelemba/Tontine Agrégat social Groupe par axe d'intervention Groupe par commune ou quartier Aucune Autre (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
03	Quelle tranche d'âge partenaires préférez-vous?	Moins de 15 ans 15 à 19 ans 20 à 24 ans 25 à 29 ans 30 à 34 ans 35 à 39 ans 40 à 44 ans 45 ans et plus Tous âges confondus	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
04	A quelles catégories socioprofessionnelles appartiennent vos partenaires ? N.B : Plusieurs assertions sont possibles	Commerçants Agents ONGs Prêtres/Pasteurs Officiers militaires/policiers Agents de l'Etat Elèves/ Etudiants Autres (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
05	Laquelle de ces catégories préférez-vous ?	Commerçants Agents ONGs Prêtres/Pasteurs Officiers militaires/policiers Agents de l'Etat Elèves/ Etudiants Autres (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
06	Combien d'argent gagnez-vous par acte sexuel (passe)?	Moins de 1\$ 1 à 5\$ 6 à 10\$	0 1 2

		11 à 20\$ 21 à 50\$ Plus de 50\$	3 4 5
07	En fonction de quoi le prix de la passe varie-t-il ?	Durée Types et nombre d'activités Fréquence de fréquentations Apparence du client Autres (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4
08	Combien d'argent gagnez-vous par occupation pendant quelques heures?	Moins de 1\$ 1 à 5\$ 6 à 10\$ 11 à 20\$ 21 à 50\$ Plus de 50\$	0 1 2 3 4 5
09	Combien d'argent gagnez-vous par nuit blanche?	Moins de 1\$ 1 à 5\$ 6 à 10\$ 11 à 20\$ 21 à 50\$ Plus de 50\$	0 1 2 3 4 5
10	Combien d'argent gagnez-vous par occupation pendant une semaine?	Moins de 5\$ 5 à 10\$ 11 à 20\$ 21 à 50\$ 51\$ à 100\$ Plus de 100\$	0 1 2 3 4 5
11	Combien d'argent gagnez-vous par occupation pendant un mois?	Moins de 10\$ 11 à 20\$ 21 à 50\$ 51\$ à 100\$ 101\$ à 150\$ 151\$ à 200\$ Plus de 200\$	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
12	Combien de clients recevez-vous (en moyenne) par jour ?		
13	Combien gagnez-vous mensuellement (en moyenne) dans ce métier ?		
14	A quelles charges liées à ce métier êtes-vous soumises ? citez-les		
15	Où trouvez-vous le plus souvent vos partenaires ?	Chez moi Boîtes de nuit Centres commerciaux	0 1 2

	(plusieurs assertions sont possibles)	Campus universitaires Maisons de tolérance Prison Contacts téléphoniques Chez les proxénètes N'importe où ?	3 4 5 6 7 8
16	Recourez-vous à des intermédiaires et/ou facilitateurs pour avoir des clients ?	Toujours Jamais De temps en temps	0 1 2
17	Qui sont ces facilitateurs	Mukala/ Petits ya confiance Exploitants boîtes de nuit Exploitants maisons de tolérance Consœurs du métier Sentinelles/ vigiles Chauffeurs taxi/ moto Autres (à signaler)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
18	Comment motivez-vous ces facilitateurs ?	Un peu d'argent/ frais de transport / carte de téléphone Offre occasionnelle de cadeaux Faveurs sexuelles Invitation au restaurant/ bar/ fête Autre (à signaler)	0 1 2 3 4 5
19	Où pratiquez-vous souvent vos rapports sexuels ?	Chez moi Chez les sentinelles Dans la voiture Dans les maisons en chantier Hôtels/ Bars Maisons de tolérance Prison Coins de rue Autre (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
20	Vous arrive-t-il de migrer ?	Oui Non	0 1
21	Si oui, pourquoi ?		
22	Dans ce cas, vers où migrez-vous ?	Carrés miniers Villes voisines Centres commerciaux ruraux	0 1 2

		Pays voisins Autres (à préciser)	3 4
23	Si non, pourquoi ne migrez-vous pas?		
24	Quelles difficultés rencontrez-vous dans l'exercice de ce métier ?		
25	Quelles sont les motifs fréquents de ces difficultés?		
26	Comment arrivez-vous à les résoudre/ décanter ? (Plusieurs assertions sont possibles)	Justice Arrangement à l'amiable Faveurs sexuelles Trafic d'influence Implication de notre corporation Autre (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4 5
27	Vous est-il déjà arrivé de faire des rapports sexuels non payés contre votre volonté ?	Oui Non	0 1
28	Si oui, par qui ?	Policier Militaire Enfants de la rue Jeunes du quartier Inconnu Autres (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4 5
29	Vous est-il déjà arrivé de pratiquer l'avortement ?	Oui Non	0 1
30	Si oui, combien de fois	Une fois Deux fois Trois fois Quatre fois Cinq fois Plus de cinq fois	0 1 2 3 4 5
31	Quelle méthode d'avortement avez-vous pratiquée ?	Tradi-praticiens/ Herboristes Structures sanitaires formelles Structures sanitaires informelles	0 1 2

		Automédication Autres (à préciser)	3 4
32	A quels produits faites-vous recours ou que vous consommez pour vous sentir mieux /à l'aise dans l'exercice de ce métier ?	Produit 1 : Produit 2 : Produit 3 : Produit 4 :	
33	Quelle est la motivation pour le produit 1?		
34	Quelle est la motivation pour le produit 2?		
35	Quelle est la motivation pour le produit 3?		
36	Quelle est la motivation pour le produit 4?		

IV. De la fréquentation des structures sanitaires et de la conscience des risques liés aux IST/SIDA

01	Vous arrive-t-il de contracter les IST	Régulièrement Irrégulièrement Jamais	0 1 2
01	Dans tous les cas, fréquentez-vous les structures sanitaires ?	Oui Non	0 1
02	Si oui, à quelle fréquence consultez-vous les structures sanitaires ?		
03	Si non, pourquoi ?		
04	Date de la dernière consultation médicale en rapport avec les IST?	Moins d'une semaine Il y a 15 jours Il y a 1 mois	0 1 2

		Il y a 2 mois Il y a plus de 2 mois	3 4
05	Quelle sorte de structure sanitaire fréquentez-vous ?	Poste de santé Centre de santé Hôpital Tradi-praticiens	0 1 2 3
06	Avez-vous certaines informations relatives au SIDA ?	Oui Non	0 1
07	Par quel canal recevez-vous ces informations ? (Plusieurs assertions sont possibles)	Médias Eglises Formations sanitaires Associations Familles Voisinage/ collègues/ amis	0 1 2 3 4 5
08	Vous arrive-t-il d'avoir des rapports sexuels sans préservatif ?	Une seule fois Jamais Parfois Toujours	0 1 2 3
09	Dans quelles circonstances ?		
10	Quel est votre point de vue sur l'utilisation du préservatif ?	Positif Mitigé Négatif	0 1 2
11	Avez-vous un commentaire sur le préservatif ?		
12	Le tarif est-il le même avec ou sans préservatif ?	Oui Non	0 1
13	Si non, lequel est le plus cher ?	Avec préservatif Sans préservatif	0 1
14	Quel est le prix si vous faites des rapports sexuels avec ou sans préservatif (condom) ?	Même tarification :\$ Avec préservatif :\$ Sans préservatif :\$	
15	Où vous approvisionnez-vous en préservatifs ?	Coins de rue/ kiosque Hôtel Pharmacie	0 1 2

		Marché	3
		Structures sanitaires	4
		Association	5
		Bar	6
		Autres (à préciser)	7
16	Vous arrive-t-il de constituer un stock de préservatifs ?	Jamais	0
		Parfois	1
		Toujours	2
		Une seule fois	3
17	Vous arrive-t-il d'utiliser le préservatif féminin ?	Jamais	0
		Parfois	1
		Toujours	2
		Une seule fois	3
18	Hormis le préservatif, quelles sont les autres méthodes de lutte contre les IST auxquelles vous recourez ?		
19	Vous est-il déjà arrivé d'être engrossé par l'un vos partenaires ?	Jamais	0
		Une fois	1
		Deux fois	2
		Plus de deux fois	3
20	Utilisez-vous des méthodes contraceptives ?	Oui	0
		Non	1
21	Si oui, pourquoi ?		
22	Si non, pourquoi ?		

V. Conditions de vie des prostituées, intégration sociale et revenu de la prostitution

	Questions	Réponses/ Modalités	Codes
01	Etes-vous propriétaire ou locataire de la maison que vous habitez actuellement ?	Propriétaire	0
		Locataire	1
		Habitation parentale	2
02	Quel type d'habitation ?	Petite villa	0
		Studio	1
		Semi-durable	2

		Durable Hôtel Autre (à signaler)	3 4 5
03	Localisation du lieu/ village/ quartier d'habitation	Centre ville Périphérie de la ville Centre commercial Périphérie du centre commercial Autre (à préciser)	0 1 2 3 4
04	Nom du quartier/ village		
05	Avec qui vivez-vous ?	Mes parents Mes amies prostituées Mes (mon) enfant(s) Seule Autres (à préciser)	0 1 2 3
06	Comment vivez-vous avec votre entourage ?		
07	Qu'est-ce qui fait que ces relations soient telles que vous venez de les décrire ?		
08	Au regard de ces relations avec l'entourage, acceptez-vous votre situation ?	Oui Non	0 1
09	Si non, pourquoi ?		
10	Quels sont les biens de valeur que vous avez acquis dans ce métier ?	Emploi Diplôme Maison	0 1 2

	Plusieurs assertions sont possibles	Parcelle Voiture Ferme Relations sociales Téléphones Bijoux Vêtements de valeur Scolarisation des enfants Prise en charge de mes parents Autres	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
10	En gros, qu'est-ce qui vous plaît dans ce métier ?		
11	En gros, qu'est-ce qui vous déplaît dans ce métier ?		
12	Quels sont vos souhaits par rapport à votre situation professionnelle ?		

VI. Connaissance de l'état sérologique de l'enquêtée par elle-même

01	Enfin, dites-nous, s'il vous plaît, s'il vous est déjà arrivé de faire le dépistage du VIH/SIDA?	Oui Non	0 1
02	Si oui, depuis combien de temps ?	Depuis quelques jours Depuis quelques semaines Depuis un mois Depuis quelques mois Depuis une année Depuis quelques années Depuis cinq ans Depuis plus de cinq ans Depuis plus de dix ans	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
03	Si non, pourquoi ?		
04	Avez-vous autre chose à ajouter ?		

Nous vous remercions de tout cœur pour votre contribution.

GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN RESERVE AU FOCUS GROUP. SITE DE : CODE SITE :

Question globale : Voudriez-vous nous entretenir sur le déroulement ou mieux la manière dont se font les activités de prostitution et transactions sexuelles ici dans votre milieu et/ou secteur d'activités ?

Groupe cible	Rapport/ Résultats d'entretien
Etudiants (Dites-nous, chers étudiants, qui font la prostitution et la sexualité transactionnelle, quand le font-elles, où, pourquoi, comment, avec qui et à quel coût ou mieux, pour gagner quoi)?	

Groupes cibles	Rapport/ Résultats d'entretien
Ménages autour des boîtes de nuit/ Hôtels et Maisons de tolérance. (Dites-nous, chers sieurs et dames, qui font la prostitution et la sexualité transactionnelle, quand le font-elles, où, pourquoi, comment, avec qui et à quel coût ou mieux, pour gagner quoi)?	

Groupes cibles	Rapport/ Résultats d'entretien
Propriétaires, exploitants et travailleurs dans les boîtes de nuit, hôtels et maisons de tolérance. (Dites-nous, chers sieurs et dames, qui font la prostitution et la sexualité transactionnelle, quand le font-elles, où, pourquoi, comment, avec qui et à quel coût ou mieux, pour gagner quoi)?	

Groupes cibles	Rapport/ Résultats d'entretien
Transporteurs (Bateaux, Camions, Bus) vers Goma, Uvira, Kamituga, Bujumbura, Kigali, Dar-es-salaam, Kampala. + Chauffeurs taxis/Motos, matelots (Dites-nous, chers sieurs et dames, qui font la prostitution et la sexualité transactionnelle, quand le font-elles, où, pourquoi, comment, avec qui et à quel coût ou mieux, pour gagner quoi)?	

Groupes cibles	Rapport/ Résultats d'entretien
Opérateurs (trices) économiques œuvrant œuvrant dans les axes Goma, Uvira, Kamituga, Bujumbura, Kigali, Dar-es-salaam, Kampala + Bunyakiri-Hombo, Kavumu-Katana-Kabamba (Dites-nous, chers sieurs et dames, qui font la prostitution et la sexualité transactionnelle, quand le font-elles, où, pourquoi, comment, avec qui et à quel coût ou mieux, pour gagner quoi)?	



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