



NO SAFE PLACE:

A LIFETIME OF VIOLENCE FOR CONFLICT-AFFECTED
WOMEN AND GIRLS IN SOUTH SUDAN



WhatWorks

TO PREVENT VIOLENCE

Violence Against Women and Girls
in Conflict and Humanitarian Crises

Main Results Report 2017



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Special thanks to the representatives from the What Works Consortium's International Advisory Board and the South Sudan Technical Advisory Group who were instrumental to informing the research design, analysis and report drafting.

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GLOSSARY

AOR	Adjusted odds ratio
CIUK	CARE International United Kingdom
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DfID	Department for International Development
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
FGD	Focus group discussion
GBV	Gender-based violence
GWI	Global Women's Institute at George Washington University
IDP	Internally displaced persons
IPV	Intimate partner violence
IRC	International Rescue Committee
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PoC	Protection of civilians
SEA	Sexual exploitation and abuse
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SSTC	South Sudan Transitional Constitution
TAG	Technical advisory group
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
VAWG	Violence against women and girls
WHO	World Health Organization
WPE	Women, Protection and Empowerment

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background and Methods

As part of the *What Works to Prevent Violence against Women and Girls* consortium, the International Rescue Committee (IRC), the Global Women’s Institute at the George Washington University (GWI) and CARE International UK sought to obtain rigorous data on the prevalence, forms, and drivers of VAWG in South Sudan. The study used quantitative and qualitative methods to explore the situation of women and girls in five settings in South Sudan: Juba City, Juba County, Rumbek Centre, two Protection of Civilian (PoC) sites in Juba, and one PoC site in Bentiu. The household survey was conducted in three sites: Juba City, Juba PoCs, and Rumbek Centre. By using local partners trained to accurately and sensitively gather data from women, men, girls and boys across multiple diverse settings, the researchers were able to provide quantitative evidence demonstrating the widespread and severe nature of both non-partner and intimate partner violence, in addition to qualitative evidence that tells a clear story of the lifetime of violence women endure and the devastating consequences for their health and wellbeing.

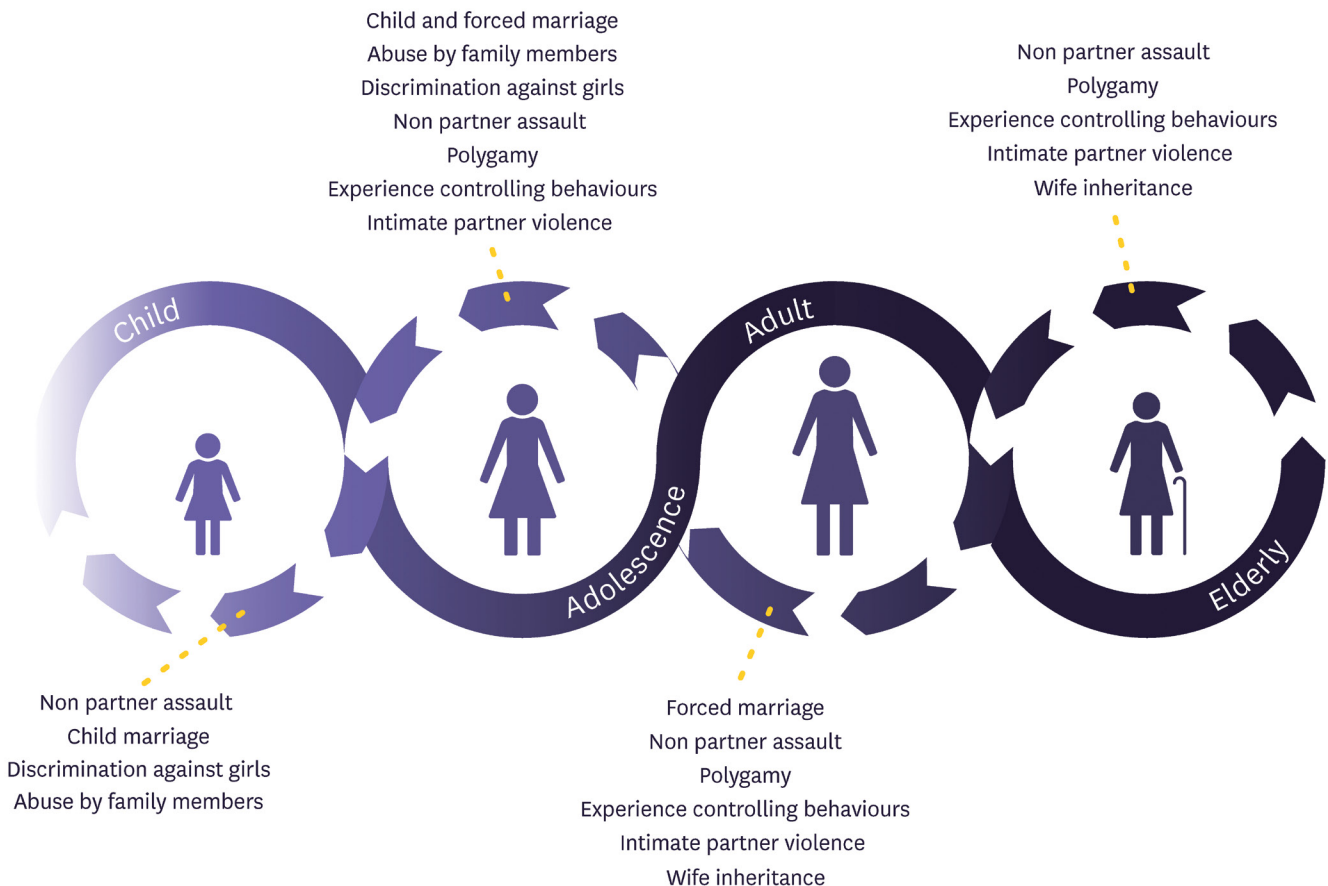
Results

The study found that VAWG is pervasive in these conflict zones with up to 65% of women and girls experiencing physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime. These are among the highest rates of VAWG in the world.

The research results show that up to 33% of women in these areas experienced sexual violence from a non-partner, and many of the incidents were directly related to a raid, displacement or abduction. Women and girls who live in Juba PoC sites are the most vulnerable to this type of assault—almost a quarter of women who experienced this violence reported that they experienced multiple incidents of sexual violence.

While women and girls were often subject to sexual violence by armed actors, they also felt the impact of conflict in a number of other ways. Experiences of displacement, the breakdown of rule of law, increases in crime and the normalisation of violence also affect VAWG.

Figure 1: Violence against women and girls across the life cycle



These indirect experiences of conflict have an impact on violence in the home. Intimate partner violence (IPV) was the most common form of VAWG. In Rumbek alone, 73% of women who are or have been partnered reported they experienced IPV in their lifetime. Times of conflict exacerbate IPV, as women reported increased brutality and frequency of assaults due to the chaos and economic insecurity of war.

Long-standing discriminatory practices such as bride price, child and forced marriage and polygamy, in addition to years of war, have created an environment where violence against women and girls is common in these parts of South Sudan, with many subjected to violence at the hands of family members from infancy. Bride price is the custom of a man giving money or cattle in exchange for a girl to marry, a practice that affects VAWG throughout the lives of women and girls. Many patriarchal practices, such as child marriage, wife inheritance and abduction are all closely linked to bride price.

Most survivors of violence in South Sudan do not seek help after experiencing an assault due to shame, stigma and a culture of silence. A breakdown in the rule of law has also contributed to an environment of impunity where there are no consequences for men who commit acts of violence. To reduce violence against women and girls in these areas of South Sudan, humanitarian efforts need to address the root causes and drivers of VAWG as well as provide direct service delivery to these communities.

Implications for Action

Specific Recommendations for Donors and Policymakers

- Prioritise funding for specialised VAWG protection programmes from the earliest stages of a crisis
- Allocate additional funding to support longer term VAWG programming
- Develop and/or adapt VAWG policies and strategies to ensure they meet global commitments under key VAWG and localisation policy frameworks

Specific Recommendations for Practitioners

- Focus on safe spaces for women and girls and informal support structures as part of a VAWG response programme
- Recognise and address the multiple barriers survivors face in accessing services in South Sudan
- Provide targeted training and institutional capacity building to security and legal support services
- Engage with women and girls throughout the programme design and implementation process

Key Recommendations

- Prioritise VAWG in all humanitarian action
- Ensure VAWG programming and policy address the multiple forms of violence experienced by women and girls
- Invest in specific programmes targeting the unique needs of adolescent girls
- Promote the integration of programmes addressing VAWG and community-level violence and long-term peacebuilding
- Fund and deliver gender-transformative programming that addresses discriminatory practices and gender-inequitable norms
- Support women's groups and the women's movement to build local capacity to improve the status of women

BACKGROUND

Introduction

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) is a serious human rights violation and a significant global health and security issue. Despite the progress made in addressing VAWG since the landmark Fourth World Conference on Women, VAWG remains a pandemic issue. In 2013, the World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that 35% of women globally experience sexual and/or physical intimate partner violence (IPV) or sexual assault^a at some point in their lives.¹ There is some evidence that indicates that sexual violence against both women and men increase during conflict.² The global prevalence of sexual violence among refugees and displaced persons in complex humanitarian emergencies is estimated to be 21.4%, suggesting that approximately one in five women who are refugees or displaced by an emergency experience sexual violence.³ Recent studies indicate that IPV may actually be more common than conflict-related sexual assault.³ However, these figures should be interpreted with caution, as both IPV and conflict-related violence are under-reported in most settings.⁴



Renaud Philippe/CARE

Although several studies have collected robust data on VAWG in humanitarian settings, many experts argue that our overall understanding of the issue remains limited.^{2,3} The lack of rigorous evidence is a barrier for galvanizing

the necessary political will; securing financing to provide needed support for survivors; and reducing the impunity surrounding the issue. In recent years, the international community has begun to recognise the urgent need to develop a greater understanding of VAWG in humanitarian settings and ultimately, to improve strategies to prevent and respond to this pressing concern.^{2,3,5,6}

Addressing VAWG is a priority issue for the government of the United Kingdom (UK) and is one of the four pillars of the Department for International Development's (DfID) *Strategic Vision for Girls and Women*. DfID has funded a five-year global programme entitled, *What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls* ('What Works') to address the dearth of evidence.

As part of the 'What Works' programme, the International Rescue Committee (IRC), the Global Women's Institute (GWI) at the George Washington University and CARE International UK (CIUK) (hereafter, 'the Consortium'), conducted a mixed-methods study in five locations that were affected by conflict in South Sudan. Forcier Consulting, with the support and supervision of GWI and IRC, conducted the fieldwork in three of the five sites.

Context of the Study

South Sudan

Gender relations in South Sudan, especially as they relate to conflict, are shaped by the social and economic realities of the country.

This study examined the effects of three main armed conflicts: the Sudanese Civil War; the 2013 South Sudan Crisis; and on-going inter-communal conflict. Additional data were gathered after the outbreak of conflict in Juba in July 2016. A short description of each of these conflicts follows.

^a 'Intimate partner violence' (IPV), also referred to in this report as 'domestic violence', refers to behavior by a current or previous husband, boyfriend, or other partner that causes physical, sexual, or psychological harm, including physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse, and controlling behaviors. 'Non-partner sexual assault' is defined as any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, or other act directed against a person's sexuality using coercion by a non-intimate partner. This includes acts of sexual violence committed by armed actors, family or community members, teachers, or other individuals, known or unknown to the victim. As found in Devries KM, Mak JY, Garcia-Moreno C, et al. *Global health. The global prevalence of intimate partner violence against women. Science* 2013; 340: 1527-28.

There are over **60** ethnic groups & **80** local languages⁷

83% of the population reside in rural areas, though this proportion varies widely among states.⁸

The population is young

72% of the population is under the age of

30⁸

With **2,054** maternal deaths per **100,000** live births, South Sudan has one of the highest rates of maternal mortality in the world⁸

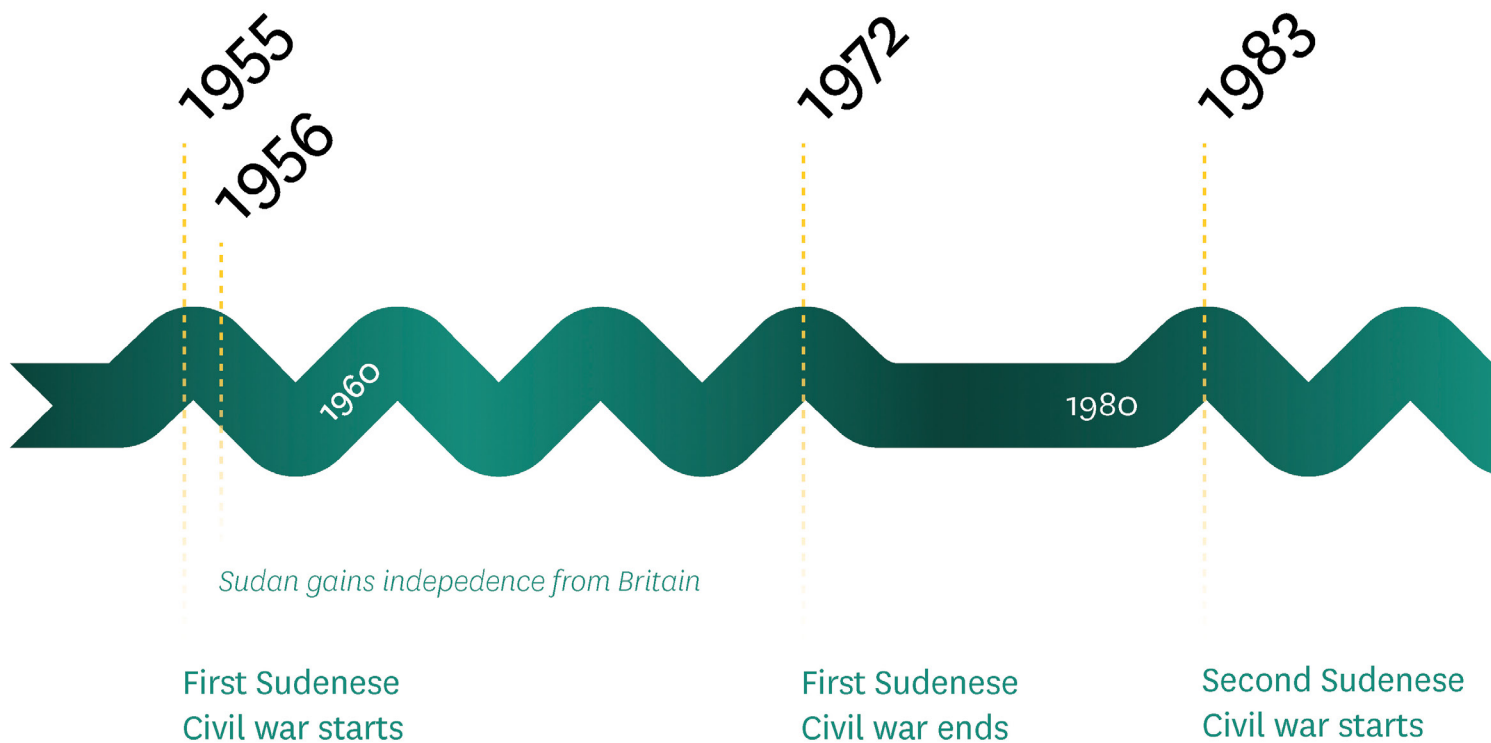


Only **27%** of the adult population is literate, and gender disparities are high.

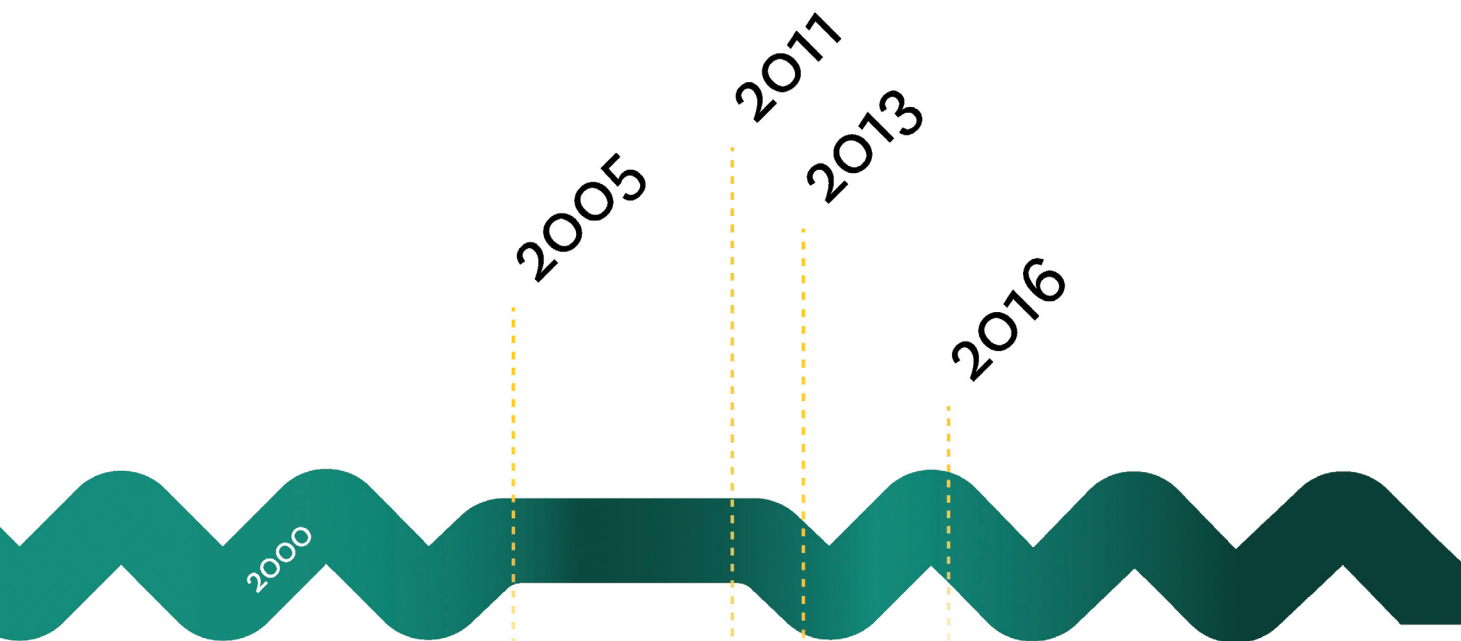
40% of males over 15 years of age able to read and write while **16%** of females the same age are able to⁸

Poverty affects much of the population, and although this varies greatly by state **51%** of the overall population live below the poverty line⁸

PHASES OF CONFLICT IN SUDAN



Following Sudan's independence from Britain in 1956, there have been two distinct periods of fighting. The first lasted from 1955 to 1972.



2005

2011
2013

2016

2000

Second Sudanese Civil war ends

The second Sudanese Civil War culminated in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005.

Continued political tensions re-erupt on July 7 2016

Since July, 2016, more than 200,000 people have fled to neighbouring countries, and over 38,000 IDPs are seeking shelter at the UN House PoC sites in Juba.

2013 Crisis conflict ends with peace agreement in August 2015

2013 Crisis conflict starts

South Sudan becomes the newest independant nation

Constant smaller conflicts

Since the signing of the CPA, tensions between Sudan and the new Republic of South Sudan (RSS) have continued with smaller conflicts over the contested oil fields and territories in the border areas, as well as a new insurrection by rebel groups in South Kordofan and Blue Nile States of Sudan.

In addition to the ethnic element of the 2013 Crisis, general inter-communal conflicts have been a continuing facet of life in the newly independent South Sudan.

Sudanese Civil War

South Sudan endured decades of conflict prior to gaining independence from Sudan in 2011. Following Sudan's independence from Britain in 1956, there have been two distinct periods of fighting. The first lasted from 1955 to 1972, and the second, commonly referred to as the 'second Sudanese Civil War,' lasted from 1983 to 2005. The second Sudanese Civil War culminated in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005. This settlement laid the groundwork for South Sudan to gain independence from Sudan and to become the world's newest independent nation in July 2011. Since the signing of the CPA, tensions between Sudan and the new Republic of South Sudan have continued with smaller conflicts over the contested oil fields and territories in the border areas, as well as a new insurrection by rebel groups in South Kordofan and Blue Nile States of Sudan.

2013 Crisis

This conflict started in December 2013, following several months of deteriorating political relations between the president, Salva Kiir Mayardit, and opposition members led by his former vice president, Riek Machar. Fighting was primarily centred in the states of Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile, as well as in Juba City and, despite numerous ceasefire attempts, persisted throughout most of 2015 until a peace agreement was signed that August. Although the Crisis largely originated as a political dispute, the existing undercurrent of ethnic tensions—primarily between Machar's Nuer tribe and Kiir's Dinka tribe—quickly rose to the surface and became a defining feature of the Crisis.⁹ Tens of thousands were killed, and more than a million were displaced from their homes, including more than 400,000 who were forced to flee to neighbouring countries and to United Nations (UN) Protection of Civilian (PoC) sites across South Sudan.¹⁰

Continued political tensions between President Kiir and Vice President Machar and their militias erupted on 7th July 2016, when the conflict reignited in Juba City. The highly-militarised environment of the capital city has exacerbated ethnic tensions, sparking widespread violence and attacks in Juba and nearby PoC sites. In addition to targeted attacks, mass crime and looting occurred, and several non-governmental organisations (NGOs) servicing the PoC camps were looted of


thousands of tons of food, equipment and delivery vehicles.¹¹ The violence subsided with the flight of Vice President Machar, though tensions in the country remain high, and civilians continue to suffer. As a result of the outburst in violence, thousands of people were displaced. Since July, 2016, more than 200,000 people have fled to neighbouring countries, and over 38,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) are seeking shelter at the UN PoC sites in Juba.¹²

Inter-communal Conflicts

In addition to the ethnic element of the 2013 Crisis, general inter-communal conflicts have been a continuing facet of life in the newly independent South Sudan. A central factor, relevant to conflict dynamics, is South Sudan's cattle culture, which is an important source of wealth and social status, while also serving as the backdrop for much of the country's current inter-communal violence. Traditionally, cows have been used as currency, wealth and status. Cattle continue to be essential for cementing social bonds, especially through marriage and the increasing 'bride price' paid in cattle in many parts of the country. These conflicts often centre on localised tensions such as land for cattle grazing; accumulation of wealth (via cattle raiding); and abduction of women and girls for marriage.¹³ Many of these incidents trigger revenge attacks/killings from the victimised community, causing a cycle of revenge attacks that perpetuate continuing insecurity. Although inter-communal conflicts have existed for years in South Sudan, they have become even more common in times of war and famine when families who have lost their cattle seek ways to regain their wealth by raiding neighbouring communities.

Violence against Women and Girls in South Sudan

At the beginning of the study, the research team conducted a review of existing studies on VAWG in South Sudan. While all of the reviewed studies indicated a high level of VAWG in South Sudan, most of the findings relied on small, qualitative samples or quantitative data drawn by non-random sampling strategies. These limitations prevent widespread conclusions from being drawn from the results. While limited, the existing evidence base does



show high gender inequitable attitudes and acceptance of VAWG throughout the country. For example, the 2010 South Sudan Household Health Survey found that 79% of respondents agreed that a man was justified in beating his wife in at least one possible scenario (i.e. burning the food, refusing to have sex, leaving the house without permission). Similarly, an assessment of gender norms conducted by Scott et al. found that 68% of women and 63% of men agreed that ‘there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten’.¹⁴

For situations of intimate partner sexual violence, this assessment found that 42% of respondents in the study knew of at least one occurrence of men forcing their wives or partners to have sex when they did not want to in the month previous to the data collection. According to a recent CARE report, *The Girl Has No Rights*,¹⁵ women and girls find it difficult to access education or economic opportunities in a male-dominated system, are subject to widespread violence on a daily basis, and are largely excluded from decision-making and access to resources. In addition, CARE’s gender-based violence (GBV) baseline assessment conducted in October and November 2013⁷ found that rape, beatings, psychological abuse, and denial of education and/or economic opportunity were commonplace and seldom reported.

The on-going conflict has also affected the prevalence and types of VAWG in South Sudan. During the 1983-2005 conflict, documented acts of VAWG included sexual violence against women and men; discriminatory and abusive practices, including ‘girl compensation’^b; and forced prostitution/sexual slavery.¹⁴ Continual inter-tribal or ethnic-based conflicts, such as cattle raiding and inter-tribal fighting, also place women and girls at risk of physical and sexual violence, including rape and abduction for marriage. The 2013 Crisis has further worsened the situation for women and girls in South Sudan. This highly militarised conflict, involving local militia and youth who are often not under strict command and control of faction leaders,⁷ has left women and girls highly vulnerable to violence and subject to ethnically targeted actions against women and girls specifically. Women and girls who have been displaced by this conflict often reside in

PoC sites where they face significant dangers collecting firewood, fuel, water, food and shelter materials. NGO and UN assessments have found that sexual violence is widespread in these sites.⁷

Policy and Legal Framework

The legal system in South Sudan functionally operates on two levels: formal and customary. The formal system is framed by the 2011 South Sudan Transitional Constitution (SSTC), which is a vestige of the country’s previous union with Sudan. Other complementary legislation such as the Penal Code Act and the Child Act, along with policies and procedures such as the National Gender Policy, provide additional legal and policy frameworks for issues of VAWG and women’s rights.⁷ These documents lay out a number of laws regarding women in the context of South Sudan, including: the right to participate in public life; property and estate rights; quotas for representation in government bodies; rights concerning child abuse and exploitation; and the definition of rape. Nevertheless, there is no specific domestic violence law in South Sudan, and the Penal Act of 2008 excludes marital rape from the definition of rape and does not specifically address acts of IPV (though more general legislation on assault, etc., could potentially be applied).¹⁶

Despite some legal protections laid out in the formal legal structure, for most women the entirety of their legal rights is governed by customary rather than formal laws. The importance of customary law is enshrined in the constitution, where the purpose and function of traditional authorities and their role in implementing customary law is specifically laid out.^{16,17} While specific customary laws vary by community, generally their focus is on community reconciliation rather than protection of individuals or punishment of perpetrators.¹⁸ Boma (South Sudan’s smallest administrative area) courts are presided over by local male chiefs who typically do not have formal legal training and may have ingrained patriarchal attitudes that reinforce discriminatory gender norms. Despite this, traditional courts have the authority to imprison or assess large fines on those who are found to be guilty.¹⁶ However, for most women, these traditional court structures are their only avenue to pursue legal justice and reparations, given the lack of coverage of the formal system in rural areas.

^b ‘Girl compensation’ is also known as blood compensation, a traditional and cultural approach to justice in which a girl is promised to another family in compensation for the killing of one of their family members.

SOUTH SUDAN STUDY LOCATIONS

Juba Protection of Civilian Site

Central Equatoria State

Juba POCs



Setting	- Camp
Ethnicity:	- Primarily Nuer, some Equatorian tribes
Main affecting conflict(s)	- 2013 Crisis
Data Collected	- Quantitative (with women and men) and qualitative

The PoC sites were created on UN bases around the country in response to the ethnic targeting of the 2013 Crisis. Almost 40,000 civilians—a vast majority from the Nuer tribe—were residents of Juba's two PoC sites at the end of 2016.

PoC sites were not designed for long-term habitation and have limited humanitarian services available to the communities. Since the July 2016 Crisis, the situation has worsened. There is overcrowding due to the influx of IDPs, and non-related families sometimes must live together in communal 4x5m2 shelters for several months.

Poverty, insufficient livelihoods opportunities and poor infrastructure (schools, health services, etc.) are also difficulties faced by PoC site residents.

Juba County

Central Equatoria State

Juba County



Setting	- Rural
Ethnicity:	- Equatorian tribes (Primarily Bari)
Main affecting conflict(s)	- Civil War and Intercommunal Attacks
Data Collected	- Qualitative only

Juba County is, beyond Juba City itself, primarily rural. While, according to the 2008 census the population of the county was almost 400,000, extensive immigration into Juba City suggests the population is much greater today. As in the capital city, residents of Juba County have experienced each of three most recent conflicts affecting the wider country.

In addition to being affected by these conflicts, widespread poverty and years of under-development have shaped the situation in Juba County. As with Juba City, issues of crime—particularly while traveling by road—also affect the county.

Rumbek

Lakes State

Rumbek



Setting	- Rural
Ethnicity:	- Dinka
Main affecting conflict(s)	- Civil War & intercommunal attacks
Data Collected	- Quantitative (with women and men) and qualitative

Dominated by the Dinka tribe, residents of Rumbek Centre in Lakes State are primarily dependent on a pastoralist lifestyle. Cattle raids, alone or in combination with the abduction or rape of women and children, are common occurrences.

This violence only compounds the underlying issues that affect their communities noted by Rumbek residents: poverty; lack of health care; limited education; and few livelihoods opportunities.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

SUDAN

D.R. CONGO

Northern Bahr el Ghazal

Warrap

Western Bahr el Ghazal

Western Equatoria



Bentiu Protection of Civilian Site
Unity State



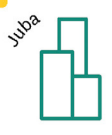
Setting	- Camp
Ethnicity:	- Nuer
Main affecting conflict(s)	- 2013 Crisis
Data Collected	- Qualitative only

The Bentiu PoC site was established in Unity State in December 2013 under similar conditions to the Juba PoC sites. In this PoC site, the majority Nuer population have been directly affected by violence and displaced from their homes in primarily rural areas.

Bentiu has experienced multiple outbreaks of violence since its establishment, both within and directly outside of the site, causing significant congestion and deterioration of camp conditions.

It also has been subject to a proliferation of arms due to the on-going conflict. At the time of data collection in June 2016, almost 100,000 people were residing within the site.

Juba City
Central Equatoria State



Setting	- Urban/ Peri-urban
Ethnicity:	- Mix of Equatorian, Dinka & other tribes
Main affecting conflict(s)	- Civil War and 2013 Crisis
Data Collected	- Quantitative (with women and men) and qualitative

During the Second Sudanese Civil War, the capital city of Juba was a garrison town primarily controlled by the Khartoum government with an estimated population of 250,000 in 2005. Since the signing of the CPA (2005) and independence (2011), Juba has grown into a bustling city with a wide cross section of tribes from throughout South Sudan residing within its environs.

Since 2013, internally displaced persons from around the country have flocked to Juba. The economy has faltered, primarily due to the falling price of oil and decreased agricultural output in response to the conflict. Crime, from armed gangs in town to armed robbers on the roads surrounding town, is also common. Despite these challenges, Juba has considerably better services and access to government systems and international aid compared to other regions in South Sudan,

STUDY DESIGN AND METHODS

Study Aims

The principle aims of the study were:

- To obtain data on VAWG specific to conflict-affected areas of South Sudan that will inform policy and programmes for the national government, local and international NGOs, and the wider international community; and
- To improve, adapt, apply and disseminate appropriate methodological approaches to determine the prevalence, forms and patterns of VAWG in conflict contexts.

To achieve these aims, the study explored three overarching research questions:

1. What are the forms, trends and prevalence of all forms of VAWG in South Sudan?
2. What are the direct and indirect drivers of VAWG, and how are they influenced by the different conflicts that have taken place in South Sudan?
3. What proportion of men have experienced sexual violence in the context of conflict in South Sudan?

Utilizing a mixed-methods approach and employing both quantitative and qualitative methods, the study aimed to fill substantial gaps in understanding on the intersections of VAWG and conflict in South Sudan.

Historical and Conceptual Framework

Legal and normative instruments of the UN and regional organisations have defined VAWG as including various types of violence occurring in the family, in the general community, or either perpetrated or condoned by the State. The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW 1993) defines violence against women to be 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.'^c

The Beijing Platform for Action (1995) adopted and expanded this definition, and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Beijing +5 Political Declaration and Outcome (2000) specifically emphasises that discriminatory sociocultural attitudes, as well as economic inequalities, reinforce women's subordinate place in society. The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) General Recommendations (1992) specifically mentions that harmful practices are a form of VAWG and includes dowry and bride price; early, child and forced marriage; marriage by abduction/rape; and some widowhood rituals, among other practices (CEDAW Articles 2, 5 and 16).

There is evidence that suggests that VAWG is exacerbated during conflict and humanitarian emergencies. In addition to violence directly related to the conflict, such as rape by armed actors, other forms of violence, such as IPV, often increase during conflict. These may vary across differing conflicts and can fluctuate in intensity within contexts of conflict themselves.¹⁹⁻²¹ The CEDAW General Recommendation 30 highlights the correlation between increased prevalence of VAWG and discrimination and the outbreak of conflict.

While VAWG is rooted in gender inequality, there are a number of other factors that influence the levels of violence experienced by women and girls in different settings. The study drew on the socio-ecological framework for understanding VAWG, developed by Heise,²² which conceptualises risk factors for victimisation or perpetration of VAWG as operating at various levels: societal, institutional, communal, interpersonal and individual. The research team developed an enhanced version of the framework to understand the intersections of conflict and VAWG (Figure 2). At the wider societal and institutional levels, factors such as gender norms, a lack of services, or unequal rights and protections under the law (including formal and traditional justice systems) can

^c Specifically, DEVAW (1993) declares that violence against women encompasses, but is not limited to, the following:

Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;

Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;

Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs.



Mary Ellsberg/GWI

contribute to VAWG. At the communal level, factors such as pervasive poverty, high rates of crime and acceptance of violence also drive levels of VAWG. Interpersonal factors primarily relate to IPV and can include household stress, controlling behaviours and relationship dynamics. At the individual level, the socio-demographic characteristics and experiences (such as experiencing or witnessing violence in childhood) of women and girls as well as of men and boys who perpetrate the violence, affect an individual's risk of experiencing violence.

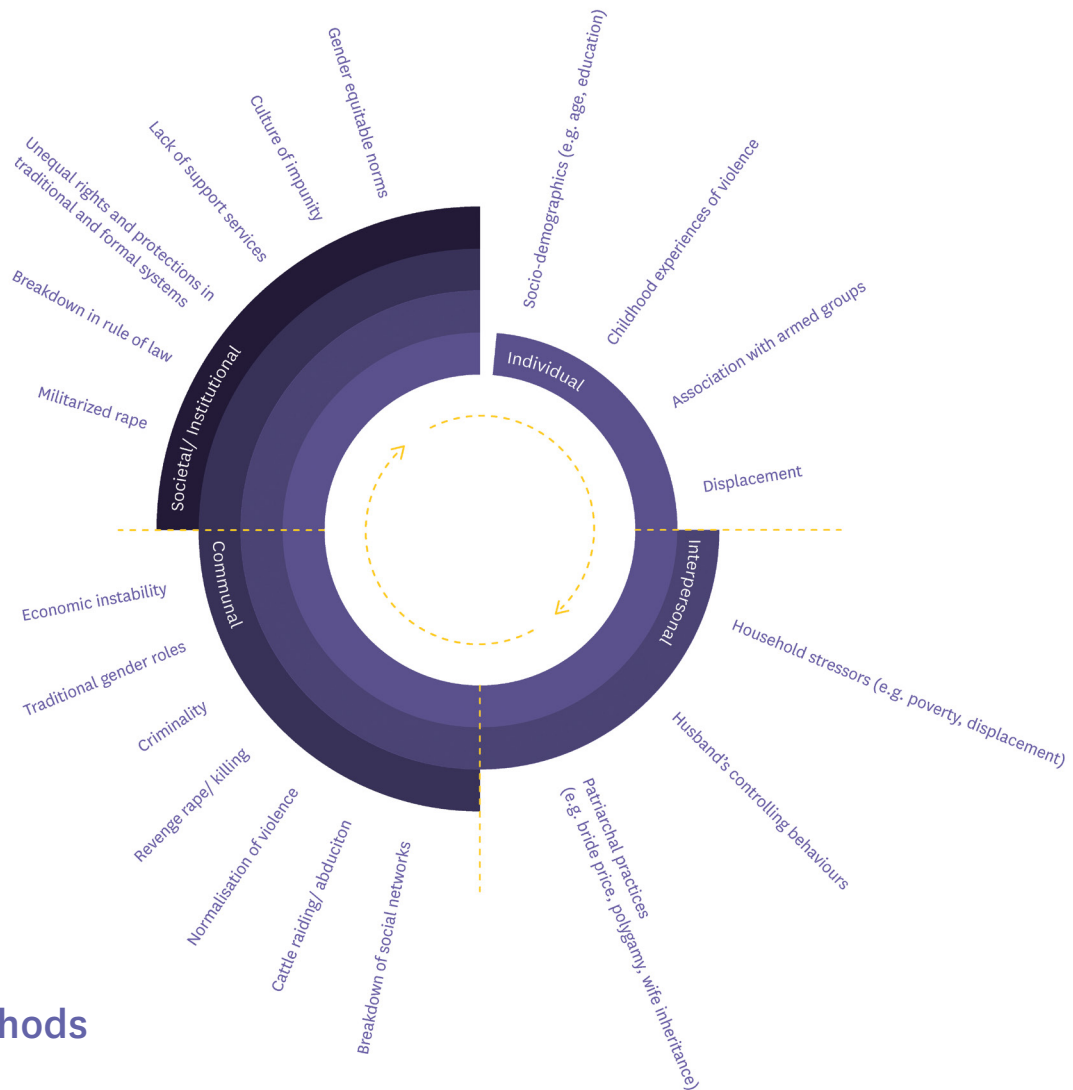
When armed conflict arises, it can permeate all levels of the ecological framework, exacerbating or intensifying many of the primary forces that increase an individual's risk of violence. Evidence suggests that economic and social instability, as a result of conflict and displacement, can compound other risk factors and intensify levels of violence experienced by women and girls.^{19,21} In addition to direct experiences of violence perpetrated by armed actors, women and girls are more vulnerable to other forms of violence, both during and after conflict, as a result of the disruption of institutions, displacement and increased poverty.

Types of Violence Studied

Based on the literature and knowledge of South Sudan drawn from formative research, this study focuses on three of the most common forms of VAWG: IPV, non-partner sexual abuse, and harmful discriminatory practices. These forms of violence are defined below.

- IPV: Any type of violence committed by a current or former partner, including physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence.
- Non-partner sexual abuse: Sexual violence committed by a non-intimate partner, irrespective of the age of the survivor.
- Harmful discriminatory practices: Any incident of violence perpetrated in the name of social, cultural, or religious values, which includes marriage practices such as child/forced marriage and dowry and bride price.

Figure 2: An ecological framework for violence against women and girls in conflict



Study Methods

Quantitative Data Collection

The quantitative component of the study consisted of a population-based household survey administered to a representative sample of women aged 15-64 in three locations: Juba City, Rumbek Centre and the Juba POCs. It should be noted that the study sites were chosen to provide insight regarding VAWG in areas currently experiencing or with a history of conflict, and the results do not represent the population of South Sudan as a whole. The survey was based on the *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*,²³ an instrument that was previously modified by WHO for use in conflict-affected settings and which has been used in multiple locations throughout the world. The questionnaire was revised based on results of a 2015 consultation meeting with experts in the field as well as an extensive review of other instruments and methods used for measuring violence in conflict. The survey was modified to reflect the specific context of South Sudan,

based on findings from formative research to capture a variety of types of physical, sexual and psychological violence that may have occurred during conflict in South Sudan. The one-hour interviews were administered in-person by enumerators utilizing a mobile phone interface to reduce data collection/entry errors. The survey was delivered in the main local languages in each setting – Juba Arabic, Nuer, or Dinka – which were chosen in consultation with IRC and Forcier staff who are from and/or work in each of the locations. Because many of the languages native to South Sudan are non-written languages, enumerators were trained to translate the English questionnaire to and from the respondents' native languages.

While the primary goal of the study was to document the experiences of women and girls, the data were complemented by a supplemental questionnaire for



men (aged 15-64) that provided information on reported perpetration and victimisation of men. There is growing evidence of sexual victimisation of men during conflict, and this study aimed to improve understanding of the drivers of this type of violence as well as to triangulate information obtained from the women's questionnaire. The men's questionnaire was carried out only in Juba City and Rumbek, as ethical and safety best practices could not be met to conduct the survey with men in the PoC sites.

Separate questionnaires were developed for men and women, including questions covering: demographic information on the respondent, their spouse and their family; information about exposure to conflict; harmful practices; physical, sexual, psychological violence and controlling behaviour experienced (for women) or perpetrated (for men) by an intimate partner; sexual violence experienced from non-partners; the physical and mental health consequences of violence; responses to violence and help-seeking behaviours; and gender norms and attitudes toward violence. Due to the unique considerations of a conflict setting and the international humanitarian community's particular interest on the topic, a question specifically related to sexual exploitation and abuse was included as part of the measures of non-partner sexual violence. This was defined as engaging in any sexual act in exchange for goods, services, or favours.

A multi-stage cluster sampling design was used to select individual households for inclusion in the cross-sectional survey. Interviews with men and women were conducted in different clusters to ensure the confidentiality and security of respondents. To facilitate this, the research team randomly selected bomas or blocks in the PoC sites for inclusion in the men's or women's sample frame. Each area was further subdivided into smaller clusters (approximately 100-250 households per cluster) based on geographic distribution.

A systematic sampling strategy was used for household selection, whereby a starting point within a cluster was chosen randomly and then a standard interval of five houses, to reduce discussion of the surveys in the community, was applied for each subsequent household selection. To account for non-responses and households without eligible women or men, a margin of approximately 15% was included in the sampling frame. The aim was to obtain 3,000 completed interviews: 800

women in each of the three sites, and 300 men each in Juba and Rumbek.

Data collection began in June 2016, but was paused in mid-July due to a new outbreak of violence in Juba City. Data collection was completed in Rumbek by the end of July, while data collection in the Juba PoC sites was resumed and completed in November-December 2016. Data collection was not finished in Juba City due to concerns for the safety and security of the enumerators and respondents.

Quantitative data from the study were analysed using descriptive statistics as well as bivariate and multivariate statistical methods. Descriptive statistics were used to present the prevalence and characteristics of VAWG, as well as responses to violence and social norms. The sites were selected precisely because of their different characteristics, and as they do not represent a single geographic region, it would not be appropriate to conduct pooled analysis. Therefore, all of the results are presented separately for each site. The prevalence figures were also analysed and stratified by age, region, ethnicity, conflict levels, time period and other relevant factors. Where appropriate, bivariate statistical tests and multivariate logistic regression were used to identify individual-level risk and protective factors for intimate partner violence.

Qualitative Data Collection

To inform and complement the results of the household survey, qualitative data were collected with community members, key informants (for example NGO staff, government representatives, local leaders, etc.) and survivors of VAWG. Qualitative data was collected in five locations in South Sudan. In addition to the three sites included in the household survey, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were also conducted in Juba County and the PoC site in Bentiu. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with female survivors of violence who had sought and received services from IRC. They were purposefully selected to include a range of experiences in terms of types of violence (e.g. rape, abduction, forced marriage, IPV, etc.) and characteristics of the survivors (e.g. age, ethnicity, education level, etc.). Respondents were identified and recruited to the study by IRC Women, Protection and Empowerment (WPE) response staff and interviews were conducted with WPE

response staff present. Additional information on ethical considerations can be found in the section below.

Key informant interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) were also carried out with individuals representing a broad cross section of social groups, including: community men and women in each site; community leaders and local chiefs; representatives of international, national and local organisations; the Gender-based Violence Sub-cluster; local government representatives; health service providers; legal authorities; and PoC camp management^d. Key informants and FGD participants were identified and recruited by the South Sudan technical advisory group (TAG) and by partner organisations.

The study utilised a participatory action research approach to engage local and national stakeholders in each step of the research process.⁶ Qualitative data were collected using FGDs and semi-structured in-depth interviews^e. The FGDs utilised participatory tools, which have been used for research on VAWG in other settings, including free-listing and open-ended stories/Venn Diagrams.²⁴ During the free-listing exercise, participants were asked to list different types of violence to which women and girls were commonly subjected. These different types of violence were written on coloured sticky notes and placed on a wall or sheet according to whether the violence occurred at home or in the community and whether it was related to any of the specific conflicts (the Civil War, the 2013 Crisis, or inter-communal conflict). Participants were asked to give examples of how each type of violence might occur, who was most affected and what the impact of this violence might be on the individual women and girls as well as on the community.

In the open-ended stories/Venn Diagram exercise, participants were given the beginning of different stories about a woman or girl experiencing different forms

of violence (domestic violence, rape by a member of the community or sexual assault by an armed actor). Participants were asked to talk about where she might go for help, what kind of help she might receive and what barriers she might encounter in seeking support. Participants in the FGDs were explicitly requested not to describe their personal experiences to maintain the confidentiality and safety of participants, although some participants chose to tell their own stories. Through the analysis of the qualitative data, several themes emerged that served both to illustrate and interpret the findings of the survey data.

Interviews and FGDs were conducted in local languages^f or in English, according to the preference of the respondents, and translated by the field staff. Verbal consent was obtained from all participants prior to data collection. All focus groups were conducted with a minimum of two trained facilitators of the same gender and ethnicity as participants. Mixed groups (e.g. local authorities, international representatives and camp managers) were conducted by one male and one female researcher. Qualitative data were captured by note-takers, translated and transcribed. Qualitative analysis was carried out by GWI researchers with support from IRC staff. Grounded theory was used for the analysis of qualitative data, allowing for investigation of unexplored phenomena through the participants' perspectives^g. A combination of a *priori* and inductive coding was used to identify emerging themes and patterns from the research notes. All data were coded using the qualitative software, OpenCode^h. Using codes, analytical categories were developed and explored, allowing researchers to capture key features of the different forms of violence and to identify patterns and typologies in the data.

The majority of the qualitative interviews were conducted during August and September 2015. Additional qualitative

^dThe research team conducted a total of 29 focus groups (6 in Juba City, 3 in Lologo and Rejaf in Juba County, 8 in the Juba POC camp, 8 in Rumbek town and 2 in Bentiu PoC Site) and a total of 30 key informant interviews (8 in Juba City, 6 Lologo and Rejaf in Juba County, 6 in the Juba POC camp, 7 in Rumbek town and 3 in Bentiu PoC). See Annex 1 for details.

^eSemi-structured interviews were conducted at all five sites to gather more in-depth information in a one-on-one setting with key informants such as community leaders, health service providers, legal authorities, representatives of local government, and Protection of Civilians (PoC) camp management, among others. In-depth interviews were also conducted with survivors of violence who had sought services and support from the IRC. See Annex 2 for a full description of the qualitative tools employed.

^fDinka, Nuer and Juba Arabic

^gAccording to this approach, data is analysed as part of the research process and theory is derived from the data; therefore, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another. As found in Glaser and Strauss (1967).

^hICT Services and System Development and Division of Epidemiology and Global Health (2013). OpenCode 3.4. Umeå: Umeå University; 2013. Available from: www.phmed.umu.se/english/units/epidemiology/research/open-code/

interviews and focus groups were conducted from May through July 2016 and from November to December 2016.

Ethical and Safety Considerations

The research protocol was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the George Washington University as well as the Technical Advisory Group (TAG) in South Sudan, which is an independent body of experts in VAWG research and programming in South Sudan made up of local, national and international practitioners representing both NGO and government structures. Permission to conduct the research was secured with appropriate authorities at national and local levels.

Ensuring the safety of the participants and the research team at all times was a priority for the study. IRC security protocols were closely followed by the field team throughout the entirety of data collection, and the research team worked with the IRC country team to determine the research sites and methods for data collection. The research strictly adhered to the WHO's Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Researching, Documenting and

Monitoring Sexual Violence in Emergencies.²⁵

- The research team took every precaution to ensure all information collected was kept confidential, including procedures for the sending and storing of electronic data.
- All interviews were held in a private place, such as within the home.
- If the privacy of the survey respondent could not be assured in their home, rooms in community centres, NGO offices or other buildings were utilised.
- No full names or addresses were collected for any of the research.
- No audio recordings were taken, and photographs were only taken of group activities with permission from participants.
- All data and transcripts were stored on password-protected computers. No personally identifiable information is used in reports, and all data and direct quotes have been de-identified.
- Enumerators were carefully selected and trained during an interactive three-week training session held at each site, which included instruction on managing privacy, confidentiality and participant distress, as



Mary Ellsberg/GWI

well as questionnaire and study methodology.

- Careful attention was given to ensuring that interviewers were not exposed to risks due to their ethnic affiliation at any point during training or data collection.
- Only one woman per household was interviewed to minimise the likelihood that others would find out about the subject of the interview.
- All male respondents were selected from different clusters than the female respondents for the same reason.
- No men were interviewed in the Juba PoC sites, where households are very close together and the risk of men finding out that their wives had participated in an interview on violence against women was higher than in the other settings.

Significant efforts were made to minimise re-traumatisation or other risks to participants. A list of resources for survivors of violence was developed for referrals to services including health, psychosocial and legal/police. This list was offered to all respondents regardless of whether they reported experiencing violence or not. Psychosocial support workers were available with vehicles in all sites to visit respondents in their homes

if respondents experienced significant distress during the interviews. In addition, survivors of violence who participated in the in-depth interviews continued to receive services and psychosocial support from IRC as part of on-going GBV case management.

Response Rates

In the three sites where the household survey was conducted, a total of 2,728 individuals were interviewed: 2,244 women and 481 men. Overall household response rates were 87% for women and 86% for men. The individual response rate was 89% for women and 86% for men.

In Juba City, there were a total of 694 completed interviews: 477 females with an individual response rate of 73% and 217 males with an individual response rate of 88%. A total of 1,068 interviews were completed in Rumbek Centre: 804 females with an overall response rate of 92% and 264 males with an overall response rate of 84%. In the Juba PoC sites, where only women were interviewed, there were a total of 963 completed interviews with a response rate of 84%. A table of these rates can be found in the Annex.



Kate Geraghty/CARE

Demographics and Socio-economic Characteristics of Survey Respondents

Participants in all three sites where the household survey was conducted described themselves as overwhelmingly of Christian faith and were generally young, with median ages ranging from 22 to 26 years of age. However, there were considerable differences among the sites on other demographic characteristics. Women and men from Juba city were primarily from tribes from the Equatorial region of South Sudan (e.g. Bari, Madi, Acholi, Kuku, etc.), while respondents from Rumbek were almost exclusively from

the Dinka tribe, and those from the Juba PoC sites were from the Nuer tribe. Participants from Juba City were the most educated of respondents, where over 80% of women had some education, compared to 49% in Rumbek and 62% in the Juba PoCs. Men in both Juba City and Rumbek were more highly educated than their female counterparts, with 50-76% of male respondents having some secondary- or higher-level education.

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of household survey respondents (by site)ⁱ

	JUBA		RUMBEK		JUBA PoCs ^j
	Female n = 477 (%)	Male n = 217 (%)	Female n = 804 (%)	Male n = 264 (%)	Female n = 963 (%)
Age (median)	26	26	25	26	22
Religion:					
Christian Catholic	52	47	42	45	47
Christian Protestant	41	44	53	51	47
Islam/Other	7	9	5	4	6
Tribe:					
Dinka	9	10	98	96	2
Nuer	1	4	<1	2	90
Equatorial	77	66	<1	<1	3
Other	12	20	<1	2	5
Education:					
No education	17	8	51	26	38
Some/completed primary	40	16	24	24	34
Some/completed secondary	35	47	23	38	24
University or more	8	29	2	12	4

Overall, the population of South Sudan is extremely impoverished—51% of people live below the poverty line,⁸ which was reflected in the survey respondents' household and economic characteristics. For women, only around a quarter of female respondents worked outside the

home, and this rate was by far the lowest for respondents who had been displaced into the Juba PoCs (9%). Men in both Rumbek and Juba City were more likely to be working outside the home — 42-52% reported working in some capacity.

ⁱIn some cases, due to rounding, not all categories add up to 100%.

^jDue to ethical and safety considerations, the men's survey was not conducted in the Juba PoCs. See the background section for further information.

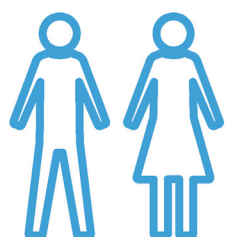
Table 2: Economic characteristics of respondents (by site)

	JUBA		RUMBEK		JUBA PoCs
	Female n = 477 (%)	Male n = 217 (%)	Female n = 804 (%)	Male n = 264 (%)	Female n = 963 (%)
Occupation:					
Not working/domestic work	55	13	58	14	64
Student	13	35	17	44	27
Working	32	52	25	42	9
Primary Source of Income:					
No income/humanitarian aid	7	11	7	7	62
Money from own work	23	49	26	59	4
Support from partner	43	0	38	2	12
Support from relatives/parents	22	40	27	32	21
Other	5	0	3	0	<1

Women in the Juba PoCs more commonly reported that their household had no income or that they relied exclusively on humanitarian aid as their primary income source. Only 4% of respondents in the PoCs said that their household's primary income was money from her own work, compared to about a quarter of women from Juba City and Rumbek.

A majority of female respondents of the quantitative survey were currently partnered (either married, living

with a partner, or in a few cases—less than 5% of the entire sample— in a dating relationship) across all three sites (ranging from 68% in the PoCs to 87% in Juba City). Partnership rates were the lowest for female respondents from the Juba PoCs (which also had the youngest median age of respondents), where almost a quarter had never had a partner.



46%

of female respondents reported that they were not living with their husbands.

Table 3: Partnership status of female survey respondents (by site)

	JUBA n = 477 (%)	RUMBEK n = 804 (%)	JUBA PoCs n = 963 (%)
Partnership status:			
Never partnered	4	16	24
Currently partnered	87	80	68
Formerly partnered	9	4	8
Current marriage status:			
Currently married	69	75	61

Of women who were partnered, most were currently married. However, a substantial proportion were not currently living with their husband. This was particularly true in the Juba PoCs, where 46% of female respondents reported that they were not living with their husbands.

When asked why they were not presently living with their husbands, women in the PoCs most often commonly cited reasons related to the on-going crisis in the country (54% of respondents were not living together because of the crisis and 29% because their husband is missing due to the crisis).

About a quarter of married women in Rumbek and Juba City were not living with their husband. In Rumbek, 42% of respondents who were not living with their husband reported that this was the case because their husband was missing due to the conflict, while an additional 26% were not living together because of other factors related to the conflict. Women from Juba City less often cited the conflict as the reason they lived apart from their husband—67% reported that the reason they lived apart from their husband was not related to the conflict.



Kate Geraghty/CARE/Fairfax media

STUDY RESULTS

The research findings paint a clear picture of pervasive violence throughout the lives of South Sudanese women and girls. While their experiences of violence are deeply influenced by both past and on-going conflicts, a key finding of the study is that women and girls are overwhelmingly at greatest risk of physical, sexual and emotional injury within their own homes, primarily at the hands of family members and intimate partners. The findings also reveal very high levels of conflict-associated physical and sexual violence as well as a general culture of violence associated with the continuing armed conflict, which will be discussed in later chapters of this report. However, violence in the household remains the primary bastion of VAWG across all study contexts.

Although there was some disagreement about what specific acts constitute violence, many participants, particularly women and girls across all five research sites, described a broad variety of acts and practices as forms of VAWG, including not only physical or sexual acts of violence, but also psychological and economic violence and discriminatory and patriarchal practices such as

child and forced marriage, polygamy, wife inheritance, abduction and the denial of educational and other opportunities for girls.

The results have been organised into three chapters, beginning with a description of experiences of conflict and sexual violence in the community. The next section delves more specifically into the prevalence and characteristics of VAWG within the home, as well as the impact of conflict on this violence. The services and sources of support (or lack thereof) available to survivors of violence is explored next. Data presented in these chapters comes from the results of the quantitative household surveys, as well as from participatory methods that give voice to the lived experiences of women and girls in South Sudan (see above for detailed descriptions of the methodologies employed). Personal stories of survivors are presented throughout the report to illustrate specific themes under discussion. The results conclude with discussion of the policy and programmatic implications of the findings, and provides recommendations based on the research findings and consultations with local stakeholders.



Christopher Scott/IRC

50% & 65%
in the Juba PoCs in Juba & Rumbek



of female respondents experienced either physical or sexual violence from a partner or non-partner in the course of their lifetimes

28% to 33%
in Juba in Rumbek

of female respondents have experienced rape, attempted rape or sexual assault by a non-partner during their lifetime.

70%
or more

of non-partner sexual assaults were reported to have happened during a direct conflict experience (an attack, displacement and/or abduction) in the Juba PoCs and Rumbek.



9% & 6%
in Juba in Rumbek

of male respondents reported that they had experienced **non-partner sexual violence** during their lifetime



In Rumbek and the Juba PoCs, experiences of conflict and/or displacement were found to be drivers of IPV.



For ever-partnered women, **lifetime prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence** ranged

54% to 73%
in the Juba PoCs in Rumbek

Most respondents did not seek formal services after experiencing non-partner assault.

42%
in Rumbek

63%
in Juba City

Similarly, most respondents did not seek formal support when experiencing IPV.

47%
in Rumbek

85%
in Juba PoCs

Violence in the Community

Key Findings

- Twenty-eight percent (in Juba) to 33% (in Rumbek) of female respondents have experienced rape, attempted rape or sexual assault by a non-partner during their lifetime
- Sexual exploitation was particularly prevalent in the Juba PoCs (21%) and Juba City (22%)
- Almost a quarter of women in the Juba PoCs (24%) who reported experiencing non-partner sexual violence said that this had happened to them many times
- Over 50% of respondents across all three sites and over 60% of respondents in the Juba PoCs reported that the first incident of sexual violence occurred before they left adolescence, demonstrating that violence begins early in the lives of girls and women in South Sudan
- Seventy percent or more of non-partner sexual assaults were reported to have happened during a direct conflict experience (an attack, displacement and/or abduction) in the Juba PoCs and Rumbek
- Nine percent of male respondents in Juba and 6% in Rumbek reported that they had experience non-partner sexual violence during their lifetime

The results of the household survey show that the populations in all three settings have been severely affected by armed conflict, albeit with different characteristics and intensity at different times. During the lengthy Sudanese civil wars, almost the entire country was affected by violence at some stage of the conflict, while the 2013 Crisis primarily affected the population of Juba City and the Juba and Bentiu PoC sites, among the study sites. This conflict was seen by many respondents as more extreme and violent than the preceding Civil War.

'... The 1990's were better than the current time because there is no freedom currently. Because in [the 2013] crisis, even the civilians are being killed.' – Woman in Rumbek

Women and girls residing in the Juba PoC sites were the most affected by the 2013 Crisis, 68% reporting that their homes or communities were attacked. These circumstances drove the population to seek the protection of the UN and directly led to the establishment of the PoC sites.¹⁰

Table 4: Respondents' experiences of conflict (by site)

	JUBA		RUMBEK		JUBA PoCs
	Female n =477 (%)	Male n =216 (%)	Female n=804 (%)	Male n= 264 (%)	Female n=963 (%)
Experienced during a conflict:					
Was seriously injured	5	42	19	62	17
Was physically disfigured	1	13	2	1	5
Abducted	2	18	2	7	4
Experienced an attack on village /community during:					
2013 Crisis	30	29	31	20	68
Civil War	33	45	28	32	26
During an inter-communal raid	28	15	66	53	44



Mary Ellsberg/GWI

“ Burning of people, such as women and children, is a kind of violence that is going on in the larger Nuer community right now. The act of burning and killing children did not happen during the first and second [civil] wars but it’s currently happening in South Sudan.”

– Man in Juba PoC site

In addition, women in the PoCs also experienced the most prolonged displacement; over 90% of respondents have been displaced for at least one year. Women and girls in the other two sites also experienced displacement: 40% in Rumbek and 7% in Juba City were currently

displaced. However, the length of displacement was less in these two sites compared to those in the PoC. For male respondents, more men based in Rumbek reported that they were currently displaced, whereas more were formerly displaced in Juba City.

Table 5: Respondents' experiences of displacement during times of conflict (by site)

	JUBA		RUMBEK		JUBA PoCs
	Female n = 477 (%)	Male n = 216 (%)	Female n = 804 (%)	Male n = 264 (%)	Female n = 963 (%)
Current displacement status:					
Currently displaced	7	9	40	21	100
Formerly (and not currently) displaced	30	48	10	17	0
Never displaced	64	44	51	60	0
Displaced due to:					
2013 crisis	14	16	10	8	100
Civil war	22	48	9	22	6
Inter-communal conflict	2	5	31	19	11
Time displaced:					
Lifetime	4	10	9	2	16
More than one year	23	43	25	28	77
Less than one year	9	4	15	9	7
Never	64	44	51	61	0



Inter-communal conflicts have persisted in many areas since the signing of the CPA in 2005. While these tensions were experienced throughout the study locations, they were most commonly noted as a severe problem in Rumbek and Juba City. In Rumbek, 66% of women reported that their village had been attacked by another community, primarily for the purpose of cattle raiding. Men and women in Rumbek described these raids as often setting off a continuing cycle of violence, where residents kill or rape members of the opposing community as revenge for previous attacks. These incidents can often be passed down for generations contributing to a culture of revenge killings and attacks.

‘You grow up knowing who your father’s killer is, or the brother of your father’s killer. From the earliest age you can remember, you know this.’ – Female key informant Rumbek

‘Women are also killed as revenge. For instance, when a woman from one community is killed men from another community will

kill a woman from the same community.’

– Female key informant in Rumbek

Women and girls were directly targeted during the course of inter-communal attacks and the 2013 Crisis. While participants in the qualitative data collection did not explicitly discuss the targeting of women and girls during the civil war, they often spoke generally about how ‘in the past’ the deaths of women and girls have been collateral damage. In both the 2013 Crisis and inter-communal clashes, however, women and girls were seen as legitimate targets in their own rights. This specific focus on attacking women and girls feeds into a continuing cycle of violence between communities, where the death of a woman or girl causes her male relatives to fight on her behalf. These cyclical revenge killings are most commonly seen, within the study, as part of inter-communal conflicts in Rumbek.

‘Revenge killings: before women were not targeted but now they are. It is a new thing.’

– Female key informant in Rumbek

Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls

‘In Lologo, there are a group of gangs formed by boys. They normally stay in the street mocking women who are passing by... abusing and laughing at them.’ – Young women in Juba County

‘It is not rape for me; it’s an agreement because the woman could have screamed for help from the community.’ – Young man in Juba County

Respondents noted that the sexual assault of women and girls during conflict in South Sudan was a serious concern. Men and women in the qualitative research had widely differing perceptions of the most common perpetrators of sexual violence against women. Men more often spoke about rape in the context of the 2013 Crisis, where they saw women as being directly targeted by rival communities or during raids. Women felt that most sexual violence was committed by someone known to the woman, such as her husband or a relative. They also had different views

on what constituted rape. Men often questioned whether a woman who reported rape was, in fact, actually engaging in consensual sex or committing adultery.

Women, rather than the male perpetrators, were often blamed for ‘enticing’ men into acts of violence. For example, women who wear short skirts or adopt a western style of dress reportedly ‘cause’ men to rape or harass them.

In contrast, women also noted that sexual harassment in the community was an increasing problem, and linked this to the increase in gang activity.

In the household survey, between 28% and 33% of women reported experiencing non-partner sexual violence over the courses of their lifetimes. In the past 12 months, a smaller proportion of respondents had experienced non-partner sexual violence; rates ranged from approximately 5% to 10% of respondents across the three sites. See Table 6 for details.

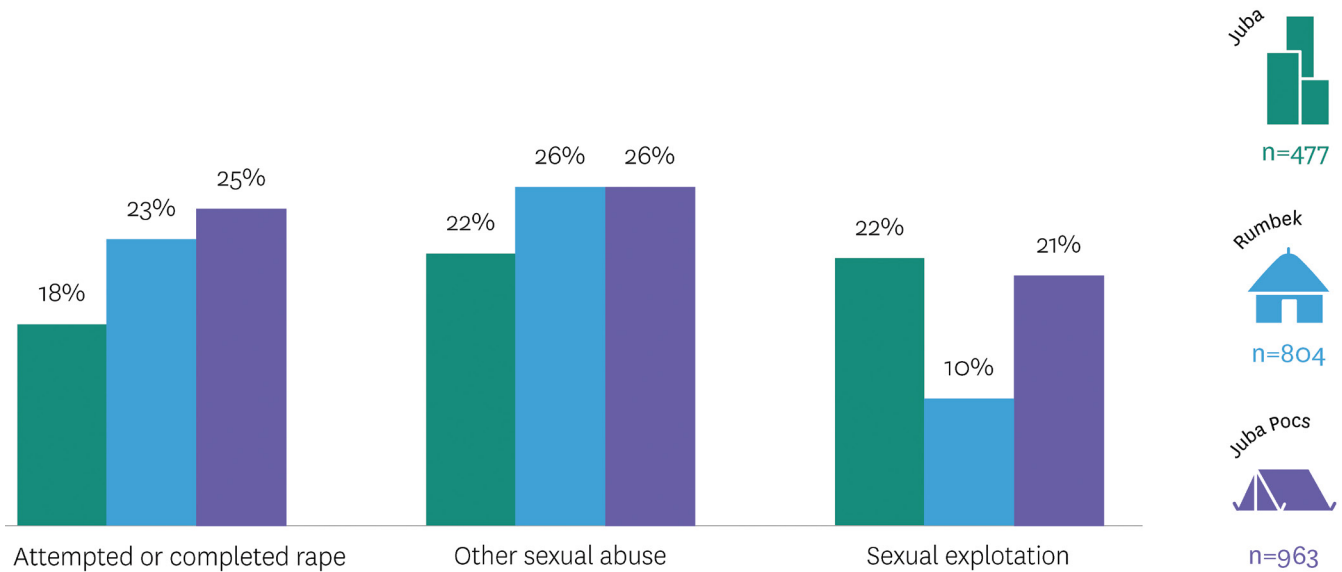
Table 6: Prevalence of ‘lifetime’ and ‘past 12 months’ non-partner sexual violence reported by female respondents (by site)

	JUBA n = 477 (%)	RUMBEK n = 804 (%)	JUBA PoCs n = 963 (%)
Ever experienced non-partner sexual violence (including rape, attempted rape, unwanted touching and being forced to undress)	28	33	29
Experienced non-partner sexual violence in the past 12 months	5	8	11

Gender-based violence is taken as a tool of war in South Sudan. Women have been raped in a massive [way]. Even ten men can go and rape ten women.

– Female key informant in Juba

Figure 3: Prevalence of non-partner sexual assault reported by female respondents (by type)



Percentage of female respondents who reported experiencing non-partner sexual assault.

Women experiencing non-partner sexual assault experienced a variety of types of violence. Almost a quarter of respondents in each site had experienced rape or attempted rape, ranging from 18% in Juba City to 25% in the Juba PoCs.

While other researchers have noted that non-partner sexual assault was a characteristic of the Sudanese civil wars,^{26,27} participants in this research reported less non-

partner sexual violence during the Civil War compared to the more recent 2013 Crisis. This could be due to the length of time that has passed since the signing of the CPA, the intensity of the recent 2013 Crisis and inter-communal conflicts, or because civilians are more directly affected by recent conflict and less likely to be displaced to far-flung refugee camps away from the front lines.

Table 7: Sexual violence that occurred during periods of conflict among women who have experienced non-partner violence (by site)

	JUBA n = 134	RUMBEK n = 265	JUBA PoCs n = 281
Non-Partner Sexual Violence:			
During the Civil War (%)	13	23	28
Since the 2013 Crisis began (%)	29	30	63

While other researchers have noted that non-partner sexual assault was a characteristic of the Sudanese civil wars,^{26,27} participants in this research reported less non-partner sexual violence during the Civil War compared to the more recent 2013 Crisis. This could be due to the

length of time that has passed since the signing of the CPA, the intensity of the recent 2013 Crisis and inter-communal conflicts, or because civilians are more directly affected by recent conflict and less likely to be displaced to far-flung refugee camps away from the front lines.

‘Women are sexually abused, killed, tortured and raped by young men in...inter-communal clashes among communities. It is difficult to control because those who did it were gun men.’ – Male key informant in Rumbek

‘Men are raping women and perpetrating dehumanizing acts on women in these areas – inserting things into private parts, cut off organs. It is a very brutal kind of violence.’

– Woman key informant in Juba

During the Civil War, the Sudanese People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) had a formal code of conduct that explicitly forbade acts of rape by soldiers and mandated a punishment of death for violators (though this clearly did not eliminate all

non-partner sexual assaults during this time). Armed rebel groups active in the 2013 Crisis and those participating in inter-communal raids now act with increased impunity.^{9,18}

‘During the crisis, rape was too much. Women, girls, children and even old women were raped by men.’ – Men in Juba

During conflict, women and girls may be raped by armed actors as a way to terrorise rival communities or may be caught up during an armed attack and experience opportunistic rape. Rape has been specifically used as a weapon of revenge during inter-communal violence as well as the 2013 Crisis. This includes specifically targeting women and girls to draw men out of hiding and into further violence.

‘There is the idea that people can rape and they will get away with it.’

– Woman key informant in Rumbek



Kate Geraghty/CARE/Fairfax media

‘Here they don’t punish the perpetrator seriously’

Below is an excerpt from an interview with ‘Mary,’ a woman living with her relatives and two children in Bentiu PoC site. She and her husband are separated because of the 2013 Crisis.

It happened when the group of women go in the morning to collect firewood. I remained at home to prepare my children, cook their food, and after that I followed. When I arrived in the bush, [the perpetrator] followed me into the bush.

He came up behind me, slapping me first and then kicking me. I vomited blood and became unconscious two times: in the bush and at the [POC site] gate. When I arrived at the gate, I found him there. I talked to the security, ‘That man is doing to me one, two, three.’ The security called the police and they took the perpetrator to the detention, and he is there.

When he was arrested, I wanted him to be arrested outside [the camp]. Here, they don’t punish the perpetrator seriously, but out there they will. He will spend one year in jail; already he’s there one month.



Peter Biro/IRC

‘They rape and beat women and girls so as to punish the men and to draw the men and boys back.’ – Woman key informant in Rumbek

‘It’s about dignity – if you rape another man’s wife, it dehumanises the woman and the man.’ – Woman key informant in Juba

Conditions worsened after violence restarted in July 2016, and reports of sexual violence committed by soldiers increased.²⁸ In particular, there were frequent attacks by armed actors against women who ventured outside of the relative safety of the PoC to collect firewood or food or to seek other services.

Women and girls also described life inside the PoC sites as being unsafe and reported that rape commonly occurred in sites such as the toilets or bath houses or even in their own homes; for example, when a man enters the tent when others are asleep.

‘If we go outside the PoC to get food, or if you go outside to get firewood, a military soldier may rape me, or they may

be physically violent. That is happening to a lot of people.’ – Woman in Juba PoC sites, post-July 2016

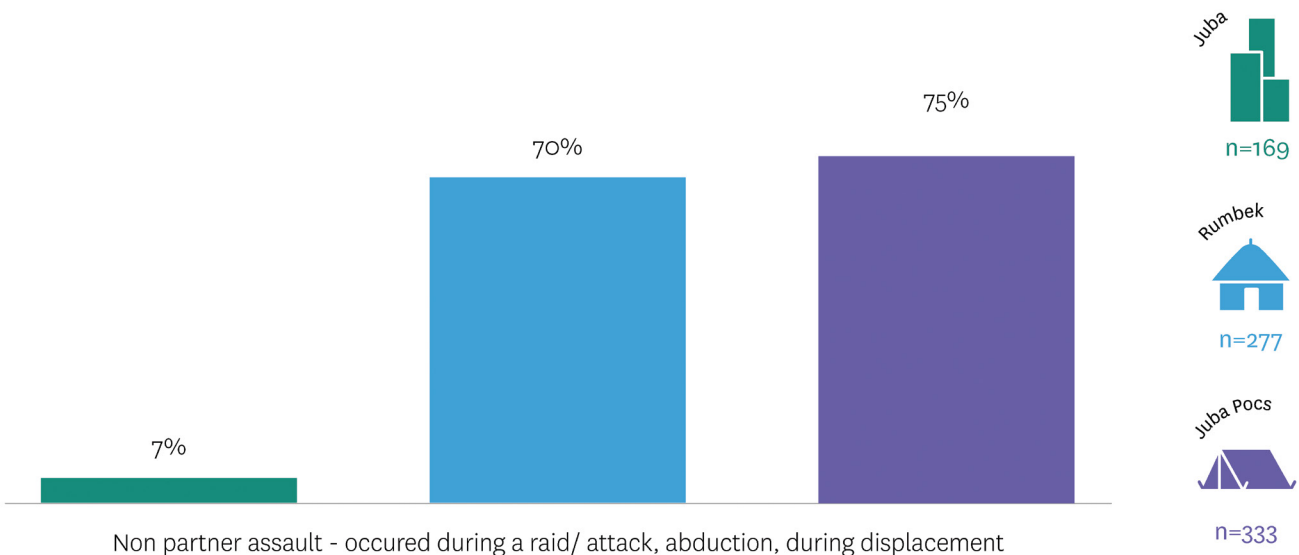
‘It happens several times during the conflict; people go and attack a certain place or town and after fighting, they come and rape women.’ – Woman in Juba PoC site

Female respondents residing in the Juba PoCs also more often reported that the incidents of sexual violence they experienced had occurred since the 2013 Crisis began (63% of women who experienced non-partner sexual violence). In addition, women who reported they had experienced rape or sexual assault by a non-partner in Rumbek and the Juba PoCs noted that this experience commonly occurred during a raid/attack, abduction or displacement.

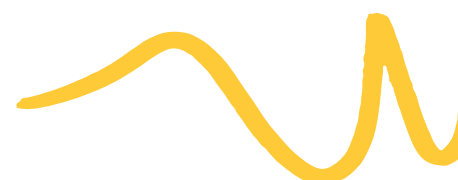
‘Rape cases are not only happening outside the camp or when going to the toilet in late hours, but it can happen anywhere when a man decides to do it.’ – Woman in Juba PoC site



Figure 4: Non partner sexual assault and conflict



Percentage of female respondents experiencing non-partner sexual assault, who reported this violence occurred during a raid/attack, abduction or displacement.



Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys

Male respondents also reported having experienced sexual violence, although less frequently than women. During qualitative interviews and focus groups, sexual violence against men and boys was not perceived to be a common occurrence, although it was mentioned by a few key informants, two of whom were health providers.

‘Men do get raped – a few cases are reported to the hospital. Often, it’s young boys.’ – Female key informant in Juba

‘We have seen about three cases. A boy of 19 years was working in the shop. After work

when he was going home, he was followed by man who employed him that raped him. Another boy of 17 years was also raped by a foreigner. And a man of 32 years was also raped when he was drunk by a male friend of his.’ – Male key informant in Juba

While rates of violence are not as high as those experienced by women and girls, 5% percent of men in Juba and 3% of men in Rumbek experienced attempted or completed rape. Overall, 9% of men in Juba and 6% in Rumbek reported having experienced some type of sexual violence.

‘We have seen about three cases. A boy of 19 years was working in the shop. After work when he was going home, he was followed by man who employed him that raped him.’

– Male key informant in Juba

Table 8: Non-partner sexual violence reported by male respondents (by site)

	JUBA n = 216 (%)	RUMBEK n = 261 (%)
Ever experienced non-partner sexual violence (not including sexual exploitation)	9	6
Respondent has:		
Been forced to undress	2	5
Experienced attempted rape	4	2
Experienced rape	1	1
Experienced unwanted sexual touching or something else sexual that he did not want	7	3
Been sexually exploited	1	2



Characteristics of Non-partner Sexual Violence

The perpetrators of sexual violence were different among the three sites and also different for male and female survivors. In Juba City, the most common perpetrators of violence against women and girls were either acquaintances (not family) or complete strangers. These unknown persons may be associated with the large criminal element that participants in the focus groups and key informant interviews noted were an increasing problem facing women in Juba. Men in Juba cited known individuals, complete strangers or individuals from another community.

Women in Rumbek reported perpetrators who were split amongst family members and other known persons, as well as people from another community and complete strangers. For men in Rumbek, the main perpetrators were complete strangers, followed by family members, people from another community and armed actors. These latter two categories may be associated with incidents of non-partner violence that occurred during inter-communal raids. Perpetrators of non-partner assault in the Juba PoCs were more often reported to be police officers and members of another community—revealing the role of the 2013 Crisis in these incidents.

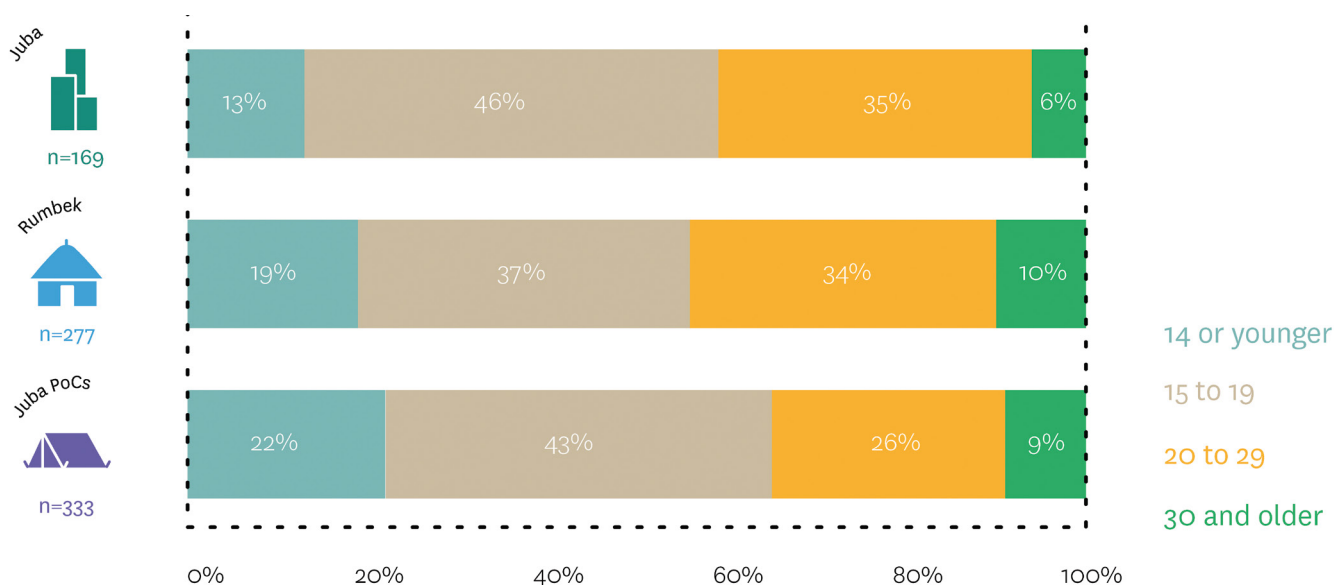
Table 9: Respondents' experiences of displacement during times of conflict (by site)

	JUBA		RUMBEK		JUBA PoCs
	Female n = 169 (%)	Male n = 21 (%)	Female n = 277 (%)	Male n = 18 (%)	Female n = 333 (%)
Perpetrators were:					
Family members	7	0	32	33	11
Other known persons	48	38	19	6	6
Police officers	1	5	4	11	22
Armed actors	5	14	6	28	7
From another community	10	38	25	28	23
Humanitarian aid worker	3	0	1	0	1
Complete stranger/unknown	28	51	31	72	3

Although a majority of women who experienced non-partner sexual assault experienced this violence only once in their lifetime, a considerable proportion of women in all three sites reported they had experienced this violence multiple times. In particular, women in the Juba PoCs reported experiencing incidents of non-partner sexual violence many times over the courses of their lifetimes.

No matter the perpetrator, violence begins early in the lives of women and girls in each of the study sites—over 50% of respondents across all three sites and over 60% of respondents in the Juba PoCs reported that the first incident of sexual violence occurred before the age of 20.

Figure 5: Age of first incident of non-partner assault (by site)



Percentage of female respondents who experienced non-partner sexual assault and their age at the first incident of assault.

Some forms of non-partner sexual violence, such as sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), may increase in times of conflict due to increased poverty and economic insecurity. Over 20% of female respondents in both Juba City and the Juba PoCs and 10% in Rumbek reported having sex in exchange for money or gifts of food and other commodities. Increased economic insecurity, coupled with either the death or deployment of the husband to the front lines, could lead to the higher rates of SEA in the urban environment of Juba and its nearby PoC sites. The lack of livelihood opportunities for women in the PoCs when abandoned or widowed by their husbands suggest that sexual exploitation may be occurring in these incidents.

‘...they are always in desperate need of food and other services, they are asked for sex in return.’ – Women in Rumbek

Factors Contributing to Pervasive Violence in South Sudan

As noted above, the on-going conflicts of South Sudan have greatly increased the risk of sexual assault among women in all sites. In addition to women being directly targeted for killing, rape and sexual assault, the prolonged wars have resulted in a generalised breakdown of the rule of law and an environment where the use of violence is widely accepted, impunity is widespread and opportunistic crime is rampant. These issues are described to the right.

Normalisation of Violence

The normalisation of violence in communities affected by insecurity may influence VAWG. Guns and other weapons are pervasive throughout the country, particularly in the hands of youth and civilians. While this was noted in many study contexts, it was particularly prevalent in the narrative of participants from Rumbek in association with inter-communal violence. The prevalence of these weapons instils a sense of impunity in those conducting acts of violence and facilitates the continuing cycle of revenge killings, rapes, etc. The general increase of arms in the community and associated criminality/violence seem to be contributing to a rise in non-partner sexual assault.

‘... If a relative is killed and the government does not do anything about it, you can take revenge because the law is not taken seriously. Sometimes the culprit may be arrested, but can shortly after be found on the street. Due to the lack of justice, people now take law into their own hands. But in the past justice was fairly applied, unlike nowadays.’ – Male and female key informants in Rumbek

As this violent culture is normalised, even in areas where the 2013 Crisis has not directly had an impact, women and girls may also experience additional indirect consequences. As a response to this increasing insecurity,



Kate Geraghty/CARE/Fairfax media

When women go out at night [to the distribution point] to be the first in line, men were sleeping down and waiting for us. They surrounded us. They have guns, knives, sticks and pangas.

– Woman in Bentiu PoC site

men are often seen to be preventing women and girls from leaving the house without permission, working outside the home or attending school. While viewed as protective acts by men, women’s lack of agency in making these decisions is striking.

‘People who carry guns here, not soldiers, are causing more violence in our community. They are the one raiding cattle, stealing other people’s properties, raping women and girls and creating insecurity at the borders and in bushes.’ – Male key informant in Rumbek

Breakdown of the Rule of Law

Related to the growing culture of violence across South Sudan, overall there is a breakdown in the rule of law—particularly since the onset of the 2013 Crisis. Traditional mechanisms to solve incidents of VAWG at the community level have broken down, and access to the formal justice system is limited. This has contributed to a culture of impunity where there are no consequences for men who commit acts of VAWG, which may be contributing to an increase in incidents of VAWG throughout the study contexts. This was particularly seen in more rural areas, such as Rumbek, which are further from the central government in Juba.

‘In the past, there was rule of law so women and girls were not attacked. Now there is no proper justice system, no functioning rule of law. Now the government has no power. They have the same number of guns as civilians.’

– Key informant Rumbek^k

Opportunistic Crime

An increase in criminal activity is linked to poverty, particularly in Juba City, but also in the surrounding county and PoC sites. Chief among these are incidents of non-partner sexual assault perpetrated by armed men or gangs associated with criminal elements in and around Juba.

‘Rape by gangs is common. They move in group at night and if they get a lady on the street, they can rape girls. Those who did the raping are unknown people.’ – Female key informant in Juba

While not necessarily safe from attack within their own communities, women and girls also experience non-partner assault when venturing outside these spaces or PoC sites both in Juba and Bentiu. There were numerous reports of women attacked by armed gunmen and criminals when leaving the PoC sites or communities to engage in farming, collecting firewood or engaging in livelihoods. Participants noted that the security of girls and women on the roads has decreased in recent years in association with the 2013 Crisis and inter-communal clashes.

‘In 2005, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed. Since then the rape cases are continuing up to now - in the markets and streets. Before there were soldiers guiding people at night, and women were safe.’ – Young woman in Juba

^kSex not recorded.

Violence in the Home

Key Findings

- Most women were married during their adolescent years (71% in Juba to 85% in Rumbek)
- Men and their families typically paid a bride price for marriage (from 58% of women in Juba City to 88% of women in Rumbek), and polygamous¹ relationships (38% in the Juba PoCs to 56% in Rumbek) were common
- For ever-partnered women, lifetime prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence ranged between 54% in the Juba PoCs and 73% in Rumbek
- Approximately 60% of respondents in Rumbek and the Juba PoCs experienced injury as a result of their experiences of IPV; respondents in the Juba PoC particularly reported severe injuries (37% of respondents reporting IPV)
- In Rumbek and the Juba PoCs, experienced of conflict and/or displacement were found to be drivers of IPV

Although war has been nearly a constant presence in the lives of South Sudanese women and men for decades, for many women and girls, it is overshadowed by a lifetime of suffering at the hands of intimate partners and family members. The practice of bride price was mentioned in virtually every interview or focus group discussion and provides the backdrop for all other discussions on the status of women and girls and marriage practices. In times of famine and war, when cattle are scarce, bride price occupies an even more central role, as the marriage of young girls represents a survival strategy for many families, and girls are at greater risk of rape or abduction by men who do not have enough cattle to obtain a wife. Once a woman is married, whether by force or with her consent, the amount of bride price paid often determines how she will be treated by her new family. Paradoxically, as described below, a higher bride price does not necessarily lead to better treatment by her husband.

Bride Price

The custom of supplying a bride price in exchange for a girl to marry is common throughout South Sudan and is essential for understanding how women and girls are treated throughout the courses of their lives. As noted

in previous research studies, in many South Sudanese cultures the bride price is, at least partly, paid for in cows by the family of the husband to the male relatives of the woman.^{29,30} The size of the bride price can vary by region and has been increasing in recent years, with reports of hundreds of cows paid in some locations. In many regions of South Sudan, wealth is equated with the number of cows a man owns. Marriage is therefore seen as a transaction that enables families to acquire wealth.

Levels of ever-married women reporting that bride price was paid were the highest in Rumbek (88%) and the Juba PoCs (84%). Bride price payment was less common in Juba City, where only 58% of respondents reported that it was paid. Across all three sites—but particularly in Juba City—bride price payment was less common among younger women (between 15-19 years of age).

During the qualitative interviews and focus groups, bride price was frequently mentioned as a form of violence in and of itself. It was also described as a key driver of other forms of violence against women and girls, including rape, child marriage, abduction for marriage and intimate partner violence throughout their lifetimes.

👉 **Everything comes back to the cows...** 👈

– Female key informant in Rumbek

¹As used in this report polygamy is the practice of one man having multiple wives.

²⁹The correct term for payment by the husband's family to the bride's family is 'bride price'. 'Dowry' usually refers to payments by the bride's family to the husband. Only bride price is practised in South Sudan; however, the terms are often used interchangeably when describing the practise in English. We have chosen to retain the word 'dowry' when textual citations are used.



Kate Geraghty/CARE/Fairfax media

‘Parents don’t support girl’s education. Tall girls will be married for hundreds of cows - they get a higher dowry.’ – Female key informant in Rumbek^m

‘If the wife is working and the man is not, she must give all the money to the man... She argues, but the man will say ‘I paid many cows for your dowry, whatever you do it is my responsibility.’ – Woman in Bentiu PoC site

In the context of South Sudan, marriage is not only a union of two individuals, or even nuclear families, but a social contract between entire clans and kinship groups. The entire community has considerable influence and stake in ensuring a girl is ‘pure’ and is able to secure a bride price.²⁹

‘Men do not care about their wife due to the dowry payment. The husbands consider high payment as purchasing – they beat their wife without valuing her because they have paid many cows. If the wife commits

adultery or argues with the husband he beats her up thoroughly—harming or killing her—thinking that the dowry he has paid will be the compensation for her death or injury.’
– Male key informant in Rumbek

‘Women and girls have no voice—uncles/ fathers manage the dowry. Fourteen- and fifteen-year-old girls can be married off to sixty-year-old men. Girls have no choice and mothers have no rights to refuse either.’
– Female key informants in Rumbek

For the extended family, the bride price is a primary vehicle for wealth accumulation. Many patriarchal practices, such as early marriage, wife inheritance and abduction are all closely linked to bride price. Whereas girls may be forced to marry and widows forced to remarry their husbands’ relatives as a strategy to gain or retain cattle, abduction of girls is practised by men to avoid paying bride price.^{29,30} Conflict, and the associated increases in poverty and economic instability, has a particularly important effect on the payment of bride price.



Peter Biro/IRC

Violence by Family Members

During qualitative data collection, both women and men noted that physical violence against girls in the home was a common form of violence. Parents, uncles and brothers all could be perpetrators. While commonly couched as a disciplinary measure by participants, the reasons given for physical violence against girls are typically associated with the girls' prospects for bride price. For example, boys may beat their sisters for walking outside without permission (which would increase her chances of being raped and therefore 'spoilt') or because they became pregnant before marriage, which would lessen or remove the family's negotiating position for a bride price. Similarly, it was reported that girls experience sexual abuse during their childhoods—in particular, incidents perpetrated by family members. Across all three quantitative survey sites, over 50% of female respondents who had experienced non-partner sexual assault reported that their first experience of violence (perpetrated by either family members or others) occurred before the age of 20.

'Small girls and women are raped by men. This sometimes can be by their own fathers, husbands, uncles, or neighbours.'

– Women in Juba

'Women and girls are often beaten by brother and uncles—anyone who benefits from the cows.' – Female key informant in Rumbek

Child and Forced Marriage

Bride price is also an important factor in the high rates of forced marriage in the household survey. For women who have been married, early marriage was common throughout each of the study sites with a vast majority of female respondents married before they left adolescence (see Table 10). Over 80% of respondents in Rumbek and the Juba PoC's, and over 70% in Juba City, were married before the age of 20.

Traditionally, men (including fathers, uncles, male elders and brothers) are seen to have the right to pick a girl's husband, and the opinion of the girl is generally not taken into account. There is little recourse for the girl in situation where she objects to the match. Girls who try to refuse the marriage may experience physical harm, including beating and even killing, from her family. According to the respondents, all decisions regarding marriage fall to her husband, her husband's family and even her own sons.

‘If you are born a girl in this Crisis, you are born a problem.’

– Woman in Bentiu PoC

Table 10: Age at first marriage among ever married women and girls (by site)




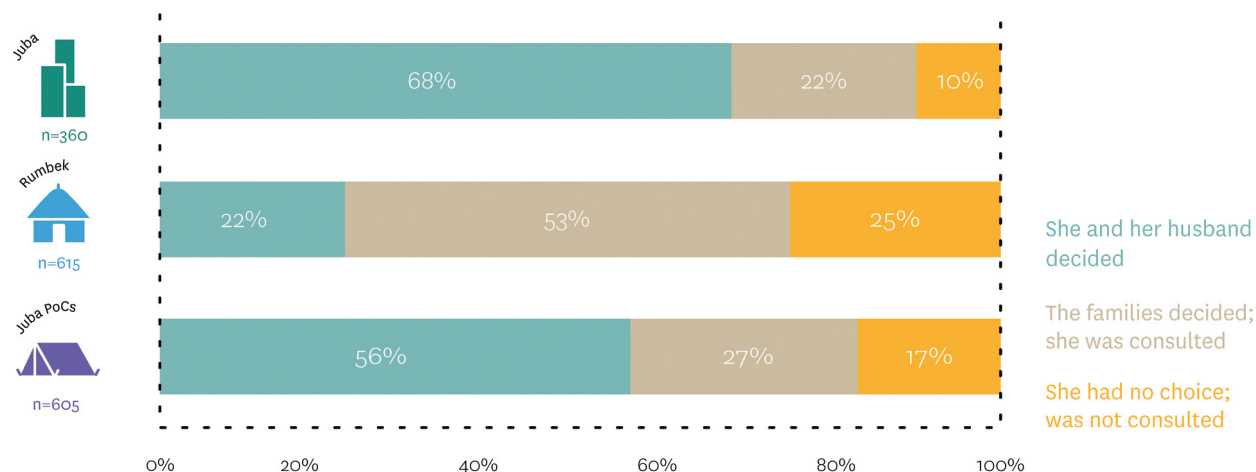
	Juba 	Rumbek 	Juba PoCs 
Age at first marriage	n=360(%)	n=615(%)	n=604(%)
Median age	18	16	16
Younger than 15	7	7	10
15 - 19	64	78	76
20 - 29	26	15	14
30 or older	3	<1	<1

Figure 6: Details of marriage choice (by site)



Percentage of ever married female respondents and their level of choice in the decision to be married.

‘Girls are also forced to marry a rich man against their will and consent. If the girl refuses, the parents will threaten to harm or kill because they want to get cows from the rich man that they have chosen.’ – Young man in Rumbek

Up to a quarter of female respondents (from 10% in Juba to 25% in Rumbek) reported that they had no choice or input at all into the decision to get married, meeting the study’s definition of a ‘forced marriage’. For a considerable percentage of respondents in all three sites (from 22% in Juba City to 53% in Rumbek), the marriage

decision was made by the couples’ families, although the girls were consulted about the marriage (Figure 6). This was particularly common in Rumbek, where over half of the respondents reported that their families chose their husbands. In Juba City and the Juba PoCs, a majority of respondents reported that it was primarily the decision of the respondent and her future husband to get married. This finding corresponds with widespread agreement with general inequitable attitudes in Rumbek, where a majority of male and female respondents agreed with all or almost all of the inequitable statements read to respondents (e.g. 93% of women and 88% of men agreed that ‘it is natural that men should be the head of the family’).



Renaud Philippe/CARE

‘None of us are happy about this:’

A story of abduction

Naomi is a 45-year-old woman from a village outside of Rumbek. She has eight children and her daughter Achol was abducted from her home by a group of armed men.

In January 2016, my girl was in school. When she got her first period at 14, a man came and wanted to marry her. We told him ‘No, she is too young. She should be at least 15. She is not mature.’ Then we went home to Rumbek East, and those men came back. They said we should sit and talk, and I said, ‘It is too late. Come back tomorrow in the morning.’ They left, and we went to sleep.

Then they came back that night and shook the door. We replied that we would not open. It was 21 men with guns, and they started to shoot. The neighbours came to rescue us, and they made them sit down and pointed their guns at them. My husband was there, but he is very old and could do nothing. Then they broke down the door. I turned on the torch and saw that it was the same man from before, so I hid my daughter under the bed and I sat on it. They asked for the girl and I said she was not there. Then they went to the four tukuls [in the compound] to look for the girl and broke all the doors down. When they didn’t find her, they came back to where I was and six men came into the room. They grabbed me and looked with the torch, and saw her under the bed and dragged her out.

They beat us and threw us outside and started shooting again and then they took my daughter. They spent two days with her. We were looking for her everywhere, and then we found her in the bush. So the man slept with her and damaged her. So that day I called the hotline, and we came here.

None of us are happy about this. I was very annoyed because they did not come officially. If a different man came, we would accept him, but we will not accept this man. Now she is being married to a man who knows what happened. We do not even know if there will be a bride price...

The man was not arrested. The police went to find him, but he refused to come and he had a gun, so the police came back without him. They left him alone, and nothing will happen to him...Our laws are not strong enough to protect people. People fight and nothing happens. This should have gone to court but nothing happened.

For the women who did not choose their husbands, the qualitative findings indicate that the wealth of the prospective husband, and consequently the amount of bride price he would be able to pay, is the primary consideration for marriage.

‘In most communities, girls are forced to get married at an early age simply because their parents want to get dowry...’ – Woman in Juba City

‘A lady of 17/18 years is forced to get married out of her interest because the man who wants to marry her is rich.’ – Woman in Juba County

Girls described in qualitative interviews that the only options to influence decisions on her marriage are to either elope or to become pregnant—two practices that come with many drawbacks. First, descriptions of elopement were often conflated with abduction (where a girl may be forced to marry her abductor). Girls may be blamed for ‘eloping’ even if they had no choice in the matter. Alternatively, girls who become pregnant out of

wedlock are often forced to marry the men who got them pregnant, which in cases where the sex was consensual, may allow the girl to marry a partner of her own choosing. However, unwed pregnancy carries great stigma in the community, and girls may face physical and psychological punishment from their parents if it occurs.

‘In most cases that the boyfriends elope or kidnap the girls, it is commonly due to their intention to marry. The parents don’t take it seriously because they need dowries from such people that elope with their daughters.’ – Male key informant Juba County

‘During this period girls elope. This happens when a girl decides to be impregnated by a man that she loves. She is taken away by force from that man and tortured and given away to a stranger against her will. The reason her parents act that way is either they don’t like the man or want to teach the girl a lesson that she will probably never forget.’ – Female key informant in Rumbek



Peter Biro/IRC

‘I am too young to marry you:’

A story of forced marriage

Below is an excerpt from an interview in Rumbek with ‘Rachel’ and her daughter ‘Helena’, who is about 13-years-old [Rachel is not sure of the age.] Helena was abducted by an uncle at gunpoint and sold to an older man so that the uncle could pay his own wife’s bride price.

Rachel: When I was young, this man came to my house, and it was settled. He did not spend time getting to know us, I was just given to him. I did not quarrel. No cattle were given for me until my first child was born, and then he gave four cows to my brother. Most of my relatives, including my father, were killed in the fighting [Civil War].

...Married life was difficult. I had four children – all girls. If God had given me a boy, my life would not be like this. My husband was always off with a gun. He mistreated me a lot. Last year, he died in the hospital from an illness. Our few goats and cows were taken by my husband’s brother. That is common for widows – they come and take everything unless you have a son...

...My first born, Sunday, was given to a man by my brother for five cows. I was in Juba visiting my husband when she was taken away. I was very annoyed, because my daughter was in school, and I was expecting that she would help me later. This was not my plan. My brother did not think about my life; he just took the cows and gave them to his in-laws... I was also planning to send Helena to school, and then the same thing happened. My husband’s relatives came and said, ‘Now we want the girl to live with us.’ I tried to reason with them, but then they threatened me with a gun and stole her. She was given to a man in Rumbek East for 15 cows. He was not a good man... She was gone for one month...

Helena: I was in P3 [primary school – third level] before I was removed from school. I like maths and to skip rope and play volleyball. With my friends, I like to tell stories, make up ideas...just be together. I am the only one [among my friends] to have this problem... My uncle took me and beat me, so that I would accept the marriage. He told the man to beat me every day so I wouldn’t escape.

So, the man decided to beat me and said, ‘Do you know why your relatives took my cows? So that you would stay here.’ I said, ‘I am too young to marry you; I can’t do anything,’ so he hit me in the head with a stick, and I collapsed. Then he removed my underwear and started to sleep with me. He held a knife to my eyes and told me that he would slaughter me. I escaped and ran back to my mother. There were injuries to my insides—it was very painful. I thought that my intestines would come out. I did not know what was happening.

Rachel: When she arrived home, she couldn’t even walk. I took her to the police, and they filled out a Form 8 [a police report for GBV cases] and took her to the hospital. After two weeks, they sent us to the [IRC] GBV Clinic. {The nurse} tested her. They gave us soda and biscuits. They gave us underwear, slippers, seeds, a hoe and a rake. The man was arrested and is in prison now. The husband’s brother is also in jail... They will both be set free. The uncle will pay back the cows, and the husband will pay a fine of one to two cows for mistreating the girl, but the uncle will receive the cows.



The consequences of child and forced marriage are particularly severe. Girls who are married are typically forced to drop out of school before completion. They may also experience early pregnancy before their bodies have matured enough to safely give birth. In addition, many research participants spoke of the severe psychological distress that could accompany the experience of girls who were forced into an unwanted partnership. At its most extreme, girls may see suicide, a sign of the severe lack of power and options girls face in these circumstances, as their only recourse when forced to marry.

‘Girls are forced to marry men without any choice. The girls are given to the rich in exchange for wealth. This makes most girls and women to commit suicide. It is common here in Rumbek.’ – Young man in Rumbek

‘The forced girl will develop bad thoughts. She might even think of killing either herself or the husband.’ – Woman in Juba County

Increasing levels of poverty affect the practice of child and forced marriage, particularly in relation to the 2013 Crisis and inter-communal violence. Participants in qualitative data collection reported that families are increasingly marrying their daughters at young ages as a means of survival due to dire economic conditions. While poverty was seen as a driver of child marriage in all study contexts, residents of Juba PoC sites spoke in

the strongest terms about the necessity of marriage to ensure the survival of the family as a result of the 2013 Crisis and the resulting displacement.

‘Some parents give away their daughters in marriage as a way of survival here in the camp.’ – Youth in Juba PoC sites

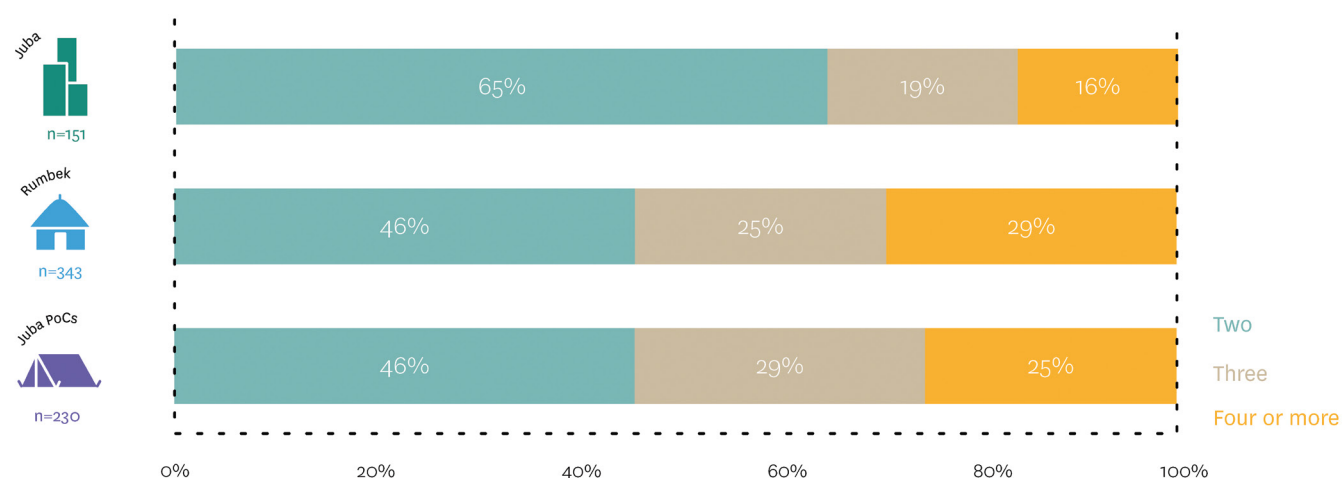
‘Since the crisis broke out in Juba and spread to other states, many people lost their properties and now they force their daughters to get married so as to get wealth.’ – Man in Juba PoC site

However, data from the quantitative study showed that, conflict might, in some cases, be a protective factor for early marriage. Only 18% of women in the PoCs (aged 15-19) reported to have ever been married compared to a quarter or more of female respondents in Juba (25%) and Rumbek (27%). The poverty and lack of resources of PoC residents mean that men of marriageable age may not have enough cows to pay the bride price for marriage. This may delay marriages in some cases and could be affecting the prevalence of early marriage in PoC sites.

Polygamy

Polygamyⁿ is another patriarchal practice that reinforces women’s subordinate status in South Sudan as well as being closely tied to other forms of violence. Polygamy

Figure 7: Total number of wives reported by respondents in polygamous relationships (by site)



Percentage of ever married female respondents and the number of co-wives that are in their marriage.

ⁿIn this report, we use the term ‘polygamy’, rather than ‘polygyny’, as this was how key informants and community members termed the practice of a man having many multiple wives.

Fighting may also occur around the polygamist family because women may jealously think that you care most about the other woman compared to her.

– Young man in Juba City

is common also across all three sites—in Rumbek over half of ever-married women (56%) reported that their husbands had multiple wives. Of women in polygamous relationships, most had only one other co-wife.

According to the qualitative research, men are the primary decision makers when it comes to deciding to marry additional wives. A husband might not even inform his wife that he has taken additional wives, much less consult her when doing so.

‘Sometimes women don’t know that their husbands get married unless they hear from a brother-in-law or friend. [The man] might go and work in another town and decide to marry another wife there. That is what happened to me.’ – Woman in Juba PoC site

Polygamy also contributes to increased tensions within the household. Although some women described an idealised relationship between co-wives, where the first wife might act as a sister or mother to the younger wives, most women considered the practice of polygamy to be a form of violence. Suspicion and distrust between husband and wives and between co-wives can lead to violent episodes, particularly when coupled with poverty and limited resources in large households.

‘He will be busy with the new [wife] and will forget about the old one. If she comes to ask for money for the children, it will cause fighting with the new wife and the husband.’
– Woman in Bentiu PoC site

Both men and women acknowledged that tensions related to polygamy are particularly acute during experiences of displacement, such as in the PoC sites. Whereas in their home communities, co-wives typically live in separate quarters within a family compound with a certain amount of independence and privacy, in the PoC sites, co-wives

and their children live with their husband in the same tent and conflicts over the distribution of water, food and other resources are particularly intense. Women living in the PoCs reported having to be in the same bed and turn their face to the wall while their husbands had sex with one of their co-wives.

Wife Inheritance

Women who are widowed generally have no agency to make decisions regarding their own future. Wife inheritance refers to the practice whereby after the death of a husband, a woman is forced to marry his brother or another male relative. In times of conflict, increased killing of men during armed conflict may affect rates of wife inheritance. As more men are killed, more women may be ‘inherited’ by their relatives. In this study, while only a small proportion of respondents reported being widowed and re-married (n=83), of these cases, a majority (63%) of respondents were re-married to the brothers or other male relatives of their original husband.

The practice of wife inheritance may also contribute to psychological and physical abuse. Women who are inherited by their husbands’ brothers may not be treated well by the new husbands’ families. The passing of a woman on to her brother-in-law without her agreement or consent also re-enforces discriminatory gender norms that promote a view of women as property. In addition, any children borne of this new union are considered children of the dead husband and often not provided for with the same care by the new husband.³⁰

‘In our custom, the widow is taken by the next kin brother of her husband as a wife to take care of the children. If the brother of her husband happens to have more wives then the widow will not be treated well by those wives.’ – Male key informant in Rumbek

If a woman commits adultery, she is arrested, but if it is a man, he is charged seven cows...

– Female key informant in Rumbek

‘The women are inheritable when husbands pass away. The next of kin or brother of her husband takes her to be a wife without her consent. This affects most women psychologically and gives them mental illness. She may be tortured by the next of kin or her husband’s brother.’ – Young man in Rumbek

Compounding these issues of a woman’s agency after the death of her husband are customary practices of land inheritance. While according to the 2011 Transitional Constitution, women have equal property rights to men, in practice, women do not stand to inherit their husbands’ properties after their deaths. Instead, the land is returned to the husband’s family and the woman is dependent on them for her survival.³⁰

Whereas wife inheritance is a widespread practice, the less common practice of having a ‘ghost wife’ (or a levirate marriage) also occurs. A ghost wife is a wife bought by the family for a man who died before he was able to marry. She is kept by a brother of the dead man, but is referred to as the deceased husband’s wife. Typically, and as also noted in previous research in South Sudan, these ghost wives are not treated as ‘real’ wives of their new husbands (the deceased brothers), and any children produced from the union are not considered children of the biological father, but rather of the deceased man.³¹ As such, they are not given the same level of financial and social support as the other wives.

‘It’s usual that when your husband dies, your deceased husband’s brother will marry you, but here, even if the older brother dies when he is very young, even a child, then the younger brother will take a wife for his dead brother. In this way, you will always be the wife of the first person who died. They don’t see them as the real wife, the real family, the real children. This means they never care for their wife or children properly. There is no support for them.’ – Female key informant Rumbek

Adultery

Accusations of adultery can have a severe impact on a woman’s life. The concept of adultery in South Sudan is typically used to extend male control of women’s bodies and generally refers to any perceived extra-marital relationship that a woman might have with another man. While men are permitted to take multiple wives, women do not have the same freedom to choose multiple partners. Even when a woman has no choice in the matter and is raped by someone who is not her husband, it may be viewed as adultery by the community. In addition, acts of adultery (consensual or not) may lead to further violence in the community or household because the husband or relatives of the woman may attack the adulterer.

‘In case the husband heard [about the rape] and asked the wife, she will totally refuse to tell the husband because he might claim the rapist knew her and it was an agreement. Then he will divorce the wife.’

– Woman in Juba County

‘The wife may commit adultery with another man. The husband may attack the man who commits adultery with his wife.’

– Man in Juba

It is commonly perceived that when a woman is accused of adultery, the punishment is usually imprisonment, while men who commit adultery are only fined (either monetarily or with cattle).³² As women typically are not allowed to own property or major assets such as cattle, they have little recourse other than to accept the judgement of the male-dominated customary legal system.

‘The man is entitled to get a second wife, but the wife is not entitled to getting a second husband. This is considered adultery, and she will be charged accordingly. In Juba prison, there are many women in jail for adultery.’

– Female informant in Juba



Christine Ochieng/IRC

In South Sudan, issues of adultery can continue to affect women even after the death of their husbands. In this context, a woman is considered to have committed adultery even if her husband has died or abandoned her. This is closely related to traditions of wife inheritance discussed above, where women are forced to marry a sibling of her dead husband. Although women typically do

not inherit property from their husbands, their children are seen as assets, and the goal is to keep them within the family of the former husband.³⁰

‘Adultery is most common. This is mostly done by women whose husbands are in the war or dead.’ – Men in Juba PoC site

How was ‘intimate partner violence’ defined during the study?

Researchers asked women if a current or former partner had ever done any of the following acts of physical violence:

- Slapped her or thrown something that could hurt her
- Choked her or burnt her on purpose
- Pushed or shoved her or pulled her hair
- Kicked or dragged her
- Threatened her with or used a gun, knife or weapon against her

For sexual IPV, she was asked if she ever experience any of the following with a current or former partner:

- Was forced to have sex when she did not want to
- Ever had sex because she was afraid of what her husband/partner might do
- Been forced to do something sexual that she did not want to do or found humiliating or degrading

The acts of violence asked about to determine experiences of psychological and economic violence can be found in table 14.

Intimate Partner Violence

For women in South Sudan, violence does not stop once a girl is married and the bride price has been paid. Married women face continued violence, particularly in their own homes perpetrated by their husbands and other male relatives. Intimate partner violence encompasses numerous types of violence, including physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence perpetrated by a husband, boyfriend or other intimate partner.

‘Domestic violence happens every day and night. It is part of life.’ – Female key informant in Rumbek

In South Sudan, where culturally the concept of dating is not generally permissible, acts of IPV take place primarily in the relationship between husbands and wives. For these women, physical violence, perpetrated by an

intimate partner, is the most common form of violence they experience. The pervasiveness of physical IPV was acknowledged by almost all participants no matter their location or sex.⁹

‘Our people are really suffering. Intimate partner violence is the highest issue.’ – Female key informant in Bentiu PoC site

The prevalence of IPV in this study is among the highest reported in both the region and the world.^{23,37} In the household survey, almost three-quarters of women and girls in Rumbek reported that they had experienced physical or sexual violence from their partners over the courses of their lifetimes. While not as high as Rumbek, over half of respondents from Juba City and the Juba PoCs also experienced physical or sexual violence from their partners.

‘It is common in our custom to beat a woman when she has made a mistake— not to the extent of killing her completely, but to discipline her.’

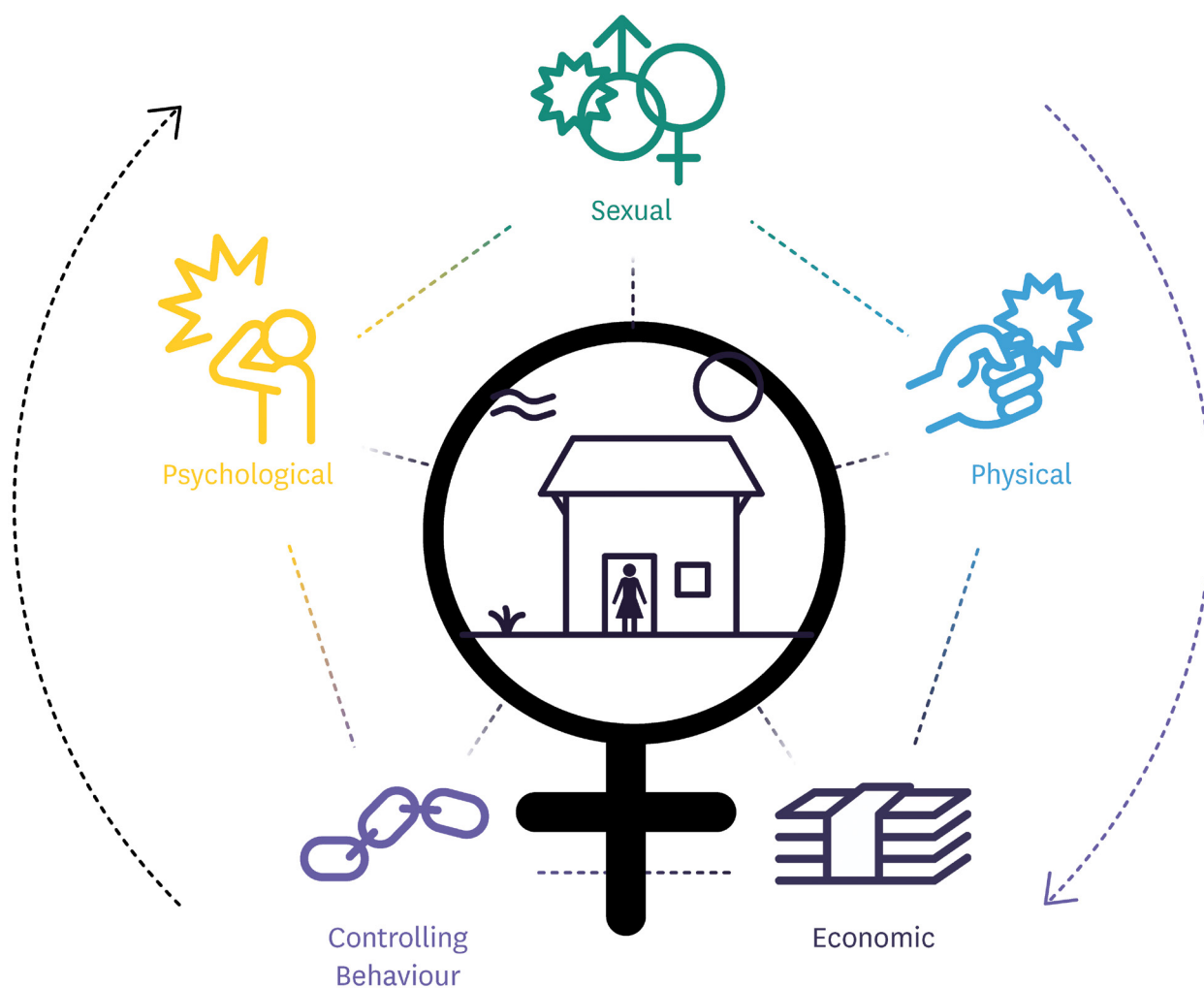
– Male chief in Rumbek

Table 11: Intimate partner violence reported by women and girls (by site and type)

	JUBA n = 458 (%)	RUMBEK n = 679 (%)	JUBA PoCs n = 727 (%)
Physical or sexual IPV - ever experienced	60	73	54
Physical IPV - ever	42	67	44
Sexual IPV - ever	45	50	44
Economic IPV - ever	35	54	31
Psychological IPV - ever	48	68	43

⁹Participants in the qualitative research use the term ‘domestic violence’ to refer to multiple types of intimate partner violence including: physical, psychological and economic violence perpetrated by a partner or to refer to ‘fights’ among partners.

Figure 8: Different forms of intimate partner violence



IPV rates in the past 12 months were calculated only for the proportion of women who had seen their partner during the past 12 months. The on-going conflict and the economic crisis facing South Sudan had a considerable effect on the household composition of the study population, and a large percentage of currently partnered women had not seen their current partner in a year or

more and, therefore, had not experienced IPV during this period. For women who had seen their husband/partner in the past months, IPV rates were very high (see Table 12) – approaching the levels of lifetime experience of violence. This analysis shows that once violence occurs, it generally continues for as long as the woman and her husband/partner remain together.

Table 12: Intimate partner violence reported by women and girls in the past 12 months (by site and type)

	JUBA n = 242 (%)	RUMBEK n = 363 (%)	JUBA PoCs n = 406 (%)
Physical or sexual - past 12 months	43	63	47
Physical IPV - past 12 months	27	57	33
Sexual IPV - past 12 months	30	42	38

Physical IPV

Lifetime prevalence of physical IPV was high in all of the sites: 42% in Juba City; 44% in Juba PoCs; and 67% in Rumbek. When comparing self-reports of male perpetration to women's experiences of violence, rates of violence differed in Rumbek, where considerably more

women reported experiencing violence (67%) than men perpetrating it (49%). However, men in Juba City reported perpetrating IPV at the same rates that women reported experiencing this violence (42%).

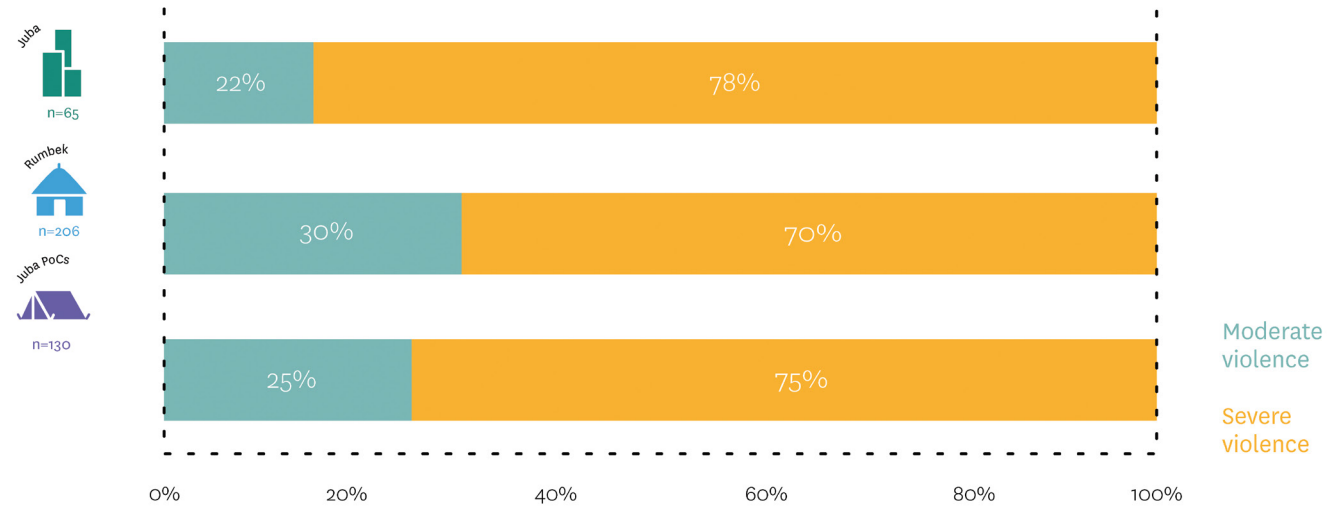


Dan Alder/CARE

Not only is physical IPV extremely common throughout the study sites in South Sudan, but it is also notable for its brutality and frequency. Almost three-quarters of women who reported IPV experienced the most severe forms of

violence (defined as being hit, kicked or dragged, choked or burnt, or threatened with a knife or gun) compared to moderate violence (defined as slapped or something thrown at, pushed or shoved).

Figure 9: Severity of lifetime IPV among women who experienced violence (by site)



Percentage of female respondents experiencing IPV and the severity of this violence.

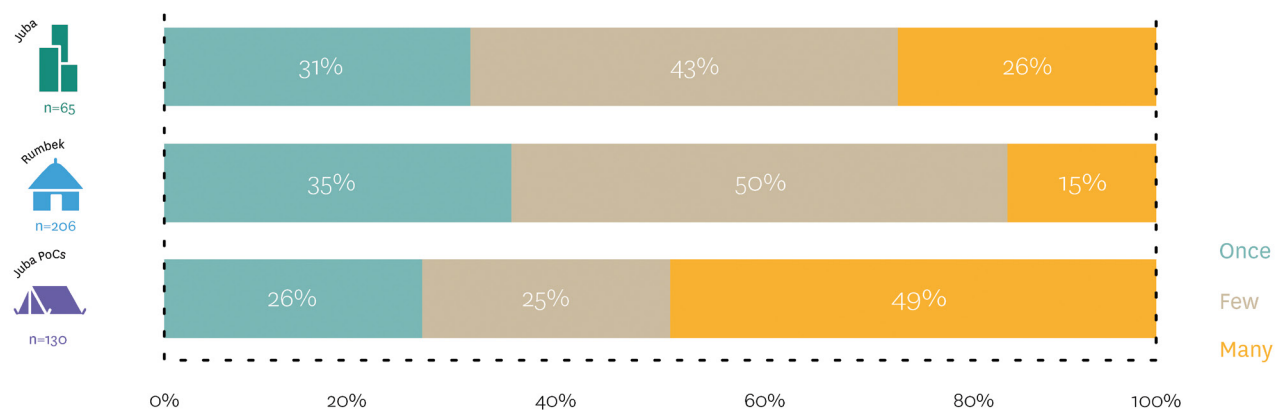
In addition to the severity of the violence, women in each site experienced frequent acts of violence. This is particularly true for women residing in the Juba

PoC sites, where almost 50% of respondents reported experiencing physical violence many times in the past 12 months.

[Women] are beaten by their husbands at all times.

– Man in Juba PoC site

Figure 10: Frequency of acts of physical IPV in the past 12 months (by site)



Percentage of female respondents experiencing physical IPV and the frequency of this violence in the past 12 months.

Sexual IPV

Sexual violence by a partner was not as commonly discussed during qualitative interviews, but was also found to be very common in the survey results. Lifetime prevalence of sexual IPV ranged from 44% in the Juba PoCs to 50% in Rumbek. In qualitative interviews, women discussed how marital rape is a ‘normal’ practice that happens in a marriage, and in many cases, respondents did not conceptualise sexual violence within the confines of marriage as a type of violence.

‘Rape is normal for a married woman because she is used to the situation.’ – Women in Juba County

‘Traditionally, it is the man’s right to have sex with his wife. These cases are not reported.’ – Male and female key informant focus group in Rumbek

When comparing reports of male perpetration to women’s experiences of violence, rates of violence differ, particularly with regard to sexual violence. In general, women and men gave similar reports of sexual violence in Juba City (Female: 45%; Male: 41%). However, as with physical violence, men in Rumbek more often minimised the violence occurring within their relationships with only 17% of men reported perpetrating sexual violence, while 50% of women reported that they had experienced it.

Rates of sexual IPV were high across all three survey sites. In particular, almost 40% of ever-partnered women in

each location reported that they were physically forced by their intimate partner to have sex when they did not want to.

Women in the Juba PoCs most often reported experiencing incidents of sexual IPV multiple times during the past year, while 75% to 89% of respondents in Juba City and Rumbek experienced sexual violence only once or a few times during this period.

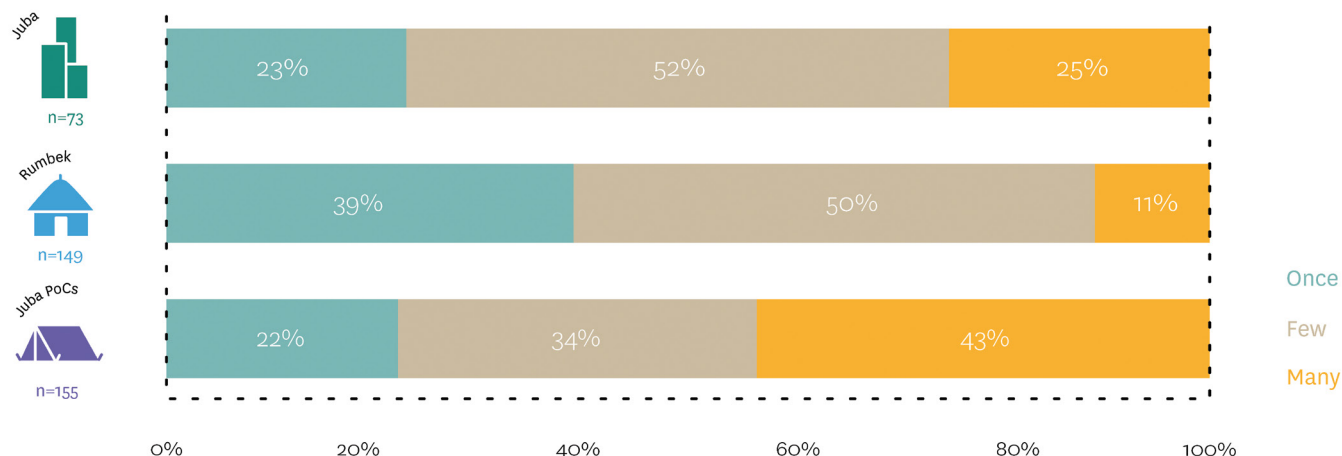


Josh Estey/CARE

Table 13: Acts of sexual violence by an intimate partner reported by female respondents (by site)

	JUBA n = 458 (%)	RUMBEK n = 679 (%)	JUBA PoCs n = 727 (%)
Physically forced to have sex when did not want to	39	36	39
Had sex because she was afraid of what husband/partner might do	30	41	30
Forced to do something sexual she did not want to do or found humiliating/degrading	15	22	15

Figure 11: Frequency of acts of sexual IPV in the past 12 months (by site)



Percentage of female respondents experiencing sexual IPV and the frequency of this violence in the past 12 months.

Context of Physical and Sexual IPV

‘The women are really oppressed by their husbands. They don’t have rights, or they just remain voiceless depending on their husbands’ decisions’ – Male key informant in Rumbek

Within the households, men were found to control almost all aspects of their wives’ lives. Traditionally, men are viewed as the head of the household; 80% of both male and female respondents across all sites agreed with the statement, ‘it is natural that men should be the head of the family and has the right to discipline and control his wife.’¹⁴ During qualitative interviews, women and girls commonly reported having no control over money, being forbidden from working and being insulted and threatened by their partners. These experiences were reflected in the quantitative survey through a series of questions about experiences of economic and psychological violence. As with rates of physical and sexual violence, these were the highest in Rumbek among the three survey sites.

Economic violence included acts such as a husband/partner taking the money a woman earned, prohibiting her from earning money and refusing to give her money for the household, even when he has it. Women in South Sudan commonly are not allowed to work at all (up to a quarter of all women in three survey sites) or have the money that they make taken by their husband/partner (from 20% of women in Juba to 37% in Rumbek). Men also sometimes refuse to give their wives money to support the running of the household (from 21% in Juba to 44% in Rumbek), and men were more likely than women to disagree with the statement ‘a woman should be able to spend her own money according to her own will’.

‘Men deny their women to own resources or even to sell in the markets, making the women more dependent on men’ – Man in Juba PoCs

Some women are economically violated in the sense that men don’t allow them to work, and yet men too don’t provide them with the basic things they need.

– Male key informant Juba County

Table 14: Lifetime experience of economic and psychological IPV among ever-partnered women (by location and act)

	JUBA n = 458 (%)	RUMBEK n = 679 (%)	JUBA PoCs n = 727 (%)
Economic Violence (husband/partner):			
Takes her money without asking	20	37	22
Prohibits her from earning money	9	26	16
Refuses to give her money when the family needs it, even when he has it	21	44	22
Psychological Violence (husband/partner):			
Insults her	37	56	35
Humiliates her	19	30	22
Scares/intimidates her	19	39	19
Threatens to hurt her or someone she cares about	30	46	22

Women also experienced considerable rates of psychological violence in all three sites. This was particularly true for women in Rumbek, where approximately half of women reported that their husband/partner had insulted her or threatened to hurt her or someone she cares about.

Gender norms that consolidate all household power with the husband also may contribute to domestic tensions that can trigger incidents of physical violence. A majority of male respondents in Rumbek (77%), and female respondents in all three sites (from 73% in Juba City to 93% in Rumbek), agreed that violence was justified in at least one circumstance (e.g. if a woman goes out without telling her husband, neglects the children, argues with her husband or refuses to have sex).

Participants also commonly perceived poverty, and consequently frustration about the lack of available resources, as the primary trigger for incidents of physical violence, yet men and women also often viewed the way in which poverty influenced physical abuse differently. Men believed that increased physical violence was closely related to increased ‘stress’ due to poverty. They commonly blamed violence on women who were ‘not responsible’ and not appropriately managing the limited

household resources or who would instigate ‘quarrels’ when men could not provide for the household. Women, on the other hand, viewed violence as a consequence of men’s mistaken priorities, such as having more wives than he could manage, spending money on alcohol instead of food, or expecting her to have prepared food when he did not leave her money to buy supplies.

‘When a man works in a low-paid job, he can’t manage to satisfy the family with all the basic needs. The woman doesn’t consider this, and she may disturb the man every day for money. He will become annoyed and begin to fight with the wife because of poverty.’ – Young men in Juba

‘There are always fights in the house if the husband cannot fulfil the needs at home. For instance, when a woman tries to make some demands, the husband will start beating, which is a very big violence against the woman...’ – Women in Juba

Alcohol abuse, particularly in impoverished communities where men lack employment opportunities and spend

their days idle, appears to be a common issue in many contexts, especially in and around Juba. Bars and easily accessible alcohol were noted to be common in residential areas in many of the study contexts. Men and women both felt that this prevalence of alcohol was a key driver of incidents of physical violence within households, noting that men would come home drunk and beat their wives.

‘Here in the camp, some men always beat their wives when they are drunk...this is common in both periods of peace and conflict.’ – Youth in Juba PoC site^P

Men commonly considered the act, or perceived act, of adultery^Q as a key driver of physical violence. They view women who spend a night outside of their married home or seek employment with suspicion, fearing an incident of adultery occurred. Consequently, to control women and prevent this, men often do not even allow their wives to leave the house without permission or to seek outside employment. Even when women are allowed to work,

men typically control their salaries. When women try to break free from these controlling behaviours and disobey their husbands, they are punished with further physical or psychological abuse, continuing the cycle of violence within the household.

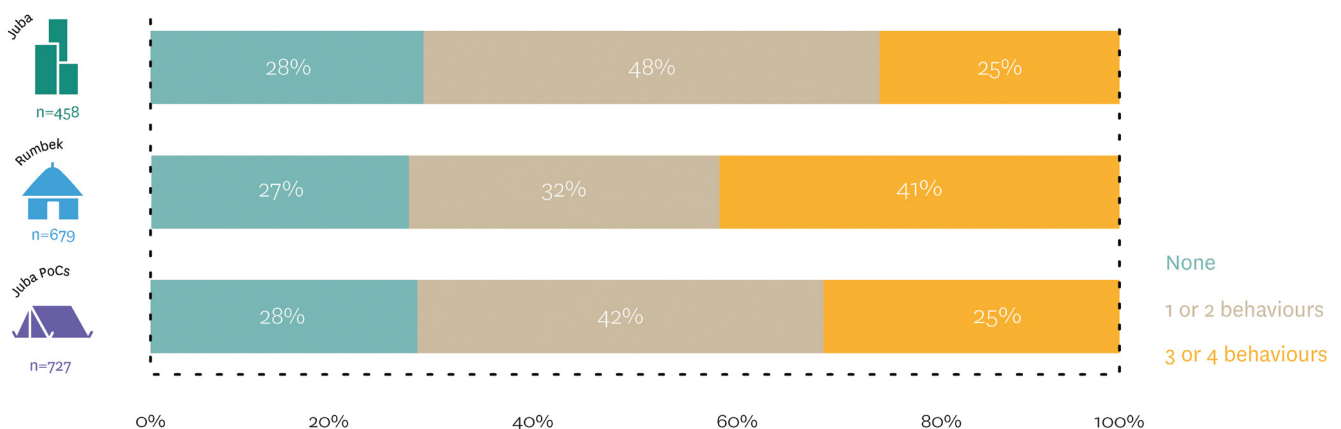
‘Women are not allowed to move out of homes; if women do so, they are punished by their husband either by beating or chase her to their family.’ – Young men in Rumbek

High levels of male control over all aspects of their wives’ lives was also found in the household survey. Women were asked if their husbands exerted control over daily activities, such as not allowing her to visit her family or insisting on knowing always where she is. Women and girls across all three survey sites reported a high degree of control by their partners over daily activities. Of ever-partnered women, only about a quarter of respondents in each site had not experienced any controlling behaviours from their husband or partner.

Women suffer physical violence from their husbands, such as being beaten when the husband is drunk.

– Female key informant Juba

Figure 12: Number of controlling behaviours experienced by ever-partnered women (by site)



Percentage of ever-partnered female respondents by their experience of controlling behaviours from their partner

^PSex of respondent not noted.

^QThe concept of adultery in South Sudan is defined as any extra-marital relationship, though it generally refers to the perceived acts of women, and can even be used to describe circumstances in which the husband of a woman has died.

Women in Rumbek experienced the most control; over 40% of respondents experienced three to four of these behaviours. Respondents from Juba City were least likely

to report experiencing multiple controlling behaviours; approximately 50% of respondents reported experiencing one or two of these behaviours.

Table 15: Experience of controlling behaviours (by site)

	JUBA n = 458 (%)	RUMBEK n = 679 (%)	JUBA PoCs n = 727 (%)
Husband/partner...			
Tries to limit contact with family	18	32	31
Insists on knowing where you are at all times	55	60	51
Gets jealous or angry if you talk to another man	48	56	58
Frequently accuses you of being unfaithful	31	44	31

Intimate Partner Violence and Conflict

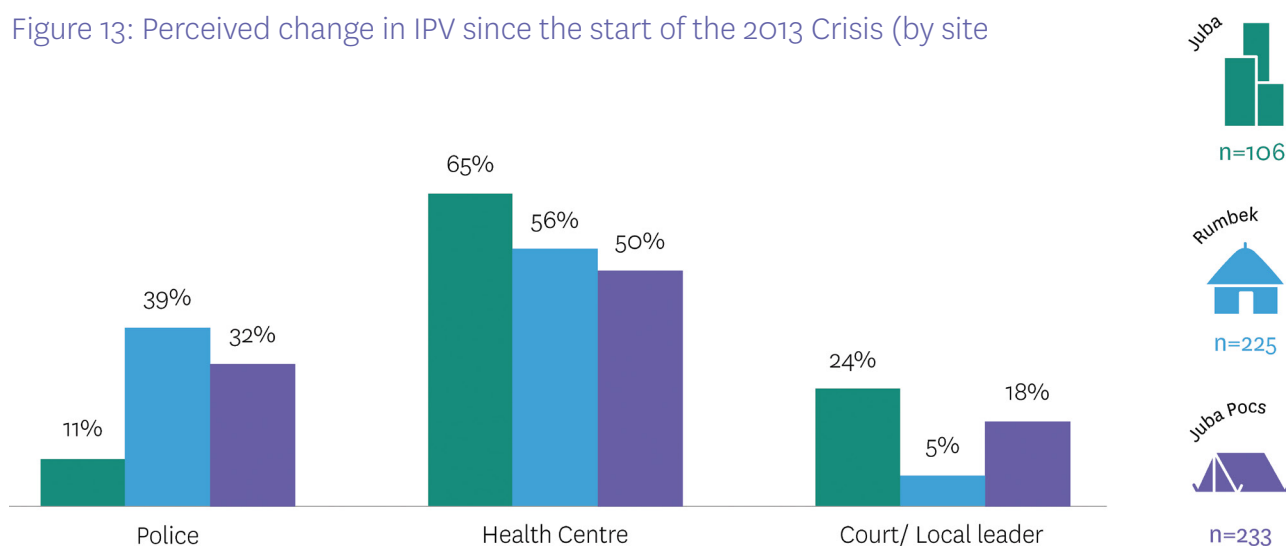
While IPV is common in South Sudan both during times of conflict and times of relative stability, many drivers of VAWG are worsened due to on-going conflict in the country, exacerbating women's experiences of violence. Respondents who were experiencing IPV at the time of the start of the 2013 Crisis were asked if these experiences

had increased, decreased or stayed the same since the start of the crisis. The results show a mixed picture of the influence of the most recent conflict on perceived experiences of violence, as a majority of respondents across all three sites reported that these experiences had increased or stayed the same since the start of the crisis.



Peter Biro/IRC

Figure 13: Perceived change in IPV since the start of the 2013 Crisis (by site)



Percentage of female respondents experiencing IPV and their perceived change in IPV since the start of the 2013 Crisis

During qualitative interviews and FGDs, respondents spoke about how the normalisation of violence, breakdown of rule of law, displacement and increasing poverty due to the conflict were affecting experiences of IPV. In particular, they emphasised how the brutality of IPV had increased since the start of the 2013 Crisis. Rising rates of poverty are key concerns for residents of South Sudan in each of the study areas. These may exacerbate the household stresses that were noted above as drivers of incidents of IPV and may lead to increases in IPV, particularly physical violence.

‘Before the crisis, we were fighting. Now they are removing our eyes; they are kicking us in the stomach.’ – Woman in Bentiu PoC site

‘This violence is more after the crisis than before because people are jobless and don’t have enough food, congestion in the camps, and because many people have lost their properties’. – Youth in a Juba PoC site

‘Until peace comes and my husband can get a job, the problem will not be solved.’ – Woman in Bentiu PoC site

IPV in Juba City

In Juba City, women and girls were both directly and indirectly affected by conflict. While most respondents were not currently displaced, almost half had been

displaced at some point in their lifetime. Comparing these women and girls with those who had never experienced displacement during bivariate analysis, the research team found that respondents who had been displaced had increased odds of experiencing more frequent physical IPV than those who had not been.

The research team also examined the effect of conflict and displacement on ever experiencing physical and/or sexual IPV in a multivariate model. For women and girls in Juba City, experiences of conflict were not found to be associated with increases in lifetime IPV during this modelling.

IPV in Rumbek

In Rumbek, more direct linkages between experiences of conflict and IPV were found. During bivariate analysis, women and girls who had experienced displacement during their lifetimes were found to have greater odds of experiencing physical or sexual IPV, as well as experiencing psychological IPV. In addition, for women experiencing IPV, women who had been displaced had greater odds of experiencing more severe forms of physical violence.

Similarly, women from Rumbek, who reported that their villages or communities had experienced an attack during a time of conflict, had from two to almost four times greater odds of experiencing physical or sexual IPV as well as economic and psychological IPV. These experiences also increased the odds of women

who experienced physical IPV to experience the most severe forms of this violence. Women who reported direct experiences of conflict (injury, disfigurement and/or abduction) had similar increases in violent experiences.

The research team further examined the associations between conflict and displacement and lifetime experiences of IPV through multivariate modelling. For women and girls in Rumbek, during this analysis, displacement remained a significant driver of violence (Adjusted OR: 1.8***; 95% CI:1.2-2.9) after controlling for socio-demographics (age, education, etc.), marital/partner characteristics (polygamy, husband’s education and profession) and experiences of controlling behaviours. Also of importance in this multivariate model, women and girls whose husband/partner was in the military or police had increased odds of experiencing IPV (AOR: 1.8*; 95% CI:1.1-3.2).

IPV at PoC Sites

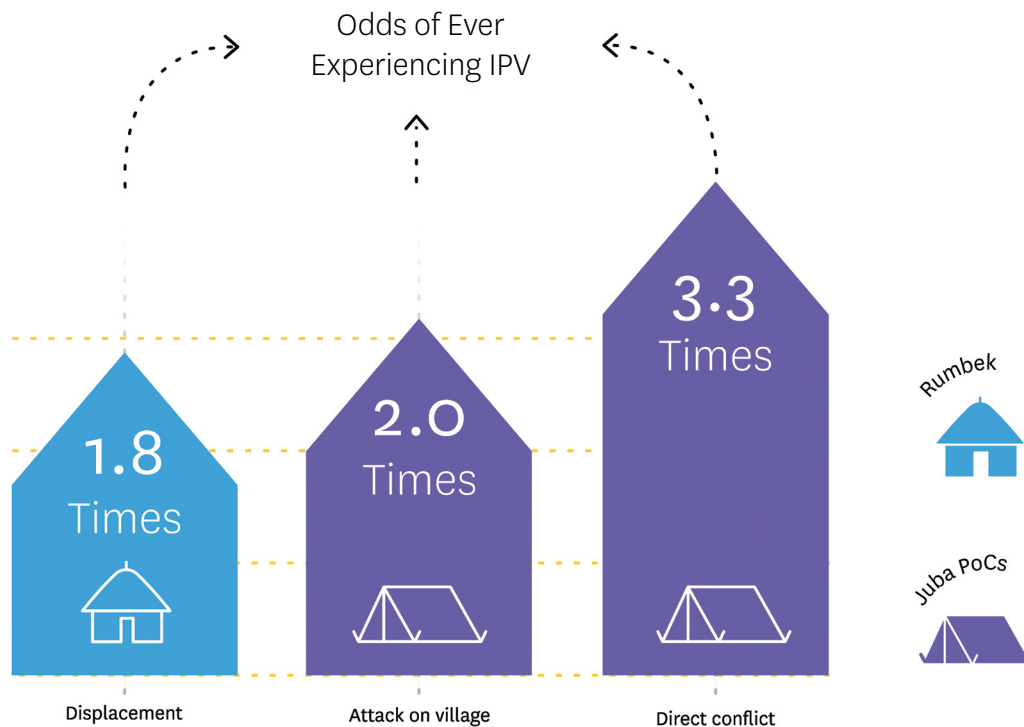
For women in the Juba PoCs, all of whom were currently displaced, the effect of displacement was not examined

through quantitative analysis. However, qualitative data highlighted how the experiences of displacement affected the lives of women and girls in PoC sites. Residents of the PoC sites reported experiencing additional stresses compared to non-displaced populations, such as cramped living conditions, dependence on international aid and lack of assets associated with being displaced from their home communities. These stressors could increase household tensions and, subsequently, rates of IPV.

‘If you quarrel with your husband, no one will know [before the conflict] because it’s a secret of the family. But now, in their situation, they are close to the neighbours, sharing one tent and sleeping together with their daughters. To have sex is problem because women are afraid of being seen by their daughters and neighbours, but if she refuses her husband will beat her.’ – Woman in Juba PoC sites

‘There is misunderstanding between husband and wife because the husband is

Figure 14: Conflict experiences increase the odds of experiencing IPV



Adjusted odds ratios for ever partnered women and their lifetime experience of IPV in Rumbek and the Juba PoCs

For all tables: * p <= .05; ** p <= .01; *** p <= .001



Lucy Beck/CARE

jobless. There are no jobs in the camp, and men don't go anywhere. How can they get money or bring money for supporting their family?' – Woman in Juba PoC sites

Cramped and overcrowded conditions in the sites may also exacerbate humiliating and tense conditions for wives in polygamous households, leading to more household-level violence between co-wives.

'Before the conflict, there was no fighting between co-wives, but now there is a lot of fighting among wives because of the same room sharing.' – Woman in Juba PoC sites

'Sometimes two women share one bed inside the camp with the husband. He can have sex with one wife. Meanwhile, the other one will wait her turn for the next day.' – Woman in Juba PoC sites

'After the crisis, men lost all their properties, and women now don't respect them because of their poor status, which causes violence in the community.' – Youth in Juba PoC site

Male PoC site residents also reported feeling that they are less able to fulfil their gender roles, such as providing for

their family, marrying and owning property. They often perceive these circumstances as causing them to lose respect within their communities, which they associate with incidents of violence.

'There has been an emasculation of men. They don't have jobs; they don't have homes; and they have nowhere to go.' – Female key informant in Juba PoC site

In the quantitative analysis, experiences of conflict did have an association with experiences of violence for PoC residents. Women and girls who had experienced an attack on their villages/communities of residences or another direct experience of conflict had greater odds of experiencing physical or sexual IPV, as well as psychological and economic partner violence. In addition, these experiences also increased the odds of respondents who were experiencing IPV to experience the most severe forms of this violence.

In multivariate analysis, after controlling for socio-demographic factors (age, poverty), marital/partner characteristics (polygamy) and experiences of controlling behaviours, both experiences of attack (AOR: 2.0**; 95%CI: 1.3 – 3.0) and experiences of traumatic events (AOR: 3.3***; 95%CI: 2.1-5.4) increased the odds of experiencing physical or sexual IPV during a woman or girl's lifetime.

'In July 2016, I was attacked in my home'

Below is an excerpt from an interview with Grace, a woman who fled to the Juba PoC site in July 2016.

I was married in 1999. I was forced by my father because of poverty. My family was paid a dowry of cattle and goats. I was my husband's only wife, and we had five children.

We continued to live in our village, but there was a lot of violence around us, even before 2005. There were a lot of tribal problems, especially with the Dinka. My husband and I ran away with our children to Terekeka. We stayed there for a long while, but I don't remember exactly how long.

Things were not better there. Even in Terekeka there were physical violence and attacks against us. In 2013, my husband was killed. Government soldiers, Dinkas, had come to take our cows. My husband refused, and they shot him in front of me and the children. We ran away to Juba.

In Juba, I was living on my own with five children. I made money by cutting and selling grass.

In July 2016, I was attacked in my home. Two government soldiers entered my house. They beat me and raped me. I told this to the community leader where I was living, and he referred to me the PoC. I was treated by IMC; they gave me medicines.

Living in the PoC is better; there is more security here. Outside the PoC, there were always shootings and government soldiers coming to houses regularly. There was lots of violence. They would beat you for no reason. Someone would pick up a stick and start beating you with it for no reason. This happened to a lot of women.

I have six children now. They are 17-, 15-, 10-, 8- and 6-years-old and 3-months-old. The 3-month-old is from my husband's brother. I was given to him after my husband's death. This was agreed by both of our families; I didn't have a choice. He has never stayed at home with me. We have no communication. He joined the [SPLA] IO, and I don't know where he is now. It's better when he isn't with me; this man is an aggressive person.

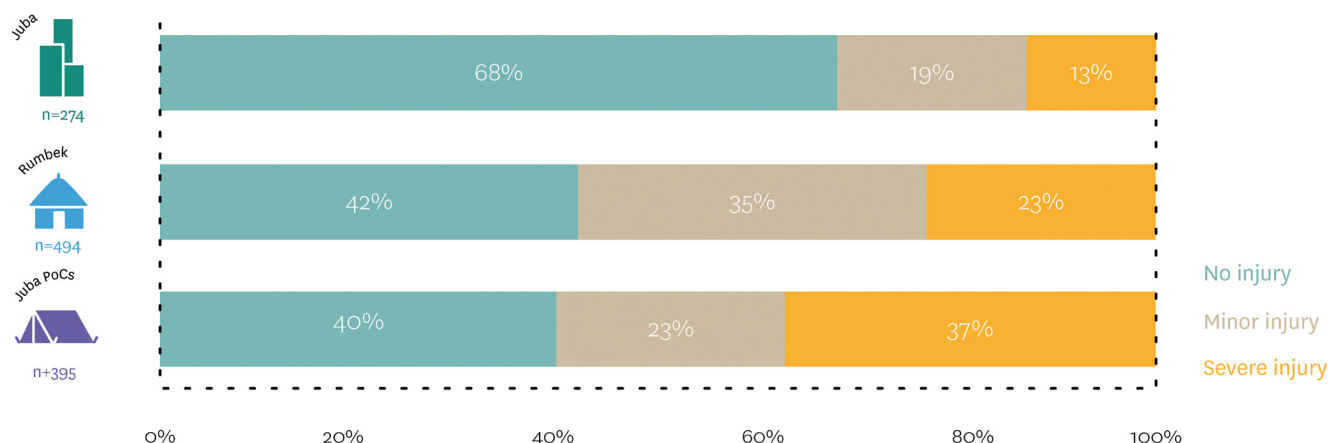
Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence

Physical Injury

Acts of intimate partner violence often lead to physical injury, according to the respondents. This was particularly true for women in Rumbek and the Juba PoCs, where approximately 60% of women who experienced physical or sexual IPV reported experiencing an injury as a result.

Almost 40% of women in the Juba PoCs reported severe injuries (broken bones, teeth, internal injuries, miscarriage, permanent disability or disfigurement) because of the IPV they experienced.

Figure 15: Injury as a result of physical and/or sexual IPV (by site)



Percentage of female respondents experiencing IPV and their experience of injury as a result of violence

If a woman fought back against her partner during IPV, it was reported that this would lead to even more intense violence or divorce.

‘If a woman beats her husband, he can either break her arm, remove her teeth, injure or even kill the wife, They have bad manners. They can even go to marry another wife without notice of the wife and just come with the new wife at home. This incident will cause heart attack to the first wife.’ – Woman from Juba PoC site

Psychological Stress

Incidents of physical IPV were also the source of significant psychological distress among women and girls. According to focus group discussions in all sites, the distress caused

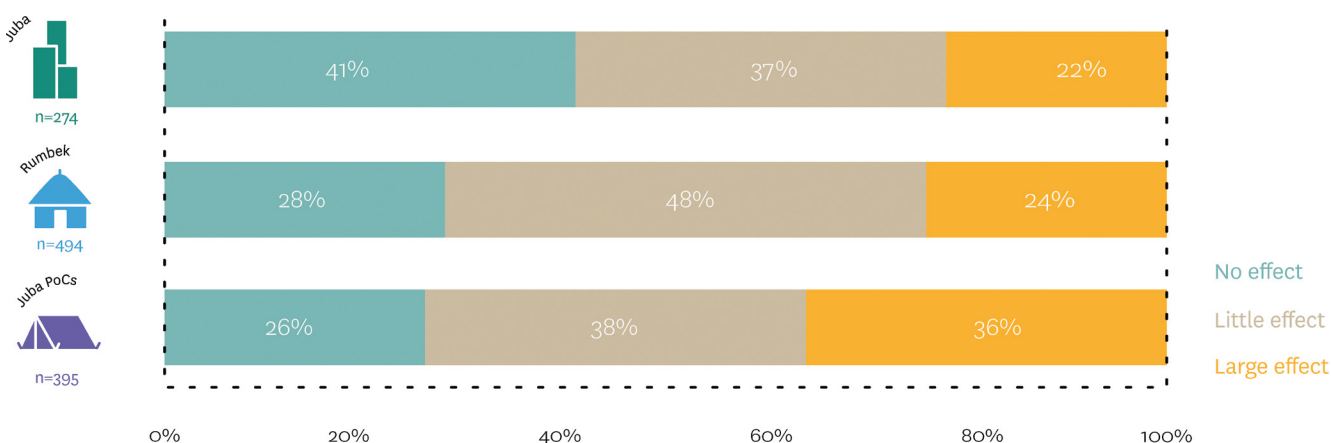
by IPV was so great that some women committed suicide due to the lack of options available to her.

‘Women face this kind of violence on daily basis. Because they face domestic violence, this affects them psychologically.’ – Female Key Informant in Juba

‘It [domestic violence] also results in frustrations, and the victims end up committing suicide.’ – Women in Juba

During the survey, women and girls were asked if the IPV they had experienced had affected their overall wellbeing. A majority of women in all three sites reported that it did affect their wellbeing in some way. For women in the Juba PoCs, 36% reported that the violence had a ‘large effect’ on their wellbeing.

Figure 16: Self-reported effect on wellbeing as a result of IPV (by site)



Percentage of female respondents experiencing IPV and its effect on their well-being.

After the Violence: Services and Support

Key Findings

- Women and girls who experienced non-partner sexual assault more often told family or friends about their experience rather than their husbands or partners (3% – 13%)
- Most respondents did not seek formal services after experiencing non-partner assault (42% in Rumbek; 61% in Juba City; 63% of survivors in the Juba PoCs sought no formal support)
- Women and girls who experienced IPV often told no one about these experiences, particularly in Juba City and the Juba PoCs where more than half of survivors told no one about their experiences
- Similarly, most respondents did not seek formal support when experiencing IPV (47% of survivors in Rumbek; 69% in the Juba PoCs; and 85% in Juba City sought no formal support)

To understand the experiences of women and girls who have survived incidents of violence, the research team asked a series of questions during the quantitative survey and employed participatory techniques during qualitative focus groups. Community participants were provided two stories of women's experiences that could have occurred in South Sudan. The stories discussed were:

Sunday's story[§]

Sunday is 25 years old. She is married and has three children. Sunday and her husband argue often, and he has beaten her several times, sometimes very severely. On a few occasions, her neighbours have overheard, and they know this is happening.

Poni's story

Poni is 14 years old. She is unmarried and has no children. One day, she was walking back from [the market, school, collecting water or other option that makes sense in the community], and an armed man she did not know forced her to have sex with him. This is the first time this has happened to Poni.

Participants then explored to whom survivors would report incidents of violence, and what services they would be able to access for support. The results of these discussions are visualised in Figures 17 and 19.

Non-Partner Assault: Where can Poni Go?

Most cases of non-partner sexual assault go unreported. Around half of all respondents in the quantitative survey

(36% – 52%) reported that they told no one about their experiences of non-partner sexual violence.

For non-partner sexual assault, the shame associated with rape often prevented women from discussing the event with anyone. Community stigma against survivors is high, and multiple qualitative research participants felt the best outcome for a survivor might be to be sent to another state to avoid the judgement of the community.

'It's very difficult for the ladies to say it or air-out the rape cases in the communities.'

– Key informant Juba[†]

For a survivor who does decide to tell someone about the event, she would typically first turn to a relative first for support, generally her mother. Discussing the incident with men in the family is more complicated. Few respondents reported that they would disclose the incident to their husband (3% – 13%). Participants in the qualitative research noted that, in some cases, the mother would inform her husband about the incident. In other cases, informing her father or her husband, if the survivor is married, may lead to further violence against the survivor if the men blame her for the violence (which is often the case).

'[The survivor] will not tell her father because he will say she had an agreement with the rapist and chase her away from home or beat her. She won't tell her brothers for the same reason.' – Young woman in Juba County

[§]The names of the women in the stories were changed based on culturally appropriate names in each context.

[†]Sex not reported

Table 16: Help-seeking behaviour for female survivors of non-partner sexual violence (by site)

	JUBA n = 274 (%)	RUMBEK n = 494 (%)	JUBA PoCs n = 395 (%)
Respondent told:			
No one	51	36	52
Her husband/partner	3	13	10
Other relatives or friends	38	51	23
Local leader/official	3	8	7
Respondent sought help from:			
No formal or informal services	61	42	63
Legal services/police	3	10	2
Health services	1	8	10
Psychosocial support	8	17	15

**‘Most won’t go to the police.
This is the last option.’**

– Woman in Bentiu PoC site

‘She will report to her mother; then the mother will ask her whether she knew the person who raped her...’ – Female key informant in Juba

‘This issue of rape will not be talked about to any person because of fear. The girl will feel ashamed, and the parent will get less bride price because traditionally, the girl lost her virginity.’ – Female key informant in Juba

An unmarried survivor of non-partner assault may be considered ‘spoilt’ or ‘defiled’ by the community, which affects her prospect for marriage and securing a bride price for the family. To ensure she is able to get married, many survivors are forced to marry their attackers. This is commonly seen as the preferred option in the case

of rape, as the family is given compensation in the form of the bride price, and the woman achieves the cultural expectations of womanhood in South Sudan (marriage and children). While there were differing opinions on the effect of this marriage on the survivor, most agree that it can be devastating and lead to psychological distress for the survivor, even culminating in suicide.

For survivors of non-partner sexual assault, the decision to report the crime to the police happens very infrequently (2-10%) and commonly depends on whether the survivor knows the identity of the perpetrator. If the perpetrator’s identity is not known, the survivor generally would not report the crime to any formal system, as there is no mechanism for identifying the person, and the stigma surrounding the act would be too severe to make reporting worthwhile.

She will be difficult to...marry if the rape is known by everyone. People will not respect her if they all know that she has been raped.

– Man in Juba

‘What if the person is unknown? They will keep it secret as for family only.’ – Man in Juba

For survivors who do know the identity of the perpetrator, they may choose to report the case to the police and go to court. However, the goal of prosecution (by customary law in the boma court) was described during qualitative data collection as typically to convince the perpetrator to marry the survivor or to collect reparations (such as cattle) from him, rather than to impart punishment or jail time (unless the survivor is very young and marriage is not an option).

‘We are using customary law to solve cases of impregnated girl by ordering the boy to marry the girl he had impregnated. The parents are told to pay the dowry or else their son would go to prison until the girl’s parents are paid. If the boy fails to pay the dowry, we used to fine him with 1500 SSP and one heifer.’ – Male key informant (Chief) in Rumbek

When the girl is grown up, the rapist may have to pay dowry and marry her, but when the girl is small and young, they may need to open a case in the police, and the rapist will be charged for defilement. – Male key informant in Juba

Even when men are taken to the court and prosecuted, customary law typically institutes fines or limited jail time as punishment for the perpetrator. Similarly, for cases of gang rape, the group of perpetrators simply split the punishment rather than face any increased consequence.

‘If the person is known, the survivor is compensated with five cows, and the rapist is jailed for three years. If the survivor of rape is another man’s wife, than seven cows are confiscated from the rapist and he is fined

for committing adultery by forcing a woman to have sex with him. When the person is not known, we don’t do anything. We only advise the survivor to take it easy, as this is a normal issue.’ – Male key informant in Rumbek

Interaction with health services typically hinged upon the severity of the assault that occurred. The initial point of service for most survivors is the primary health care centre at community level or a women’s centre run by an NGO. In Juba, survivors may also be referred to the Juba Teaching Hospital services for the clinical management of rape. Health facility staff will provide testing for STIs and pregnancy as well as treat any physical injuries.

‘If the rape is serious, she goes to the hospital for treatment.’ – Female key informant in Rumbek

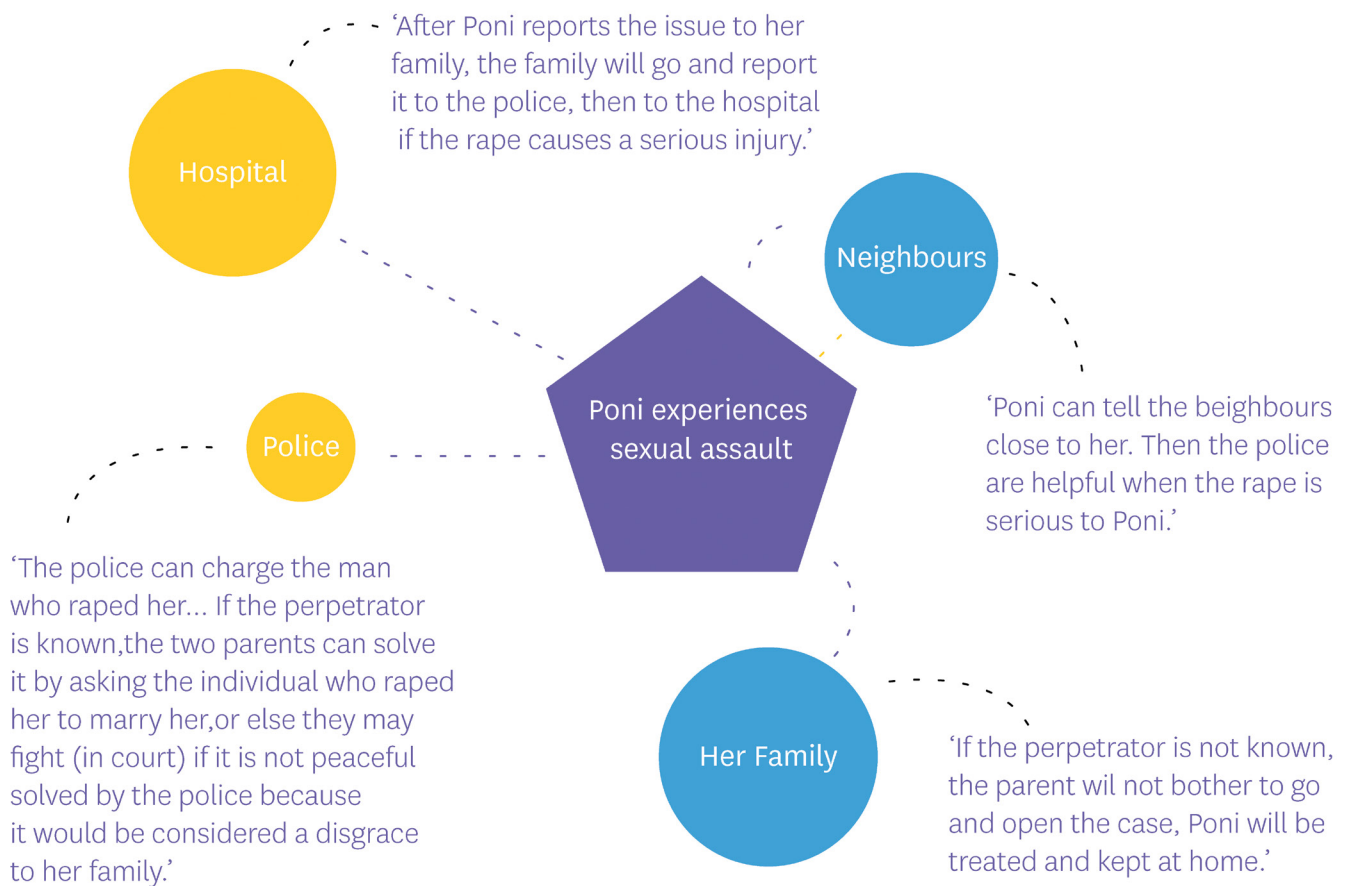
‘First, they go to the [Women’s Protection and Empowerment Centre], and then refer to us. No patient came directly to the hospital since I’ve been here.’ – Female key informant (health worker) in Bentiu PoC site

Survivors of rape also may receive psychosocial support services, including basic psychosocial support at the hospital. Community women’s groups are also available in some areas to provide peer-level support for survivors.

‘A counsellor will advise her to be strong and tell her: such things happen to many people.’ – Woman in Juba PoC site

‘She can also come to the women’s centre... They can support her to continue her education. The moment she was attacked might have stayed in her mind. The counselling will help her.’ – Woman in Bentiu PoC Site

Figure 17: Focus group visualisation - Poni's reporting



To envision the accessibility and usefulness of different potential sources of support (both formal and informal), visualisations were used. As participants shaped the story of Poni's experience, they listed different sources of support, and their answers were written in circles. The size of the circle denotes the usefulness and the proximity to Poni denotes accessibility. This diagram is the path that a girl or woman in Poni's situation would probably use, as explained by a focus group of men in Juba City aged 18-24 years old. They described the following path of disclosure and support seeking.

- Poni told her family about the incident first, and her mother was supportive and took Poni to the health centre.
- Poni could also ask her neighbours for help if they lived near her.
- If Poni was able to identify the perpetrator, her family would bring her incident to the police, who would refer her to the hospital.
- Poni's parents and the parents of the perpetrator would discuss marrying the two individuals, but if the perpetrator refused, Poni's parents would bring the case to a local court to avoid the consequences put upon the family.
- If Poni did not know the perpetrator, her parents would not bring her to the police and would take care of her at home, instead.

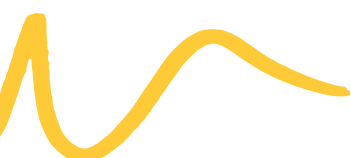
Intimate Partner Violence: Where can Sunday go?

About half of the survivors in Juba city and almost 60% in the Juba PoCs said that they told no one about the violence they were experiencing. When women chose to disclose an incident, they often told a relative (including parents, husband/partners parents or other relative). Depending on the site, women and girls experiencing IPV were likely to seek help from differing sources and sometimes sought support from multiple resources. Survivors in Juba City overwhelmingly (85%) did not seek formal services because of this violence, while almost 70% of women living in the Juba PoCs also did

not look to access any formal service. In these two sites, when women did choose to seek formal help, they most often looked to health services (8% in Juba City and 14% in Juba PoCs). About half of the women in Rumbek who had experienced IPV reported seeking some form of formal intervention. They often went to seek the support of the boma court system and/or the intervention of their local chiefs for support when experiencing violence. Twenty percent also reported accessing health services as a result of this violence.

Table 17: Who survivors of IPV told about the violence (by site) (multiple responses possible)

	JUBA n = 274 (%)	RUMBOK n = 494 (%)	JUBA PoCs n = 395 (%)
Respondent told:			
No one	51	30	58
Her parents	23	28	21
Husband/partner's parents	23	45	14
Other relatives	8	24	4
Friend or neighbour	17	27	5
Local leader	3	5	1
Sought help from:			
No services	85	47	69
Police	5	10	3
Health services	8	20	14
Court/ local chiefs	4	22	6
NGO/UN/other women's organisation	1	9	6



Participants in qualitative data collection expanded upon this. No matter who women appeal to, they typically only do so because the beatings have gotten so severe that they require outside intervention. ‘Normal’ levels of physical violence are tolerated without complaint.

‘If a woman experiences domestic violence, she runs to the husband’s brother, not to any other person. This is because the husband will listen to the brother.’ – Man in Juba PoC site

‘The women here are very strong. If you have a problem, you don’t go anywhere; you solve the problems at home.’ – Woman in Bentiu PoC site

‘The in-laws have more responsibility to stop the man from beating her when the issue is about their son. The in-laws will help Sunday by talking to the son to stop beating her.’ – Young man in Juba



Peter Biro/IRC

Even when incidents of IPV are extreme, women have little recourse. Culturally, divorce is considered a shameful act.^{33 27} In addition, customary law ensures that a woman who wants to divorce her husband must return the bride price paid for her. When a woman is married, the bride price paid is not typically kept by her immediate family, but is dispersed among her relatives. Even in cases of severe domestic abuse or rape, it would be difficult for her to assemble the necessary resources to pay back the full bride price needed for the divorce to be granted. In addition, according to customary law, children remain with the husband’s family in cases of divorce, and women need written permission to travel

with the children, which discourages divorce, even in the case of severe abuse.³⁰

‘The payment of dowry is like controlling the woman. If you want to divorce or separate from your husband, you will pay back the dowry to your husband and you collected the cows from your relatives who distributed them among themselves during your marriage time.’ – Female key informant in Juba

‘They remarry, either in the family or outside the family, but if the woman decides

to remarry from outside, the children stay with their relatives from the father's side, and if they are still very young, the woman has the right to bring them up then later take them to their relatives when they are grown.' – Woman in Rumbek

If the family intervention is not able to resolve incidents of severe IPV, the case may be referred to the police and, after acquiring Form 8 (a procedural form that requires any survivor of a crime who needs medical treatment to report to police prior to receiving health services). Additionally, when pregnant women are survivors of abuse, they are more likely to access health services due to concerns about the health of her foetus.

'If the beating still continues, the father in-law has a right to report it to the police.'
– Man in Juba

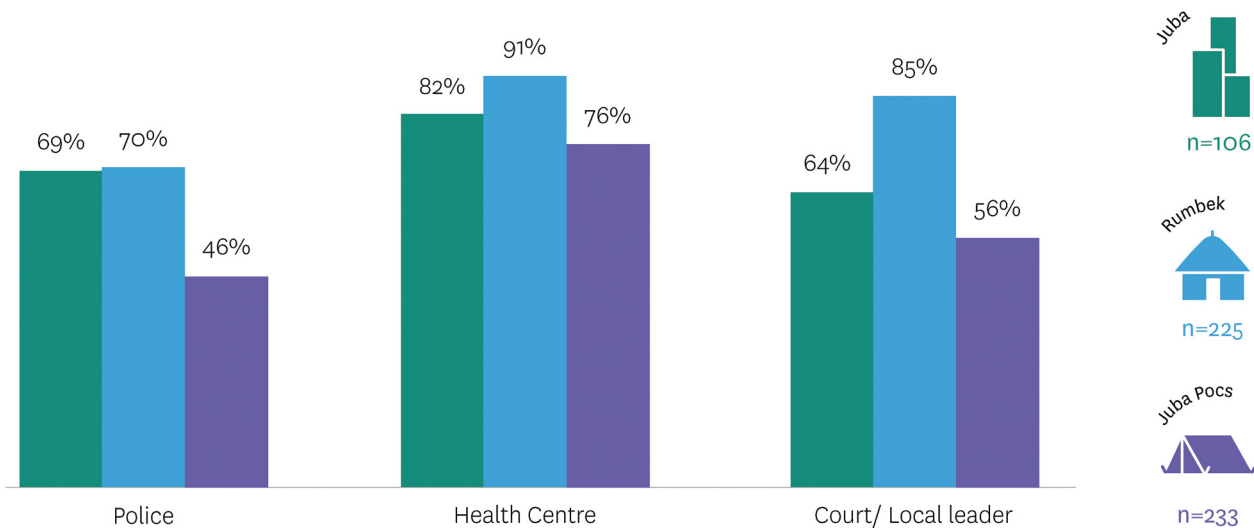
'Sunday may go to the police when she gets a serious injury, so that she may be given the

referral letter for treatment in the hospital. After that, she may go to the hospital.' – Young man in Juba

'If a wife is badly injured, she will go to the clinic inside the camp, but not to counselling, only treatment. But the injured woman will not tell the exact story about her beating to the doctor because if the husband hears about that, he will beat her again. The wife will not tell her mother or anyone about their home secrets such as this.' – Woman in the Juba PoC site

While only a limited percentage of survivors accessed formal support services after an incident of violence, those who did generally were satisfied with the services that they received. Women and girls residing in the PoCs reflected the least overall satisfaction with services received from the most common types of service providers. In particular, women in the PoCs reported less satisfaction with the police and local court/local leader support.

Figure 18: Satisfaction with services received (by site)



Percentage of female respondents who reported that they were satisfied with the services they accessed after experiencing IPV

For women who choose to pursue the case in court, a multi-level judicial system is in effect. As presented in the Judiciary Act of 2008, the statutory court system specifies a series of 'payam' (the second smallest administrative area in South Sudan), county, high (state-level), appeals and supreme courts.¹⁶ At the state level, the high court, which functions only in population centres such as Juba or Rumbek, and the county courts, based

in the county seat, handle the most serious cases and act as arbitrators for the formal justice system. However, the reach of the formal justice system is limited and the boma courts, led by local chiefs, handle the majority of cases of VAWG.

The boma courts work primarily by applying customary, rather than formal, law to cases and are administered by

local chiefs, who do not have formal legal training. PoCs have their own justice systems that are not integrated into the wider South Sudanese justice system.

According to the law, serious cases should be referred to the formal system at the county or state level, however, key informants note that lack of faith in the formal system and corruption in the court systems are reasons that referrals rarely occur. Even when survivors of IPV do pursue a court case, it is rare for a perpetrator to be jailed or subjected to any formal punishment, as impunity is ingrained into the customary legal system.

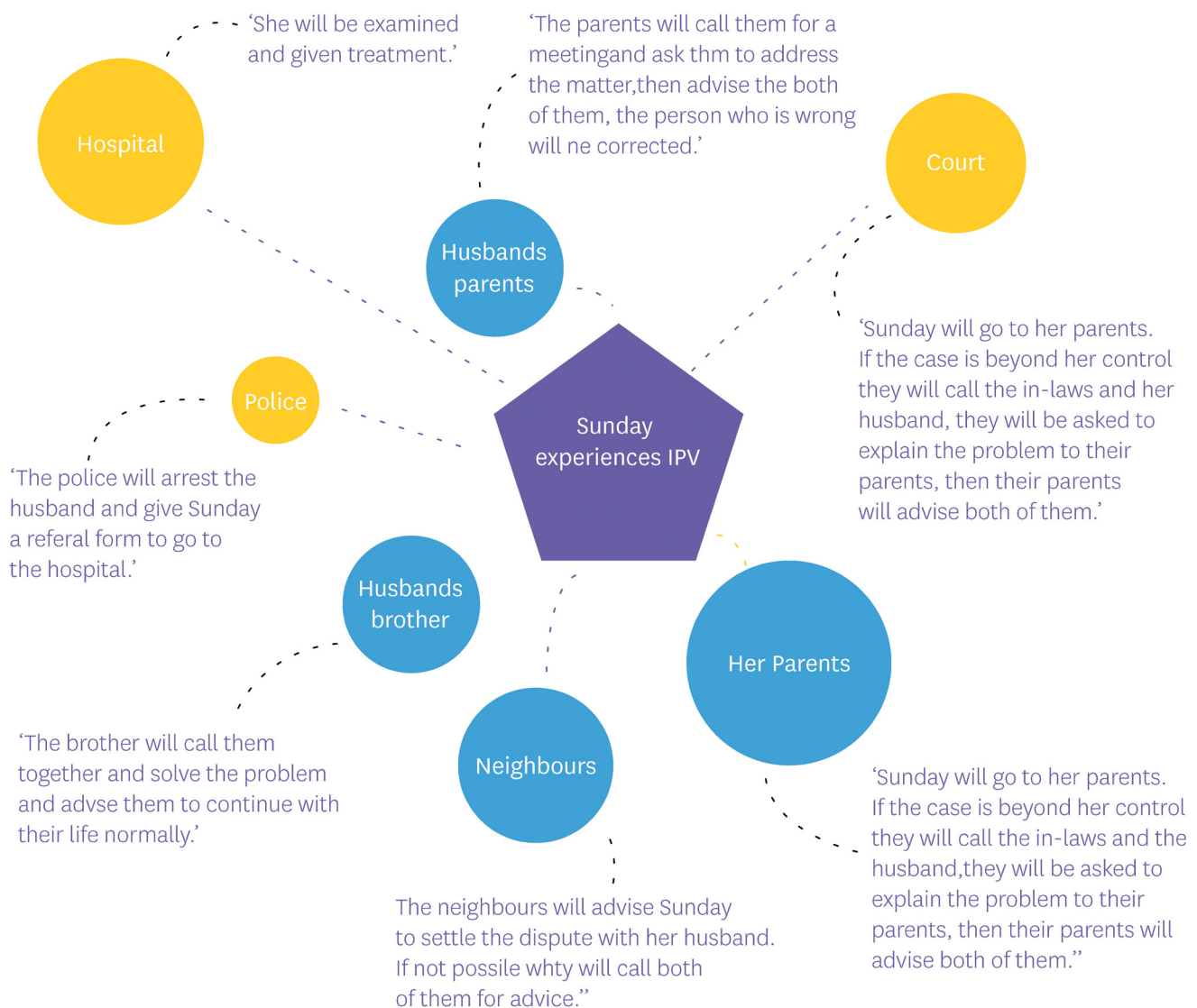
‘If the beating persists and becomes severe, the case is forwarded to the boma chiefs, where the two partners will be left to agree on whether to divorce or to change and settle down in their marriage.’ – Male key informants Juba

‘The case was solved by the judge, and the man was released instead of being jailed in order to take care of the children. The judge didn’t jail him because of the children.’ – Male key informant Rumbek



Kate Geraghty/CARE/Fairfax media

Figure 19: Focus group visualisation - Sunday's reporting



To envision the accessibility and usefulness of different potential sources of support (both formal and informal), visualisations were used. As participants shaped the story of Sunday's experience, they listed different sources of support, and their answers were written in circles. The size of the circle denotes the usefulness, and the proximity to Sunday denotes accessibility. This diagram is the path that a woman in Sunday's situation would probably use, as explained by a focus group of women in Rajaf, Juba County aged 18-24-years-old.

- Sunday first went to her husband's family for support, but they did not improve the situation.
- She then went to her family and neighbours and they provided some support. Upon telling her husband's brother, he advised them to continue life as usual.
- When the violence became more severe, Sunday reported her husband to the police who gave her Form 8 to access services at the hospital.
- The severity of the violence prompted the police to bring Sunday's case to a local boma court.

Barriers to Services

Some participants reported that basic services for survivors of IPV and non-partner sexual assault are available within their communities. However, major barriers preventing access to services still exist in South Sudan, particularly during conflict. Lack of sufficient infrastructure and trained staff, particularly in rural areas, prevent survivors from accessing needed care. Stigma and concerns that reporting will lead to retaliation can also act as barriers to access services. Lack of confidentiality at the service level can also prevent women from reaching out for help.

‘Since the case has reached the police, everyone will know about it.’ – Woman in Juba PoC sites

In addition, police may not take reports seriously, particularly for cases that occur inside of marriage.

‘Women do not report such cases because when they go to the police station, they are told that sex is a normal thing and, therefore, it is not supposed to be exposed’.

– Woman in Rumbek

The impunity of perpetrators may be exacerbated by conflict, which can also reduce the effectiveness of reporting to traditional mechanisms. Chiefs, who normally would address incidents of VAWG in the community, are no longer as respected as they once were now that almost all men are armed. This, again, reduces a woman’s ability to manage situations of IPV and non-partner assault through normal mechanisms and lessens the chance that a woman will report incidents.

‘Before, people used to stick with the rules. Everybody knew what the rules were. Once the cattle have been paid, then it’s done, it’s finished. Now, because of the lack of implementation of the formal justice system, everything is worse.’ – Female key informant in Rumbek

The state may also institute barriers, real or perceived, for those seeking services, such as Form 8. This form is a holdover of Sudanese law from prior to independence that requires survivors to report to the police before

receiving medical attention. While not necessary to receive any service, women across all contexts all commonly referred to this form (either by name or just as ‘a referral form’) as necessary to receive medical care for cases of both physical and sexual violence. Though some medical providers at the Juba Teaching Hospital reported that this form is not necessary to receive medical treatment, many public and private clinics and hospitals around the country still request it so, given this common community perception of its necessity, the challenge of Form 8 continues to be a barrier to service access in South Sudan.

Finally, the continuing violence in the country and distrust of some NGOs may act as barriers to services for survivors. There have been isolated, negative attacks on organisations and staff who are providing services for women and girls in South Sudan, which may limit the services it is possible to provide or prevent NGOs from fully publicising these available services. In addition, women may be more reticent to access available services if they fear potential retribution.



Terah Edun/IRC

‘Because she is so young, I can’t imagine that something like this has happened to her’

Below is an excerpt from an interview with the mother of Rebecca in the Juba PoC.

I have four children. Rebecca is the oldest; the youngest is five. When the December 2013 Crisis began, we all came to UNMISS. The situation is not good in the PoC, but we must stay. I sell tea at ‘checkpoint’ and am gone from the early morning until the end of the day. Rebecca takes care of the children while I am at work.

When I cooked food to bring for the children, Rebecca didn’t move normally—like both her legs were in pain. I asked her why she was moving like this, and she said it was nothing, just a pain in her leg. The next night, I saw her lying with her legs opened. I asked why, and she said her legs were paining her. Because she is so young, I can’t imagine that something like this has happened to her.

On the third time it happened, my sister caught him lying on Rebecca with his clothes half off.

The man was a neighbour. We knew him from before the camp. He used to come to our house and eat with us. He told Rebecca that he would kill her and her mother and family if she reported him.

When I went home from the hospital, the man came to our house with a knife to attack us. My husband’s relatives came and caught the man and handed him over to the police (UNPOL). To my surprise, the police said there is no evidence and that he is innocent. I said, ‘What do you mean there is no evidence? Here is a paper from the hospital saying she was raped!’ They said he was innocent and released the man.

The same day he got out, he attacked our tent and threatened us. He is still around, and my children’s lives are at risk.

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND ACTIONS

Conclusions

‘Nothing will change for the women of South Sudan. After independence, we thought it would be peaceful, but now it is worse... The women of Lakes States got together in a meeting and wrote a letter to the president to ask for disarmament. We are tired of being raped. We met with the chiefs and raised our concerns. We have had no response yet.’ – Woman from Rumbek

Through the qualitative data collection process and the quantitative survey, the women and girls of South Sudan reported experiencing violence in many different forms throughout the courses of their lifetimes. While previously, the international community had anecdotal information and data from small-scale, non-population-based data collection activities and routine VAWG programming, there was little rigorous evidence on the experiences of VAWG in South Sudan. While it was generally known that VAWG was common, published reports, particularly those in the media, primarily focused on the use of militarised rape and other forms of non-partner sexual violence related to the on-going conflict. The results of this research provide additional evidence of how widespread and severe non-partner sexual violence is for women and girls in South Sudan, widen the scope of this narrative and highlight the pervasiveness of other forms of violence, particularly intimate partner violence and the devastating consequences for the health and wellbeing of women and girls.

The results of this research demonstrate that women and girls in South Sudan are being subjected to violence from infancy.

- Patriarchal societal norms that promote gender inequality, including men minimising the impact of violence and both sexes accepting the use of violence, were found to be common in all study sites.
- During childhood, girls are subject to discriminatory practices and are prevented from attending formal education.
- In adolescence, they are married, often by force, and have increased vulnerability to non-partner sexual assault.

- Once they enter adulthood, violence is entrenched, and women are controlled and abused by their husbands, are unable to work and are treated as property by their husbands and their husbands’ families.
- The common practice of bride price and its associated importance to the economy of the household means that women are seen as economic assets for their families. Experiences of violence often stem from this practice.

Overall, the experiences of women across the three sites that participated in the quantitative survey were markedly different. Women from Juba were more educated and more often worked outside the home compared to women in the other sites. They were also less impacted by direct experiences of conflict (e.g. an attack, injury, displacement, etc.). Women in Rumbek were the least educated and had the highest acceptance of gender-inequitable views and justifications for the use of violence. Women in this site were also commonly in polygamous relationships and had a bride price paid upon their marriage. Female respondents residing in the Juba PoCs were younger than participants in the other two sites and less often married. Almost all respondents from this site had been displaced for more than one year due to the on-going conflict in South Sudan.

Despite these differences between sites, rates of VAWG were high across all locations in the study. IPV was the most common form of violence experienced by women and girls among ever-partnered women in each of the quantitative survey sites, and the prevalence of sexual and physical violence is among the highest reported in sub-Saharan Africa. However, the overall prevalence of IPV varied considerably between sites with women in Rumbek, where almost three-quarters of women have experienced physical or sexual violence from an intimate partner in their lifetime, reporting the highest rates. While not reaching the levels of Rumbek, the occurrence of IPV in both Juba City and the PoCs was also extremely high; at least half of women in the PoCs, and 60% in Juba City have experienced IPV during their lifetime. Once violence begins in a relationship, it continues; amongst women

who have seen their husband/partner in the past year, rates of IPV in the past 12 months are almost the same as lifetime violence, indicating the scarcity of options that women face to leave violent relationships.

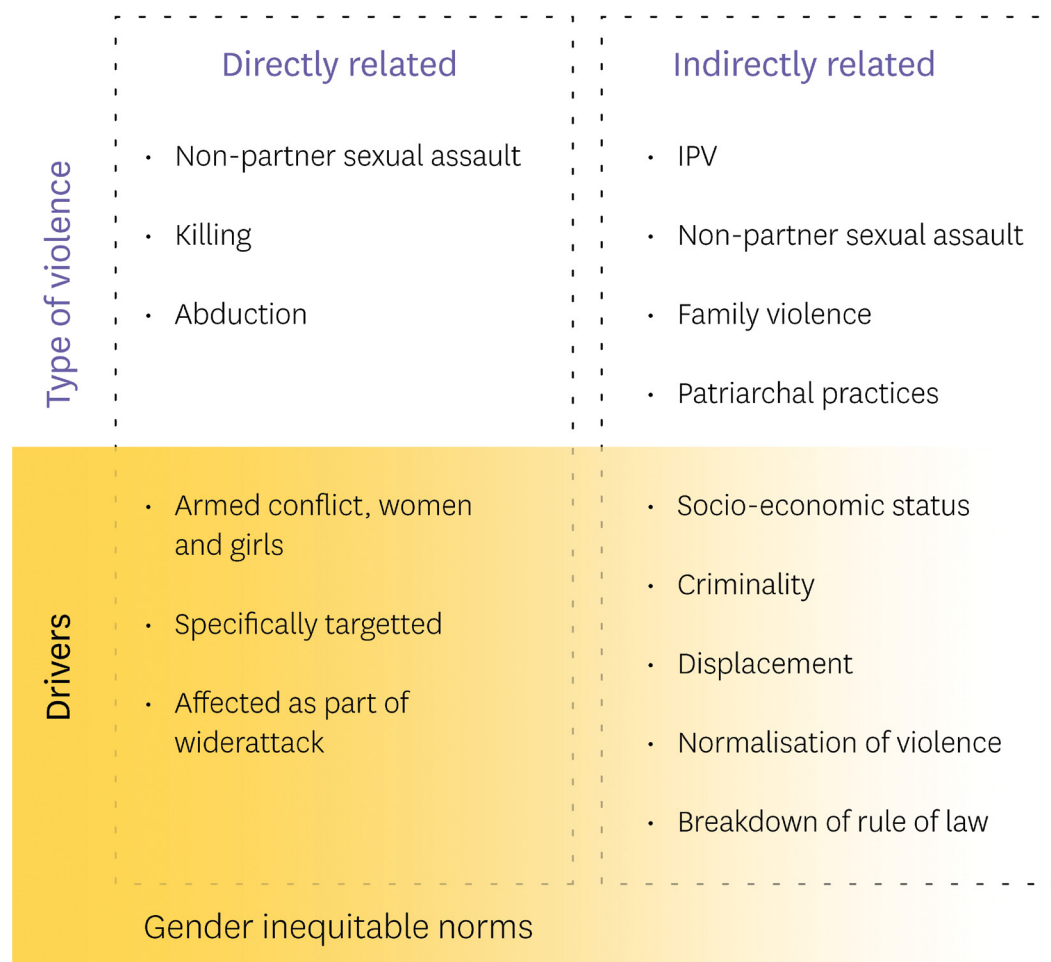
Non-partner sexual assault was also commonly experienced by women in each site. About a third of women (from 28% in Juba City to 33% in Rumbek) reported that they suffered this violence at least once in their lifetime. Rates of past year assault were highest amongst women residing in the Juba PoCs at over 10%. Men also reported experiencing non-partner sexual assault at high levels (lifetime rates of 9% in Juba and 6% in Rumbek), but the greatest burden of violence (both non-partner assault and IPV) is clearly still borne by women and girls.

Increased VAWG is only one aspect of the negative effects that women and girls in South Sudan have faced as a result of the conflict and instability that has affected

their lives through the various iterations of the Civil War, 2013 Crisis and inter-communal tensions. This on-going violence exacerbates instability and poverty throughout large parts of the country and has been as a continual impediment to the development of the country, including the country's education, political and economic systems, leaving little to no institutional structures to deliver services or to facilitate decision-making.³⁴

Throughout the research, experiences of conflict were found to be compounding and strengthening acts of violence across the spectrum. Acts of non-partner sexual assault often occurred during a direct experience of conflict (e.g. displacement, abduction, an attack, etc.). While overall rates of non-partner sexual violence were similar across the three sites, these incidents were more often directly related to an experience of conflict (occurring during a raid/attack, abduction, displacement, etc.) in Rumbek and the Juba PoC sites—where the residents had more direct conflict experiences.

Figure 20: Conflict and VAWG in South Sudan



This figure describes the direct and indirect drivers of VAWG during times of conflict.

While the overall rates of non-partner violence were similar in Juba, it appears that these experiences may be more associated with indirect drivers of violence, such as increased poverty, increased criminality, etc. This demonstrates the complex relationship between experiences of conflict and its effect on rates of VAWG. See Figure 20.

For IPV in both Rumbek and the Juba PoCs, experiences of conflict (attacks, incidents of injury, abduction, disfigurement and/or displacement) were found to be significantly associated with increased rates of violence. In addition, experiences of conflict appear to be related to frequency and severity of IPV in some sites. Women residing in the PoCs reported that they experienced acts of physical IPV 'many times' twice as often as women in Juba and Rumbek. Women who had directly experienced a conflict event (attack, injury, etc.) had even greater odds of experiencing the most severe forms of IPV.

The physical and psychological consequences for women experiencing IPV are serious and range from injury to death, including suicide. For women experiencing IPV, these consequences were most severe for women in the Juba PoC, where almost 40% of women experiencing IPV had a severe injury (e.g. broken bones, miscarriage or permanent injury/disability) as a result. Approximately, one-third of women who experienced IPV reported that it had a 'large effect' on their wellbeing. Women were unlikely to tell others about their experiences of violence or to seek formal support services unless the violence was deemed 'severe'. While only a very small percentage of women sought help, those women who did were generally satisfied with the health services received. However, perceptions of the performance of local leader/courts and the police were more mixed, especially for residents of the PoCs.

Limitations of the Study

Conducting mixed methods studies on violence in unstable and conflict-affected communities presents unique challenges for researchers and practitioners.

The research was planned during 2012-2013 as a retrospective study of post-conflict South Sudan. However, in December 2013, conflict broke out between the South Sudanese government and the primary opposition forces (the SPLA in Opposition – SPLA-IO), and violence and outbreaks of conflict have continued to disrupt the communities throughout 2017.²⁶ In 2014, the partners visited South Sudan to assess the feasibility of carrying out the research in the context of the new conflict. After discussions with stakeholders from government, academic institutions, local women's rights organisations and humanitarian actors in South Sudan, the research team concluded that the study could be carried out in some areas and could make a useful contribution to knowledge about the needs of women and girls in conflict. Since the 2013 Crisis, the conflict has continued to erupt in surges, including a large period of conflict that occurred in July 2016, leading to a disruption in data collection, which was resumed in November 2016. While data collected from prior to the suspension of data collection was compared to data collected after the re-start and no differences in overall trends was found, it is possible that the underlying population changed because of this violence.

In addition, limited services for survivors of VAWG in country meant that the research team had a limited pool of potential sites to collect data from where ethical best practices could be met. Social desirability and recall bias may have affected responses of both male and female respondents as self-report data collection methods were used.

‘For the women of South Sudan, nothing will change unless our government tells people not to fight... We (women) are vulnerable. We have no one to support us.’

– Woman from Rumbek

Implications for Action

All Recommendations

Prioritise VAWG in all humanitarian action

VAWG must be considered in all aspects and phases of humanitarian response. This should include, at a minimum: ensuring VAWG experts are on assessment teams; VAWG programming is prioritised in pooled and bilateral funding; and all sectors integrate VAWG-risk mitigation into their response. For example, the severe food insecurity currently being experienced in South Sudan is likely to exacerbate a number of issues highlighted in the research that pre-date the onset of the food crisis, including IPV and sexual exploitation and abuse. As a result, stand-alone and integrated VAWG programming should be front and centre in response to all types of emergencies, such as the famine response in South Sudan. Such programming should, at all times, adhere to the IASC GBV Guidelines³⁶, which are the global standards on GBV-risk reduction and provide clear and comprehensive guidance to all humanitarian actors on how to improve women's and girls' safety.

Ensure VAWG programming and policy address the multiple forms of violence experienced by women and girls

While much of the world's attention has focused on conflict-related sexual violence (and in particular, non-partner sexual violence), programmes and policy should seek to respond to and address the root causes of VAWG as well as sexual violence, in particular, IPV, which was found to be the most prevalent form of VAWG in the sites researched in South Sudan.

Invest in specific programmes targeting the unique needs of adolescent girls

Age-appropriate prevention and response programmes are crucial to protect girls from violence and to empower them. More effort is needed to identify entryways and innovative approaches for adolescents to access existing VAWG prevention and response services: targeting teen mothers accessing health services during pregnancy; creating adolescent spaces in women-safe space programming; and providing static, mobile and technological solutions). In this effort, particular attention

should be focused on promoting holistic policies and programmes that ensure collaboration across multiple sectors, including protection, education, health and economic wellbeing, in order to reach girls via various points of entry.

Promote the integration of programmes addressing VAWG and community-level violence and long-term peacebuilding

The drivers of community-level violence (poverty, increase in arms, breakdown of rule of law, increase in expected bride price payments) are also drivers of VAWG. Achieving and sustaining a more prosperous and peaceful future for South Sudan necessitates that peacebuilding programmes include an intentional focus on preventing and mitigating risks of VAWG through a strong gender analysis that prioritises women's experience of violence at all programming phases.

Fund and deliver gender-transformative programming that addresses discriminatory practices and gender-inequitable norms

Increased attention on patriarchal norms and practices is needed through a more intentional focus on prevention programmes that seek to change social norms in South Sudan. Such programming should include raising awareness of women's rights at multiple levels; facilitating women's advocacy and movement building; community mobilisation efforts; engaging men and boys in gender-transformative activities; and directing funding to local women's organisations.

Support women's groups and the women's movement to build local capacity to improve the status of women

Women's groups are nascent in South Sudan and need support to create sustainable social norms change within the country. Moreover, they are an important structure through which women can be meaningfully engaged in programme design, implementation and evaluation. To be sustainable, these groups need institutional support, not just project specific support. By partnering with these groups in both VAWG prevention and response services,



Kate Geraghty/CARE/Fairfax media

bridges between formal and informal support services can be built and strengthened, leading to increased support and advocacy for gender-equitable norms that can help reduce rates of violence.

Donors and Policymakers

‘We need all the girls to go to school, so we will have educated girls to take care of us ...’ – Woman from Rumbek

Prioritise funding for specialised VAWG protection programmes from the earliest stages of a crisis

While funding for protection programming is always necessary at the onset of conflict or disaster, the reality is that the protection sector, especially VAWG programming, is among the least prioritised and funded sectors during first-phase response efforts.

This research has confirmed the high levels of violence experienced by women and girls in South Sudan. Even in the absence of such indisputable data, inter-agency guidelines, such as the *IASC GBV Guidelines (Inter-Agency*

Standing Committee Guidelines on Integrating Gender-based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Action), require humanitarian actors to assume VAWG is occurring and to treat it as a serious and life-threatening problem from day one. Dedicated funding should, therefore, be immediately available at the onset of a crisis through multi-lateral and pooled funding mechanisms to ensure that specialised VAWG response services are available in order to meet the health, psychosocial and economic needs of survivors.

Allocate additional funding to support longer term VAWG programming

Short-term prevention and response programmes delivered during the acute phase of conflict do not address the need for longer-term prevention and empowerment efforts that address deeper long-standing attitudes, behaviours and norms that underpin VAWG, including acceptance of IPV. More funding is needed to address sustained behaviour change and social norms transformations to make a real impact on reducing VAWG in this context. For example, efforts such as DFID’s multi-year VAWG programming through its South Sudan

Humanitarian Programme (HARISS) should be used to support long term VAWG prevention and response programming, including outside of acute emergency response phases.

Develop and/or adapt VAWG policies and strategies to ensure they meet global commitments under key VAWG and localisation policy frameworks

The findings from this research reaffirm what practitioners and researchers have learned from other contexts where VAWG is prevalent, therefore, this research will help reinforce the need for other initiatives that are seeking to transform how the humanitarian and development sectors address VAWG in times of both crisis and peace. Global frameworks, such as the *Call to Action on Protection from Gender-based Violence in Emergencies*; the World Humanitarian Summit's *Five Core Commitments to Women and Girls*; Sustainable Development Goals related to gender equality (SDG 3), health (SDG 5), and partnerships (SDG 17); the Grand Bargain; and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda all include specific attention to VAWG and/or localising response efforts across the humanitarian-to-development continuum. In addition, the Real-Time Accountability Partnership (RTAP), which is currently being implemented in South Sudan and Iraq, is an initiative that promotes shared accountability to VAWG by securing high-level commitment to a set of minimum actions in emergencies. Donors and policymakers must develop and adapt policies and strategies to commit to and fulfil their obligations under these frameworks in order to truly tackle the scourge of VAWG and lay the foundation for women's and girls' health, wellbeing, participation and social and economic development.

Practitioners

Focus on safe spaces for women and girls and informal support structures as part of a VAWG response programme

Most women do not seek formal support after experiencing VAWG. Increased attention needs to be given to helping women rebuild their social networks and informal support structures (providing spaces for women to socialise with other women like them, engaging in community improvement projects, livelihood skills training, etc.) to indirectly support women who choose not to report violence. Separate, dedicated safe spaces

and support programmes should also be made available that are tailored to adolescent girls in recognition of their specific needs.

Recognise and address the multiple barriers survivors face in accessing services in South Sudan

Comprehensive programming is needed to address and break-down barriers that are structural (Form 8), service-related (training and support for front-line responders and local women's groups) and social norms-influenced (community mobilisation efforts—UNICEF's Communities Care programme is a promising example of programming in this area and is currently being piloted in both South Sudan and Somalia³⁵).

Provide targeted training and institutional capacity building to security and legal support services

Women accessing services were least satisfied with the support they received from the police, local leaders and local courts. Targeted capacity-building efforts are needed to improve the first response of local and UN police services to increase their sensitivity to survivors and to ensure safe and appropriate referrals. These efforts should include training; recruitment of more female security personnel; appointment of gender focal points; and issuance and enforcement of zero-tolerance policies and codes of conduct on the perpetration of VAWG, including sexual exploitation and abuse. In addition, harmonisation of the customary and formal legal systems, including strengthened enforcement of existing laws and policies, training and support for local leaders and government structures are needed to reduce the impunity of perpetrators.

Engage with women and girls throughout the programme design and implementation process


Women and girls should be engaged and empowered through the design and implementation of VAWG programmes. As shown through the findings of this report, women and girls of South Sudan are well aware of the challenges and barriers to service access affecting their communities. In order to create culturally appropriate and effective VAWG prevention and response programming, women and girls need to be meaningfully engaged throughout programme design, implementation and evaluation.



Peter Biro/IRC

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REPORT ANNEX

Annex 1: Household and Individual Response Rates

Household sample obtained and response rates, South Sudan, 2016

	WOMEN								MEN					
	JUBA		RUMBEK		JUBA PoCs		ALL		JUBA		RUMBEK		ALL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total number of households in the sample	729	100	971	100	1195	100	2895	100	259	100	390	100	649	100
Household non-response*	77	10	96	10	197	16	370	13	13	5	75	19	88	14
Household interviews completed	652	89	875	90	998	84	2525	87	246	95	315	81	561	86

*Household non-response includes households where the family was not at home, or the household refusal to participate.

Individual sample obtained and response rates, South Sudan, 2016

	WOMEN								MEN					
	JUBA		RUMBEK		JUBA PoCs		ALL		JUBA		RUMBEK		ALL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total number of individuals in the sample	652	100	875	100	998	100	2525	100	246	100	315	100	561	100
Individual non-response*	175	27	71	8	35	4	281	11	29	12	51	16	80	14
Individual interviews completed	477	73	804	92	963	96	2244	89	217	88	264	84	481	86

*Individual non-response includes instances in which the selected individual was not at home, or the individual refused to participate or did not want to continue.

Annex 2: Total Participants in the Qualitative Data Collection

Participants in Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews – December 2016

	# of participatory focus groups (6-12 participants/group)					# of key informant interviews (individual)				
	JUBA CITY	JUBA COUNTY	JUBA POC SITES	RUMBOK TOWN	BENTIU POC SITE	JUBA CITY	JUBA COUNTY	JUBA POC SITES	RUMBOK TOWN	BENTIU POC SITE
Study participants										
Community members (Round 1)	3	3	6	4	2	0	0	1	0	0
Community leaders	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	1	0	0
Technical Advisory Group	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stakeholders representing international, national and local organizations	1	0	0	1	0	4	2	3	2	2
Local government representative	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0
Health service providers	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0
Legal authorities & PoC camp management	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Community members (Round 2)	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sub-total	6	3	8	8	2	8	6	6	7	3
TOTAL					29					30

Participants in Survivor Interviews – December 2016

Data Collection Phase	# of in-depth survivor interviews			
	JUBA CITY	JUBA POC SITES	RUMBOK TOWN	BENTIU POC SITE
Round 1	4	2	4	4
Round 2	0	4	0	0
TOTAL				18

ANNEX 3: DATA TABLES

Multivariate Models^u

Rumbek

Lifetime Experiences of IPV - Rumbek^v

	Physical and/or Sexual IPV - Lifetime	
	Crude OR (95% CI)	Adjusted OR (95% CI)
Socio-demographic Characteristics		
Age:		
15-19	1	1
20-29	3.40*** (2.1 – 5.6)	2.5* (1.2 – 5.2)
30-39	4.40*** (2.5 – 7.7)	3.1** (1.4-6.9)
40-64	4.6 *** (2.5 – 8.4)	3.0** (1.2-7.0)
Education:		
None	1	1
Primary	.56** (.36 - .86)	.78 (.43-1.3)
Secondary or Higher	.53** (.35 - .81)	.49* (.25-.95)
Fuel Source:		
Charcoal	1	1
Wood	.68* (.47 - .97)	.51* (.29-.88)
Grass	2.4 (.29 – 19.2)	2.0 (.16-24.3)
Marital/Partner Characteristics		
Husband has other Wives:		
No	1	1
Yes	1.7** (1.2 – 2.5)	1.7* (1.1-2.7)
Husband's Profession:		
None	1	1
Professional	1.7 (.97- 2.8)	2.0 (.91-4.6)
Semi/Unskilled	1.7 (.94 -3.1)	2.1 (.96-4.5)
Military/Police	1.9** (1.3 – 2.9)	1.8* (1.1-3.2)
Other	1.1 (.52 – 2.2)	.90 (.38-2.1)

^uThe research team examined four broad categories of drivers of violence for each model – socio-demographics, marital/partner characteristics, gender equity/ attitudes and experiences of conflict. The final models present only the variables that remained significant in the final model. As experiences of conflict or displacement did not remain significant in the final Juba models, they are not presented here.

^vFor all tables: * p <= .05; ** p <= .01; *** p <= .001

Partners Education: No Education Primary Secondary Higher	1 .70 (.41-1.2) .71 (.46-1.1) .63* (.40 - 1)	1 .51* (.26-.98) .93 (.50-1.7) .58 (.27-1.2)
Gender Equity Experience of Controlling Behaviours: None 1-2 3-4	1 2.3*** (1.5 - 3.4) 15*** (8.7 - 26)	1 2.2*** (1.4-3.6) 13.0*** (7.1-24.0)
Experiences of Conflict Experienced Displacement: No Yes	1 1.7** (1.2 -2.4)	1 1.8** (1.2-2.9)



Lifetime Experiences of IPV - POCs

	Physical and/or Sexual IPV - Lifetime	
	Crude OR (95% CI)	Adjusted OR (95% CI)
Socio-demographic Characteristics		
Age:		
15-19	1	1
20-29	1.8 ** (1.2 – 2.6)	1.7 (.90 – 3.2)
30-39	1.6*** (1.6 – 4.1)	2.0 (.98-4.1)
40-64	2.5** (1.4 – 4.4)	2.7* (1.2 – 6.1)
Income Source:		
None/Humanitarian Aid	1	1
Own	1.9 (.90-4.1)	2.6 (.87-7.7)
Husband	1.1 (.69-1.6)	2.0* (1.1-3.4)
Other Sources (Relatives, etc.)	.60* (.40 -.91)	1.2 (.61-2.3)
Fuel Source:		
Charcoal	1	1
Wood	2.8*** (1.9 – 4.0)	2.0** (1.2-3.2)
Grass	2.9*** (1.5 – 5.5)	1.9 (.79-4.6)
Marital/Partner Characteristics		
Husband has other Wives:		
No	1	1
Yes	2.2*** (1.6 – 3.1)	1.8** (1.2-2.7)
Gender Equity		
Experience of Controlling Behaviours:		
None	1	1
1-2	4.1*** (2.7 – 6.1)	4.1*** (2.5-6.6)
3-4	12.7*** (8.0 – 20.1)	10.5*** (6.1-18.1)
Experiences of Conflict		
Experienced a traumatic event (injury, disfigurement or abduction) during time of conflict:		
No	1	1
Yes	3.2*** (2.3 – 4.7)	3.3*** (2.1-5.4)

Village or community of residence experienced attack:		
No	1	1
Yes	2.8*** (2.1 – 3.9)	2.0** (1.3-3.0)

Bivariate Tables

To increase the understanding of associations between conflict and IPV, the research team also conducted bivariate analysis on further dependent variables related to IPV (e.g. frequency, severity, psychological IPV, economic, etc.).

Juba City

Juba City – Violence and Displacement

	Frequency of Physical IPV
	Crude OR (95% CI)
Ever displaced:	
No	1
Yes	3.4 (1.2 – 9.9)*

Rumbek

Rumbek – Violence and Displacement

	Ever experienced physical or sexual IPV	Severity of physical IPV	Ever experienced psychological IPV
	Crude OR (95% CI)	Crude OR (95% CI)	Crude OR (95% CI)
Ever displaced:			
No	1	1	1
Yes	1.7 (1.2 – 2.4)**	1.5 (1.0 – 2.3)*	1.9 (1.3 – 2.6)***

Rumbek – IPV and Conflict Experiences

	Ever experienced physical or sexual IPV	Severity of physical IPV	Ever experienced psychological IPV	Ever experienced economic IPV
	Crude OR (95% CI)	Crude OR (95% CI)	Crude OR (95% CI)	Crude OR (95% CI)
Experienced an attack on village/ community of residence:				
No	1	1	1	1
Yes	2.5 (1.8 – 3.6)***	2.3 (1.5 – 3.5)***	3.9 (2.8 – 5.4)***	3.9 (2.8 – 5.4)***
Experienced at least one traumatic event during any time of conflict:				
No	1	1	1	1
Yes	2.4 (1.5 – 3.8)***	2.9 (1.7 – 4.9)***	1.7 (1.1 – 2.6)*	2.7 (1.8 – 3.9)***.

Juba PoCs

Juba PoCs– violence and conflict experiences

	Ever experienced physical or sexual IPV	Severity of physical IPV	Ever experienced psychological IPV	Ever experienced economic IPV
	Crude OR (95% CI)	Crude OR (95% CI)	Crude OR (95% CI)	Crude OR (95% CI)
Experienced an attack on village/ community of residence:				
No	1	1	1	1
Yes	2.8*** (2.1 – 3.9)	1.0 (.59-1.8)	1.7*** (1.3 – 2.4)	1.6 ** (1.2 -2.3)
Experienced at least one traumatic event during any time of conflict:				
No	1	1	1	1
Yes	3.3*** (2.3 – 4.7)	4.0*** (2.2-7.2)	3.1*** (2.2 – 4.4)	3.0*** (2.2-4.3)

Funding

This document is an output from a project funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) for the benefit of developing countries. However, the views expressed and information contained in it are not necessarily those of or endorsed by DFID, which can accept no responsibility for such views or information or for any reliance placed on them.



Partners

What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls in Conflict and Humanitarian Crises

What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls (What Works) is an international multi-disciplinary partnership led by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) with George Washington University's Global Women's Institute (GWI) and CARE International UK (CIUK). Additional academic and research partners include the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM), the Africa Population Health Research Center (APHRC) in Nairobi, Kenya, and Forcier Consulting in Juba, South Sudan.



The International Rescue Committee

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) responds to the world's worst humanitarian crises and helps people whose lives and livelihoods are shattered by conflict and disaster to survive, recover and gain control of their future. At work in over 40+ countries to restore safety, dignity and hope, the IRC leads the way from harm to home.



The IRC was one of the first humanitarian organisations to launch specific programmes for survivors of violence against women and girls (VAWG), implementing VAWG programmes in refugee settings and other conflict affected communities from 1996. Over the past 17 years, the IRC has pioneered programmes that prevent and respond to VAWG, especially in emergencies and crisis, making the IRC a global leader in this field. Today, the IRC manages programmes targeting VAWG in 30 countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, helping restore the dignity of survivors, creating economic opportunities for women and girls to rebuild and transform their lives, and tackling the root causes of violence.

The Global Women's Institute at the George Washington University

The Global Women's Institute (GWI) envisions a world where women and girls have the same rights and opportunities as men and boys and are free from discrimination, violence and coercion. GWI is a leading organization that bridges research, education and action to advance gender equality and reduce violence and discrimination against women and girls. By strengthening the global knowledge base on gender issues and being a catalyst for change, GWI makes a difference in the lives of women at home and abroad. GWI finds interventions that work, explains why they matter and takes action to bring about change.



CARE International UK

CARE International is one of the world's leading humanitarian and development organisations. Founded in 1945, the organisation has been fighting global poverty and defending the dignity of people around the world for 70 years. CARE currently works in 79 poor and developing countries, helping millions of the world's poorest people find routes out of poverty. It provides life-saving assistance when disaster strikes, and helps people rebuild their lives afterwards. It works alongside poor people and communities on long-term programmes to deliver lasting change. Its programmes and policy work tackle the underlying causes of poverty so that people can become self-sufficient. CARE places special focus on empowering women and girls because, equipped with the proper resources, women have the power to lift whole families and communities out of poverty.



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Design & Infographics: Hannah Lee

Infographics Assistant: Billy Bull

Printed in the UK 2017

