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*An Ethnographic Study of Sexual Networking and
Population Mobility in Nigeria:
HIV/AIDS in 'Junction Towns'*



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CONTENTS

<i>List of Acronyms and Abbreviations</i>	iii
<i>Introduction to the Monograph Series</i>	iv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	v
<i>Executive Summary</i>	1
<i>Introduction</i>	2
<i>Research Methodology and Conceptual Framework</i>	3
<i>Ethnographic Mapping of 14 Nigerian Junction Towns</i>	7
<i>Ethnographic Profile of Long Distance Drivers and Commercial Sex Workers</i>	27
<i>HIV/AIDS in Nigerian Junction Towns: Prevalence, Gender & Human Rights</i>	29
<i>HIV/AIDS Knowledge and Risk Perception in Junction Towns</i>	32
<i>Summary and Implications for Programming</i>	34
<i>References</i>	39
Appendices	40

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune-Deficiency Syndrome
BCC	Behavioural Change Communication
BSS	Behavioral Surveillance Survey
CBO	Community Based Organization
CEDPA	Centre for Development and Population Activities
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSW	Commercial Sex Worker
DFID	Department for International Development
DWYDA	Dukansa Women and Youth Development Association
dRPC	development Research and Project Centre
ECWA	Evangelical Church of West Africa
ECPL	Eleme Petrochemical Company Limited
FHI	Family Health International
FSW	Female Sex Worker
GSM	Global System Mobile
HIV	Human Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
IPC	Itam Peace Column
JNI	Jama'atu Nasir Islamiyya
LACA	Local Government Committee on HIV/AIDS
LDD	Long Distance Drivers
LDTWs	Long Distance Transport Workers
LGA	Local Government Area
NACA	National Action Committee on HIV/AIDS
NASCAP	National AIDS/STD Control Program
NAFCON	National Fertilizer Company of Nigeria
NATACO	<i>original meaning lost, now used to describe Lokoja junction</i>
NEPA	National Electric Power Authority
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NNPC	Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation
NYSC	National Youth Service Corp
NURTW	National Union of Road Transport Worker
NDLEA	National Drug Law Enforcement Agency
NPPMC	Nigeria Pipeline and Products Marketing Corporation
PHACG	Private Sector HIV/AIDS Counselling Group
PLWHAS	People Living With HIV/AIDS
PMTCT	Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission
PMVs	Patent Medicine Vendors
SACA	State Action Committee on HIV/AIDS
SWAAN	Society for Women and AIDS in Africa
STD	Sexual Transmitted Disease
TBAs	Traditional Birth Attendants
UAC	United African Company
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Education Fund
UNIZIK	Nnamdi Azikiwe University
USAID	United State Agency for International Development
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing

INTRODUCTION TO THE MONOGRAPH SERIES

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study¹ aims to address existing limitations in understanding Nigerian junction towns. Sponsored by the National Action Committee on AIDS (NACA) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the goal of this research is to reduce the transmission of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria by developing more appropriate and informed gender-sensitive strategies targeted on mobile populations and their semi-permanent/permanent service providers in junction towns and along transportation routes. The objective is to develop a comprehensive and replicable social analysis of fourteen junction towns with their linking transportation routes in the six geo-political areas of Nigeria.

Why focus on junction towns? The answer to this question lies in the finding that where data exists, HIV prevalence rates in Nigerian junction towns is approximately 2% higher than median rates for the states in which they are located. The high prevalence of HIV in junction towns is indicative of the locational specificity of the epidemic.

An ethnographic research methodology was adapted from the Southern Africa Corridors of Hope project.² The methodology revolved around four points of inquiry and was based on both qualitative and quantitative methods, with gender analysis as a cross cutting theme. Based on the methodology, four clusters of junction towns were constructed. They were:

- a) Small stop-over towns in rural locations
- b) Major in-land towns on transit corridors
- c) Urban commercial/market junction towns
- d) Border towns

It has been assumed that Commercial Sex Workers (CSW) and Long Distance Drivers (LDD) are the key groups involved in sexual transmission of HIV in junction towns. The research illustrates however that there are complex sexual networks in different types of junction towns. Motorcycle drivers, Fulani herdsmen, local politicians, uniformed officers, young girl hawkers, and university female students are some of the other key social groups that are involved in sexual networking. Sexual transactions differ based on type of relationship and are influenced by gender subjugation and poverty. In addition, the research reveals that there is more interaction between the mobile population and stable community than previously thought.

The research delivers a comprehensive understanding of community interactions and sexual relations in the different types of junction towns and gives an assessment of the degree of care and support for HIV positive people. The assessment of health care service providers reveals a limited level of capacity. Findings from the research illustrate that the occupational associations in junction towns are weak and lack the organizational structure to respond to the challenges of HIV/AIDS. Numerous points of entry for gender sensitive programming are highlighted particularly focusing on the National Union of Road Transport Workers to support LDDs, on the

¹ This monograph, edited by Jean Munro, is based on the CIDA-sponsored research conducted by Dr. Judith Walker as outlined in the report “Social Mapping of HIV/AIDS Transmission in 14 Nigerian Junction Towns: A Study of Hot Spots and Risk Settings”. For information on the research report, contact Nigeria-Canada Cooperation Office.

² The Southern Africa Corridors of Hope project is a regional HIV/AIDS prevention initiative focusing on key sites along the Durban-Lusaka highway in southern Africa. The project seeks to develop, test, refine and package assessment tools around anthropological approaches of site inventories and ethnographies that can be used in border, highway and similar risk contexts.

loose coalitions of CSWs, and on existing traditional community structures and institutions. In particular, as the sexual behavior of men is fueling the epidemic the importance of change behavior programming focusing on men is essential.

1 INTRODUCTION

Despite the well-established relationship between mobile populations, junction towns and the spread of the AIDS, there has been little research on the peculiar risk setting presented by junction towns in Nigeria, and very little research on junction towns as hotspots per se. This is a significant gap for the most populous nation in Africa where many people are on the move and where sites of mobility overlap with settlements in poor zones. Indeed, an analysis of the 2003 Nigerian HIV sentinel population survey among pregnant women reveals that the prevalence rate in junction towns is approximately 2% higher than state averages. Not surprisingly, the highest HIV prevalence rates in Nigeria as of 2003 occur at junction town sites with 17.4% in Badagry and 11.3% in Ikom. These figures are closely followed by Lokoja, yet another junction town with a prevalence rate of 7% (NASCP, 2004).

The inadequate focus on junction towns is due in part to the lack of clarity about the meaning of the term in HIV/AIDS research and risk mapping. Indeed, even the best-known works in junction town HIV/AIDS research simply use the term without adequate conceptual or theoretical grounding. Moreover, the term junction town is used interchangeably with transit corridors, transportation routes and border crossings.

In this study junction towns are viewed as a particular high-risk setting, a hotspot, located within a geographic area with contiguous borders leading to other major destinations within the country and in some cases to other countries. The term junction town will be used as a generic concept to describe different types of locations where mobile high-risk populations come into contact with stable populations creating unique forms of risk settings and risk factors that contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Junction towns tend to be zones of freedom (a type of veritable no-person's-land), where the rigid social structures imposed by traditional authorities are often circumscribed. While many junction towns in Nigeria are not new, modern patterns of economic, social and geographic interactions have shaped the way in which both the stable and mobile populations of these towns respond to the factors driving the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Risk settings are physical locations where a number of predisposing factors come together to create a conjuncture that leads to HIV vulnerable behaviours. Junction towns are a particular type of risk setting. For ordinary Nigerians traversing the country for purposes of livelihood, junction towns are special places in their lives. Junction towns offer security from highway robbers, provide a convenient resting spot for long distance drivers, offer opportunities for employment including sex work, and provide a conducive environment for sexual services on a long journey. For their permanent populations, junction towns present new opportunities for economic prosperity, where youth can be absorbed into modern day life, and where new ideas frequently override traditional values and culture.

While several studies in Nigeria have focused on behavioural change amongst high-risk mobile populations, few studies have focused on the sites of high-risk behaviour where mobile and permanent populations meet and network in junction towns.

1.1 Research Objectives

The objective of this research is to develop a comprehensive, useful and replicable social analysis of junction towns with their linking transportation routes in the six geo-political zones of Nigeria.

The aim of the study is to:

- contribute to the expansion of a sound knowledge base on HIV/AIDS transmission in Nigeria;
- develop flexible and innovative HIV/AIDS programming in Nigeria, responding to transmission and mobility patterns distinct from geographically bound programming based on geo-political zones or states;
- conceptualize and integrate gender equality considerations throughout the programming cycle, given that gender relations and gender roles and responsibilities are central to the relationship between migrant populations (largely male) and their service providers (largely female) in junction towns and along transportation routes;
- identify points of entry, possible partners and possible constraints to HIV/AIDS programming.

The research questions are illustrated below:

1. What pragmatic system can be used to classify HIV/AIDS transmission routes, including workable definitions of junction towns, transportation routes and other such elements?
2. Which social groups are involved in the transmission of HIV/AIDS in junction towns and transportation routes?
3. What are the key social, economic, gender, geographic and cultural factors that contribute to the transmission of HIV/AIDS in junction towns and transportation routes?
4. What is the social and economic impact of HIV/AIDS on migrant populations and their service providers in junction towns?
5. What resources, strategies and interventions are required to reduce the transmission of HIV/AIDS in junction towns?
6. How can the capacity of junction town communities be strengthened to effectively engage in HIV/AIDS mitigation activities?
7. What are the opportunities for HIV/AIDS programming, the entry points, possible partners and possible constraints in junction towns?

This monograph begins with a brief overview of methodology and conceptual framework of the study. The results of the research are presented in three sections: 1) the ethnographic mapping of junction towns, 2) the ethnographic mapping of main stakeholders, and 3) HIV/AIDS in junction towns. Final recommendations for interventions and entry points are highlighted in the conclusion.

2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Ethnographic Mapping Approaches to High Risk Populations and Hotspots

When focusing on high risk populations such as mobile groups, ethnographic mapping provides useful tools for making sense of sexual networking and other high risk behaviours. Ethnographic mapping also provides equally useful insights for understanding hotspots as specific locations. Indeed, spatial data analysis and mapping are essential tools in the HIV/AIDS ethnographer's toolkit (Cromley, 1999:51). Ethnographic mapping is therefore a response to the critique that

quantitative surveys merely provide a de-contextualized treatment of communities with facts and figures but with limited insights into the culture of the site being studied or the key social groups under investigation. Rapid ethnographic assessments are especially useful in understanding sub-cultures that develop in specific sites as a response to a particular configuration of locally specific circumstances (Cromley, *ibid*). This methodology offers entry points for macro, meso and micro level insights. Through ethnographic methods, a rapid, macro level overview of a geographically defined community or sub culture can be carried out, a meso level study of representative associations and providers can be undertaken and micro level surveys of knowledge, attitude, opinion and practices of vulnerable populations can be determined.

The research design for the typical ethnographic mapping study is anchored on research parameters that explain the demographics, attitude and behaviour of at high risk populations in terms of temporal/spatial, factors such as physical security, economics, gender relations or social structure. The key research parameters of ethnographic mapping research methods enable the researcher to explore the interplay of locational specific factors with the population under study. In most HIV/AIDS studies, high risk populations and risk settings (hotspots) are focused upon through four main research parameters. These parameters are:

1. Size (physical and population) and location (urban/rural)
2. Economic activities on and around the site
3. Mobile populations and their interactions with the stable populations on site
4. Local socio-cultural context

2.2 Site Selection

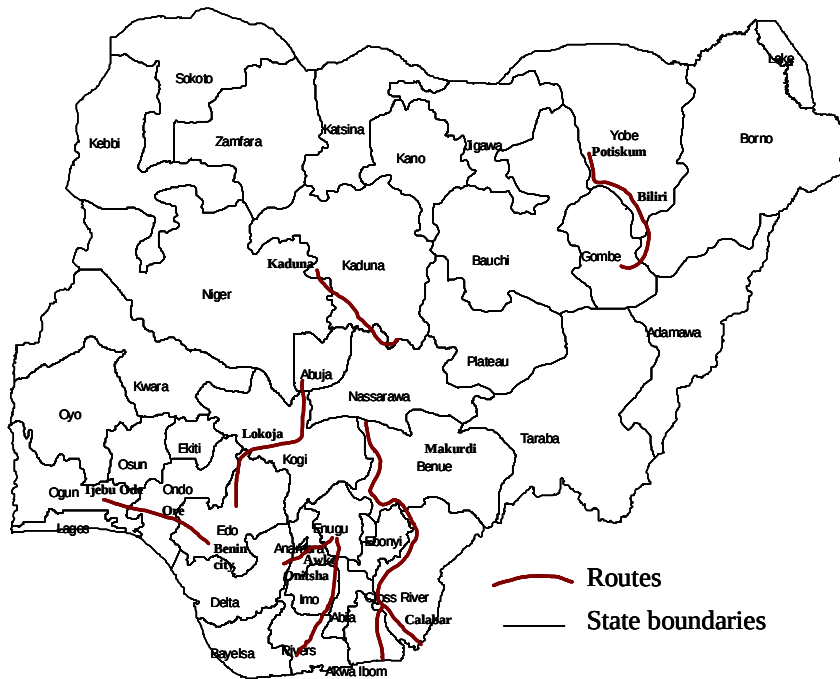
Fourteen research sites were selected representative of the 6 geo-political zones of the country and proportionately representative of HIV/AIDS prevalence patterns nationally (see Table 1).

Table 1: Site Selection of Junction Towns

Geopolitical zones	Junction towns selected	% rep. in total sample size n=14	HIV/AIDS prevalence rate in % 2003
North west	Mararban Jos, Kaduna State Kwana Dangora, Kano State	14.5%	2.7%
North east	Billiri, Gombe State Wukari, Taraba State	14.5%	5.8%
North central	Mokwa, Niger State Aliade, Benue State Lokoja, Kogi State	21%	7.0%
South east	Ogbollo' Afor, Enugu State Anambra, Anambra State	14.5%	4.2%
South west	Badagry, Lagos State Ore, Ondo State	14.5%	2.3%
South south	Eleme, Rivers State Itam, Akwa Ibom State Ikom, Cross River State	21%	5.8%
Total	14 junction towns	100%	5.0% (national median)

The map below illustrates the distribution and location of main road networks and junction towns in Nigeria.

Map of Nigeria with Transport Corridors and Junction Towns



2.3 Ethnographic Mapping Approaches in the Junction Town Research

The ethnographic research methodology of this study was carried out in two stages. First, ethnographic maps and site inventories were developed for each of the 14 sites using questionnaires. Sources included stable populations on site, government officials in the local government authority, the National Population Commission Office in the local government as well as international funding agencies.

Data collected from the ethnographic mapping questionnaire was used to constitute a sample framework from which target populations were identified for in-depth survey. This was the second stage. In junction town mapping target populations are identified as:

1. Officials representing government agencies including the uniformed services
2. Traditional and community leaders of settler populations
3. Female Sex Workers (FSWs)
4. Long Distance Transport Workers (LDTWs) including Long Distance Drivers (LDDs)
5. Public and private health care providers
6. Representatives of civil society organizations including CBOs and ethnic associations
7. Informal sector workers such as traders, food sellers
8. Funding agencies

Target populations can either be mobile or stable. Stable populations are defined as groups of people who either reside on the site continuously for a period of four years or commute from surrounding areas on to the junction town site on a regular basis over the same period. Mobile populations are groups of people who spend less than 4 years on the site and leave with an

intention not to return. A description of the research instrument used with each target population is outlined in Appendix 1.

Given that ethnographic studies rely mainly on qualitative information, quantitative data is largely used as an additional data source to triangulate findings in addition to participant observation. The quantitative study aimed for a representative sample size of 10% of the population of LDDs and of FSWs. The figures 211 and 300 are the desired sample size representing 10% of the sample size of LDDs and FSWs. The actual sample size obtained was 206 and 179 respectively. The quantitative study also aimed at 100% coverage of the health facilities and civil society organizations found on the site. As stated above, the quantitative data collection instruments were complemented by participant observation as well as qualitative data collection. A period of 4 days was assigned to each of the 14 sites during which research teams of two or three researchers blended into the junction towns to ask questions, observe and participate in the activities of the site.

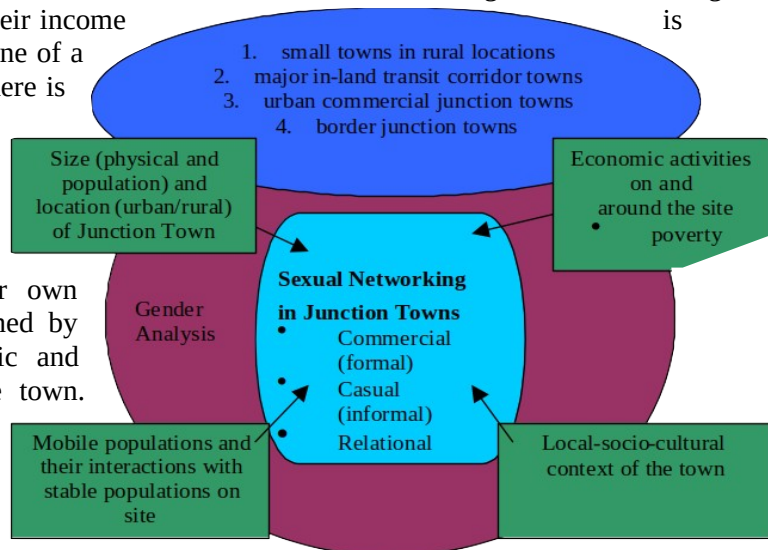
2.4 Classification and Comparison in Junction Town Research

The figure below illustrates the ethnographic mapping conceptual framework including the additional parameters of analysis.

The **small junction towns** in rural locations are *de facto* villages rather than towns. For many living in the hinterland surrounding these villages, these are indeed towns, with electricity and greater prospects for survival. Hence they attract migrants from neighbouring deep rural areas within the same zone. In these ‘towns’ there is a blurring of boundaries between the local cultural context and the junction. Both the demand and the supply sides of the sex trade are locally determined. Female sex workers subsidize their sex trade income with earnings from food selling and other part-time occupations. Their income is relatively small, LDTWs are only one of a varied group of male clients, and there is often no fixed price for sexual services.

The **major in-land transit corridors** are large and active junction towns, which have their own distinctive culture largely determined by the configuration of the economic and geographic factors specific to the town. These are veritable free spaces in which several migrating groups of men and women stake out their claims and make a living. LDTWs are significant and there is a bustling movement of vehicles in and out of the motor parks, which make up these often peri-urban areas.

The **urban commercial junction towns** are located in town centres where modern commercial/industrial activities in the surrounding areas determine both the demand and supply of the sex trade. While students are present as part-time sex workers in rural towns and in-land transit corridors, they are quite significant as part-time sex workers in these locations. Here the price of sex is fixed rather than indeterminate, middle-people are ever present, and the risk of violence is high.



The **border junction towns** are characterized mainly by their location. The heavy presence by men of the uniform services coupled with the periodic and convenient criminalization of sex work as a security offence leads to the indiscriminate exploitation of FSWs in these areas. FSWs are organized in solidarity groups and negotiate such obstacles to their livelihood. Border junction towns have their own culture where varied groups claim their survival spaces.

Based on the above classification, the 14 selected junction towns of this study have been grouped as follows:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Cluster A - Small stop-over towns in rural locations: | Billiri, Gombe State
Wukari, Taraba State
Aliade, Benue State
Kwanan Dongora, Kano State |
| 2. Cluster B - Major in-land towns on transit corridors: | Lokoja, Kogi State
Ogbollo-Afor, Enugu State
Ore, Ondo State
Mokwa, Niger State
Maraban Jos, Kaduna State |
| 3. Cluster C - Urban market/market junction towns: | Eleme, Rivers State
Anambra State University, Anambra State
Itam Peace Column, Akwa Ibom State |
| 4. Cluster D - Border towns: | Badagry, Lagos State
Ikom, Cross River State |

2.5 Limitations and Gaps of the Study

Most of the data obtained by the site inventory were approximates based on the informed opinion of key informants. In many cases, the accuracy of figures could not be validated, even with triangulation, as people's opinions tended to vary widely and no official statistics existed. Secondly, generic terms were used that were not always applicable. These terms included Female Sex Worker which sometimes included part-time sex workers, though greater attempts were made to only capture FSWs in the BSS instrument, A 7. Quality control was also put in place to only capture drivers in the LDD instrument, A 6.

An important gap in this study is that LDDs were the only group of male clients to attract in-depth attention in the study; commercial motorcyclists, men of the uniform services, local politicians, casual laborers, on-site traders and Fulani herdsmen who were found to be significant male clients on all the sites were only covered in the qualitative mapping and were not targeted by the in-depth BSS instrument. Since there are mobile populations amongst this group, in-depth studies of their risk perception, knowledge and behavioral change are useful. In particular, the reluctance of the uniformed services to respond to the researcher team, citing clearance from central command, in Badagry and Ikom is an important gap in this study given the high prevalence rate of the HIV epidemic in these sites. Similarly, casual female sex workers were not subject to in-depth studies using the BSS instrument, nor were male sex workers interviewed. Another apparent gap in the study is that the research team mainly relied on key informants as a source for information about HIV/AIDS interventions in junction towns. In many cases

informants did not know the name of NGOs nor did they understand the aim and purpose of the intervention. These limitations point to key areas for future research.

3 ETHNOGRAPHIC MAPPING OF 14 NIGERIAN JUNCTION TOWNS

3.1 Cluster A: Small junction towns in rural settings – Billiri, Wukari, Aliade, Kwanan Dangora

3.1.1 Case Study 1: Billiri, Gombe State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

Billiri junction town is characterized by a virtual collapsing of boundaries between the local population in surrounding settlements and the on site junction town population. While mobile populations of male LDTW and others are found on this site, it is stable populations of male

Billiri at a Glance
According to the 1991 national census, the population of Billiri is 86,557 however current estimates by the LGA put the population at 95,000. The town has continued to grow in recent years, as it is a catchment pool for migrants from neighbouring states. It is also a stopover town for long distant travelers from North to the South and back. Billiri is also a transit city for thousands of people moving to other cities in the State from the surrounding rural settlement and for people traveling to their rural homes from cities during weekends and festive periods. The major economic activity driving the junction town area of Billiri is wholesaling and retailing of agricultural products and livestock attracting substantial business to the area. Almost all farms and livestock are owned by male household heads while women provide unpaid farm labor and are largely responsible for providing fire wood and feeding the family from their own stores of grain during the harvest season of plenty. As a local government secretariat site, the town is also characterized by high spending local politicians and civil servants also contributing to economic turn over.

politicians and commercial motorcyclist as well as casual female sex workers from the area who shape the character of this site. The fact that Billiri is a LGA Headquarters in a rural area means that local politicians are a permanent feature of the landscape. They have a high profile in the community and are a high paying group of male clients. Stable males are commercial motorcyclists, *joint* owners, roasted meat sellers, wholesalers and retailers of grains, yams and livestock.

Most female sex workers are part of the stable population on site. They are casual and are from the local community. They are roughly between the ages of 15-30 and are secondary school dropouts. Interviews with them reveal that they do not view themselves as 'sex workers' as is the case with other junction towns in the South of the country. Rather, they mingle with people in social gatherings and visit *joints* as customers where they encounter interested clients and arrange where to meet either in the clients' residence or in the hotels where there are rooms available for short periods of time. Many of the older female sex workers from Billiri are also food sellers and

in some cases restaurant owners in the junction town. Others own houses and rent rooms to single young women.

The migrants in Billiri are from the hinterland of neighbouring settlements. Male migrants, particularly, the water pushers, the security men and some artisans come from neighbouring countries such as Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Fulani herdsmen are often found in the town and in many cases are male clients. Long distance transport workers such as drivers and conductors of luxury buses, trailers, tankers and goods lorries can be found on this site and constitute a large pool of male clients. In addition to these mobile men, there are significant numbers of itinerant

sex workers who move from place to place on market days. Most of the itinerant sex workers are from deep rural areas of Gombe state or from neighbouring Borno and Bauchi states. Itinerant sex workers from Benue state were also identified on market days.

Local socio-cultural context

While Tangale is generally spoken by the dominant ethnic group of Tangale in Billiri, Hausa has emerged as the language of everyday communication and of trade. The Tangale family structure is bifurcated with the male being the undisputed source of authority while the female provides for herself, her children and in many cases her junior brothers and sisters through farming and livestock rearing. In interviews with casual female sex workers many of them reported that they did not want to be like their mothers. Thus they preferred to remain unmarried but with a steady boyfriend and multiple sexual partners in an effort to maximize their survival options. Because patri-focal inheritance practices in Tangale society also denies females rights to agricultural land, there is an acute feminization of poverty accompanied by a high degree of tolerance for female survival strategies such as sex work and domestic labor. Hence the family structure is liberal enough to accommodate girls bringing their male partners into their houses. Parents do not frown on such behavior. In most cases girls have their separate rooms where they can entertain their visitors. Though the Billiri society does not recognize them as household heads, many of these girls are providers, paying for the education of their siblings as well as the farm inputs of their father's farms in the rural areas.

3.1.2 Case Study 2: Wukari, Taraba State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

Young male commercial motorcyclists (*Yan-Achaba*) are the most significant stable population on site. Other male stable populations on site are unemployed young men from the surrounding areas as well as those relocating as a result of conflict. Interviews with female food sellers reveals that this group is generally part of the stable population. The stable populations also include women and girl hawkers from neighbouring villages who engage in petty trading and retailing of some agricultural products. Many of the food vendors move between sex work and food sales.

In the past 50 years Fulanis have come to constitute a semi-stable population of the area. They can be found 5 kilometers from the main town of Wukari in areas referred to as *Ruga*. They are mainly seen in the rainy season from April to October. The average *Ruga* is made up of 10 to 16 families with women, children and men. The young men (*Korijo*) rear cattle and the women sell yoghurt and milk to neighbouring settlements. An elder male, the *Dattijo* is the head of the settlement.

Wukari at a Glance

Wukari has an estimated population of 80,000 and is one of the largest towns in the state. The town is centrally located and linked to various towns such as Gboko in Benue State, Ogbolla-Afor in Enugu State, Jalingo and Takum in Taraba State. The junction town is bound to the east by Kyado and to the south by Chinyai villages. Wukari shares borders with Benue State and is the main stopover town for vehicles traveling to the east, especially to Onisha. The area is dominated by the Jukun speaking people and it is largely an agricultural zone producing yam, rice and cassava. Tivs from neighbouring Benue State are another significant population in the area. Economic activities driving this site include the yam markets, local beer industry, wholesaling and retaining of agricultural goods as well as food selling, vehicle repairs and selling of petrol. Just outside the Wukari junction site there are large number of brothels, bars and hotels. Indigenes of Wukari live in settlements immediately to the eastern part of the junction. They are reputed to be good fishermen transporting fish to other parts of the country. Trucks come from states as far as Kano and Anambra to buy yams consumed in these and other areas.

The mobile populations on the Wukari site include Fulani herdsmen, Hausa shoe cobblers and young male farm laborers and loaders from the North central zone. Drivers and conductors of trucks and luxury buses are the transport workers who pass through the site. Currently, the junction does not have a large presence of LDTWs during the night as few of them overnight there. The LDTWs merely refuel, pick up or drop passengers and continue their journey; recently LDTWs prefer to spend the night in Ogbolla-Afor, which is a two hours drive away. The brothels, hotels and bars around which economic activities revolve are located outside the site. Many stable female sex workers on the site are settled migrants from Plateau State, Gbako in Benue State and from Calabar. Tiv sex workers from Benue State are preferred by most Fulani herdsmen as they are popularly referred to as ‘white’ women. Most migrant sex workers are found during the Sallah and Christmas, during harvest period and when weekends fall within the month ends.

Local socio-cultural context

There is a blurring of boundaries between the population in the junction *per se* and the largely Jukun population of the surrounding area of the Wukari LGA. Wukari is the heartland of the Jukun people and the seat of the Aku Uka, the King of Jukun land. The Jukun population is closely followed by the Tivs, Hausas as well as the Igbos migrating from the East. Christianity is the dominant religion followed by traditional animist and Islam. The culture of the area is characterized by festivities and parties in which youth play a dominant role. Male youth culture is strongly associated with multiple partners, social activities, celebrations and open display of money and wealth. Many of the drivers found in and around the Wukari site are from the area.

3.1.3 Case Study 3: Aliade, Benue State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

Aliade at a Glance

Aliade has an estimated population 100,000 (Interview with LGA officials). It is roughly 47 kilometers from the state capital in Makurdi. Subsequent growth of the town is attributed to the development of roads, and the coming of Christian missionaries and an increase in schools and hospitals. The large number of schools has attracted school children from across the State, so also the growth in the market, which has attracted farmers from neighbouring settlements. Aliade has major roads that go to Markurdi, the eastern part of the country and Taraba State. Farming of yams, rice and fruits has remained the major occupation of the inhabitants. Other occupations include petty trading, especially selling of alcoholic beverages and food, driving and commercial sex work. Long distance driver activities are most pronounced on market days. There are no industries except for five large orchards that employ approximately 100 people. The NNPC depot is relatively close to Aliade and provides employment for a few of its indigenes. However, it is the Taraku Oil Mills located just outside of Aliade that provides the most recent pull for male casual laborers and sex workers.

There are three categories of female sex workers in Aliade. There are stable FSWs who live in their own houses or rented apartments and are from Aliade. They are primarily of the Tiv or Igede/Idoma ethnic groups and are between 20-45 years. They provide other services such as selling of food, drinks, fruits and other seasonal agricultural produce. On paydays, a few migrate from Aliade to the NNPC Depot site. A second category of stable sex workers are the secondary school girls who are from Aliade and surrounding areas and sell sex occasionally from their parents’ homes. The third category is that of the itinerant sex workers who migrate from neighbouring rural areas and Southeastern states. This group tends to move from market to market. Itinerant FSWs are easily identifiable while it is sometimes difficult to

identify the locals who live with their families and engage in income generating activities such as selling food and alcoholic drinks. Long distance transport workers are part of the mobile

population on site. As they rest in the town for 3-4 days waiting to lift fuel, the area becomes alive with sexual networking.

Local socio-cultural context

Aliade is located in a rich cultural zone where social, religious, and cultural festivities are associated with market days and harvests. Buying alcohol is an exhibition of a high economic status and on market days during the rainy season when farmers are selling their produce, alcohol consumption is high and the social life is vibrant. The culture is also characterized by very high levels of sexual promiscuity for both males and females among the general adult and youth population that appears to be the accepted norm in the community. Despite the existence of derogatory terms such as *Ashawo* or *Apkera* for 'prostitutes' as well as social sanctions, economic and historical factors combine with cultural orientations to create a material situation where liberal attitudes to sex are reinforced. Historical factors include the sexual exploitation of women in the middle belt during the civil war while economic factors include the high degree of outward migration of both skilled and unskilled labour from a zone that is largely poor, rural and agrarian. In interviews with traditional leaders and the Nigerian Union of Teachers, day secondary school students are viewed as especially promiscuous. The high and rising level of poverty is suggested by many respondents as the reason why young girls engage in commercial sex. Respondents also identify traditional burial ceremonies and wake keepings where drinking and dancing take place all night as risk settings where youth are especially vulnerable. The practice of wife inheritance, which is said to be common and has not abated even with the high prevalence of AIDS, is another cultural factor of significance in this area.

3.1.4 Case Study 4: Kwanan Dangora, Kano State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

Stable populations include a significant number of male drivers who have settled in the area, farmers from the fadama in the neighbouring Yalwa community, male unemployed youth, and proprietresses of rooms rented out to sex workers. Young female hawkers from the neighbouring Yalwa community can also be found on the site.

Mobile populations include female sex workers who migrate from neighbouring villages (Kunkumi, Tashar Yari, Tashar Ango and Gangarida) in Kaduna State to Kwanan Dongora on market days in particular. They also include mobile police officers stationed in the area that are said to be the only group of male clients capable of 'keeping prostitutes' in defiance of Shari'a in the area. Fulani settlements with full families comprising of husband herdsmen, milkmaid wives and children are another group of mobile population close to the site. Hausa refugees of the Jos riots of 2002 are also

Kwanan Dangora at a Glance

Kwanan Dangora is also known as the Kafin Maiyaki junction of Kiru LGA in Kano State. The population is estimated at 80,000. It is a junction where four major roads meet leading to almost all parts of the country and beyond. There are three motor parks in the junction and, at the time of the research, the junction was not very active. The major economic activities revolve around the big grain market and a seasonal vegetable market. Food selling, temporary shelter, vehicle repairs and some sex work between LDDs and sex workers on market days are also economic activities of note. Young male laborers from neighbouring villages are a common feature of this junction town. These youth are known for abuse of marijuana -*wee wee*- especially on paydays. There are several large poultry farms and two construction companies. Prior to the introduction of Shari'a a few women, mainly retired sex workers, were economically active as proprietress of rented accommodation for sex workers. In the late 1990s, there were approximately 20 of such houses with as many as 30 female sex workers per house. Several of these women had moved into the food selling business at the time of the research.

on the site. A member of the Kwanan Dongora Hisba Committee and Imam of the Friday Mosque in the area explained the recent reduction in female sex workers on. (see text box).

As sex workers go underground, migrate from the site or agree to arranged marriages, men turn to young hawkers between the ages of 10-15 years. Currently there are no more than five sex workers on the site during the day and roughly 30 in the night who migrate from neighbouring villages in Kaduna State. Both the migrating and resident sex workers report that variable charges for sexual services as clients are charged based on perceived ability to pay as well as love relationships. While accepting monetary payments, FSWs report a preference for payments in kind such as clothing, food or rent which they often receive from more than one client whom they playfully refer to as their *dadiro* or boyfriend.

Local socio-cultural context

Despite the presence of several migrant groups, the Kwanan Dangora junction town site is overlaid by the culture of a largely rural Hausa context. In this culture the Village Head of Yalwa is a dominant figure as the traditional head. He is actively present in the social structure and social life of the community. Hausa is the lingua franca of the many different

‘Before, I was living in Azare, that was where I learnt driving, also I married there and I have 3 children, the eldest is now living in Kaduna, he is married and has 3 children. In the past, I hate coming to Kwanan Dangora, I am even afraid of coming here because I hear about how prostitutes are carrying on. I was told that they use to conquer the hearts of drivers and make them stay in their place for some days, even some months, before allowing them to continue their journey. So whenever, I come to this place I stay in one man’s house. I feed there and do everything there. But now God has brought the time that I come to this place and now I even live here with my family because there is land and food.’

groups including the neighbouring Fulani community, as well as the

community of Hausa Maguzawa. Islam is the dominant religion of the area. Wife seclusion is widely practiced by most of the more prosperous farmers in the neighbouring villages. Prior to the introduction of Shari’a when the junction town was active, this site had a reputation for entrapping groups of LDDs to settle in the area and become permanent residents of the community. In the surrounding villages of the area several settled LDDs could be found. The life history of a LDD described in the opposite text box is a typical story of drivers who are still found on this site.

‘After Shari’a was implemented in Kano State, Kiru LGA appointed me as Chairman of the Shari’a Committee. The Committee has worked well. Its work includes enlightening the people on what Shari’a was all about and preaching to the prostitutes. We didn’t drive them away but we insisted that they purified themselves as Islam has provided for. That is for them to do their Istibra’I and then get married. We succeeded in getting about 80 of them married. When they were in their Istibra’I the LGA sponsored their feeding up to the period of time they got married. Some were given N5,000 when they married.’
Chairman Hisba Committee, Kiru LGA and Imam of Friday Mosque

Listed below is a summary of ethnographic information collected for small junction towns.

Table 2: Summary data for small junction towns in rural settings

Site data	Billiri	Wukari	Aliade	K/Dongora
Estimated population on site	95,000*	80,000	100,000	80,000
Professional sex workers				
<i>Female</i>	160	180	480**	35***
<i>Male</i>	0	0	0	0
Casual sex workers	1,450	1,780	1,500	20
LDDs staying overnight	150	60	160	50
People employed in informal sector				
<i>Male</i>	20,000	22,000	30,000	20,000
<i>Female</i>	10,000	23,000	80,000	8,000
Average weekly income of migrant pop.				
<i>Male</i>	2,000	4,000	2,000	2,000
<i>Female</i>	1,000	4,000	1,500	1,000
<i>Youth</i>	1,000	1,000	2,000	700
Prices Charged by FSWs				
<i>Round</i>	100	negotiable	negotiable	negotiable
<i>Night</i>	600			
Number of tertiary schools	3	2		-
Number of secondary schools	10	2	11	-

* This figure can be explained by the fact that there is little difference between the junction town and the settlement.

** About 400 female professional sex workers are from neighbouring states and villages while roughly 80 are from Aliade town.

*** This low figure is explained by the introduction of Shari'a in the state

3.2 Cluster B: Major in-land transit corridors- Lokoja, Obollo'Afor, Ore, Mokwa, Mararaban Jos: Junction towns in a Junction town

3.2.1 Case Study 5: Lokoja, Kogi State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

Lokoja plays host to a number of tertiary institutions as well as commercial/industrial activities. For example, the Kogi State Polytechnic with an estimated student population of about 5,000 is located here. The Kogi State Cement Factory is reputed to be the largest of its kind in the West African sub-region. Julius Berger and the Dangote Group of Companies jointly working at the site of the cement factory account for a high number of expatriate staff and casual laborers. This, in recent times, has added a boost to sexual activity in the town. The town is also located very close to the Ajaokuta Steel Company as well as the Itakpe Iron Mine. The Ajaokuta Steel plant, which was established in 1978, has been a major feature of the economic landscape of the Lokoja junction town area. Young women hawking different items that range from fish and oranges to pure water and kola are actually straddling between such trades and commercial sex work at neighbouring construction sites. In addition, there is Swange Hotel, which is located within the proximity of the junction town and which serves as a brothel for commercial sex workers.

Male members of the stable population on site consist of restaurant owners and some employees, public toilet attendants, shop owners, meat sellers, bar owners, water pushers, mechanics and vulcanizers. Stable female population on site include, cooks and food sellers, shop attendants selling soft drinks and alcoholic beverages in bars, a small percentage (about 15%) of sex workers, some hawkers selling honey, groundnuts and bananas in particular and motor park

cleaners and sweepers working with the local government. In the past twenty years Fulanis have become part of the settled population around Lokoja. Settled Fulanis live in small scattered settlements of 5 to 6 families and engage in farming as well as livestock rearing.

Male members of the mobile population include foreign workers. Russians workers on the neighbouring steel plant were the first group of foreign workers to frequent the Lokoja site for sex workers. Most recently, this group has been replaced by Ukrainian workers in the steel industry. Other mobile male populations include Fulani nomads who come through the Lokoja area in large numbers during the months of November to December on their way to the South of the country. There are strong bonds between the stable and mobile Fulani populations.

Many FSWs are migrants from the neighbouring Benue State, with Tiv and Idoma being in the majority, while others come from neighbouring states such as Enugu, Anambra, Edo, Delta and Benue. The latter group falls within the age range of 16-25 years.

Lokoja at a Glance

The Lokoja junction town comprises of the popular NATACO motor park and the Ganaja junction motor park. Although there is massive flow of movement and social interaction between the NATACO junction and the rest of Lokoja town, NATACO has a distinct life of its own. A very large informal sector has developed, bringing together a kaleidoscope of people engaged in diverse business activities ranging from food restaurants, roadside food vendors and hawkers of different articles. Between 40-60 trailers can be found at the NATACO 'settlement' in addition to numerous luxurious buses and other commercial vehicles, which stop over for re-fuelling and to enable their passengers to eat.

Local socio-cultural context

Lokoja shares similar socio-cultural patterns with that of the Mokwa junction town. Similar to Mokwa, the Lokoja site has developed a sub-culture of its own which is tantamount to a veritable zone of freedom. This sub-culture is one in which multiple Nigerian languages and Pigeon English are spoken where survival strategies and cunningness are valued and where masculinity is associated with strength and material means and femininity associated with sexual availability. Similar to Mokwa, the sub-culture also borrows from the dominant culture of the male dominated culture of the area where women are largely

valued as farm labor and their sexual and reproductive rights denied. This culture is also characterized by numerous cultural festivals where alcohol is consumed as well as liberal attitudes towards sexual activity, even for youths, permitting practices such as wife inheritance and wife hospitality.

Though it is difficult to make a general observation about culture and sexuality, an explanation for the high prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in Lokoja is that sexual promiscuity is more tolerated than elsewhere outside the North central region. Whereas, the chastity of females in particular is guarded among some groups, it is not the case in many of the junction towns of the North central. Another important point to note from the Lokoja cultural context is that young men in the local communities have a history of long distance driving. This is considered a high status occupation for the youth. Hence male youth in towns such as Ankpa have a preference for driving Mercedes 911 trucks between Ankpa-Kano, Ankpa-Onitsha, Ankpa-Kuuna and other major towns. Associated with the occupation of long distance driving is the culture of multiple partners, polygamy, alcohol consumption and increased number of dependents.

3.2.2 Case Study 6: Ogbollo-Afor, Enugu State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

In Ogbollo-Afor, two distinct groups of female sex workers can be identified. They are the professional sex workers, who are largely stable on site staying for four years and more. They are between the ages of 16 and 45 years old with varying educational backgrounds and come from different parts of the country, notably from Benue, and Kogi states in the North central and from several states in the South east. They usually have rented accommodation on the site and are able to negotiate condom use with male clients. Most of the professional FSWs interviewed claim to have regular boyfriends. Then there are the casual or part time sex workers between the ages of 14-25 who are usually younger girls from the neighbouring community. The latter group come into the town on a daily basis or migrates for extended periods during the school vacation period.

Ogbollo-Afor at a Glance

Ogbollo-Afor junction town has its history in the big market located in the 'Obollo' community, which took place every four days. The junction town is located on the express road linking the far-most North to Onitsha, one of the commercial nerve-centers in the Southeast. Ogbollo-Afor is located in the Udenu LGA of Enugu State about 100 km to the famous Ninth Mile Corner, another junction town, and 120 km from Enugu the state capital. Ogbollo-Afor has flourished over the years due to its strategic location as a point of rest for travelers from the north to the southeast. The town grew as people began to make their homes along the roads to be near the centre of action. Ogbollo-Afor is to the neighbouring villages a window on the world. For such travelers, Ogbollo-Afor is a place where they can rest, eat and refuel their vehicles before setting off to Enugu, Onitsha, Port Harcourt, especially as there are neither shops nor filling stations for 100 kilometers. In addition to eating and resting, the junction town is located in a community of large scale farmers who build shacks and stalls along the road where they sell plantains, yam and fruits in season to travelers. By 7:30 pm, one can count about 50 trailers, tankers and lorries parked on both sides of the road as well as a similar number in garages, waiting to continue their journeys the following morning.

They hang along the road and hotel premises waiting for clients. Most of these girls report that they are either between boyfriends or that they do not have a special boyfriend. The local government estimates that there are roughly 400 FSWs on the site; this figure does not include the mobile itinerant sex workers. Female petty traders with small stalls are another significant stable group on this site. Similarly, female food sellers in Ogbollo-Afor are also largely stable group with significant investments in cooking utensils, food stuffs and secret recipes.

Regarding male mobile populations these include LDTW, most of whom are from outside of the state. Only a small minority of LTDWs is resident in the immediate environs of the Ogbollo-Afor. Both the resident and out of state LDTWs patronize FSWs while they wait to take off with their ready vehicles the following morning. Most of the

LDTWs interviewed were married with partners in the different junction towns where they stop to spend one or more nights.

Local socio-cultural context

The closest neighbouring settlements to the Ogbollo-Afor junction town are Iheaka and Orba with a combined estimated population of 80,000 (Local Government Secretariat). People come from these villages to transact business on a daily basis. The population is roughly 70% Catholic with 20% being Anglican; the remaining 10% largely belonging to other Christian churches. The population is predominantly Igbo.

3.2.3 Case Study 7: Ore, Ondo State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

Roughly 60% of female sex workers in Ore junction town are from the population of Ore town as well as neighbouring towns such as Ofosu, Akure, Ondo, Okitipupa. This group commutes into the junction on a daily or weekly basis. Approximately 30% are from as far as Ijebu-Ode, Lagos, Benin, Oyo, Warri, Ife and Modakeke and they generally reside in the town over periods varying

from six months to two years. There are also a small but significant number of foreigners, notably Ghanaians and Cameroonians who stay on the site for short period of one to two years before moving on to other sites in the South west and North east in particular. A few Tiv sex workers as well as Hausa sex workers were also identified on this site. Key informants reported that sex workers from these locations were just passing through. The ages of female sex workers in Ore ranges from 17 to 50 years. Some of the owners of food joints are themselves part-time FSWs who use young female bartenders to attract customers.

For young men of surrounding areas such as Obo, Ajue and Igbuowo, the junction town occupies a central place as a trading and an employment outlet. Unskilled young men present themselves as labourers on the oil pipeline loading depot, the Oluwa glass factory and the Bitumen project field base. Skilled young men are motorcyclists, mechanics, vulcanizes and traders. This group commutes to the site on a daily basis; few, in any live on the site. Brothel owners are older (approximately 50 years old), from the South east and are stable residents on the site. Long distance transport workers are the dominant male mobile population on site. They include tanker drivers and mechanics, trailer drivers and loaders, inter-city commercial transporters and luxury bus drivers with conductors and security men.

Local socio-cultural context

The wider Ore town is estimated to have a population of 300,000 made up predominantly of Yoruba indigenes and settlers/traders from neighbouring and distant groups such as the Urhobos, Isoko, Ijaw, Igbo and Yoruba sub-groups. This area is well known for a high presence of schools. There are 24 secondary schools and 94 primary schools in the area. Interviews with traditional and community leaders from these settlements revealed a great concern for the activities taking place on this site. They were especially worried that their authority did not extend to the site and that the number of `strangers' in the junction has created a situation where they afraid of the influence of this no-persons-land on their communities.

Ore at a Glance

Ore junction is estimated to have population size of 50,000. From a spatial point of view, Ore has developed into a multi-tiered town. Today there are 4 Ores or junctions, each with a distinct identity based on the economic activity taking place there. Ore is a transit town famous for its various social and economic activities with an almost permanent landscape of long distance driver, travelers and commercial sex workers. Similar to other towns, Ore is a commercial centre that serves travelers from across the South west, South east and South south of the country. The major activities of the inhabitants of the town are trading, artisan services and the hospitality services industry. The uniqueness of Ore lies in the fact that the Bitumen Centre and NPPMC depot are located in the same local government area very close to the junction. Therefore one finds a relatively heavy and continuous presence of trailer and tanker drivers compared to junctions in small towns.

3.2.4 Case Study 8: Mokwa, Niger State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

Before Shari'a was introduced in Niger State, large numbers of migrant and local sex workers could be found trading sex in Mokwa. Local female sex workers were largely Nupe and between the ages of 15-45, while migrant sex workers were Tiv, Idoma, Yoruba or Gwari, and between the ages of 16-40 years. There are four hotels and several Guest Houses in Mokwa town. The two prominent ones are Salhurri Guest House Limited and Saw-Mill Guest House. Prior to the introduction of Shari'a, the latter, located at the heart of the junction town, used to serve as a brothel with commercial sex workers. The introduction of Shari'a in Niger State significantly re-shaped the social life of Mokwa Local Government Area and the junction town in particular.

Mokwa at a Glance

Mokwa town is the headquarters of Mokwa Local Government in Niger State and has a population of approximately 35,000. The United African Company (UAC) has one of its largest farms in Mokwa. Several other urban-based absentee farmers have large farms around the town. Indeed, the fertility of the soil has made agriculture the major economic activity of the area, attracting Nigerians of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Mokwa is strategically located on the highway from Kaduna to Lagos. The junction town, though located in a rural setting has a distinct quasi-urban life of its own. Between 80-150 stationary lorries, trailers and haulage vehicles can be found in this site in the night. It is an extremely busy spot over 24 hours of the day. In addition to farming activities the economic significance of Mokwa is further underscored by the presence of a large number of educational institutions and other facilities. The most important include the Niger State College of Agriculture with a student population of 2,700, the Ahmadu Bello University Farms, the National Cereal Research Institute and the Kanji Lake National Park. There are also important markets in Mokwa attracting vehicles and traders from all over the country.

Commercial sex workers and a sprinkle of students of higher institutions who openly attracted clients in the night have now resorted to underground activities.

Stable male populations in the junction town include local farmers, petty traders, manicurists and roasted meat sellers. Commuting male populations include farm laborers while LDTWs, their assistants, loaders and mechanics are the dominant male mobile population. While Shari'a has not succeeded in eradicating commercial sex work, it has suppressed and driven underground the open sexual networking between FSWs and LDTWs in Mokwa.

Local socio-cultural context

Nupes constitute the single largest ethnic group in Mokwa. Other significant ethnic groups include the Hausa, Bassa, Yoruba, Idoma and Tiv settlers. While the Hausa and Yoruba have a long history of settlement in the area principally for the purpose of trade, migration of groups such as the Idoma and Tiv into Mokwa is more recent, the main attraction being the agricultural potential of the area. Mokwa is therefore a migrant's town and veritable zone of freedom with many minority groups from the North central part of the country.

As a zone of freedom, the already liberal attitudes to sex typical of the North central region is even more pronounced in Mokwa. Tukura's (2002) study of socio-cultural obstacles to protected sexual behavior among government employees in Nasarawa State sheds some light on the issue of cultural attitudes towards sexuality in the North central region. He identifies a number of such factors which include, among others, societal construction of ideal feminine attributes where female ignorance of sexual matters are considered a virtue and knowledge of sexual matters a sign of loose morals; prevailing gender norms which ensure that girls and women are poorly informed about sex, reproduction, contraception, pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases; the high premium on motherhood which puts women in the dilemma of choosing between fertility and HIV prevention; the cultural legitimation of violence as a means of maintaining gender power relations, especially in matters of sexual relationship between husbands and wives; and the cultural attitude which both permits and encourages men to have multiple sexual partners. These socio-cultural attributes are largely shared among the ethnic and cultural groups in the Middle Belt and explains gender relations in areas such as Lokoja.

3.2.5 Case Study 9: Mararaban Jos, Kaduna State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

Maraban Jos at a Glance

Mararaban Jos junction town is located 15 kilometers from Kaduna, the capital of Kaduna State. Boundaries of the town are Godo to the south, Kaugimi to the East, Koro to the north and Riga to the West. The recurrent crises in Kaduna in recent years have led to the relocation of many people from Kaduna and other trouble sites to Mararaban Jos and the town has more than doubled in the past 3 years because of these internal displacements. The growth of small/ medium scale industries was identified as another factor of growth of the town. Farming is the major economic activity and source of livelihood for an estimated 80% of the population, with petty trading coming a distant second and building third. Men mainly practice farming, both subsistence and large scale farming in addition to livestock rearing. Compared to the motor parks in small junction towns in rural settings, the Mararaban Jos park is fairly large with numerous long distance tanker drivers and heavy traffic. It is estimated that during the day 80-100 heavy vehicles stop there, while in the night up to 150 vehicles might stop with up to a third spending the night. A number of the drivers sometimes stay for days to repair their vehicles or spend time with their families, if they are residents.

During interviews with community leaders it was stated that before the introduction of Shari'a in Kaduna State, the population of FSW was approximately 300, with approximately 65 houses with rooms for hire being fully occupied. This number is said to have since reduced by half. The majority of FSWs (approximately 70%) are Hausa/Fulani from Northern states, in particular, neighbouring villages around the junction town and from Southern Kaduna; a small percentage (approximately 20%) were Yoruba from North central states such as Kogi state. Very few were found to be from Igboland. The young FSWs who were largely from the Southern part of Kaduna State and were also casual sex workers claimed their parents were not aware of their sex work. Because of the large clientele in the evenings, FSW in the surrounding villages commute into the town in the night to go back in the mornings.

Seasonal migrant workers come in from the rural areas in search of wage labor during the dry season. Married women in the area are usually in seclusion (Purdah) and carry

out petty trading through their daughters.

Local socio-cultural context

Hausa is the main language spoken in this area and Islam is the dominant religion. In the culture of the area, festivities and gatherings where men and women meet is largely discouraged and young women and men are usually not seen together except when young female hawkers are found in the market place or in the junction town. There is strong societal control over the women's sexuality in this area accompanied by an equally strong societal distance for pre-marital sex, unwanted pregnancy and any sign of 'immorality' on the part of girls. This notwithstanding, young female hawkers as young as 11 years find themselves at risk of sexual abuse in risk settings presented by the junction town. The surrounding areas of the junction town are replete with Islamiyya/Quaranic schools, approximately 10, and 1 junior secondary school.

Table 3: Summary data on major transit junction towns

Site data	Lokoja	Ogbollo –Afor	Ore	Mokwa	M/Jos
Estimated population on site	30,000	50,000	50,000	35,000	20,000
Professional sex workers on site					
Female	500	400	320	80*	150
Male	0	0	0	0	30**
Casual sex workers	na	800	600	200	200
LDDs staying overnight	200	200	320	300	100

People employed in the informal sector					
Male		15,000	na	10,000	na
Female		20,000		5,000	na
Average weekly income of migrant population					
Male	10,000	7,000	5,000	10,000	2,000
Female	5,000	4,000	3,500	1,000	1,000
Youth	5,000	4,000	3,000	5,000	8,000
Prices Charged by CSWs					
Round	200-500	300	300	200-300	variable
Night	500-1,000	650-900	400-800	750-800	variable
Number of tertiary schools	1	-	-	1	-
Number of secondary schools	2	3	24	1	1

* The low figure is as a response to Shari'a

** Yan Daudu or male transvestites who sell food and are the companions of FSWs. Key informants report that they suspect some of them may also provide sexual services to male clients.

3.3 Cluster C: Urban Commercial junction towns – Eleme, Anambra State University (UNIZIK) and Itam

3.3.1 Case Study 9: Eleme, Rivers State – Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

The Eleme junction town site is truly cosmopolitan with a large number of sex workers living on site. It is populated by Hausas, Igbos, Yorubas and some members of the indigenous population. Sex workers in Eleme fall within the age range of 15 to 40 years. Roughly thirty percent of the sex workers are estimated to be from Rivers State, while seventy percent are from other states,

Eleme at a Glance

Eleme junction, otherwise referred to as Paul's Square and officially as the National Fertilizer Company of Nigeria (NAFCON) trailer park, is located on the land of both the Ejana and Ebubu communities in Rivers State. Eleme developed into a town as people from different walks of life came to the site to exploit the traditional opportunities provided by the large number of LDDs. The fact that the trailer park is located on a typical cross road, has given the town a distinguishing feature of a separate island characterized by slums, LDDs and FSWs. In addition to the Eleme Petrochemical Company Ltd (ECPL) there are several other companies that contribute to the activities in Eleme: the Port Harcourt Refinery (I&II), Petroleum Products and Marketing Company Ltd, Pipelines and Products Marketing Company, and the NAFCON. The motor parks serve as the transport arm of the ECPL and most of the trucks and trailers are used to convey raw materials to the company and finished processed products to other parts of the country. The EPCL was built in the 1990s with a heavy presence of foreign workers. Most of them have since gone back to their countries; however, some have been retained by the plant for maintenance of the facilities. These foreign workers are a significant group of male clients. Similar to other junction towns in this category, it is the presence of LDTWs that drives the town.

especially from neighbouring South eastern states and from Akwa Ibom in the South south. Sex workers live on the site in rented rooms where their clients go to meet them. In situations where the sex worker is already with clients, it is not uncommon for other clients to wait for them to finish before meeting with them. The fee per round for migrant sex workers resident on the site is higher, about N300 – N500, as against those who come at night from the surrounding villages. For this latter group, their fee is N150-N300 per session. There is also a clear difference between sex workers from the North and those from the South of Nigeria. While sex workers from the South hang around strategic places, the sex workers from the North wait for their regular customers in their rooms. LDTWs come into the site to lift petroleum products, fertilizer, as well as other goods, which are plied to the North. LDTWs ply several routes and argue that they need women to keep

them company at nights. Some of the LDTWs interviewed are married but have partners in the different junction towns they come across.

Local population and cultural context

The local cultural context in Eleme is such that great pressure is put on young females to finance their secondary education through independent effort. When coupled with poverty and a value system that emphasizes fast money, independent effort means that young girls are available for sex work in many instances. While most female sex workers are not household heads, most are responsible for their siblings.

3.3.2 Case Study 10: Anambra State University (UNIZIK) , Akwa, Anambra State- Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

Commercial activities thrive in the UNIZIK junction town. Most of the businesses that exist there are those that are patronized by students. They include cyber cafés, phone booths, bookshops, restaurants, beauty saloons, provision shops and bread vendors.

Anambra State University at a Glance

Anambra State University or Nnamdi Azikiwe University (UNIZIK) junction is located in the state capital, Akwa, of Anambra State along the express road linking Enugu State to Onitsha. Although it is not at the heart of the town, it cannot be separated from the town due to its close proximity to the University campus. The main similarity between this urban junction town and other junction towns in rural settings is that one finds buyers and sellers of perishable items. Unlike other junction towns, however, there are no haulage vehicles that are parked in the site overnight. There is also no nightlife and sexual networking between LDTWs and FSWs. With the exception of the prestigious Choice Hotel, which is roughly half a kilometer away from the junction, there are no brothels on the site. With the creation of Anambra state in 1991, many civil servants resident in Enugu State relocated to Awka thereby catalyzing economic growth in the area. Hitherto, Awka was a small semi urban town. To compound this impetus, by 1992, the Anambra State University was upgraded to a Federal university, which is today known as Nnamdi Azikiwe University. This new status attracted many young people who wanted to attend a federal university. Also, with the state creation, many young people moved into Awka in search of white-collar jobs and to have a glimpse of the new political activities. Many businessmen and women saw this as a new opportunity for business. All these developments brought about a sudden upsurge in the population of Awka, a process that is still taking place. However, Awka was not by any means prepared for these new challenges, especially in consideration of the level of infrastructure limitations. Life became very hash for the new migrants. The result was an increase in poverty and the struggle for survival.

In addition to commercial activities, the hotel business is big business in Akwa. Along this junction road are the newest and popular hotels. *Big time businessmen*, politicians, contractors and other men of cash usually lodge in this place. It is pertinent to note that all these hotels are located around the UNIZIK temporary site because of availability of young girls both from the university and around the environ who provide sexual attraction to visitors.

The junction town is most active between 10:00 am and 5:00 pm, after which activities begin to wind down at about 8:30 pm. Most of the traders interviewed report that the menace of armed robbery is one of the reasons why they cannot stay beyond 9:00 pm. This is largely an urban, non-residential junction town.

The UNIZIK junction town differs from Eleme and others in this cluster in that there is no significant presence of highly mobile LDTWs on the site. There are only drivers who cover relatively short distances between Enugu and Onitsha. The farthest distance covered by any driver is between Awka and Abakaliki in Ebonyi State, roughly 180 kilometers. Awka, the capital of Anambra State, where UNIZIK junction is located is

effectively removed from the routes of the LDTWs who traverse the country from the North to the South. Only a few luxury passenger buses ply the road that cuts across Awka, from Enugu State to Onitsha to Lagos, and they often do not stop in Awka due to the risk of insecurity. Although this junction does not have long distant vehicles parked overnight as would be seen in neighbouring Onitsha and Umunede in Delta State, many other men of cash, politicians, businessmen, contractors and so on move into the town, especially during weekends for relaxation. There is also a large concentration of uniformed services men and some women in the Mobile Police unit located close to UNIZIK permanent site. All these help to increase the risk setting of Awka, especially with the heavy concentration of young girls in the University.

It is noteworthy, that the university runs a weekend programme, the Continuing Education Program (CEP), which attracts many people, particularly young upwardly mobile men across the country from Lagos, Port Harcourt, Warri, Onitsha and other cities, most of whom move in on Friday for lectures and lodge till Sunday morning. Most of the men see this as an opportunity to engage CSWs. Young girls can be seen standing along the Express road, looking for lifts to Enugu or Onitsha. However, most of them are professional full time FSWs or student casual sex workers. Two categories of FSWs can be found in this site, the non-students professionals and the students FSWs. Student sex workers are an ambiguous group as there is now an increasing population of young girls who migrate to Awka, rent houses and claim to be students but are actually sex workers. The study found that this practice is encouraged or made possible by the existence of the weekend CEP programme, which now admits many young girls who could not pass their JAMB examination. Since no entrance examination is required, some people are known to forge results or even employ some others to take the examination for them in order to enter this CEP programme. Also there are some girls who forge student ID cards buy bed space in the hostels and live as students without attending classes. During this period they try to gain admission into the university while engaging in sex work.

Local socio-cultural context

Awka can be regarded as a relatively urban and enlightened community. However, there are still the bulk of the indigenous people living together with the migrant population. There is no doubt that this trend has brought about a lot of exposure and influences, both negative and positive, on the indigenous population. Nonetheless, it is still possible to talk about the indigenous uneducated population and their cultural beliefs and practices as distinct from the migrant population.

In the traditional Awka culture there is a loose and tolerant attitude towards premarital sex. It is not uncommon to find a young, unmarried girl who has her own children in her father's house. It is even seen as a source of pride. Unlike in some communities in Delta State such as Patani and Orerokpe, where such a child may be negatively regarded and as such, many try to abort the baby to avoid the negative stigma, in Awka culture, such children are accepted and have the right of inheritance in the girl's father's house even where the biological father is known. Except if he has performed the traditional marriage rites, he cannot claim ownership of the child. Sexual matters are not treated as sacred as such. Premarital sex and pregnancy are quite common in the traditional setting. However, we still find as in most traditional societies, that parents do not see it as proper to discuss or teach their children sexual and reproductive matters.

(I am not clear how the above section relates to UNIZIK? How are the two communities linked? Could a sentence be added showing the linkage?)

3.3.3 Case Study 11: Itam Peace Column, Uyo, Akwa Ibom State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

The sex trade is a vibrant industry in Itam Peace Column with approximately 2,000 FSWs. There are two categories of sex workers, the professional female sex workers who are older, and the casual sex workers who are secondary school students. The professional sex workers are stable on the site. They sit around at their rooms in Itam or hang around notorious spots such as *Ikpoto* or *Smart* during the day and dress up and go to town to hang around most other notorious and even livelier spots at night within Uyo to look for business. The age range of student part time sex worker is between 18-25 years old and they commute to the site on a daily basis. The sex trade is high paying with professional sex workers making between N400 to N500 per session and between N2,000 to N2,500 per night.

LDTWs on the Itam Peace Column site are the dominant group within the male mobile population. They drive haulage and passenger vehicles such as trailers, tankers and lorries conveying goods from one end of the country to another. Lorries are the main type of vehicles found on the junction or in the timber park and along the road. Mini buses are parked in the new park while luxury buses and tankers are parked in the old park and along the road. Roughly 500 enter/leave the site daily and roughly 150 vehicles are parked over night. Apart from the LDDs, support staff such as mechanics and conductors, as well as motorcyclists, patronize the sex workers. In addition to the LDDs, another category of mobile male clients is Federal Government officials. Migrant traders from neighbouring states, such as Abia, usually converge on the weekly markets after which the majority of them go back on the same day. Hence they do not constitute a client pool for sex workers.

Local population and cultural context

The cultural context in Uyo metropolis is one that seems not to frown on adolescent sexual promiscuity. Against the background of poverty, oil wealth in the hands of a few wealth indigenes, and migrant oil workers, a culture of high material expectation has emerged. The presence of foreign workers in Eket, one of the LGAs that is host to the Mobil Production Nigeria company and other oil servicing companies, has seen an influx of female sex workers and the emergence of a culture of sex work amongst young females in the state. The origin of the town as a location where neighbouring settlements came together and made a pact to live in harmony (*Iman*), sustains the reputation of Itam as a peaceful location where there is security. Religious organizations in the area are the Apolistic Church, Qua Iboe

Itam at a Glance

Itam Peace Column, otherwise known as Itam junction, is located in one of the rapidly urbanizing areas of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State. The estimated population of the settlement immediately encompassing the junction town is 40,000. The town lies on the meeting point of two express roads linking the north to the south of Nigeria. The distance between Itam junction and Uyo city centre is less than two kilometers. Proximity notwithstanding, Itam is not in Uyo LGA but is located in Itu LGA. Itam Peace Column is located within Nung Ukot Itam sub-urban area. The Itam junction has received periodic renovations from successive administrations. At the time of this research, the junction is under repair and it is now prohibited for commercial vehicles to drop and pick up commuters around any part of the roundabout. An alternative, Itam junction park, has been created 700-800 meters from the junction. With the relocation of the motor park, the junction is at a low activity level during the day currently and only comes alive in the evening and night. This is a large junction town. The economic activities are dominated by the business brought by LDDs. Indeed, LDDs provide the lifeblood that drives the junction town. The similarity between this junction town and others in this cluster is the number of haulage vehicles that are parked in the site at night.

Church, Mount Zion Church and Church of Christ. Ibibios are the dominant ethnic group in the community.

Table 4: Summary data on urban junction towns

Site data:	Eleme	UNIZIK	Itam
Estimated population on site	15,000	40,000	40,000
Professional sex workers			
<i>Female</i>	300	400	400
<i>Male</i>	0	0	0
Casual sex workers	Na	1,500	na
LDDs staying overnight	150	12	150
People employed in the informal sector			
<i>Male</i>	5,000	17,000	19,000
<i>Female</i>	6,000	17,000	21,000
Average weekly income of migrant pop.			
<i>Male</i>	1,500	4,000	10,000
<i>Female</i>	2,000	4,000	10,000
<i>Youth</i>	1,500	3,000	5,000
Prices Charged by CSWs			
<i>Round</i>	400	400-600	500
<i>Night</i>	1000	1,200	2,500
Number of tertiary schools	0	1	1
Number of secondary schools	1	4	2

3.4 Cluster D: Border towns – Badagry and Ikom Junction towns

3.4.1 Case Study 13: Badagry, Lagos State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations

There is a heavy presence of different security and law enforcement agencies in the greater Badagry area. The Police, Immigration, Army, Customs, State Security Services, Ports Authority and National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) are all present in Badagry. The immigration department has recently expanded its units to include a department that oversees human trafficking and prostitution since the Badagry-Seme border area is one of the transit routes for human traffickers. This includes traders in domestic servants and child laborers from Togo and Benin. Badagry is surprisingly underdeveloped with little infrastructure in spite of its historical significance as the town with the first two-storey building in Nigeria. Many parts of the junction town especially around the Owode border area have developed into sprawling slums. To the right and left of Owode there are slums with informal structures and without any amenities. To the left is a long stretch of shacks known as *Animal Kingdom* as it is known to harbor criminals, drug addicts, sex workers and other undesirable activities.

The Badagry/Seme border is a security zone where brothels are prohibited. On this border almost all the FSWs are mobile or commuting while most of the men are stable. Hence the practice of FSWs is to sneak into the parks to meet the LDTWs on their make-shift beds under the trailers. Some LDTWs also patronize the sex workers in the villages around the area, especially *Animal Kingdom*. These villages have become an attraction for drivers because they offer more comfortable accommodation and convenience than their make-shift beds. Another reason LDTWs find them attractive is that a prohibition has been placed on trans-border movements after 7:00 pm as part of the joint security measures by the Nigerian and Benin governments to curtail trans-border crime. Sex business between FSWs and LDTWs mostly takes place at night in the border areas.

Badagry at a Glance

Badagry is a coastal town on the narrow western coastal plain of Lagos State in Nigeria. The population of the area is estimated to be roughly 300,000 people while the population of the junction town is estimated to be 125,000. Located about 57 kilometers by road from Lagos, Badagry is the last major Nigerian city on the way to Benin Republic. In fact, it serves as the node for all adjoining border towns of which the most important is Seme, the actual Nigerian border town between Nigeria and Benin Republic. At the Badagry border there are over 500 trailers parked at the port waiting for their goods to be inspected and cleared at any point in time, day or night. The unduly long processes of clearance caused drivers to stay at the border port for periods ranging between 10 to 40 days. Unlike Ikom, there are no hotels, formal restaurants or brothels at the Badagry/Seme border.

Local socio-cultural context

The Badagry people come from four main stocks, the Whedahs, the Whlas, the Whemes and the Ga/Ewe/Ajah. Yoruba traders from the hinterland also settled in Badagry. There are also the Ogun people whose kith and kin are in the neighbouring Republic of Togo and in the Egbado-South area of Ogun state. Although the Yoruba remain the dominant group and the Yoruba language is more or less the lingua franca, Badagry has become an ethnically mixed zone with sizeable numbers of people from groups such as Edo, Igbo, Idoma, Igede, Efik and Ejaw. The town also has a sprinkling of migrants from Benin, Togo, Ghana and Cote d' Ivoire.

3.4.2 Case Study 14: Ikom, Cross River State - Ethnography of stable and mobile populations on site

There are about 15 local dialects spoken in the town. Indigenes of other states and nationals also live and do business in the town, notably the Igbos, Ibibos and Cameroonians. There is an army barrack in Ikom, a prison yard and other paramilitary formations such as Police Stations, Immigration and Customs Posts. There are 2 large wood processing plants in Ikom both with indigenous and expatriate staff that enjoy relatively high incomes. On the site there are mechanics, vulcanizers and other young men involved in the repair industry.

Ikom at a Glance

Ikom junction town is located in Ikom local government area of Cross River State (CRS). It is a peri-urban border town sharing its border with Cameroon Republic, Ogoja in CRS and Ebonyi State. It is located along the Calabar – Ikom – Ogoja Federal highway, which leads to Benue State. Ikom is located approximately 20 kilometers from Cameroon, making it a centre for smuggling activities. It is the third largest town in the state and the second busiest commercial town next to Calabar. The population within the junction town including neighbouring settlements is estimated to be roughly 45,000 people with roughly 60 drivers on the site overnight. Smuggling is one of the main informal sector economic activities taking place in this area. In addition to smuggling, other forms of trans-border trade also takes place between Ikom and Cameroon. It is the home of cocoa, one of the major cash crops of Nigeria. This crop attracts buyers from all over the country including the Cameroon. Buyers come into Ikom and spend several nights there. Women are involved in the sales of cocoa both as wholesalers and as retailers. Along the junction at night, it was observed that the women sell all forms of food ranging from fruits to fried food. Men and women were seen drinking alcohol throughout the night. Smuggling of petroleum products and building materials by river and by road is also a key economic activity in the region.

There were approximately 150 Female Sex Workers on the site at the time of the research. This number was made up of both mobile and stable sex workers. Mobile sex workers are largely seasonal as they come onto the site from the hinterland of the state or from neighbouring states during the rainy season and the cocoa harvesting season in the months of October to November or

during the cocoa sales season of July to September. During this time mobile sex workers become brothel based.

Stable FSWs provide the main supply of sex workers during the off season period. When interviewed they informed researchers that they were considered to be free of infections by clients because they have homes in the neighbouring areas around the site. Some sex workers are also secondary school students from schools such as Government Secondary School in the neighbouring community.

Local sex workers come from Boki while Igbos are the main migrant sex workers. Migrant sex workers report having, 2-3 clients per night, while the sex workers from the local community have as many as 5 clients per night. Rates vary from N500 to N1,000.00 per night for migrant sex workers. Female food sellers and female fruit hawkers are also part of the stable population on the site.

LDTWs stop over at Ikom to rest, repair their vehicles and source for fuel. Lorries and buses are the main type of vehicular traffic in the Ikom junction town. Lorries usually have between 2 support staff and 3 loaders in addition to the driver. Smugglers in Ikom are male and are from the location. A favorite spot for smugglers are the bars Egom Ogar and Ebony Star. Male brothel owners and traders are stable on the site while members of the uniformed services are mobile moving in and out on leaving for postings or on training.

Local socio-cultural context

Cross River State culture is replete with festivals. During these festivals, alcohol, especially locally tapped palm wine and locally brewed illicit gin is usually available in abundance. Indian hemp referred to in the local language as *ikong ekpo* (ghost leaf or Igbo) is also widely available. Both men and women engage in sexually high-risk activities during festivals. There is a liberal attitude towards sex and a general belief that sexual activity, even for the young and unmarried, is important for a healthy existence. Hence the popular saying in Efik, *mfang osong owo ile*, meaning sexual intercourse makes a man/woman healthy. Alcohol from locally tapped palm wine or locally produced gin as well as imported palm wine from Oturkpo in neighbouring Benue State is readily available for cultural festivals in Ikom. The local belief is that Ikom is the major producer of illicit gin in Cross River State.

The closest neighbouring settlements around the Ikom junction town are Ogoja, Efiar and Bendeye. The settlers of these areas are engaged in smuggling, farming and trading.

Table 5: Summary data on border junction towns

Site data	Badagry	Ikom
Estimated population on site	125,000	45,000
Professional sex workers		
<i>Female</i>	122	150
<i>Male</i>	0	0
Casual sex workers	300	200
LDDs staying overnight	120	160
People employed in the informal sector on site		
<i>Male</i>	25,000	10,000
<i>Female</i>	32,000	12,000
Average weekly income of migrant population		
<i>Male</i>	Na	10,000
<i>Female</i>		8,000

<i>Youth</i>		3,000
Prices Charged by CSWs		
<i>Round</i>	10,00-200	400
<i>Night</i>	500	500-1,000
Number of tertiary schools	1	0
Number of secondary schools	2	6

4 ETHNOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF LONG DISTANCE DRIVERS AND FEMALE SEX WORKERS

As described above, the ethnographic methodology allows for an understanding of sites and sub-groups as culturally distinct and dynamic entities with values, a belief system and behaviors leading to HIV vulnerability. The question of the cultural distinctiveness of junction town sites was explored on a site-by-site basis in the previous section using qualitative data. This section presents an ethnographic overview of the significant sub-groups of the research – LDDs and FSWs using quantitative data as well as other secondary sources of data. Gender differences are explored and explanations of patterns of mobility examined in terms of poverty and cultural factors.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics of LDDs and FSWs

A total of 206 LDDs and 179 FSWs are covered in this survey; . The distribution of LDDs and FSWs by junction town clusters is presented inAppendix 2..

4.1.1 Long Distance Drivers

LDDs are defined as drivers of vehicles traveling to another state or beyond who spend one or more nights in the junction town. Loaders, mechanics, escorts and conductors were not interviewed.

The findings reveal that LDDs over-nighting in major transit corridors and urban commercial market junction towns tended to be younger than LDDs over-nighting in small stop over towns and border towns. The oldest LDDs were found in small junction towns such as Aliade and Wukai. Indeed, 8.7% of LDDs in the small rural junction towns were between 60-69 years old while no LDDs in this age group were identified in any of the other sites. In general, 55.5% of LDDs have completed primary school while 38.3% of LDDs had completed secondary school; only 3.7% of LDDs had only attended Arabic school. LDDs in border towns had the highest educational attainment while LDDs in small rural towns had the lowest educational attainment.

In terms of religion, LDDs appeared to be equally divided between the Muslim and Christian faiths with 49.5% of LDDs as Christians and 43.6% as Muslim. Most LDDs found in small rural junction towns such as K/Dongora and Billiri were Muslims (73.1%); LDDs in urban commercial junction towns such as UNIZIK junction were largely Christian (72.4%). A total of 48.5% of LDDs in the 14 junction towns reported that they drank alcohol; 51.5% reported that they did not. Alcohol consumption amongst LDDs was highest in Cluster C junction towns and lowest in Cluster A junction towns.

Overwhelmingly, 79.6% of LDDs were married, with the average age of first marriage being between 20-29 years old. Most LDDs (47.6%) also tended to have 1 wife while only 27% of LDDs in the 14 junction towns had 2 wives and more. Most LDDs (87.5%) in the 14 junction towns surveyed spent between 2-10 days on the site. Significantly, only in Cluster C junction

towns such as Eleme were a large number of LDDs (25%) found to have spent only one night on the site.

When LDDs were asked whether they sometimes spent the night with FSWs or with girlfriends, 92 LDDs or 47% of the 194 LDDs who responded to this question said yes. LDDs in border towns and urban commercial junction towns were more likely to sometimes spend the night with FSWs or with girlfriends. Of the 92 LDDs who responded that they sometimes spent the night with FSWs or with a non-paid girl friend at a junction town along the route, approximately half patronized a regular FSW. However, only 38 LDDs or 36.4% had a regular FSW sex partner at the junction town they were interviewed.

4.1.2 Female Sex Workers

The ethnographic profile of FSW in the 14 junction towns surveyed reveal that this group was generally young, as 88 FSWs or 55% of 160 FSWs who responded to the question on age were between the ages of 16-25 years old. Most FSWs were on the site for only one to twelve months, a significant percentage (76.2%) admitted to taking alcohol, and 36% of the FSWs had or were married with the mean age of marriage being 16.5 years. A total of 53% of the FSWs surveyed reported that they left the site for a short period of less than one month and returned in the last one year.

About half the FSWs interviewed had attended secondary school and in the case of junction towns in Cluster B and C, a significant percentage of FSWs 11% and 13% respectively had University education.

The highest concentration of mobile FSWs was found to be in junction towns in Cluster C, Eleme, UNIZIK and Itam, with 32 of the 58 FSWs surveyed reporting that they left and returned at least once in the year of the research. The dominant reason given by FSWs for moving to new towns was they 'had people or relatives' there. With the exception of junction towns in Cluster B, major transit corridors such as Lokoja and Mokwa, FSWs who are indigenous to the area tended to leave and return more times in a period of a year than those who migrated to the town.

FSWs were also overwhelmingly Christian with the junction towns in Cluster B having the highest concentration of Muslims (27.3%). More FSWs drank alcohol than LDDs. Indeed, all 26 FSWs interviewed at the borders of Badagry and Ikom drank alcohol while 77.1% of the FSWs interviewed in major transit corridors of Ore, Lokoja, Ogbollo-Afor and Mokwa drank alcohol. This is a significant finding.

4.2 Mobility and Poverty among Long Distance Drivers and Commercial Sex Workers

The study finds that LDDs and FSWs are largely migrants with more than 50% of each population being born in a village setting outside of the junction town. Both LDDs and FSWs explained their presence in the junction town in terms of economic survival strategies. Both groups would prefer to be elsewhere rather than at the junction town. Some comments by drivers are as follows - 'that this is not a good place', 'there are a lot of criminals out here, the Police is always coming around looking for criminals hiding out with prostitutes', 'you have to be smart to pull in and leave this place', 'if the prostitutes don't get you with their charms and the food sellers would get you with their potions in the food'. Sex workers also explain that 'we have to be smart', 'we have to do anything to survive', 'I would be very ashamed for my people to know

what I am doing here’, ‘the young okada boys are rough and dirty, they don’t bath but they pay better than the old men...when dem finish with me, I de rest for days’.

Despite the vulnerability of life in junction towns, the research found that these towns are a pool for economic prosperity within zones of chronic poverty. Hence people come from neighbouring settlements, surrounding hinterlands or from far off states lured by the promise of employment, a better life and greater opportunity than in their current residences. Contrary to expectations the research team found that while many people in the junction towns were poor and lived on the margins of society, junction towns were relatively prosperous places with a high volume of naira turn-over. In many cases junction towns appeared to be total institutions with a sub-culture, language, and patterns of economic survival which were unique. To a large extent it is this economic factor that explains mobility and movement to and from the junction towns surveyed.

This observation is generally applicable with one exception, the North central region. Sex workers and drivers from this zone were found throughout the country in almost every junction town. From Ore to Badagry and from Mararaban Jos to Eleme junction towns, Tiv and Idoma sex workers as well as LDDs from this belt were found. Interviews with LDDs and sex workers from this belt in particular suggest that it is not just the poverty of the zone that explains mobility and readiness to engage in sex work. Rather, discussions with LDDs and FSWs reveal that poverty compounded by ethnic conflict, high demand for agricultural land due to shifting farming patterns as well as a history of migration for sex work or high value placed on the occupation of driving have led to a situation where an ethnically defined group has become synonymous with a high risk group both at home and at sites of migration. A recent study of poverty in the middle belt state of Benue made the point that this State serves as a labor reserve pool for other states of the Federation. The absence of industrial development as well as its staccato development path are offered as explanations for this phenomenon (Abah and Okwori, 2003). These authors describe poverty in Benue State as being sharply gendered where women’s labor is exploited in both the public and the private spheres. The authors say that women understand their poverty in terms of a patriarchal design of their societies that makes them the properties of their husbands. What this study fails to explore is how patriarchal design manifests itself in the construction of sexuality. It is against this background that practices such as wife inheritance and wife hospitality and indeed sexual coercion can be understood. These factors put women at risk of HIV infection. These findings have significant implications for programming in this part of the country. These issues are explored in the final section of this report.

5 HIV/AIDS IN NIGERIAN JUNCTION TOWNS: PREVALENCE, IMPACT, AND GENDER & HUMAN RIGHTS

This section explores prevalence rates of HIV infection in the junction towns from the perception of key informants and from secondary statistics of facilities. Gender and human rights dimensions of the pandemic in each of the four clusters of junction towns are explored. Because the National HIV Sentinel Survey among pregnant women attending antenatal clinics in Nigeria does not specifically collect data on junction towns, there is no authoritative source on prevalence in this type of hot spot. Rather, data is collected in selected urban and rural locations which participated in previous surveys, as well as which have available staff, facilities and capacity for drawing blood from antenatal clinic attendees on their first visit of the current pregnancy. The health facilities and condom availability in each junction town is illustrated in Appendix 3.

Table 6: HIV Prevalence by Junction Town Site and States

State	Site	Site Prevalence*	State Prevalence*
Kogi	Lokoja	7.0%	5.7%
Gombe	Kaltungo	6.3%	7.3%
Anambra	Awka	4.3%	3.8%
Akwa Ibom	Uyo	6.4%	7.2%
Cross River	Ikom	11.3%	12.0%
Lagos	Badagry	17.4%	7.0%
Total average		8.7%	7.1%

Table 6 reveals that the average prevalence rates in junction towns is 1.6% higher than state averages where data exists. This is significant and indeed particularly significant for border junction towns such as Badagry and Ikom.

*Nation Sentinel Survey, 2003

5.1 Gender, Human Rights and Transmission in Small Rural Junction Towns

In Wukari, key informants explained that when someone in a home is infected with the virus it is presumed that it is the woman who is the cause of the infection. People do not view it as an infection that can be transmitted by a man. Consequently, when there is any case of AIDS it is the woman who is accused of causing the sickness.

With regard to the Kwanan Dongora site, there are several gender and human rights considerations that derive from the introduction of the Shari'a criminal code in Kano State. Most significantly, sex workers are now put in a more vulnerable position due to the fact that they no longer have protection from their Madams (*Magajia*) in whose houses they lived formally. Traditionally, these women, usually retired sex workers, offered some degree of protection to FSWs against violence, police extortion or exclusionary treatment by communities. The fact that unmarried 'free' women are now forced out from these rooms means that to the extent that they continue to be sex workers they must now confront and negotiate with their male clients directly. The removal of the *Magijas* in Kwanan Dongora has transformed sex work in this area forcing many sex workers to seek the protection of men from the uniformed services stationed in this area, for example, mobile policemen. Furthermore, the absence of mature sex workers has also created a new pool of part-time sex workers - young female hawkers of kola nuts, peanuts and maize - with little ability to protect themselves.

HIV Transmission & Risk Settings in Small Rural Towns

- heterosexual contact with infected persons
- transfusion of infected blood
- drug abuse by young male laborers
- wake keeping
- resistance to condom use by both the men and women
- young female hawkers with little ability to protect themselves or negotiate condom use
- excessive alcohol consumption, which reduces inhibition
- patronage of quacks and traditional healers who use unsterilized equipment for either injections or local surgeries including tribal markings

Due to the alarming rate of AIDS in Aliade junction town, FSWs are targeted by many community members, in particular traditional leaders, who blame them for the problem. Thus many of them moved to neighbouring villages and come to the town only in the night.

5.2 Gender, Human Rights and Transmission in Urban Commercial Centres

In Itam, several male respondents pointed to the style of dressing of female students and girls of the town as a justification for high HIV infection rate and for the violence against women. This is particularly worrying as it closely followed by recommendations that 'these girls should be driven away'. In UNIZIK there has been a wide outcry against near nudity in the dressing patterns among the university girls, a behavior which is also see among non-university girls. This is indeed seen as a symbol of 'belongingness' by these young girls. Every young girl, especially those who are still aspiring to enter the university, and the fresh students see it as a type of reference group culture and try to conform. Recent cases of rape in the area have been associated with this style of dressing (Interviews with Street Vigilante).

HIV Transmission & Risk Settings in Urban Commercial Centres
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • heterosexual contact with infected persons • high risk behavior of female students • wake keeping • sharing of sharp instruments in market • migrants engage in high-risk behaviors in a new settlement without traditional controls.

Female students who engage in sex with rich politicians and traders in the UNIZIK junction are constrained in negotiating safe sex despite the fact that they endeavor to protect themselves by placing male agents between themselves and prospective male clients. They do so by depositing their photographs with agent(s) whose duty it is to exhibit the photos to interested clients. A prospective client then gets the telephone number of the girl and after a sum has been negotiated, commercial motorcyclist are sent to fetch them. In Eleme, sexual coercion, rape and other violent acts were identified by several respondents are a key human rights factor affecting FSWs in the area. Fear of PLWHAs with its attendant stigmatization was identified in all three sites as an important human rights issue.

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5.3 Gender, Human Rights and Transmission in Major In-Land Transit Corridors

Where female sex workers are organized they appear more able to negotiate sex and protect themselves from high-risk sex acts. For example, in the Ogbollo-Afor junction town, the professional sex workers interviewed argue that they could not contract the virus because they are well protected. According to Njideka, one of the FSWs interviewed, 'only the little girls, who stand along the roads can get the disease because they cannot argue.' Njideka said further 'any man who refuse to use the condom with me will lose his money because it cannot be refunded.' If the man tried to use force, the professional sex workers will raise an alarm to attract others, who will join hands to beat the *stubborn man*. While the professional sex workers are now able to negotiate sex, most of them report that they were once victims of sexual exploits by older men, sometimes a family member, who spoilt their future through rape or sex with an unfulfilled promise of marriage. On the other hand, interviews with male clients reveal that young local girls who are casual sex workers often find themselves at the mercy of the rich, older stronger LDDs who want a 'feel of the real thing' without any protection. Several key respondents have however pointed to the reality of gender based subjugation within the wider society in the Ogbollo-Afor

HIV Transmission & Risk Settings in Major In-land Transit Corridors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • heterosexual contact with infected persons • sharing of sharp unsterilized instruments in barbing industry • blood transfusion • unsafe abortion • unsterilized surgical equipment for <i>kafo</i>, cutting of <i>belu</i>, circumcision and injections by traditional healers, surgeons, and Patent Medicine Vendors (PMVs). • practice of early marriage of girls against their will to elderly men. • girls turn to sex work to run away from failed marriage

area arguing that empowerment for women should be a central objective in an HIV/AIDS intervention.

FSWs on the Ore junction site report that they are frequently assaulted and abused by men, including the police, other law enforcement agents, and brothel owners. On the other hand, they say that they are able to protect themselves through a 'No Condom, No Sex policy'. Any sex worker who violates this 'law' is sanctioned with a fine of N1,000.

5.4 Gender, Human Rights and Transmission in Border Towns

HIV Transmission & Risk Settings in Border Towns
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• heterosexual contact with infected persons• female genital cutting• smuggling and other illicit activities create risk settings leading to high-risk activities• security situation at the borders restricts movement and creates a risk setting as women are often forced to spend the night wherever and with whom ever they find themselves

In Badagry sex work appears to have been criminalized by the large numbers of law enforcement agents. This puts FSWs at a disadvantage and largely prohibits any associational life amongst them. In Badagry town the research shows that men in the uniformed services, especially Immigration, Customs and Police, patronize the sex workers and other women. These women have very little bargaining power, especially female

'I am an Igbo lady and I am 22. I came into this hustling business because my father could not afford to bear the cost of secondary school education. After my primary education, I worked as a live-in house maid for a long time. There, I was maltreated and raped until it got to a stage I could not bear it any longer, so a friend of mine helped me to escape from my employers and brought me to Lagos. Then I started fending for myself. I know about AIDS. I know it kills and that is why I use condom all the time. I also know that this sex work is very risky but I have to find my daily bread. Life itself is a risk. However, I am willing to leave the job, but where would help come from? If help comes, I will leave this job and do something better. You ask me about human rights, I know I have a right to express myself and that is why I am talking to you now. I didn't run away like the others. But the Policemen don't think that we have any rights. When we cry to them for help they say we deserve what we get because we are 'Ashawo'. I feel bad about this because these same Policemen come to us from time to time to ask for money.' *FSW in a border town*

deportees and smugglers. The Immigration staff quarters at the Seme border, which serves as

guesthouses for many of the uniformed men, is reported to be a very conducive site for transacting sexual relations. One Immigration officer interviewed explained that they do not have transit accommodation for deported sex workers from other countries and consequently they have to keep them in their offices. Some of the deportees often find their way back to the border and end up having affairs with men in the uniformed services. The life history of a FSW demonstrates the vulnerable position of FSWs in border towns. (*see text box*)

Traditional practices such as female genital cutting as well as female poverty caused by widowhood practices are gender considerations on the Ikom site. (Again, a sentence required to link these traditional practices to the local community and the FSWs' community.)

6 HIV/AIDS KNOWLEDGE AND RISK PERCEPTION IN JUNCTION TOWNS AMONGST LDDS AND FSWs

The tables in Appendix 4 reveal that more FSWs in junction towns had used condoms compared to LDDs; 78.4% of FSWs compared to 57.6% of LDDs. LDDs in small rural junction towns were least likely to use condoms than LDDs elsewhere. This finding is consistent with the earlier observation that LDDs in Cluster A junction towns are older and less educated than LDDs in other junction towns. Overall, FSWs and LDDs had a similar level of knowledge of where to obtain condoms while FSWs seemed to have significantly greater knowledge of the symptoms of STDs in men (68.4%) than LDDs had of the symptoms of STDs in women (58.5%). FSWs in urban commercial centers were more likely to use condoms, to know where they can be obtained and to be able to identify the symptoms of STDs in men than FSWs in any of the other junction towns. FSWs were less likely to negotiate condom use with a sex partner who was perceived as a boyfriend. In junction towns where male foreign workers engaged FSWs, condoms were rarely used.

6.1.1 HIV/AIDS Knowledge, Attitude, Practice and Risk Perception in Small Rural Junction Towns

Of the four junction towns in cluster A, the perception of risk in the Wukari junction town is markedly low. Almost all male clients in cluster A reported that condoms are not used in sexual encounters. They also reported that they did not feel at risk. In some cases there were reports of FSWs receiving lower rather than higher payment when they insisted using condoms.

Because sex workers view clients as pseudo-boyfriends with whom they have long standing relationships, they also have a relatively low perception of their risk in Kwanan Dongora and Billiri. Moreover, sex workers even deny their occupation and appeared preoccupied with getting married to their client/boyfriend. On these sites FSW knowledge of HIV is relatively low as they are not aware of the modes of transmission other than sexual intercourse.

There is a high level of denial of AIDS as a problem in Aliade by most groups within the population. They say that AIDS is a problem of big towns only. There is also a strong belief that AIDS is due to witchcraft.

6.1.2 HIV/AIDS Knowledge, Attitude, Risk Perception and Practice in In-land Transit Corridors

'I am twenty three (23) years old. They just call me Mercy. I am Idoma by tribe from Benue State. My highest education is primary school certificate. My religion is Christianity. I started this business when I was 20 years. I used to stay in Oturkpo before coming here. I am in this business because of problems of money. Since I could not continue my education because of money problem and there is no money to do any other business, I must survive. So I followed one old friend down to this town. There is risk in this business. The risk is not diseases alone, sometimes men do not want to pay and it could lead to some problems. I know I can get AIDS through sleeping with men but the truth is that someone must die and it is one sickness or the other that leads to death. For me, I must use condom with all the men I sleep with. Although I am based here in Lokoja, I do travel out. Sometimes I sleep outside in other places because that brings more money. And any time I get back to Oturkpo, I still make contact with my old customers who are there.' *Sex worker in Lokoja, Kogi State.*

In major transit corridors such as Lokoja, Ogbollo-Afor, Ore, Mararaban Jos and Mokwa where the trade is brisk and as many as eight clients can be had in one night, both FSWs and LDDs identify sexual intercourse with an infected partner and sharing of sharp instruments as modes of transmission. Professional sex workers are willing to use condoms during all sexual contacts with clients and occasionally with boyfriends. Quantitative data reveals LDDs are more optimistic about their chances of becoming infected than FSWs and that more FSWs had used condoms compared to LDDs. The life history of Mercy, gives an indication of the pattern of condom use by a large number of FSWs. (*see text box*)

In the Ogbollo-Afor junction town, all the professional FSWs interviewed demonstrated a high awareness of HIV/AIDS. Most of the LDDs interviewed were aware of modes of transmission of

HIV/AIDS. While some were fatalistic about their chances of infection, others reported that they tried to prevent infection by visiting only the professional FSWs who used condoms.

The female sex workers in Ore junction reported that they have no favorites among their clients but touts are the least preferred clients because 'they are rough and will not use condoms'

In Mararaban Jos, while the majority of respondents (FSWs and LDDs) have heard about condoms, they were not aware of where they can be obtained. More importantly, they also doubted whether condoms could protect them against AIDS as they had the fatalistic notion that whatever disease befalls one results from the will of God.

6.1.3 HIV/AIDS Knowledge, Attitude and Practice in Urban Commercial Centres

In the junction towns of large urban centres where the sex trade is vibrant and hundreds of sex workers can be found, a significant percentage of FSWs perceive that they have a small chance of become infected. This is despite the fact that only a small number (23%) of FSWs had a friend or family member who was infected by HIV or had died of AIDS. In this cluster of junction towns LDDs view FSWs as temptresses who appear unwilling to

'Well, they say AIDS has no cure and that once you go to bed with any woman that has it that you will get it. They also say if you use razor that some who has AIDS use you will catch it....How can I stop sleeping with women? It is not easy. The problem is that the women are just too much here (Itam). If you come out here at night you'll see them so there is really nothing person can do. Is not all the time you will remember to use condom. These daughters of the devil can disturb you so much so that you'll fight yourself. No matter how much you try to avoid them. Like now, I do not lodge in hotels again. I used to sleep in Guarantee Hotel but they are too much there so I start sleeping in my vehicle but they still come and knock for me at night.' *Interview with LDD.*

change their high-risk behaviors. The life history of a thirty-nine year old driver and primary school leaver, reveals such a pattern. (*see text box*)

6.1.4 HIV/AIDS Knowledge, Attitude and Practice in Border towns

In Badagry there is a high level of denial of the existence of HIV as well as the risks to those engaging in high-risk activities. Chief Sehubo Ajose-Harrison, the traditional Prime Minister of Badagry, explains that fear of stigmatization leads many residents in and around the junction town not to agree to be tested, even when they manifest symptoms.

In Ikom, almost every commercial sex worker interviewed reported regular use of condoms except with the special boyfriend. They also reported having at least 6-8 clients a day.

7 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAMMING

7.1 Summary and Discussion

Who are the main social groups involved in sexual networking in junction towns? What factors or circumstances lead people to junction towns? How does the spread of AIDS differ in junction towns? Against the backdrop of these questions, this study reveals some of the key entry points for interventions and develops a better understanding of the key stakeholders and factors influencing sexual networks in junction towns. Described below is a summary of the key research questions and an overview of programming opportunities in junction towns. Appendix 5 outlines the various organizations that have previously worked in each junction town and Appendix 6 illustrates explicit strategies and key partners for each cluster of junction towns.

1. The ethnographic mapping methodology proves to be an effective way in which to study and classify HIV/AIDS transmission routes. The methodology allows the researchers to understand the complexity of relationships in junction towns, the various types of networks that emerge and how they change depending on certain factors. It is effective in identifying subgroups of large social groups and the linkages between the subgroups and the dominant groups and mobile and stable populations. In this study, the traditional social groups that are usually associated with HIV transmission is seriously questioned. The research illustrates that it is too simple to limit the primary social groups involved with HIV transmission to LDDs and CSWs.
2. In addition to Long Distance Driver and Female Sex Workers, social groups involved in the sexual networks include commercial motorcycle drivers, food sellers, Fulani herdsmen, male police, local male politicians, casual laborers, and on-site traders. There are a large number of informal sex workers either students, young girls, or young unemployed women. It is important to note that these women do not view themselves as sex workers. Relationships between clients and sex workers vary greatly depending on the female's economic and social position, the client's ability to pay, the frequency that they meet, and the degree of emotional capital invested (i.e., the type of relationship established) The research shows that many LDD have consistent relations with women in each junction town.
3. In addition, the research illustrates how the demographic make-up of a community can change when new laws are implemented or when an area becomes more dangerous or risky. In cases when a junction town becomes unstable, people with more economic power are able move while poorer people are forced to stay for economic purposes and lack of

opportunities. Roles within the community change with the shift in demographics such as when CSWs leave and young girl hawkers take up the sex work. Individuals bring their own construction of sexuality to the junction town however their sexual identity changes in junction towns based on economics, self-esteem, family pressure and the feeling that junction towns are 'free zones'.

4. Gender analysis used with ethnographic mapping is essential to illuminating the dynamics of HIV/AIDS transmission in junction towns. Gender-based poverty was the prevailing factor that led to women and young girls entering either formally or informally the sex trade. The sex industry increases significantly on market days in the junction town when women from neighbouring villages travel to the market for sex work. The research also reveals that ethnicity and the construction of sexuality within ethnic and cultural systems condition patterns of HIV/AIDS transmission. Promiscuity was often connected to sexually liberal ethnic groups. Girls were often viewed as promiscuous however, ironically, such labels were not given to male populations. There does not appear to be a connection between sexually liberal areas of Nigeria and low rates of HIV transmission.
5. Gender analysis reveals that the masculine role of truck driving includes with it expectations and acceptance of high sexual activity, multiple partners, polygamy, alcohol consumption and increased number of dependents.
6. The patriarchal structure found in most ethnic groups in Nigeria results in women having limited economic means and land holdings. For example, in Billiri, the Tangale family structure is dominated with the male as the undisputed source of authority while the females provide for herself, her children and often for her siblings through farming and livestock rearing. The research reveals that women turned to sex work in order to maximize their survival options. Females are denied any right to land and therefore there is a high degree of tolerance for female survival strategies such as sex work and domestic labour. The family structure is liberal enough to allow for girls bringing male clients into the home
7. Sexual networking among the stable and mobile communities is significant. Stable populations within junction towns interact with the mobile community and the stable population from near-by towns interact with the mobile and stable community of junction towns. The degree of interaction depends on the geographical location of the town. There are formal systems of sexual networks between professional sex workers and LDDs and other clients. However there are additional informal networks among the professional sex workers and their more stable sexual partners and informal sex workers and male members of the mobile and stable community. The research shows that there was less condom use between partners who are more familiar with one another, i.e., have invested some level of emotional capital in the relationship.
8. Religion is another factor that affects HIV transmission. In Kano state, when Shari'a law was introduced, the professional sex workers moved out of state or went underground and this brought young girls into the sex trade. In addition, those who did not use condoms cited their fatalistic notion that whatever disease befalls one results from the will of God.
9. The research illustrates that the threat of AIDS does not have a dramatic impact on sexual networking in junction towns. The demand for sex work is still prevalent despite the relatively high AIDS infection rates in junction towns. Both LDDs and CSWs are knowledgeable about condom use as a prevention method. More CSWs than LDDs felt they were at risk of contracting AIDS. In the rural junction towns, fewer CSWs were aware of

condom availability while in more urban centers, the majority of CSWs knew where condoms could be purchased.

7.2 Implications for HIV/AIDS Programming

In summary, in order to make a strong impact at mitigating HIV transmission, it is important to implement programs on prevention and care that target both the mobile and stable community, as there is a strong sexual network between and among the two communities. Gender analysis is a prerequisite in designing effective HIV/AIDS programs in that it reveals the constraints and opportunities for change in existing sexual networking.

Numerous risk settings are identified as important to address in HIV programming. Risk settings in junction towns are influenced by local cultural practices, alcohol consumption, and poverty in stable community. Traditional burial ceremonies and wake keeping in communities such as Aliade are identified as opportunities of high sexual activity. Wife inheritance and wife hospitality in certain towns also increase the risk of HIV transmission. During market days there is an increase in sexual activity as itinerant FSWs travel to markets for sex work.

In major corridor junction towns and in urban junction towns, professional female sex workers view themselves as businesswomen on their way to economic independence through small business. To the extent that they have savings schemes they should be supported to develop small-scale enterprise projects. In addition, it is beneficial to address the family's economic means in HIV programming as it is often the low economic status of the family that force girls into the sex trade. Offering mothers micro-credit loans or skills training will reduce the need for girls to leave school and enter the sex trade.

Male clients, in particular, the motorcycle riders with excess money need to be supported through life path planning programs. Substance abuse education programs targeted at young males are especially needed for small rural junction towns. Sexual behavior change courses need to be developed and offered to men. Specific programmes for young men are needed to support them in reexamining masculine values. Improved access to and the quality of health facilities in junction towns, especially those located in remote and rural areas where there are few public or private health facilities is urgently needed.

Because the social structure of the surrounding area penetrates into the junction town, it is important to work with traditional, religious and community opinion leaders by first creating awareness of the developmental impact of HIV/AIDS in the community. In this regard behavioral change interventions implemented through partnerships with youth, community development and faith-based organizations are recommended for all four categories of junction towns. In many junction towns there is respect for local authority. In such cases, it is best to work with the LACA in addition to CBOs in order to implement programs. In border towns, HIV programming needs to address the uniform services; interventions combining human rights and infection prevention are recommended, and cross-border interventions are strongly recommended.

In major corridor towns, it is recommended to develop 'sister-town' programs where migrant patterns of mobile populations are mapped and BCC interventions are implemented targeting mobile populations to reinforce prevention messages at points of departure and arrival. Prevention programs targeted at in-school youth and students in tertiary institutions who are also part-time sex workers in border towns, major corridor towns, and urban centers, is also encouraged. In urban centers, support for workplace based interventions targeting both stable and casual workers with high income male employees who are male clients to FSWs is needed.

Where sex workers have little bargaining power is when their client is a uniformed officer, when they have a limited support network of other sex workers around them, when their need for finances becomes extreme and they accept clients who have a tendency to be violent, and when there is pressure from family members to engage in prostitution in order to provide for the family. Strengthening CSWs' economic position in junction towns will allow them to reduce the risk of HIV transmission and will give them an opportunity to develop other business ventures.

A significant point from the organizational assessment of potential partners in junction towns, is their limited capacity to address the epidemic. Indeed, findings from the Organizational Assessment reveal that high risk groups such as commercial motorcyclists, sex workers, brothel owners, market traders associations, casual workers and farm labourers, food sellers, Fulani herdsmen, either have loose, informal associations or no visible association at all. Indeed, the remote nature of junction towns (e.g. Badagry, Ikom, Ore and K/Dangora), being virtual frontier territory is such that the community and informal occupational associations that are found in this zone lack the organizational structure to respond to the challenges of HIV/AIDS. While a few HIV/AIDS focused NGOs were found in large urban sites such as Eleme, UNIZIK junction and Itam Peace Column, in most of the other sites, associations of NYSC Youth Corpers and of teachers (the NUT) were the only 'quasi-NGOs' found on or close to the site. Within this maze of fluid associations, the National Union of Road Transport Workers stands out as a solid structure, with internal cohesion, quick response mechanisms, management capacity and responsive leadership. Though this organization is characterized by authoritative and traditional leadership styles almost along para-military lines, it is nonetheless a promising potential partner for LDTW focused programming. Through CSW networks, there are opportunities to address the needs of sex workers. A positive aspect of programming in junction towns is the organization of CSW and their ability to strongly negotiate condom use. As many junction towns are viewed as freedom zones, there may be fewer obstacles in discussing relationships and sex. In addition, CSWs are very strong women with an entrepreneurial spirit. They are agents and have the ability to control many aspects of their lives.

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9 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Key Respondents by Research Instrument

Key Populations/ Respondent	Instrument
Stable populations, reps of LDD, government officials, traditional leaders, representatives of funding agencies on-site	A.1 Site Inventory and Ethnographic Mapping Guide with diagrams and or photos
Stable populations, reps of LDDs, government officials, traditional/community leaders, reps of funding agencies on-site	A. 2 Focus Group/Interview Discussion Guide
Health facilities reps, NGOs, reps of temp and stable pops	A. 3 Care and Support Facility Assessment Tool
NGOs and civil society organizations	A. 4 Civil society Organizational Assessment Tool
PLWHAs, LDDs and FSWs, Male Clients	A.5 Life Histories Guide
LDDs	A.6 Opinion, Behavioral and Practice Survey
FSWs	A.7 Opinion, Behavioral and Practice Survey

Copies of each instrument are available from the Canada Nigeria Cooperation Office, 89, Atbara Street, off Cairo Street in Wuse 2, Abuja. Tel. 09 234 413-0283.

Appendix 2: Sample size of LDDs and FSWs in 4 Clusters of junction towns

	Type of junction town	LDDs		FSWs	
		No	%	No	%
A	Small towns in rural settings (Billiri, Wukari, Aliade, K/Dongora)	52	25.2	32	18.0
B	Major transit corridors (Lokoja, Mokwa, Ore, Ogbollo-Afor)	76	36.9	72	40.4
C	Urban commercial/market towns (Eleme, UNIZIK, Itam)	58	29.2	48	27.0
D	Border town (Badagry, Ikom)	20	9.7	26	14.6
	<i>Total</i>	206	100.0	179	100.0

Appendix 3: Health facilities in junction towns and service delivery points

Junction Town	No. of Pub. Gen. Hosp	No of Pry. Health Centre	No of Private Hosp/Clinics	No of drugs stores/pharmacies (PMV)	No of places selling condoms
SMALL JUNCTION TOWNS IN RURAL SETTINGS					
Billiri	1	10	5	30	40
Aliade	1	1	4	10	10
Wukari	1	5	6	3 (30)	30
K/Dangora	-	1	4	3 (20)	4
JUNCTION TOWN IN URBAN COMMERCIAL SITE					
UNIZIK	1	1 University clinic	26	5 (100)	120
Eleme	2	5	7	30 (50)	50
Itam	1	1	6	4	4
MAJOR TRANSIT CORRIDOR					
Lokoja	-	5	9	8 (15)	10
Obollo-Afor	-	1	5	10	14
Ore	1	3	24	50	50
Mokwa	1	2	4	1	22
M/Jos	-	1	4	12	12
BORDER TOWN					
Badagry	1	5	7	14	20
Ikom	1	2	13	10 (40)	50

Appendix 4: Knowledge of STDs and condom use

Knowledge of STDs and use of condoms

	Type of junction town	Knowledge and Use – Condoms and STDs					
		Ever Used Condom		Know where to get condom		Can describe symptoms of STDs	
		FSWs	LDDs	FSWs	LDDs	In men FSWs	In women LDDs
A	Small towns in rural settings FSWs N=32 LDDs N= 52	50% n=32	15.4% n=52	40% n=32	50% n=48	45.2 % n=28	48.0% n=50
B	Major transit corridors FSWs N=72 LDDs N=76	63.8% n=64	60.6% n=66	60% n=66	77.8% n=73	71.4 % n=62	42.4% n=66
C	Urban commercial towns FSWs N= 48 LDDs N= 58	100% n=44	65.5% n=58	100% n=44	75.9 n=58	100 % n=44	77.8% n=54
D	Border town FSWs N=26 LDDs N=20	100% n=24	88.9% n=19	100% n=24	87.5% n=16	66.7 % n=24	88.9% n=18
	Total Average in %	78.4%	57.6%	75%	71.1%	68.4%	58.5%

Knowledge of infected persons and risk perceptions

	Type of junction town	Knowledge of Infected Persons and Risk Perception						
		Know someone who is infected or died			Chances of becoming infected?		Chances of becoming infected?	
			LDD	CSW	LDDs		FSWs	
A	Small towns in rural settings FSWs N=32 LDDs N= 52	Relative Friend No	36% 20% 40%	27% 13% 60%	Not likely Small Chance Moderate Good	73.6 21.1 5.3 -	Not likely Small Moderate Good	13% 73% 13% -
B	Major transit corridors FSWs N=72 LDDs N=76	Relative Friend No	10% 21% 68%	5% 21% 73%	Not likely Small Chance Moderate Good	83% 6% 11% -	Not likely Small Moderate Good	58% 29% - 13%
	Urban commercial/market towns FSWs N= 48 LDDs N= 58	Relative Friends No	15% 31% 53%	5% 18% 77%	Not likely Small Chance Moderate Good	52% 43% 5% -	Not likely Small Moderate Good	12% 58% 25% 4%
D	Border town FSWs N=26 LDDs N=20	Relative Friend No	22% - 78%	- 17% 83%	Not likely Small Chance Moderate Good	83% - 17% -	Not likely Small Moderate Good	44% - 56% -
	Total Average in %	Relative Friend No	21% 21% 57%	9% 17% 74%	Not likely Small Chance Moderate Good	70% 23% 7% -	Not likely Small Moderate Good	32% 44% 13% 6%

Appendix 5: Past programming summary table

Junction town	HIV/AIDS Programs and Interventions
Billiri	Care for Life and the Dukansa Women and Youth Development Association (DWYDA) are working on awareness creation. Care for Life has been supported by Action Aid Nigeria, UNICEF, the Canada Fund and CEDPA to carry out community based HIV/AIDS interventions.
Wukari	FHI program for LDTWs with the NURTWs and care and support program
Aliade	Pathfinder International/Dfid care and support
K/Dongora	None, NURTW supported by FHI trained PEs in this site
Lokoja	Neighbourhood Watch, Dorcas Foundation, The Hope, the Family Advancement Programme working on awareness creation
Mokwa	NCWS integrated HIV/AIDS-FP program
M/Jos	NPT/World Bank support to the JNI under a grant to the dRPC
Ogbollo-Afor	The Youth Resource Development, Education and Leadership Centre for Africa (YORDEL) carries out programs targeting secondary school students who engage in commercial activities in the junction.
Ore	The Inter-African Committee on Harmful Traditional Practices and Youth Corpers of the NYSC working on awareness creation
Eleme	NPT/World Bank support to NNPC Youths other programs by the First Lady of the state
UNIZIK	FHI, commercial motorcyclist and in-school youth program. The Nnamdi Azikiwe University Collegiate Jaycees is carrying out a behavioral change intervention of the campus with support from the dRPC under the NTP/World Bank funding.
Itam	Prevention programs by SACA. Silverline Development Initiative, Uyo, Akwa Ibom is also participating in the NPT/World Bank CBO Capacity Building program. Silverline is implementing a youth focused behavioral change program with a small grant. SOHEBA (NYSC) is carrying out awareness creation programs. Also in Itam, the radio drama – One thing at a time – run by the Society for Family Health (SFH). SWAAN’s work in Akwa Ibom focuses on secondary school students to increase awareness.
Badagry	Country Women Association of Nigeria, the youth-based Rotaract Club of Badagry and the CORRIDOR Project
Ikom	The Private Sector HIV/AIDS Counseling Group (PHACG), Calabar, a network NGO, is currently participating in the NPT/World Bank CBO Capacity Building program run by the dRPC.

Appendix 6: Key Programming Recommendations

Type of Junction town	Key Programming Recommendations	Potential Partners
<p>Small towns in rural settings</p>	<p>Awareness creation for the stable populations who live in surrounding settlements virtually indistinguishable from the towns.</p> <p>Social marketing of condoms for dual protection with strong FP and HIV prevention messages.</p> <p>Strategic support for LACA</p> <p>As settlement and junction town populations are indistinguishable prevention needs in junction towns are similar to settlements. Hence prevention of mother to child transmission programs are required. Training for health providers in the modern system and for TBAs in the traditional system.</p> <p>Substance abuse education programs targeted at young males are especially needed for Wukari, Billiri and Aliade with high levels of alcoholism in the male population. In K/Dogora programs can focus on substance abuse amongst young male farm labourers.</p> <p>Community based care and support programs are required to respond to the nature of epidemic within settlements in which the junction towns are located.</p> <p>Orphans and vulnerable children programs are also recommended to respond to the needs of communities such as Aliade and Billiri where AIDS related deaths have resulted in a generation of O&V children.</p> <p>Community leader sensitization interventions targeting traditional and religious leaders are particularly important in junction towns within small rural settings as these individuals are important opinion leaders.</p> <p>Economic empowerment and BCC interventions for migrant FSWs moving from market to market</p> <p>BCC for LDTWs</p>	<p>CBOs</p> <p>Media (folk and modern)</p> <p>LGA</p> <p>PMTCT programs with public and private facilities and with TBAs</p> <p>CBOs and Community development organizations</p> <p>Traditional leaders and CBOs</p> <p>LACA, Min of Education, Min of Health</p> <p>Traditional leaders</p> <p>Market association, NGO</p> <p>NURTWs</p>

<p>Major transit corridors</p>	<p>Develop `sister-towns' programs where migrant patterns of mobile populations are mapped and BCC interventions targeting mobile populations are designed to reinforce prevention messages at the points of departure and arrival.</p> <p>Strategic support for LACA.</p> <p>In such sites the professional Female sex workers view themselves as businesswomen on the hustle and on their way to economic independence through small business. To the extent that they have savings schemes they should be supported to develop small scale enterprise projects. Male clients, in particular, the okada riders with excess money and need to be supported through life path planning programs. The peer education model can be used in both cases.</p> <p>Improved access to and the quality of health facilities in junction towns, especially those located in remote and rural areas where there are few public or private health facilities. Health booths similar to those mounted by the NGO - StopAids are recommended.</p> <p>Blood safety programs for health facilities in towns such as Ore is especially recommended.</p> <p>Prevention programs targeted at in-school youth who are also part-time sex workers.</p>	<p>Developed and competent NGOs working in communications NURTWs</p> <p>LGA</p> <p>Associations of FSWs</p> <p>NGOs</p> <p>Loose association of motorcyclists</p> <p>Public and private health providers and facilities</p> <p>Public and private health providers and facilities</p> <p>NUT</p>
<p>Urban junction towns</p>	<p>In such sites CSWs view themselves as business women on the hustle and on their way to economic independence through small business. To the extent that they have savings schemes they should be supported to develop small scale enterprise projects. Male clients, in particular the okada riders with excess money, need to be supported through life path planning programs. The peer education model can be used in both cases.</p> <p>Prevention programs targeted at in-school youth who are also part-time sex workers.</p> <p>Support for workplace based interventions targeting both stable and casual workers with high income male employees (e.g. NNPC depots, mining companies, steel companies) who are male clients to FSWs.</p> <p>Awareness creation interventions targeted at students in tertiary level institutions. This is especially so for the UNIZIK and Itam Peace Column junction towns.</p> <p>Syndromic management training programs and STD case management interventions aimed at private and public health facilities located in off-campus student residential areas.</p>	<p>NUT in secondary schools Loose associations of okada riders NGOs and CBOs Brothel/hotel owners</p> <p>NUT</p> <p>Unions</p> <p>Student association University Clinics in Itam and UNIZIK</p> <p>Private clinics in Eleme, Awka and Itam NURTWs Private and public providers</p>

<p>Border towns</p>	<p>Improved access to and the quality of health facilities in junction towns, especially those located in remote and rural areas where there are few public or private health facilities. Blood safety programs are especially required.</p> <p>Prevention programs targeted at in-school female youth who are also part-time sex workers.</p> <p>Uniform services interventions combining human rights and infection prevention are recommended.</p> <p>Behavioral change interventions targeting mobile populations of female sex workers and long distance transport workers on both sides of the border and in multiple languages are recommended.</p> <p>Strategic Support for LACA</p>	<p>Public and Private providers and facilities</p> <p>NURTWs</p> <p>NUT</p> <p>Uniform services command</p> <p>NGOs</p> <p>LGA</p>
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