

# Locational Pattern of Brothel-Based Commercial Sex Works In Kaduna Metropolis of Kaduna State, Nigeria

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## Abstract

Commercial sex work is a profession as old as human existence. It is driven by causes and implications, but very little or no examination ever conducted on its locality in our society, perhaps this is based on pretentious nonexistence. This paper investigates the spatial location of brothels and socioeconomic susceptibility of commercial sex workers in Kaduna Metropolis. Over 400 semi-structure questionnaires were administered principally to female commercial sex workers in 47 identified brothels. Key informant interviews were also conducted among duty-bearers and change agents. The data were analyzed using correlation analysis of ANOVA and qualitative descriptive techniques for presentation of findings. The study reveals asymmetric locational pattern of brothels towards the southern part of the Metropolis especially where Christian religion is dominant and unprecedented young adult female involvement with socio-economic issues facilitating their predisposition into the profession. For the trade to be nipped from the bud there is need for resuscitation of religion values and moral decorum, strict adherent to religious teaching, and pragmatic campaign on the health implication with particular reference to the proliferation and vulnerability of people to HIV/AIDs and other vector diseases.

## Introduction

The occupation called prostitution or commercial sex work is the exchange of sexual intercourse for money or the commercialization of sexual intercourse as a direct offshoot of the desire by some persons to offer themselves as objects of sexual satisfaction and the readiness of others to patronize them for some form of satisfaction. This act can therefore, be traced to so many predisposing factors as well as challenges and consequences as it may applied to and common with all occupations.

The activities of prostitutes more formally called but in contemporary times is refers to as commercial sex workers dates back to the very beginning of human kind. The occupation is in a sense as old as human existence. This occupation thrived in so many civilizations either secretly or openly depending on how much it was accepted, though labeled as a crime and at variant with societal decorum, evil as well as immoral. However, commercial sex work continued to evolve and change strategy with society. Over the years, the general perception in many societies has changed as the industry was soft pedaled, making commercial sex a recognized means of livelihood. This recognition and legalization of sex trade in some societies made it as normal an occupation as any other socially acceptable profession of human endeavors. This development brought with it a change in nomenclature to more appealing names such as commercial sex industry, while prostitutes being addressed as commercial sex workers (Hughes 2004).

This notwithstanding, the general societal perception of this means of livelihood has continued to suffer from the popularity it should have earned due to the moral issues it raises even in countries where it is legal and taxable. Moral and social issues relating to sex work have persisted following the societal acceptance of this profession. This is because it is against the sacrilege of religious tenets, ensued moral negativity on socio-cultural beliefs and constitutes serious health challenge if allowed to thrive in any contemporary society.

Despite these bottlenecks and societal perceptions, the occupation has continued to enjoy tremendous patronage and is sustained steadily with the passage of time by what Hughes (2004) refers to as the demand and supply of sex. These complementary tendencies engendered the operational bases, which are mostly attached to brothels, hotels, beer parlours, and clubs while others operate along junctions of towns especially travelers' stopping points, streets, and joints. In as much as that commercial sex works are known in our own society to be mainly carried out in brothel, that are located in obscured places where identity are not known or easily identified, presupposes that commercial sex workers and owners of such facilities may have identity differential. Thus, scholarship work on the locational and spread analysis has not been conducted in Kaduna metropolis where the profession is striving in spite inherent rejection as a means of livelihood by the society standard. This paper

therefore, identifies the distributional configuration of brothel in Kaduna Metropolis and perhaps dispositional factors influencing the pattern.

### **Spatio-Economic and Rationale Issues**

Commercial sex work permeates diverse institutions whose systematic operations are entwined into a multitude of dispositions and activities. A combination of theories would provide an integrated explanation of the occurrence of sex work and locational base. Commercial sex work is acclaimed and seemly recognized as a professional means of livelihood, hence, it is a voluntary work that cannot be equated with normal sexual exploitation, because of economic gain. Thus, the process of operation entails the merging of concepts from geographical lens which can be juxtaposed with socio-economic rational decision that explains causes of human behavior for the practice of commercial sex work. Rational choice theories postulate that rational beings make decisions based on the costs and benefits involved. In the word of Lanier and Henry (2010) states deterministic in nature, decision making process is based on free will, which necessitates observation of opportunities, circumstances and situations that could affect the successful perpetration of the planned end. In a similar vein Brown, et al (2007) asserts that rational decision making involves the choice that are determined by the type of work, modus operandi, where, when and what. Although, some rational theorists have argued that choices are driven by their perceptions, motives, skills and abilities to read opportunities as situations guide their decisions making processes, but the quests of Brown et al (2007) have synergic relationship in geographical functional description of phenomena in space, that explain observing the accessibility and potentiality of location to implement desire activity or trade. It is on this premise that this paper evaluates the pattern of brothel distribution, where and why commercial sex works takes place within and between residential areas of Kaduna metropolis.

Witt and Witte (2000) identifies that economic theory can be used to explain delinquencies, actions and behaviors which calculate the gains and benefits accrued from participating in a certain task. This assertion reiterate that the underlying principle of the economic theory is driven by the benefits outweigh possibility of incurring lost, this is also buttressed by McCray (2006) that brings another economic dimension in human action, argues that certainty is more important than severity, McCray observation can be likened to inconsiderate person would act like an economist and apply the image of a self-maximizing decision maker, carefully calculating his or her advantage, equally Pratt (2008) posits that individuals apply legal or illegal actions because of the expected utility from acts are influenced by the fact that the possibility of the expected gains is most considered. These enablement influences are pivotal in the brothel location and commercial sex work in any society. Hughes (2004) and Katuka and Umaru (2010) emphasizes that the demand for commercial sex workers and endeavoring of the services can be classified into three categories: users or purchasers of sex, profiteers from selling sex, and socio-cultural attitudes towards sex. Users or purchasers refer to persons who pay prostitutes to render a sexual service which include; brothel owners, sex workers, and pimps.

Concomitantly, the need for sex provider services, are heterogeneous with different needs and motives. Of primary importance to users of prostitutes is the need to fulfill a personal inadequacy, need or desire. It is pointed out by Groom and Nandwani, (2006); Mansson, (2006) and Macleod, et al (2008) that men's current intimate relationships experiences, desire for unfamiliar sex, acceptance towards prostitutes, perceptions of prostitutes and prostitution, and lack of emotional connection could motivate men to solicit prostitutes. Notwithstanding the cultural and the moral abomination of prostitutes is a puzzle and contrariwise related to its acceptance and unabated strive existence. Evidently, the need for sex worker and socio-cultural laissez-faire may contribute to a large extend the location in a particular area or its distributional pattern within or between a given area. Hence, this paper integrates locational and socioeconomic variables as rational decision for the operations of brothel and commercial sex work in Kaduna metropolis.

### **Methodology**

Kaduna metropolis is comprises of two main Local Government area councils; Kaduna North and Kaduna South. However part of the metropolis extends to Chikun and Igabi Local Government areas respectively (see Fig. 1). Data sources were from observations, oral interviews and semi-structured interviews (ISS) schedule. A snow-ball sampling technique was used to identify 47 brothels and 4017 commercial sex workers. Due to these huge population and stress involved to secure access to them, 10% representing 402 sex workers that are resident female sex worker (FSW) only were sought and interviewed on proximate determinants for sex work. The assistance of Society for Family Health (SFH) a non-governmental organization and other key stakeholders were obtained, these are Organisations working with sex workers for the purpose of mitigating spread of HIV/AIDS in



## Results

Table 1: Demographic Structure and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents

Variables	Frequency		%		
<b>Age</b>					
10-20	19		5.0		
21-30	176		43.0		
31-40	116		29.0		
Above 41	91		23.0		
<b>Marital Status</b>					
Single	205		51		
Separated	117		29		
Widow	44		11		
Divorce	28		08		
Married	08		02		
<b>Reason</b>	<b>Age-Cohort</b>				<b>Total Influence</b>
	<b>10 -20</b>	<b>21 - 30</b>	<b>31-40</b>	<b>≥ 41</b>	
Poverty	14 (3%)	106 (22%)	89 (19%)	52 (11%)	261 (55%)
Widowhood	15 (3.2%)	11 (2.3%)	06 (1.3%)	04 (0.8%)	36 (7.6%)
Separation	02 (0.4%)	59 (12.4%)	21 (4.4%)	96 (20.2%)	178 (37.4%)
<b>Educational Level</b>	Koranic 04 (1%)	Primary 76 (19%)	Junior Secondary School 169 (42%)	SSSCE 132 (33%)	Tertiary 21 (05%)
<b>Religion</b>	Islam 112 (28%)		Christianity 290 (72%)		402 (100%)
<b>Year into Sex Work</b>	1- 5 years 241 (60%)		6- 10 years 112 (28%)		Above 11 years 49 (12%)
<b>Locational Choice</b>	Conducive Environment 298 (74%)		Distance from Family 89 (22%)		Presence of Industries 15 (04%)
<b>ANOVA-F</b>	Sum of Square		DF	Variance	F
	Between Group 0.94		02	$S^2 B=B_{ss}/V^1$	$S^2 B/S^2 N=47/3.07$
	Within Group 39.96		13	$S^2 W =W_{ss}/V^2$	
	Total 40.9		15	3.07	15.30

Source: Field work 2012

## Discussion

Over 70% of people into commercial sex work in Kaduna Metropolis are less than 40 years of age, while less than 25% are more than 41 years. A very striking discovery is that 51% of the respondents are single, this

presupposes of youthful adults are into the profession. This age cohort represent the active and reproductive segment of the society, hence, anything that affects them have a multiplier effects on the larger society. Married people constitute 2%, they claimed to just taking a fling only to return to their husband and children soon. But 36% forms those with serious martial challenges leading to separation or divorce, some narrated their unduly treatment arising from husbands, polygamous intricacies and extended family members controls, to prevent the consequences of their decision on the development of their children they join the trade. These initial reasons of some married sex traders supports Ladipo et al (2001) observation that... underlying this is the fact that some have also had marital problems and many have also had the responsibility to care for their children.

Furthermore, over 50% alleged poverty influences them into commercial sex profession, while less than 15% are widows. It is also, quite revealing that majority of them are literate and hence employable as 80% of the people involves in this trade have been to or obtained at least junior secondary school but claimed they could not find any other socially acceptable job to do, this contradict the assertion of Oyefar (2005) who associates sex workers with people of stark illiterates. They emphasized commercial sex work was identified as the easiest alternative job they could find because it afforded them immediate accommodation when moved to the Kaduna metropolis. This claims further buttresses Ladipo et al (2001) finding that many sex workers enter the profession because of money, insisting that it is not because they like the sex but because they cannot find jobs in other sectors.

Another overwhelming and conspicuous discovery is that over 70% of practitioners of commercial sex workers in Kaduna metropolis are Christians. These preponderant of Christians into sex work negate the canons, value system, and inimical to the religion decorum. The predilection of sex traders are location of brothels within the Metropolis, that is where brothels are located are in favorable areas, compared to pretentious areas of molestation and harassment that use to bedeviled the practices in other part of the Metropolis. The areas where brothels are scantily found are predominantly Muslims residential areas as shown in Fig. 2.

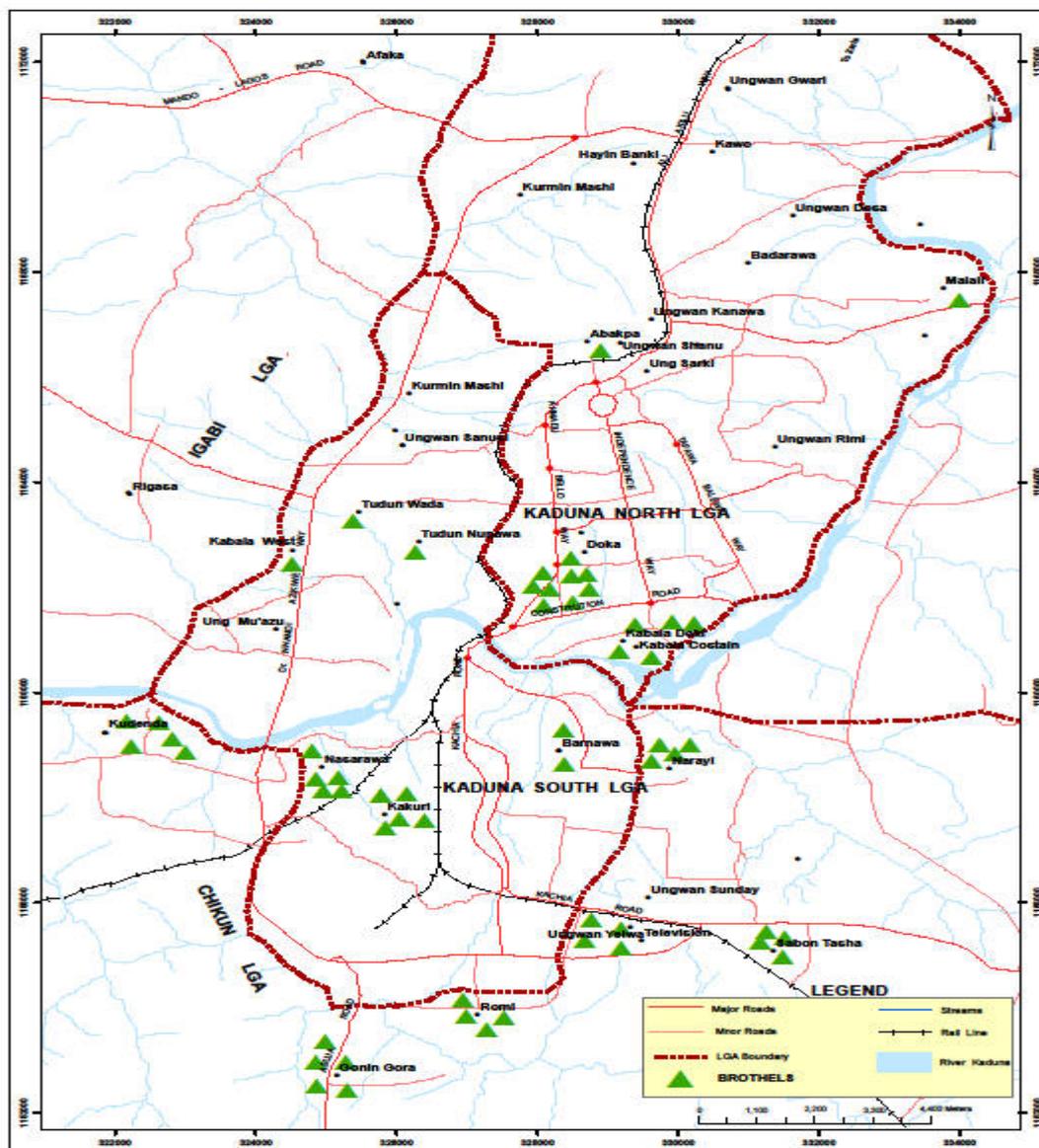
### **Operational Structure of Brothel in Kaduna Metropolis**

According to Ladipo, et al (2001) a brothel is a residential 'quarters' for sex workers habitation, where sex services are obtained or sold. Interestingly brothels are predominantly found along and across southern part of river Kaduna often referred to as southern Kaduna metropolis mostly in the highly populated residential areas of; Doka, Kabala Costain, Kakuri, Kudende, Nasarawa, Ungwar-Television, Ungwar-Yelwa, Romi, Gonin-Gora, Sabo, and Narayi as shown in Fig. 2. It is also, important to note that brothels are located in highly populated areas especially townships offer more potential customers than those located in the outskirts. Sex workers rent rooms in these areas and are referred to as resident sex workers. Although there is another group of sex workers who are non- resident and are often found soliciting and loitering around premises of big hotels and major streets in the evenings/nights, waiting for prospective male clients who may pick them up for the night or weekend. Such places are located in the central business district of the Metropolis includes Hamdala Hotel, 'PDP', and Obalende, these groups of women are refers to as hawkers, however, they are not covered in this study because of the difficulty involved in accessing them.

Brothels in Kaduna Metropolis are misconceived as hotels where alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks are sold. They operate hierarchical structure within which the sex workers function. The owner of brothels is scarcely seen within the premises but function through his/her employee called manager, mostly men that ensure effective day-to-day operations. Other key staff are the bar men and other auxiliary staff they control the bar session where assorted drinks are sold. Another strategic staff is the chairlady who is the leader of sex workers, she safeguards peace and harmonies are kept within the premises and in rooms, as well as cooperation with clients. Chairlady also facilitate the admission and orientation of new ladies into the service. This structure confirms to what Ojukwu et al (2006) refers to as reach out to the sex worker there are strict hierarchical structure to be observed.

### **Pattern of Brothel-Based Commercial Sex Work in Kaduna Metropolis**

The finding of this study reveals that over 70% of identified and functional brothels in Kaduna metropolis are located and found mainly in the southern part of the metropolis. The statistical inference buttresses this variation as calculate F (cF) value is 15.30 with a critical table value of 95% and confidence level is 3.81 (see Table 1), hence cF value is greater than table value reiterate the significance of skewness distribution. The spatial pattern of distribution of brothels in Kaduna metropolis is shown in Fig.2.



**Brothels in Kaduna Metropolis**  
 Source : Fieldwork, 2012

The major reason advanced for this skewness distribution hinges on the admissibility of the environment. For instance companies such as Textiles, Breweries, and Petrol chemical industries that employed over 70% of workers in the Metropolis are sited and workers also reside in the southern part of the metropolis. Furthermore, inference of year 2000 proliferation of sectarian crises in Kaduna metropolis began the remote influence of this pattern of intra-metropolitan migration along polemic cleavages. In 1999, the year Nigeria nascent democratic governance began, Zamfara state, one of the states in northwest geopolitical zone, galvanized for Sharia legal system and it was introduced. The Government of Kaduna State then wanted to introduce the same legal code of conduct, but due to predominant nature of two religions; Christianity and Islamic religions in the State especially the Kaduna metropolis engendered resistant, which eventually resulted into unabated religious crises of unprecedented magnitude that led to destructions of lives and property. This development according to Ajibuah (2008) has enhanced the production of residential segregation and polarization of the Metropolis along religious line. The Christians and Muslims reside in the southern and northern parts of the Metropolis respectively.

In conclusion, it is suffice to state emphatically, that residential areas where brothels are not found or in open operation do not mean they do not offers and seek for the services of sex trade, but only prevent and abhorred its

location in their domain. Nonetheless, environmental admissibility encourages proliferation of brothel business and commercial sex trade in southern part of Kaduna metropolis and this can be inferred to other society or community of similar socio-cultural cosmopolitan, the grave danger is that area dominated by brothel activity depicts moral decadence and degeneration of esteemed societal value systems, such areas have high probability to be more vulnerable to social vices, high prevalence rate of and resistant to mitigation strategies of HIV/AIDS and other transmissible diseases. Hence, there is need for moral restrains campaign among the people in southern part of Kaduna metropolis to imbibe the ethical teaching of Christianity, these should be participatory and fast tracked by the area stakeholders and duty-bearers.

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